

Walking in Florence: Genres of Knowledge in the Italian Journals of Susan Horner 1847–1848 and 1861–1862

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Il contributo prende in esame due *scrapbook* di Susan Horner (1816-1900), redatti durante i soggiorni italiani del 1847-1848 e del 1861-1862 e conservati presso il British Institute di Firenze. Attraverso l'analisi di diari, album e materiali assemblati nel corso del viaggio, nel saggio si riflette sul ruolo di queste forme testuali nella costruzione e trasmissione del sapere. I manoscritti restituiscono l'esperienza di Firenze negli anni del Risorgimento attraverso una pluralità di linguaggi e supporti, nei quali osservazioni, disegni, fotografie, ritagli di stampa e oggetti memoriali concorrono a definire una pratica conoscitiva fondata sulla mobilità, sull'osservazione diretta e sulla raccolta di materiali eterogenei. L'esame delle sezioni dedicate all'arte, all'archeologia, alla politica, alla cultura della stampa e alla dimensione corporea del viaggio mostra come la città venga interpretata quale un palinsesto storico e culturale. I manoscritti emergono così come testimonianze significative delle modalità con cui le viaggiatrici britanniche dell'Ottocento elaborarono forme originali di conoscenza e di mediazione culturale.

This paper examines two scrapbooks by Susan Horner (1816-1900), written during her Italian stays of 1847-1848 and 1861-1862 and now preserved at the British Institute of Florence. Through the analysis of journals, albums, and collected materials assembled during travel, the study explores the role of these textual forms in the production and transmission of knowledge. The manuscripts document the experience of Florence during the Risorgimento through a variety of media and practices, combining written observations, drawings, photographs, newspaper cuttings, and memorabilia. Together, these materials reveal a mode of knowledge grounded in mobility, direct observation, and the gathering of heterogeneous evidence. Focusing on art, archaeology, politics, print culture, and the embodied experience of travel, the paper shows how Florence was perceived as a historical and cultural palimpsest. The manuscripts thus provide valuable insight into the ways nineteenth-century British women travellers developed original forms of knowledge production and cultural mediation.

Keywords: Susan Horner, Nineteenth-century Florence, Travel writing, British travellers, Risorgimento

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Introduction: Journals, Albums, and Scrapbooks

Women's journals, albums, and scrapbooks remain undertheorized and under-regarded as epistemologically significant texts.¹ Sharon Marcus has made a powerful case for scrapbooks as an historical source, arguing that they, «can improve our understanding of existing paradigms, render more vivid what we already know, and surprise us into novel discoveries».² But in order to allow room for such 'novel discoveries', journals, albums, and scrapbooks demand to be encountered associatively and obliquely. They often waver uncertainly on the borderline between accomplishment and knowledge, between copying and thinking. They are disorderly texts that negotiate uneasily with the temporalities of mobility and memory. As Paul Smethurst suggests, «the main threat to textual orderliness comes from the essential link between travel writing and *mobility*» and when we turn to journals, scrapbooks, and albums made to record a journey, as were Susan Horner's two travel journals discussed in this article, we encounter a variety of chronological, organizational, and methodological challenges.³

In Horner's case, these challenges are heightened in her two journals because both were written during a time of intense revolutionary activity in Europe, between 1847 and 1862. In this context, the structural seriality of the journal form, in which one day follows another through the weeks and months of her trips, is complicated not only by the incursions of historical time, as Horner immerses herself in the ancient, medieval, and Renaissance pasts of the Italian peninsula, but also by the interruptions of present political time. In 1848, a series of European revolutions rolled across Europe, bringing profound social changes even where they were stalled and suppressed. Italian intellectuals and politicians were immersed in an intense period of anti-imperial nation-building, imagining Italy for the first time as a unified country with one national identity. Horner was a fervent supporter of this nationalist cause, and her journals reflect her close attention to political news, particularly in her beloved Florence, which was struggling against Austrian imperial oppression to resurrect a lost republican ideal. There are many kinds of seriality intersecting in her

journals, therefore. There is one day after another, with their regular meals, routines, and study, and there is one page after another in her codex journals. But there is also the seriality of the revolutions sweeping across Europe. In the 1847–1848 written journal, the serial revolutions and protests are presented one after another in a text that enacts the stages of the journey through France into Italy in 1847–1848 as the revolutionary series is accelerating. In the early 1860s, Horner's second journal was written in a more liberal Florence. With censorship relaxed, the unleashing of serial print of many kinds created a new world of textual and visual abundance. Newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and images were circulating promiscuously in Florence and some of these serial forms are caught, and literally pasted down, into the pages of Horner's 1860s album to complicate its temporality in fascinating ways.

Horner's first Florentine journal, *Journal of a Tour in France and Italy 1847–1848 extracted from my Letters Home and Notebooks Susan Horner 1849*, was written retrospectively in 1849, a year after Horner's return from continental Europe. The original texts that she «extracted from» are no longer extant. The journal measures 19 by 22 centimetres with a hardboard leather cover and 64 leaves. This journal consists solely of very neatly and carefully handwritten text with no illustrations. The second, untitled journal documents Horner's later eight-month stay in Florence with her parents Leonard and Ann Susan Horner, and her sister Joanna from 1861 to 1862, when the family moved to the city to benefit Mrs Horner's health. Susan was still unmarried and now 45 years old. This second diary is larger than the first, measuring 24 by 30 centimetres and containing 93 leaves.⁴ The journal also doubled as a scrap album, as Horner inserted topographical photographs and *carte-de-visite* photographs of Italian politicians alongside her own drawings of members of her family and friends, and her own sketches and souvenir photographs of Florentine art. She copied out Italian and English poems, Italian popular songs, and pasted in newspaper cuttings and pressed flowers.⁵

The 1860s journal is therefore a memory object very differently organised to the first journal. Indeed, the later journal is so full of stuck-in materials that it has arguably become more 'object' than 'text'. Leigh Hunt wrote about «a series of pocket-books» that had «grown corpulent in consequence of being fed with receipts, and copies of verses, and cuttings out of newspapers».⁶ The bodiliness of these text-objects, 'fed' by their makers, suggests a very different phenomenological relationship to writing and to textuality than that produced by the printed

book, or even the manuscript journal. These hybrid journal-albums are representative of the embodied experience of makers who are often slightly at odds with the symbolic order, and whose vital knowledge and experience of the world has been achieved obliquely through intimate engagement rather than through disciplined representative and abstract orders of knowledge. As a journal-scrapbook-album, Horner's second 1860s journal therefore differs in a crucial material way from her first manuscript journal.⁷ In order to accommodate their multiplicity and mobility as texts, and to help organise this brief account, this article discusses both albums in terms of different genres of knowledge: 'Painting and Drawing'; 'Sculpture and Architecture'; 'Politics'; 'Text and Print'; and 'The Body.' The article ends with a further reflection on the generic identities of the journals themselves, and how they might relate to the most well-known of Horner's published works, *Walks in Florence* (1873), which she wrote with her sister, Joanna.

This article does not approach Horner's journals as source materials for *Walks in Florence*, although both journals certainly do record the Horner sisters, whether deliberately or not, preparing for that later published volume. In the journals we see the sisters as they move around Florence and its environs, familiarising themselves with the city's celebrated sites and treasures, and experimenting with ways of narrating the relationship of the modern traveller-tourist to these well-known 'topoi'. The two manuscript travel journals are considered in their own terms so that a balance is restored between them and the published guidebook. Indeed, this article deliberately does not undertake any close reading of *Walks in Florence* because this would necessarily risk distorting the understanding of the journals. Considered alongside each other in this manner, the generic difference between printed guidebook and written travel journal narrows. If we remove these three 'volumes' from the hierarchy of print, we can see that they have much in common. They are all highly sociable texts, and none of them is properly 'private'. They all share a desire to mediate mobility through space and time, and to create virtual spaces which connect the living and the dead.

The Horner Family

Susan Horner (1816-1900) was a well-connected and well-educated unmarried woman of 31 when she first visited Italy in 1847-1848 with her sister Frances and brother-in-law Charles. Susan's father, Leonard Horner, was well known as a geologist, social reformer, and British 'friend to Italy'. Her uncle Francis Horner was a politician and co-

founder of the important British periodical, the «Edinburgh Review». And her elder sister, Mary, had married the geologist, Charles Lyell. Evidently, Susan Horner arrived in Florence with her own cultural capital. And this cultural capital was to increase in the years after her first visit to Italy, when she became a published author, translating the work of Italian historian Pietro Colletta into English, and writing on the nationalist struggles and cultural history of Hungary and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily; as well as authoring an intellectual biography of the Tuscan poet, Giuseppe Giusti, and producing late in her life a scholarly monograph on Greek vases with examples from the collections of the British Museum and the Louvre.⁸ In 1873, she and her sister Joanna jointly published their most enduringly popular work, a guidebook called *Walks in Florence* (1873) which ran to several published editions.⁹

The Horner family arrived with their two companion-servants Massimiliano and Margaret Edmund Zileri in Florence on 10 October 1861.¹⁰ On their arrival, the Horners did their best to help the ailing British poet Arthur Hugh Clough, the author of *Amours de Voyage*, a long poem about the Italian wars of independence, and his wife Blanche, who were also staying in Florence because of Arthur's failing health.¹¹ Sadly, Clough died on 13 November 1861 and was buried in the English Cemetery in Florence. The Horners found themselves in a very different city in the early 1860s from the one they had visited in the late 1840s. Florentine life had changed. More galleries and museums were open to the public and the first Esposizione Nazionale in Florence was held while they were there. Horner notes that this made transport expensive: «[w]e sent for a carriage, the man objected to take us to San Miniato. The Exhibition makes them very independent».¹² This was also politically a very different moment to 1848. The revolutions of 1848 and 1849 had ostensibly failed, although the struggle for national self-determination had continued, and in the early 1860s, Italy was at a delicate point in its complex project of nation-building. Also, by the time of this return visit, Horner had an established public profile and was able to introduce herself to distinguished ex-patriots and Italians as a published author: her *A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily*, published in 1860, had been well reviewed. It had appeared in England at a politically propitious time, as the «Daily News» commented, because, «[m]illions in England have been delighted to learn what Garibaldi is doing, from his landing at Marsala to his triumphant reception at Naples; they have learned to sympathise with the enthusiastic population, who have risen up along his rapid march, to rally

round their deliverer's standard». Miss Horner's book was written to «acquaint persons who take a thoughtful interest» in «this successful revolt».¹³ The «Economist» also congratulated Horner on her «discretion» as a writer of «easy and clear» prose setting forth the urgency in the Kingdom of Naples of «[t]he cessation of arbitrary power, and the execution of the law».¹⁴

She and Joanna must have returned to Florence again for a third time to conduct further research for *Walks in Florence* and they seem to have lived near the city's Porta Romana until at least 1890, but no records exist from this period.¹⁵ An obituary of Susan Horner in «Athenaeum» records that, «Miss Horner lived for many years in Florence, then at Paris, and finally again in London».¹⁶

Genres of Knowledge (I): Painting and Drawing

Horner enjoyed exceptionally privileged access to the art treasures of Florence. The Marchese Feroni, the director of the Uffizi Gallery, gave her «free access to the gems, bronzes and vases at all times, and permission to make pencil notes from the pictures, and access to the books on art in the Uffizi with a letter to the librarian of the Palazzo Pitti».¹⁷ Likewise, the Egyptologist and antiquarian Professor Migliarini showed Horner gems that generally were «not shewn to the public».¹⁸ Horner made accomplished pencil drawings of many Florentine works, such as the «Sketch of Savonarola taken from the picture by Fra Bartolomeo» that she stuck into her 1860s Journal.¹⁹ On 12 November 1861, she records spending hours in the Uffizi studying black vases with «high but barbarous reliefs on them which are genuine Etruscan», and she sketched these for her journal too.²⁰ She was to maintain a lifelong interest in ancient vases, culminating in her monograph on ancient Greek vases which was published three years before her death.

As Hannah Sikstrom has written of Horner's artistic practice: «[h]ours spent sketching also serve[d] an educational purpose». After diligently «colouring my sketch from Fra Angelico» Horner explains in her first journal that the «mere act of making this rough copy has made me better acquainted with his mode of arranging his colours, as to give that almost supernatural light».²¹ In the galleries, Horner adopted a Ruskinian practice of attention and care in order to draw and understand the objects better. John Ruskin aimed in his drawing instruction to summon, «a perfectly patient, and, to the utmost of the pupil's power, a delicate method of work, such as may insure his seeing truly».²² She had read carefully Ruskin's recent *Modern Painters: Volume Two*, which had appeared in 1846, and she quotes from it in the 1847–1848 jour-

nal.²³ Horner is not merely copying or reproducing in her sketches, she is actively investigating, thinking, and learning by her careful drawing. It was perhaps also from Ruskin that she learnt to value the 'primitive' early Italian art of the *trecento* alongside the Florentine Renaissance works which were better known and more widely appreciated in the mid-nineteenth century. Arriving in Pisa in 1848, she admired «a gigantic mosaic by Cimabue» in the vaulted apse of the cathedral.²⁴ While she had clearly been schooled in the popular meliorist and developmental view of Italian art, Horner nevertheless greatly admired the earlier and «exceedingly beautiful» painting by Fra Angelico in the Accademia and in the Uffizi, along with those of Giotto.²⁵

In Fra Angelico the delicacy of the Siennese appears united with the warmer shadows of the Giottesque. A large Triptych by him astonished and delighted me with the suprising heavenly beauty of the angels within the arch when the doors were opened. The grace he has put in actions of themselves ungraceful, such as blowing a trumpet or beating a drum is truly marvellous. There is no affectation in the attitudes. The pure colour of the drapery, the fair white complexions, and golden hair, the sweet holy expression of their faces make them approach nearer the idea of angelic beings than any thing I ever beheld.²⁶

In Santa Croce, they sought out «one of the pictures we were curious to see. It is a fresco by Giotto of the last supper and Crucifixion which covers the whole wall at one end of the room».²⁷ She returned to Santa Croce again the next day, noting that, «[i]t is most interesting to observe the progress of art», she thinks none of the pupils of Giotto “possess his power and force, [but] there is always an advance to a closer representation of nature, life and action».²⁸ None of these artists, in her opinion, however, made the «astonishing progress of Masaccio, who stepped at once from an age when men were slowly groping their way in an awakening twilight to the full light».²⁹ On this first trip Horner was particularly captivated by Masaccio's works. «We drove to St Maria del Carmine where are the celebrated frescoes by Masaccio», she wrote, «They are indeed wonderful works, and being painted in the beginning of the 15th century, could have done honour to any period of the 16th».³⁰ Leaving Florence in 1848, she stopped at Masaccio's birthplace.³¹ Nevertheless, on this 1848 trip she pronounced the High-Renaissance painting, «The Fornarina by Raffaele» to be «the most perfect piece of painting I ever saw».³² Parmigianino, she reports, «did not please me, the figures are common».³³ When she returned to Florence in 1861, she admired Perugino's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (c. 1492) in the Accademia, whilst she also returned to her old favourites in the gallery: Cimabue, Giotto, and Fra Angelico.³⁴

But it was not only the works of the past that Horner studied, she also enthusiastically visited the studios of contemporary artists. In Rome in 1848, she visited the studios of contemporary artists such as Minardi, Glenny, and Penry Williams, as well as the studio of the sculptor, Gibson (of later 'Tinted Venus' fame).³⁵ She also visited the Roman studios of Tenerani, Capalti, Cochetti, and Timbrell. Horner saw this as an important part of her artistic education, writing in her first journal that:

Rome has this advantage over Florence, it is filled with artists at work, several of whose studio's [sic] I have visited, and to see new thoughts embodied in painting and sculpture round me, to see works of living genius, seems to give fresh ardour and stimulus to all my studies, and to enable me to appreciate more fully the work of those who are gone. (Rome 10 April 1848).

Studios were listed in John Murray's first guidebook in 1843 as tourist attractions, and Horner comments that she finds Overbeck's studio «crowded with English and Italians».³⁶ Overbeck is friendly, partly because «she gives him a letter from Mr Eastlake», a British painter and art collector, and the first director of the National Gallery in London.³⁷

On their first visit to Florence, the Horner sisters were taken by a professional guide, Gaetano Turchi, to Hiram Powers's studio. Turchi was a contemporary Roman painter who made a living as a guide to the polite classes of tourists and as a copiest, selling his renderings of Florentine old masters to British and American tourists. Powers was not at his studio when they arrived, so the sisters were able to look around freely. «We were delighted with the Fisher Boy and the Greek Slave», writes Horner, »I think his Greek Slave far exceeds Canova's Venus, and the head of the Venus de Medici is not to be named beside it ... Powers came in at last himself; he has a very interesting countenance, and a pleasing manner, and is very American».³⁸ In her 1860s journal, Horner pastes a studio photograph of «Hiram Powers the Sculptor», by then a very famous man.³⁹ Other than Powers's studio however, she does not record other visits to contemporary artists in Florence, and she seems to have viewed the city more as a vast museum than as a workshop of living art. Horner was herself an accomplished amateur sculptor. The American sculptor Gibson, «expressed a high opinion of her skill in modelling», and it was her medallion of Anna Jameson's face, sculpted «from a cast taken after death» that he used as the basis for his portrait bust of Jameson, now on display in London's National Portrait Gallery.⁴⁰

Genres of Knowledge (II): Sculpture and Architecture

Viewing Fiesole from the height of San Miniato al Monte in March 1848, Horner saw it as an «Etruscan city», and as she travelled around Tuscany and Umbria, she became increasingly fascinated by Etruscan culture.⁴¹ When they saw a sign for Etruscan tombs on the road to Foligno in Umbria, the family stopped the carriage and, «set to walk over the fields, among olive groves, guided by a boy».⁴² They were shown, «a curious and most interesting collection of monuments, vases and ornaments, which had been taken from the tombs».⁴³ Then they visited the tombs themselves:

We descended a flight of twenty steps into the rock. And entered the largest tomb... In the centre hung a beautiful little bronze genius, winged, and so finely formed, it would not disgrace Greek art...the head of a stone serpent of great size, and admirably carved, projected from the wall; a figure of the sun, with supporting genii and animals were carved over the entrance, and above the entrance to the second chamber beyond was a fine head of Apollo carved and coloured. On the ceiling of the second chamber, which was half the size of the first, was a very grand head of Medusa with the eyes coloured, and the teeth whitened, the lips being slightly apart, and the head very fine.⁴⁴

Horner attempts to calibrate and evaluate Etruscan art and culture by comparing it to the material culture of the classical Greeks with which she was more familiar: «[e]ach monument stands on a square sort of pedestal with a beautiful head of Greek form, and sometimes with a serpent ... twisted in the hair, in very high relief upon it».⁴⁵ The tomb carvings she compares to Greek examples in the British Museum. She was amazed by these Etruscan tombs, reflecting with awe that, «they have stood as we saw them for two thousand years».⁴⁶ When she got to Rome in May 1848, «[w]e drove to Campana's to see his celebrated Etruscan collection».⁴⁷ Horner notes that most of this collection consisted of items of pure gold, «except those where immense emeralds were introduced, which shew the Etruscans had communications with the East...The earrings are often in beautiful devices, such as a child standing on a bird etc».⁴⁸ On their second trip to Florence in the early 1860s, she and her mother bought modern jewellery designed to imitate these ancient Etruscan ornaments, but presumably without the «immense emeralds».⁴⁹

In the centre of Florence, Horner's first encounter with Benvenuto Cellini's *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (completed 1554) in the public Piazza della Signoria in 1848 was very direct and material: «He might have omitted the blood which looks like a bunch of wool out of the head and body», she wrote, «but both Perseus and the Medusa's

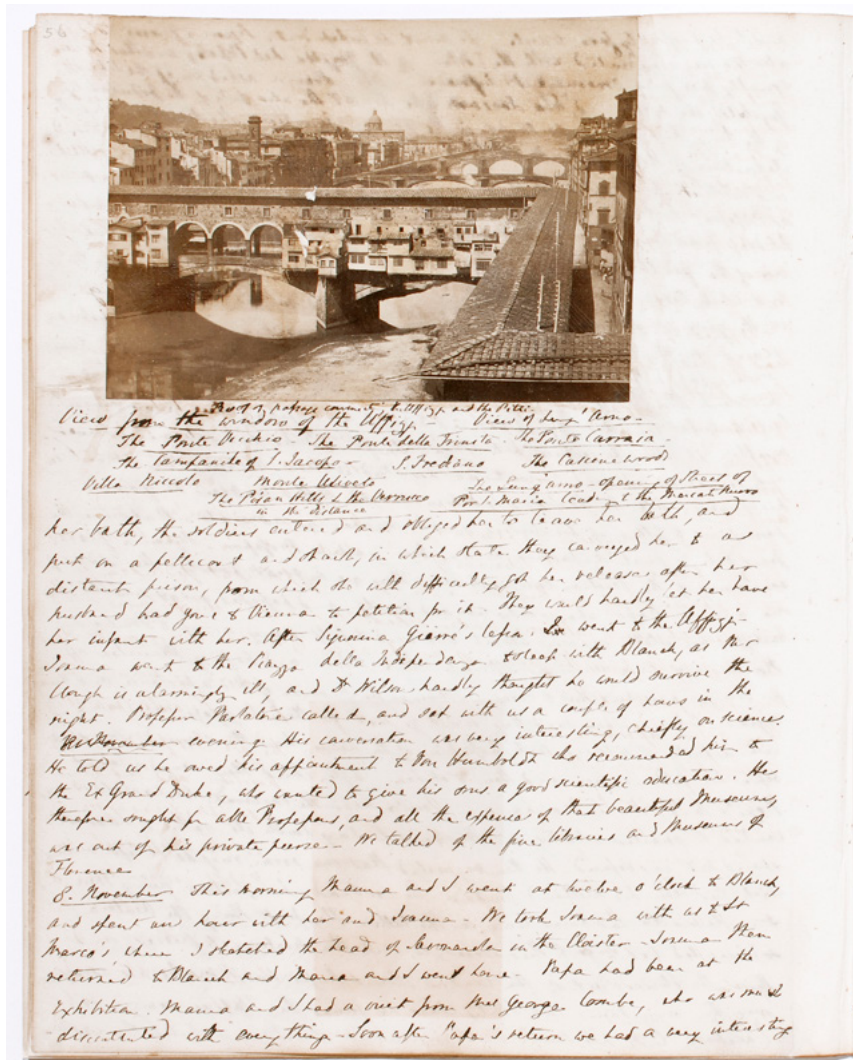
head are beautiful».⁵⁰ By the 1860s she is writing with far more sophistication about art, employing quite technical terms with confidence, but already in 1848, aware of the revolutionary feeling around her, she is clear about the value of public art for the citizens of Florence:

The house of Donatello is near this, and a marble inscription on it, calls the attention of passers by; I like this feeling in the Florentines, who cherish the recollection of their great men, but their works are constantly round then, not shut up in private houses as with us. The gallery of the Uffizi is open to all, as well as that of ... the Palazzo Pitti, and an excellent copy of the famous boar, as large as the original; and in bronze, is placed at the fountain of the Mercato Nuovo ... the David of Michael Angelo, the Perseus of Benvenuto Cellini, the Judith and Holofernes of Donatello, (which is however not beautiful) the Sabines, of Giovanni of Bologna are in the open streets, and must help to elevate and refine the minds of the common people.⁵¹

And she remarks again on this in 1861, visiting the Medici Chapel where, «[n]o fees are now allowed to be given – All is thrown open to the public» and «[w]e drove to the Bargello ... It has long been used as a prison, but is now cleaning out, and being converted into a museum of antiquities».⁵²

On her 1860s trip, when she stays for much longer in Florence, the Uffizi became her university. She sticks into her 1860s album a photographic view from a window of the Uffizi and then lists all the buildings and landmarks visible underneath (fig. 1). She is very attentive to the sculpture in the Uffizi, but also to the architecture of the gallery itself, and its connections to other buildings in central Florence. The interactions between sculpture and architecture always command her attention as is evidenced by a page of her journal where she has placed pictures of the sculptures within the gallery on the same page as a view of its external courtyard (fig. 2). «All the five statues are so excellent in their kind it is difficult to say which is most beautiful. The Apollino, the Scythian or Knife Grinder, the Lottatori or Wrestlers, and the Dancing Faun».⁵³

But in 1848 Horner does *not* see Michael Angelo's *David* as it, «was repairing and therefore hid from view».⁵⁴ In 1862 she pasted a photograph of the famous statue into the end of her journal and added a caption: «The David of Michael Angelo in the Piazza della Signore [sic] in front of the Palazzo Vecchio. The arm broken in a tumult by a bench thrown from the window above».⁵⁵ The photograph shows the statue still in the public square, with a fig leaf covering its genitals (fig. 3). In a new edition of their 1873 Guidebook published in 1877, the Horner sisters had to update information about the location of the statue which had been moved into the Accademia in 1873:



1. *A photographic view from a window of the Uffizi*, BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.

DURING the last two years, various changes have been made in the works of art in Florence. Many have been removed from their original positions to fill the public Museums. It is to be hoped that the changes already effected will be deemed sufficient, and that the streets and piazzas will be allowed to remain as they now are. The vacuum left by the removal of David from the place where Michael Angelo himself placed the statue, and the large modern houses which have replaced the old 'Tetto de' Pisani' (the former Post Office) on the west side of the Piazza della Signoria, have greatly altered the aspect of that most interesting centre of old Florence. The foreign visitor may ask why after so long a period, in which David stood sentinel before the Municipal Palace, he might not have been allowed to remain, and some shelter be contrived to protect him from the inclemency of the winter : but if this be matter of regret, there is greater reason to admire and approve of the new museums of San Marco, and of the Bargello; which last – the old dwelling of tyranny, the torture chamber, and the prison – has been converted into a receptacle for objects of artistic and historic value.⁵⁶



2. *External Courtyard of the Uffizi and Photographs of Sculptures*, BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.

On 15 September 1861, the king of the newly unified Italy, Vittorio Emanuele II, had inaugurated the first Italian National Exhibition of Agricultural and Industrial Products and Fine Arts in Florence at the recently obsolete Leopolda railway station at Porta al Prato. The exhibition ran for two months until 15 November 1861, and Horner and her family visited it often: «This morning Mamma Joanna and I spent

at the Exhibition – We were three hours there. Mamma stood it wonderfully, but I was ready to cry with fatigue». ⁵⁷ Despite her fatigue, Susan understood the political and economic importance of this national exhibition of trade and manufactures: «[T]he great benefit of the Exhibition has been in bringing Italians together from all parts of Italy; for it has been the policy of all the petty Italian States to keep them apart, which has had a most injurious effect on trade and manufactures. The Italians themselves have been surprised to find articles produced at home, which they believed could only be procured from England or France». ⁵⁸ At the Exhibition, she comments on *La Leggitrice*, a celebrated contemporary sculpture by Pietro Magni of a seated young girl reading a book. Horner understands that this is a nationalistic piece, and that this is why it is attracting so much attention: a poor girl sits on a battered rush-seated chair reading a book. Around the girl's neck is a pendant portrait medallion of the Italian patriot Giuseppe Garibaldi. A tear trickles down one of her cheeks. In the original exhibited sculpture, the lines of a poem by Niccolini were legible in the book, celebrating Lombard freedom in 1848. ⁵⁹ Horner admires the statue

3. *The David of Michael Angelo in the Piazza della Signoria, BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.*



and sticks into her album-journal two different photographic views of it which are, she writes, gifts from her mother.⁶⁰

Genres of Knowledge (III): Politics

As she travels down the continent in 1847 and 1848, Horner tracks the fermenting revolutionary feeling through France and into Italy: «[i]t is a most exciting time. Everybody has a cockade, and popular hopes for the support of Pope Pius the Ninth (Pio Nonno) are running high».⁶¹ At the end of January she hears that in Naples, «two Neapolitan youths paraded the streets of Naples with a green and red umbrella tied together with a white handkerchief. They were soon followed by a great concourse of people who in these colours recognised the ensign of liberty». Consequently, «Genoa is in the greatest excitement on the occasion of this advantage gained by a sister kingdom [Naples], men, women and children of all classes are in the streets, and the whole city is illuminated». (1 February 1848) And from Genoa at the beginning of 1848, she writes that, «[t]he most singular thing in the city is the strong political feeling displayed everywhere. Singing is heard at night below our windows in beautiful songs; ‘Viva la liberta’». She is excited by «Illuminations at Sestri [near Genoa] for the the [sic] nearly granted constitution».⁶² Four days later, the Tuscan Constitution was granted. On the road from Assisi to Narni on 27 March, the Horner family encounter, «a detachment of soldiers from Rome ... on their way to the frontier to fight the Austrians and all cheered as they passed us; ‘Viva Pio Nono, Viva l’Italia!’».⁶³ The Horners left Florence at the end of March 1848 and made their way to Rome where they stayed until the end of May, when they packed and departed for Civitavecchia to embark on the *Ariel* on 1 June 1848. But one day into their voyage, the ship foundered on rocks and started to sink, and Horner’s first journal concludes with a powerful account of the shipwreck, which was thankfully survived by everybody on board.⁶⁴

A great deal happened in Italy after the summer of 1848 while the Horners were back in England, and when they returned to Florence in the early 1860s, they gathered retrospective political news from the locals. Their Italian teacher, Signorina Giarre, whom Horner describes as «an ardent patriot and a poet», proved to be a rich source of information about all that had happened.⁶⁵ She told them about the cruel treatment of Venetian refugees by the Austrian soldiers, and she recounted her own brother’s experience of being beaten up and not being allowed to return to his studies at the University of Pisa after 1848.⁶⁶ She told them too about a fourteen-year-old boy, the son of



a friend of hers, who was asked the time in German, did not understand, shrugged, and was beaten so badly by the soldiers that he died.⁶⁷ Their lessons became as much lessons about counter-revolutionary violence as in the Italian language. Signorina Giarre described the day the Austrians marched back into Florence in 1849: «She saw them march into Florence with green branches in sign of victory, and she rushed into a shop to hide her tears, and to avoid the hated site [sic] of the enemy».⁶⁸ This is the moment that Elizabeth Barrett Browning memorably dramatized in her poem *Casa Guidi Windows*, Part Two of which opens with an echoing emptiness as the Austrians march into Florence. Barrett Browning also remembered that «[t]he people shrank back to let them pass, in the deepest silence ... not a word spoken, scarcely a breath drawn».⁶⁹

The Italian struggle continued. A multipage entry in the 1860s journal records Horner's pilgrimage to the place where Garibaldi had embarked for Sicily in 1860. A sketch of Joanna writing at a desk faces a sketch of the embarkment point, marked with a rock and a star, and the specimen of a sea plant that they gathered on the spot, pressed and

4. *A Trip to the Embarkment Point of Garibaldi*, BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.

stuck into the album, along with a transcription of the inscription on the rock(fig. 4). In this multimedia entry politics, text, and image are swept together into an affective collage. Joanna slipped into the water in her eagerness to get close to the scene of the great man's exploits, and although in the end she escaped with wet feet and a bruise or two, this anecdote reminds us of another index of knowledge: the body. Several photographs of Garibaldi are pasted in these pages. Sharon Marcus has argued that the placing and reworking of found images in scrapbooks was a process of «getting closer to and animating» the pictured person.⁷⁰ She thinks about how placing that 'body' on the page creates force fields and affective zones around it, showing how unusual and creative page-placement can produce almost kinetic, animated effects. Horner's pages on the Garibaldi pilgrimage in the 1860s journal are highly affective both as a collection of 'objects' and as a display of political faith.

In the Florence of the 1860s, the Horners' political focus had shifted. Horner was now more actively interested in social reform and nation-building infrastructural projects, and particularly in female education. She and Joanna were taken by Signorina Giarre to visit a recently established School for Girls.⁷¹ In her 1860s journal, Horner seems more confident in the Italian language, and she is consequently better informed about Italian politics. As her Italian improved, she records attending public lectures given by Italian university professors, practising Italian verbs, studying histories of Italy, and reading the local newspapers. She also glues Italian newspaper cuttings into her journal, one on Florentine schools, for example, and another on Baron Ricàsolì's resignation. This use of clipped and glued-in printed text draws attention to the importance of circulating print in Florence in this revolutionary period and also to the ways in which Horner co-opts print media into her manuscript journal.

Genres of Knowledge (IV): Text and Print

In both her journals, Horner makes the liveliness of Italian periodical and serial print tangible and visible. When the Constitution was granted in early 1848, Horner noticed that «the political excitement which still exists in every shop and street which is all alive with news respecting the public events of the day. The king is granting liberal measures, and allows newspapers to circulate and a liberty of the press which surprises even me».⁷² Horner might be surprised partly because her fellow Britons certainly did not enjoy any such freedom of the press. I have discussed at length elsewhere the power of newly uncen-

sored and circulating print to create a sense of connection between ordinary working people across Europe, allowing them to identify for the first time as part of the same serial European struggle, and also to be identified as participating of this movement.⁷³ On her way through Europe in 1847–1848, Horner noticed that the newspaper serials of Eugène Sue, which were important in diffusing radical political ideas across European boundaries, were very much read by the common people in Paris, «but not as much as in Germany where already there have been six different translations of the *Mystères de Paris*». ⁷⁴ In Genoa when censorship is lifted, she remarks that: «the booksellers' shops are full of works, novels, political pamphlets all on the same subject». New series are starting up all over Florence: she notes, for example, that the «3rd [word crossed out] number has already appeared of a radical newspaper called *La Lega Italiana* edited by M. Mammiani [sic]». ⁷⁵ Florence was a rich source of print culture, producing liberal English-language journals such as the «Tuscan Athenaeum» (1847–48), and daily newspapers including «La Nazione» (founded in 1859) and «La Gazzetta del Popolo» (1848–1983). Horner rejoices at «how many fine private libraries there are in Florence, and the number of booksellers. They are very liberal lending their books. Professore [sic] Parlatore has just sent me a fresh supply». ⁷⁶ She often visited the Gabinetto Vieusseux, founded in 1819, the famous Florentine library open to women as well as men, which was intended to put nascent Italian culture into conversation with that of other European countries, and which was a central meeting place for politically-minded intellectuals in Tuscany during the 1840s.

Horner is an aspiring author in 1848, but by the 1860s, she has become more professional in her interest in publishing and print, noting the economics of the newly liberalised book trade in Italy: «[Prof Migliarini] said that even books on art were not allowed formerly to pass from one part of Italy to another and the consequence was the sale was not sufficient to repay the author, as especially on such a subject not above fifty or sixty copies would sell». ⁷⁷ On this visit to Italy, Horner is also busy publishing her own writing: «Chambers has accepted my little translation» she writes modestly from Florence in 1862, and her article duly appears as *Austrian Rule in Tuscany under the Grand Duke Leopold II, 1849* in «Chambers Journal» in 1862. ⁷⁸ Around this time she was also reading the final volume of poems by Barrett Browning. Horner incorporates a translation by an Italian friend of part of one of the poems in this collection into her 1861–2 album. «Genio e Virtù / tradotto da Dall'Ongaro - dalla poema di [sic] Signora Elisabetta



Browning». (Lines translated from EBB 26 April 1862) «Extract from 'A Court Lady', *Poems Before Congress* (1860).»⁷⁹ Barrett Browning had died in Florence in June 1861, a few months before the Horner family arrived in the city, so Horner was never able to visit the famous author of *Casa Guidi Windows*. The handwritten translation of Barrett Browning's poem in her journal seems to function not only as a kind of homage to the dead poet, but also as a self-conscious material mediation between English and Italian politics. The 1860s album contains several such displays of homage to important heroes and heroines of the Risorgimento, such as Cavour; Vittorio Emanuele II; Riscoli; Mamiani; Farini; and d'Azeglio; and others (fig. 5).

The miscellaneity of the 1861–1862 album is particularly striking as it captures such a wide variety of different print forms. Occasionally it is possible to identify a print, as with the «Costume della Misericordia di Firenze [sic]. Dress of the Misericordia mourners, Florence». Horner tips in this brightly-coloured print into the section of her 1861 journal in which she describes a striking encounter on the street, «[t]his morning I was startled by one of the Fraternità di Misericordia – a figure

5. Portrait Photographs of Italian and European Political Heroes, BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.

dressed in shining black stuff from head to foot, with only two slits for his eyes, and holding a white box for money, who stood suddenly in my path and shook it at me without speaking, however I suppose he saw I did not understand him, for he did not pursue me» (fig. 6).⁸⁰ Horner's print was first published by Giovanni Barducci in 1830, one of a series of hand-coloured aquatints produced for tourists.⁸¹

Genres of Knowledge (V): The Body

Horner visualizes and thereby establishes the bodily presence of her family in Florence with a sketch of «A: Our house in the Piazza Pitti; B: House of Machiavelli. The windows of the family's rooms are numbered. Established in lodgings in the Casa Fabbiani [sic]. «We are exactly opposite the Palazzo Pitti – within five minutes of the Natural His. Museum in the Via Romana, and ten minutes of the Uffizi Gallery Library etc across the Arno» (fig. 7).⁸² She zooms in further to map the interior of their living quarters, making a very detailed room plan of the space that they shared during this trip to Florence, locating the bodies of her family when sleeping, waking, and working, with

6. 'Costume della Misericordia di Firenze, Aquatint print by Giovanni Barducci,' BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.





quite surprising precision. «In this house we spent eight happy months ending in our greatest sorrow and leaving a sweet but sad memory» (fig. 8).⁸³ She refers here to the death of her beloved mother on 22 May 1862. But there was an unexpected birth too. The Horners' servant did not seem to know she was pregnant and surprised everyone by giving birth to a baby girl, Joanna Horner Zileri on or around 14 December 1861. Horner pasted the baby's photograph and a pencil sketch of her into her journal, and both the Horner sisters were closely engaged with her care.⁸⁴ So Florence was experienced by Horner not only as a kind of living library or history, but also as the location of corporeal suffering, death, and grief, as well as the scene of new life and unfamiliar childcare duties.⁸⁵ Alongside the Etruscan vases and splendid Raphaels, there were the inescapable and gendered obligations of care for the sick and for the very young.

Indeed, Horner often described her experience as embodied in the journal and bodily discomforts sometimes impeded her. In 1848 she complained that it gets too dark «to see the pictures well» in the Vatican galleries and a «hot scirocco» wind interrupted a sketching expedi-

7. Our House in the Piazza Pitti, BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.



tion to the ruins of the Palatine Hill, because «the wind and dust became so intolerable».⁸⁶ In 1861 they had to let go a maid, «who is dirty and takes snuff,” and in a church one Sunday, «[t]here was a dirty man before us who nearly made Joanna sick by a smell of old tobacco».⁸⁷ Horner had a particularly difficult experience with her crinoline on the way to the Church of the SS Annunziata:

I felt an odd sensation at my feet and saw my steel petticoat coming down, I got my hand into my pocket-hole, and held it up until we reached the cloister of St. Mark's when I rushed in, as two boys rushed out to hear a military band playing in the Piazza. I had just time to drop it, pick it up and tuck it under my shawl.

Her sketching at the Uffizi was also interrupted by insufferable English tourists, «talk[ing] loud and often on mere gossip».⁸⁸ Her journal entries sometimes shrink and dwindle as she suffers from «toothache and is taking quinine», or headaches, or Joanna has a bad night, «which we attributed to indigestion from hard ham».⁸⁹

To mitigate such discomforts, the Horner women did a lot of shopping in Florence, «foolishly wasting [their] time» browsing in pho-

8. *Internal Plan of House in the Piazza Pitti*, BIF Horner 1861. Credit: The British Institute of Florence Archive.

tograph shops and buying bonnets, boots, velvet and silk, jewellery, music scores, and, of course, books.⁹⁰ Horner is frequently to be found at *Chiostrì*, ordering books, or calling «about my boots».⁹¹ She orders «a new brown quilted silk» bonnet for herself, and they buy «a green bonnet for Mamma», and she and her mother go to «*Marsili's* and fixed on a ring for Papa».⁹² More serious purchases were made at the Uffizi where, «I received fourteen casts of gems I had ordered», and Horner also visited the studio of engraver Achill Paris, «where we have discovered the most beautiful photographs from drawings made by the engraver for the pictures of the Uffizi. Mamma ordered ten from different pictures and I ordered three».⁹³ In December 1861, Horner's father had his photograph taken by the famous Florence photographers, «Allinari [sic] with his head resting on his hand».⁹⁴

There were some bodily Florentine sights that Horner probably did not see. She was shown around La Specola, the Museum of Zoology and Natural History in Florence, by her friend, Professor Parlato, who showed her, «the minerals, shells, insects, birds in the museum, as well as some of the wonderful waxworks. The interior of the silkworm magnified was wonderful ... The wax copies of plants are the most beautiful».⁹⁵ Horner does not mention the extraordinary anatomical wax models of the human body in the museum, and Parlato probably did not show them to her, although women were allowed into the anatomy galleries. Robert Browning had advised his wife Elizabeth Barrett Browning not to view them, presumably for reasons of female modesty.⁹⁶

Genres of Knowledge (VI): Journal, Album, Scrapbook, Memoir, Guidebook

This brief article has only begun to represent the eclecticism and multiple generic identities of the curious manuscript objects which are Horner's two travel journals. The porosity of their form is commensurate with the palimpsestic nature of the cities of Italy that Horner is temporarily inhabiting. As she walks around Pisa and Florence, she is constantly and physically aware of the vanishments of the past. In Pisa in 1848, for example, her historical imaginings and the hauntings of past centuries overlay the modern city that she sees in front of her: «[we walked] through the Piazza where once stood the Torre del Fame where Ugolino and his children were starved to death».⁹⁷ And in the 1860s journal, Horner records reading in the Gabinetto Vieusseux in Florence with her sister Joanna before they, «took a historical walk home».⁹⁸ It must have been hard to take any other kind of walk in

Florence. Quite apart from what was still there, there was always more that was «once there» too. This is Horner's account from her 1860s journal of her visit to the quarter of the city known as Mercato Vecchio (the old market):

We then went to the Mercato Vecchio – such a dirty place, but the oldest part of Florence, where the houses of the great citizens once stood. We walked through dirty narrow streets, full of strange high houses and blacksmiths and leather dressers shops, past the old piazza where the church of San Miniato fra le Torre [sic] once stood and the Towers which mark what once was the first circuit of walls and past San Biagio, the old Church which once held the relics of stones from Jerusalem, brought by the Crusaders, when the Pazzi planted the first Christian banner on the walls of the Holy City. The relics are now preserved in the S. Apostoli.⁹⁹

In their third (1884) edition of *Walks in Florence*, the Horners were still able to include a chapter outlining a walk around this area, 'The Ghetto - Mercato Vecchio':

Beyond the Ghetto is the Mercato Vecchio, the old market of Florence, once the centre of the houses of the nobility and the pride of the citizens. Here ... were the sumptuous habitations of the most distinguished Florentines, who spent six months of the year in their villas outside the walls, whose dress was modest, and living simple ... Antonio Pucci, a poet ... describes the 'Piazza' as it appeared in his days, early in the fourteenth century, and soon after the time of Dante. Pucci's poem is called 'La Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio'.¹⁰⁰

But only a few years later, this whole area of Florence, a bustling commercial hub since Roman times, was demolished and the Piazza della Repubblica was constructed in its place.

Perhaps the scrap-album format is the best for capturing this fragile palimpsestic version of Florence which is both living and dead. Photographs were only fairly recently available and affordable in the 1860s, and there is more to say about Horner's enthusiastic use of the modern technique of photography to supply herself with images of the Florentine past. Her journals, these collections of material, clearly aided Horner when she and Joanna came to produce their very successful guide to Florence, *Walks in Florence*. They structured their guide around the idea of walking: a bodily activity that keeps the city constantly in movement before us and can accommodate the unexpected and the random.

Walks in Florence was greeted enthusiastically by the London reviewers. The «Athenaeum» declared that, «that 'freshness of experience', which is so welcome in books of this sort, abounds here» and it later remembered the work as, «a charming handbook to the artistic,

historical, and other treasures of [Florence]». ¹⁰¹ The *Examiner* welcomed it as «[a] thoroughly practical, trustworthy, elaborate, and, we might even say, an exhaustive guidebook». ¹⁰² But the reviews are prejudiced, too. While unable to deny the merits of the book, the «*Athenaeum*» carps about the uncritical praise bestowed on Florence by these female authors. Because, «[t]he tastes of ladies incline so gracefully towards all that is sweet and gentle», for example, they underestimate «the masculine art of Donatello» in favour of that of Ghiberti. ¹⁰³ The conservative «*Saturday Review*» is mealy mouthed too, complaining that, «the style is timidly pruned down to almost a bald simplicity, and though praise is due for the suppression of that emotional writing which is the bane of female authors when they approach fine-art topics ... [this is too often rendered] in the style of a catalogue or inventory». ¹⁰⁴ It seems that the female author is blamed for «bald simplicity», while equally blamed for «emotional writing». Anyway, the British public ignored these undeserved criticisms, and the book became a classic of tourist literature in the late nineteenth century. ¹⁰⁵ *Walks in Florence* was referenced by name by Henry James in his in *Italian Hours*, when he describes himself «wander[ing] hither and thither» in an Autumnal Florence. ¹⁰⁶ William Dean Howells recalls in his *Tuscan Cities* that he walked around Florence with «Miss Horner's faithful and trusty» guidebook in his hand: «[i]n the meanwhile I did my duty in Santa Maria Novella. I looked conscientiously at all the pictures, in spite of a great deal of trouble I had in putting on my glasses to read my 'Walks in Florence' and taking them off to see the paintings». ¹⁰⁷

Horner's journals were carefully preserved and probably enjoyed by all the members of her family, and perhaps by her close friends too. The scrap-book, the journal and the album share a genealogy with the older forms of the miscellany and the commonplace book. Commonplaces [*loci communes*] were originally places on a page or in a text that stood out or were marked and were visited by many. These places, or 'topics', '*Topoi* – *topos*', invite communal reading and sharing; as Andrew Piper says, «the format of the miscellany strongly responded to a social need to have literature in common». ¹⁰⁸ The journal-scrapbook, inviting sociability, also responds to a social need to hold a culture in common. Guidebooks share this sociability with scrapbook albums: both are designed to be interactive objects, calling forth a mode of participative meaning-making from their readers, and demanding that reading and looking is creatively combined with thinking and imagining. And both scrapbooks and guidebooks are records of attempts

to organise the experience of mobility. Both can be shared and used simultaneously by a community of readers, viewers, or tourists. James Secord has pointed to how scrapbook albums became «a tangible memorial of wider networks of sociability».¹⁰⁹ So do guidebooks, in that they map the links between present and the past, suggesting a community and a culture shared between the living and the dead. Horner's two manuscript Florentine journals are not then recast or transformed into the guidebook *Walks in Florence*: they are simply remediated into a cognate print form.

Warm thanks are due to the British Institute of Florence who have kindly allowed me to reproduce images in this article from the diaries in the Horner Collection.

¹ I have made this argument in more detail elsewhere. See Clare Pettitt, *Topos, Taxonomy, and Travel in Nineteenth-Century Women's Scrapbooks*, in *Travel Writing, Visual Culture, and Form, 1760–1900*, edited by Mary Henes and Brian H. Murray, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2016, pp. 21–41 and Clare Pettitt, *Scott Unbound*, in Clare Pettitt, *Serial Forms: The Unfinished Project of Modernity, 1815–1848*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2020, pp. 69–106, and on scrap books particularly, pp. 82–93.

² Sharon Marcus, *Theatrical Scrapbooks*, «The Theatrical Survey» 54.2, 283–307, 2013, p. 303.

³ Paul Smethurst, *Introduction*, in *Travel Writing, Form and Empire: The Poetic and Politics of Mobility*, edited by Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, Routledge, New York, 2009, pp. 1–18: p. 7.

⁴ See Hannah Sikstrom, *Susan Horner's Journeys, Journals and Gems: The Unpublished Travel Accounts of an Intellectual Woman in Italy*, «Women's Writing», vol. 24, issue II, 2017, pp. 230–231. Sikstrom's thoughtful article, in which she notes that, «[n]either Susan Horner nor her sisters have been the subject of a published book or article to this date» (p. 230), seems to remain the only published discussion of these manuscript diaries. In her article, Sikstrom makes the argument that, «[b]y examining these two travel diaries as spaces in which their author could develop a scholarly authority which came to fruition in her published writing, this essay also brings into play the interconnecting relationship between manuscript and print texts». (p. 228).

⁵ Sikstrom claims that both journals were compiled at home in England, *ivi*, p. 237.

⁶ Leigh Hunt, *Pocket-books and Keepsakes*, in *The Keepsake*, Hurst, Chance & Co., London, 1828, pp. 1–18: p. 7.

⁷ For an interesting discussion of a different kind of woman's 'political' scrapbook, in which are collected newspaper and periodical cuttings arranged under headings with minimal discursive comment from the scrap-booker, see Zoë Kinsley, *Cutting and Pasting the Popular Press: the Scrapbooks of Dorothy Richardson (1748–1819)*, «Bulletin of the John Rylands Library», vol. 96, issue I, 2020, pp. 77–98.

⁸ A brief bibliography of Horner's works: E.O.S. [Susan Horner], *Hungary and its Revolutions from the Earliest Period to the Nineteenth Century: With a Memoir of Lajos Kossuth* (1854); Pietro Colletta, *History of the Kingdom of Naples, 1734–1825* [trans. Susan Horner] (1858); Susan Horner, *A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily* (1860); Susan Horner, *The Tuscan Poet Giuseppe Giusti, and His Times* (1864); Joanna Horner and Susan Horner, *Walks in Florence and Its Environs* (1873); Susan Horner, *Greek Vases: Historical and Descriptive: with some brief notices of vases in the Museum of the Louvre: and a selection from vases in the British Museum* (1897).

⁹ A second edition appeared in 1877 and in 1884, «The Saturday Review» welcomed a revised and extended edition of *Walks in Florence*, «a book long known and valued by visitors to and residents in that city». *Walks in Florence*, «The Saturday Review», 12 July 1884, p.63.

¹⁰ The Horner Collection, Archive of the British Institute at Florence, Acquisition Number A5, The British Institute at Florence Library. The library records that «[n]o information is recorded on the donation. However, it is likely that the two volumes of Journals written by Susan Horner were given to the Library of the British Institute sometime between 1950 and 1964 by Susan Horner

Zileri. Zileri was the second daughter of two companion servants to the Horner family and was adopted by Susan and Joanna Horner after the deaths of both her parents». See <https://www.britishinstitute.it/en/library-services/horner-collection> (accessed: June 26).

¹¹ For an extended discussion of Clough's poem, see Clare Pettitt, *Under Siege*, in Clare Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions 1848: Writing, Politics, Form*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2022, pp. 190–226.

¹² Susan Horner Journal 1847–1848, The Horner Collection, The British Institute of Florence Archive, Acquisition Number A5 (14 November 1861), f. 35. Hereafter this journal is referred to as 'BIF Horner 1848'.

¹³ [Anon.], *Literature: A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily by Susan Horner*, «Daily News», 11 September 1860.

¹⁴ [Anon.], *A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily by Susan Horner*, «Economist», 10 November 1860.

¹⁵ Hannah Sikstrom notes that «According to British Institute of Florence archivist Alyson Price, the sisters returned to Florence sometime after their father's death in 1864. Alyson Price, «Horner Questions», email to Hannah Sikstrom, 12 Dec. 2011». Sikstrom, *Susan Horner's Journeys*, *cit.*, p. 247, note 49.

¹⁶ *Miss Ann Susan Horner*, «Athenaeum», 15 December 1900, pp. 793–794.

¹⁷ Susan Horner Journal 1861–1862, The Horner Collection, The British Institute of Florence Archive, Acquisition Number A5 (14 November 1861), p. 16 (v). Hereafter this journal is referred to as 'BIF Horner 1861'.

¹⁸ BIF Horner 1861, p. 68 (v).

¹⁹ (20 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 37v. The sketch is subtitled as taken from the picture «in the Academia [sic]», although elsewhere in the journal, Horner says, «Took Joanna to St Marco's, where I sketched the head of Savanorola in the Cloister» (8 No-

vember 1861), f. 29. In the 1860s journal, Horner records working with her father on his English translation of a history of Savonarola by the Italian historian Pasquale Villari. Pasquale Villari, *The History of Girolamo Savonarola, and of His Times*, trans. Leonard Horner, 2 vols, Longman, Roberts and Green, London, 1863.

²⁰ BIF Horner 1861 (12 November 1861), f. 33.

²¹ Sikstrom, *Susan Horner's Journeys*, cit., p. 232.

²² John Ruskin, «The Elements of Drawing» [1857] in *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, National Library Association, Project Gutenberg, p. xii. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/30325/30325-h/30325-h.htm> (access: June 2026).

²³ In Lucca cathedral Horner quotes Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol.2. on the monument to Ilaria Caretto Giunigi. (4 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 34v.

²⁴ (21 February 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 31v.

²⁵ (15 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 44.

²⁶ (9 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 39.

²⁷ (14 March 1848) Horner describes Santa Croce as «a very ancient and interesting church and monastery of the Franciscans» and she remarks that «the ancient refectory» is «(now alas! A carpet manufactory)» BIF Horner 1848, f. 42v.

²⁸ (15 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 43.

²⁹ (15 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 43–43v.

³⁰ (14 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 42.

³¹ (23 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 45v. «We stopped at Giovanni [now San Giovanni Valdarno] yesterday to see the birthplace of Masaccio and some pictures in the church by him».

³² (9 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 39v

³³ (9 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 39v.

³⁴ (20 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 37v. At the Accademia, «We looked at Christ on the Mount of Olives by Perugino which Joanna admired as much as I do – at the head of Savonarola by Fra Bartolomeo, of which I took a sketch in my Memo Book – of the Last judgement by Fra Angelico, the two Madonnas by Cimabue and Giotto, the Adoration of the Kings by Gentile da Fabriano, and the wonderful little paintings by Giotto and Fra Angelico».

³⁵ «Mr Gibson took us to Mr Minardi's studio. It was our second visit, and he was again out, but we saw his drawings, which are more beautiful and perfect than any I have seen. As he is the first draughtsman in Europe, Mr Gibson has advised my taking lessons from him... I visited the studio of Mr Gleny who paints in watercolours, views of Rome and the Campagna. We also visited Mr Penry Williams and saw his paintings». (8 April 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 50v. «We visited Overbeck. His drawings are indeed beautiful, simple and somewhat in the severer style of the early masters... They were all in chalk or sepia. The rooms were much crowded with English and Italians». (9 April 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 51v. «At three we called for Mr Gibson at his studio. He shewed us a beautiful drawing he is making, and also some engravings from his works very well executed; he then accompanied us to the Vatican, where Charles and Frances walked through the Gallery together, and Mr Gibson showed me its wonders». (10 April 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 51v.

³⁶ (9 April 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 51v. Johann Friedrich Overbeck was a German painter and a founder of the Nazarene Movement. John Murray's 1843 guide says that artists' studios in Rome are «capable of affording the highest interest to the intelligent travel-

ler,» and lists the addresses of the most prominent contemporary artists in the city. «Rome: Artists' Studios in [Octavian Blewitt], *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy, including the Papal states, Rome, and the cities of Etruria, with a Traveling Map*, (London: John Murray and Son, 1843), pp. 457–459, p. 457.

³⁷ Horner writes about these studio visits, «We visited the studio of Tenerani, with Mr Gibson; we saw his lovely figure of spring; a young tender girl advancing timidly, throws flowers from her lap... in the ideal of Tenerani there is less that is classical than in Gibson, but more roundness and loveliness; Perhaps more picturesque beauty.» (22 May 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 59v. «We visited the studio of Capalti. Disappointed in his finished pictures; his cartoon drawings grand, but imitations of an earlier style ... We also visited the studio of Signor Cochetti. A grand drawing of Solomon's judgement very original in conception, and some beautiful pictures in tempera. He showed us some fine old pictures in his possession; a Fra Angelico...» (22 May 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 59v. «We revisited Ternani's studio with Mr Gibson, and saw the figures for General Bolivar's monument ... Visited the studio of Mr Timbrell. His statue of a Hindu woman pouring oil in her lamp floating on the river quite beautiful. It is a great privilege to have seen the Eternal city and the works of Raffaele, and Michael Angelo. Oh! That they could impress themselves for ever on my mind! Michael Angelo is a giant among men, but Raffaele was sent to teach us all that is lovely and good and pure on earth.» (29 May 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 60–60v. For a broader discussion of Lord Eastlake's relationship with Tuscany, his engagement with its artistic heritage, and her role in shaping British perceptions of Italian art, readers are referred to the contribution by Susanna Avery-Quash in this volume.

³⁸ (14 March 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 43.

³⁹ (31 December 1861), BIF Horner 1861, f. 49v.

⁴⁰ 'Miss Ann Susan Horner', «Athenaeum» (15 December 1900), pp. 793–794, p. 793. Anna Brownell Jameson was a pioneering writer and art historian and a close friend of Horner's. The «Athenaeum» refers to Gibson as «Mrs. Gibson», presumably in error. The National Gallery London collections website records that: «In honour of Jameson, her friend Susan Homer [sic] commissioned a bust in May 1860 and approached a mutual friend John Gibson (1790–1866). The sculptor agreed to create an image for £50, in recognition of his respect for Jameson, and completed it by autumn 1862. The marble bust, together with a plinth on which was inscribed a laudatory inscription, was initially given to the South Kensington Museum (V&A), but following concerns about its poor display, it was moved to the National Portrait Gallery in 1883». <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/john-gibson-anna-brownell-jameson-nee-murphy> (accessed: June 2026).

⁴¹ (16 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 44v.

⁴² (26 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 47.

⁴³ (*Ibidem*).

⁴⁴ (26 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 47–47v.

⁴⁵ (26 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 47.

⁴⁶ (26 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 47v.

⁴⁷ (25 May 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 60. Giampietro Campana (1808–1880), was created Marchese di Cavelli in 1849. He was an Italian art collector who assembled one of the nineteenth century's greatest collection of Greek and Roman sculpture and antiquities. He was also an early collector of early Italian paintings, the so-called

'primitives' of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

⁴⁸ (25 May 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 60.

⁴⁹ Horner went «to some shops – buying a beautiful little gold Etruscan ring for Papa to present to Mamma on her birthday.» (19 December 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 46v. In Florence for Christmas 1861 «Mamma gave us each a pretty little pair of coral earrings set in the Etruscan manner». (25 December 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 48.

⁵⁰ (9 March 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 38v.

⁵¹ (13 March 1848), BIF Horner 1848, f. 41v.

⁵² (4 November 1861), BIF Horner 1861, f. 26v. (9 November 1861), BIF Horner 1861, f. 31v.

⁵³ (15 October 1861), BIF Horner 1861, f. 56–56v.

⁵⁴ (9 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 38v.

⁵⁵ (22 June 1862) BIF Horner 1861, f. 83v.

⁵⁶ Susan and Joanna Horner, *Introduction* in Susan and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence* Henry S. King & Co., London, 1877, pp. v–vi.

⁵⁷ (17 October 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 28v.

⁵⁸ (11 November 1861), BIF Horner 1861, f. 31v.

⁵⁹ Many copies of this celebrated statue were later produced, and the lines of verse in the book by Italian poet and playwright Giovanni Battista Niccolini (1782–1861) were not always reproduced. A British critic who viewed the work when it was re-exhibited at the 1862 International Exhibition in London wrote: «Magni's 'Reading Girl,' truthful not only to the hem of a garment, to the turned leaf of the book, and the torn rushes from the bottom of cottage chair, but earnest as if the whole soul drank of the poetry and was filled, moves with a heartfelt pathos.» J. Beavington Atkinson, *International Exhibi-*

tion, 1862, «The Art-Journal» I, [new series], 1862, p. 214.

⁶⁰ The photographs are pasted into BIF Horner 1861, f. 28. Horner writes about the exhibition: «One of the finest statues here is Sappho by Dupré; French by birth but Italian by birth and a «co-dino» – Another by Magni a Milanese, attracts still more attention, though of the Natura Vistas school – *La Leggittrice* [sic] – a girl reading on Italy.» (4 November 1861), BIF Horner 1861, f. 26v.

⁶¹ Horner describes «cockades like stars, red, green and white for the people and yellow for the Pope, with a little silver medal with the head of Pius fastened in the centre». (On the road from Assisi to Narni 27 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 48. For an impressively detailed analysis of the representation of Risorgimento politics by British women travellers to Italy in the same period that Horner is writing about, see Rebecca Butler, *Revisiting Italy: British Women Travel Writers and the Risorgimento (1844–61)* (New York and Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2021). Butler describes the book as investigating «the convergence of political advocacy, gender ideologies, national identity and literary authority in women's travel writing.» n.p. She is mostly concerned with published travel accounts although she devotes a chapter to Florence Nightingale's letters from Rome written during her stay in the city from 1847 to 1848. These letters were not published during Nightingale's lifetime. See Mary Keele, ed., *Florence Nightingale in Rome: Letters Written by Florence Nightingale in Rome in the Winter of 1847–1848*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1981). For another excellent account of gendered responses to the Italian question, this time in verse, see Alison Chapman, *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840–1870*, Oxford

University Press, Oxford, 2015. See also Jane Stabler, *The Artistry of Exile: Romantic and Victorian Writers in Italy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013.

⁶² (14 February 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 28.

⁶³ (27 March 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 48. Horner had written in Genoa that «Signor Mammiani [sic] has been calling, and we talked much with him on the present state of Italy. He says there never was a time when all Italy went hand in hand as now, steadily and quietly advancing towards one object. He has hope even for Lombardy. One remarkable difference between this, and all former revolutions is, that a large proportion of the clergy have joined the liberal cause». (2 February 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 23.

⁶⁴ Horner is rightly angry at the misogyny of the responsible shipping company, however: «The damage and loss to our goods was great but the Oriental Company refused all compensation and barely returned us our passage money though our loss was not occasioned by stress of weather but by the misconduct of their captain; but the passengers were almost all women; 17 ladies, an officer on leave, a sick clergyman, and a doctor.» (2 June 1848) BIF Horner 1848, n.p.

⁶⁵ (6 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 28.

⁶⁶ (6 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 29.

⁶⁷ (14 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 34v.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁹ EBB to Henrietta Moulton-Barrett (Florence -23 - [2]4 - [2]5 - [May 1849]), Browning, Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, *The Brownings' Correspondence*, ed. Philip Kelley et al., 27 vols, Winfield, KS: Wedgestone, 1984–2020, v. 15, pp. 277–86, p. 284 (ellipsis original). For my extended discussion of *Casa Guidi Windows*, see

Clare Pettitt, «O Bella Libertà» in Clare Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions 1848*, cit., pp. 291–322.

⁷⁰ Sharon Marcus, «Theatrical Scrapbooks», p. 300.

⁷¹ (10 December 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 44.

⁷² (27 January 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 19v.

⁷³ See Clare Pettitt, *The Ragged of Europe*, in Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions 1848*, cit., pp. 118–157.

⁷⁴ (12 December 1847) BIF Horner 1848, f. 5-5v.

⁷⁵ (26 January 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 18v.

⁷⁶ (14 December 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 45.

⁷⁷ (12 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 34.

⁷⁸ (12 February 1862) BIF Horner 1861, f. 62. Susan Horner, *Austrian Rule in Tuscany under the Grand Duke Leopold II, 1849*, «Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Sciences and Arts», 17.426, 1862, pp. 130–34.

⁷⁹ (25 April 1862) BIF Horner 1861, f. 78.

⁸⁰ (21 February 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 31v-32.

⁸¹ Giovanni and Niccolò Barducci were architectural draughtsmen who also produced prints of Florence for the tourist trade. This series of views of Florence includes, «Flower Girls, Florence» «A Gentlemen and Lady» and «Costume della Misericordia di Firenze». (All are hand-coloured aquatints with black lines edged with green gouache).

⁸² (12 October 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 14.

⁸³ (12 October 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 13.

⁸⁴ (10 February 1862), BIF Horner 1861, f. 62.

⁸⁵ Horner and her sister would later adopt the second Zileri child, Susan Horner Zileri, after both the girl's parents died.

⁸⁶ (10 April 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 52v. (8 April 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 50v.

⁸⁷ (28 September 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 26. (10 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 31v.

⁸⁸ (10 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 31v. (19 November 1861), f. 37.

⁸⁹ (25 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 40. (27 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 40. These vividly experienced bodily symptoms perhaps call into question Sikstrom's assertion that the 1861–1862 journal was composed in England after the trip to Florence.

⁹⁰ (5 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 28.

⁹¹ (15 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 36.

⁹² (18 November 1861), BIF Horner 1861, f. 37. (30 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 40v. (15 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 36.

⁹³ (30 November 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 40v.

⁹⁴ (2 December 1861) BIF Horner 1861, f. 41v. Fratelli Alinari was one of the first photographic firms in the world, founded in 1852. In 1854, *Fratelli Alinari Fotografi Editori* was established as a photographic workshop that was dedicated to the documentation of notable Italian paintings, sculptures, monuments and architecture. The firm also offered portrait photographs.

⁹⁵ (2 November 1861), f. 26v.

⁹⁶ Barrett Browning visited Florence's Museo di Storia Naturale in 1847, and wrote to her sister that, «[t]he anatomical exhibition, also in wax, Robert would not let me see – nor did I desire it, for various reasons – though women are admitted indiscriminately, & the Italians come in crowds.» EBB to Arabella Moulton-Barrett, (Florence 29 August [1847]), *The Brownings' Correspondence* 14, 288–295. *Murray's Handbook* describes the display thus:

«the models in wax are interesting. The more ancient by Zummo, a Sicilian, who executed them for Cosmo III, principally represent corpses in various stages of decomposition. The others are, more strictly speaking, anatomical, and display every portion of the human body with wonderful accuracy” *Murray’s Handbook of Florence and its Environs* (London: John Murray, 1863), p. 89.

⁹⁷ (25 February 1848) BIF Horner 1848, f. 32.

⁹⁸ (15 February 1862) BIF Horner 1861, f. 63. Underlining original.

⁹⁹ (28 January 1862) BIF Horner 1861, f. 58.

¹⁰⁰ Susan and Joanna Horner, «The Ghetto- Mercato Vecchio» in Susan and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence and its Environs* vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1884), pp. 141–152, pp. 142–143.

¹⁰¹ [Anon.], *Walks in Florence*, «Athenaeum», 1 March 1873, pp. 277–278, p. 277. [Anon.], *Miss Ann Susan*

Horner, «Athenaeum», 15 December 1900, pp. 793–794, p. 793.

¹⁰² W.W., *Walks in Florence*, «Examiner» (15 March 1873), p. 286.

¹⁰³ [Anon.], *Walks in Florence*, cit., p. 278.

¹⁰⁴ [Anon.], *Walks in Florence*, «Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art» (12 July 1873), p. 62.

¹⁰⁵ The Horner’s *Walks in Florence* also appears in the libraries of the stately homes in Britain now owned and run by National Trust, for example.

¹⁰⁶ Henry James wrote, «[w]hat it is that infuses so rich an interest into the general charm is difficult to say in a few words; yet as we wander hither and thither in quest of sacred canvas and immortal bronze and stone we still feel the genius of the place hang about. Two industrious English ladies, the Misses Horner, have lately published a couple of volumes of “Walks” by the Arno-side, and their work is a long enumeration of great artistic deeds». Henry James, «Au-

tumn in Florence» (1873), republished in the collection Henry James, *Italian Hours*, William Heineman, London, 1909, pp. 269–278, p. 273.

¹⁰⁷ William Dean Howells, «Florentine Mosaic» in William Dean Howells, *Tuscan Cities*, Heineman and Balestier, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 1–137, p. 37 and p. 13. *Tuscan Cities* was first published in 1885.

¹⁰⁸ Andrew Piper, *Dreaming in Books: The Making of the Bibliographic Imagination in the Romantic Age*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 2009, p. 127.

¹⁰⁹ James A. Secord, «Scrapbook Science: Composite Caricatures in Late Georgian England», *Figuring It Out: Science, Gender and Visual Culture*, ed. Ann B. Shteir and Bernard V. Lightman, University Press of New England, Lebanon, NH, 2006, pp. 164–191, p. 186. For a useful discussion of the origins of the scrapbook, see pp. 175–176 of this chapter.