

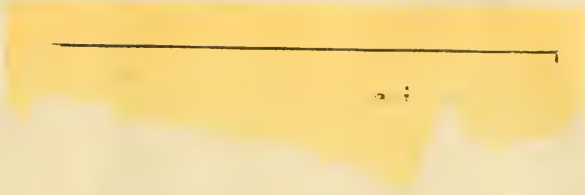
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AMERICANA GERMANICA.

A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF THE
LITERARY, LINGUISTIC AND OTHER CULTURAL RELATIONS
OF
GERMANY AND AMERICA.

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Vol. III. . . . 1899-1900.

Subscription Price \$2.00.

Single Copies 75 Cents.

Entered at the Post Office at New York as second-class matter.

PUBLISHERS:

New York:

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

London:

MACMILLAN & CO., LT'D.

Berlin:

MAYER & MÜLLER, AGENTS.

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AUGUST 1984

MATTER TREATING THE RELATIONS OF
GERMANY AND AMERICA

IS PUBLISHED FROM THE

German Publication Fund of America.

(The List of Contributors to the Fund will appear in
No. I. of Vol. IV.)

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AMERICANA GERMANICA.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CLASSICAL WALPURGIS-NIGHT AND THE SCENE IN HADES.

It must certainly be regarded as a curious fact that that very scene of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, which seems to have been conceived first of all, and was the principal cause for the composition of the whole Night, should finally neither have found a place in the second nor in the third act of Goethe's *Faust*. Various explanations of this have been advanced. Loeper supposed that Goethe convinced himself that the scene might dramatically be dispensed with. But we now know that Goethe clung to it until after he had finished the entire Walpurgis-Night. Veit Valentin maintains: 'die strenge Folgerichtigkeit seiner Entwicklung der Handlung verbot es ihm (Goethe), in die durch Zauber für eine Nacht lebendig gewordene Geisterwelt eine Handlung einzuschalten, die in der mit bleibendem Dasein ausgestatteten natürlichen Wirklichkeit der antiken Götterwelt vor sich gehen müsste.' Yet an examination of the schemes and sketches shows that Goethe never thought of inserting the scene into the Night, but always intended to put it at its close. Richard Meyer says: 'der gealterte Dichter traute sich dann doch die Kraft dieser Rede (Fausts vor Proserpina) nicht mehr zu,' an explanation to which one should only resort after all others have failed. Calvin Thomas thinks that it was 'probably because, in addition to the intrinsic difficulties of the theme, Goethe perceived that it would not really render the fiction of the third act any more intelli-

gible.' But could Goethe not have given the scene such a turn that it would have fulfilled that purpose? Whatever of truth there may be in the one or other of these explanations they have not touched upon the principal reason. This principal reason must be sought in the peculiar and rather unforeseen evolution of the Walpurgis-Night, which shall be traced in the following pages.

The prose outline of the Classical Walpurgis-Night is gradually evolved from June 10, 1826, to December 17 of the same year, and mainly between November 9 and December 17. During the next three years there are few evidences of work, though the great thought which changed the whole aspect of the Night, the transformation of Homunculus from a chemical manikin into an entelechy belongs to that period. The bulk of the continuous poetical work was accomplished between January 1 (?) and March 28, 1830. After an interruption of two months and a half the work was resumed again June 12, and apparently finished in a very short time, for June 18 an outline of the scene in Hades appears under the title of a prologue to the third act, and in a letter of June 25 the completion of the Classical Walpurgis-Night is mentioned in a manner which shows that it is no longer uppermost in Goethe's mind. At some date between June 18, 1830, and February 17, 1831, the scene in Hades was also abandoned in the form of a prologue to the third act, for the entry of the latter date in Goethe's diary, which is corroborated by a notice of Eckermann's, says: 'Wurde das Manuscript vom 2. Theil des Faust in eine Mappe geheftet,' and three days later we read in the same place: 'John vollbrachte das Einheften der drey ersten Acte von Faust im Manuscript.' Then the scene in Hades had been given up for good.

The introduction to the Helena drama of June 10, 1826, gives nothing but an adumbration of the scene in Hades. 'Dämonische Sibyllen . . . vermittelten . . . durch merkwürdige Verhandlungen' that Persephone allowed Helena to return to the upper world upon the condition that she be limited to Sparta and that her love should be won, in human fashion, while fantastic

introductions should be permitted. The remainder of the Walpurgis-Night is still wanting.

The schemes of November 9 and 10 (?) mention for the first time Faust's and Mephistopheles' expedition to Thessaly and the latter offers for the first time the term 'Antike Walpurgisnacht.' Wagner's efforts to produce a 'chemisch Menschlein' are also mentioned, but neither he nor his chemical manikin is yet connected with the Walpurgis-Night. The scene in Hades is outlined more definitely, and even the arguments of the speech before Proserpina are given, while the name of the speaker, probably Manto, is not indicated.

The *Ankündigung* of the Helena drama of December 17, based on a draft of December 15, gives an elaborate outline of all events between the close of the first part and the beginning of the Helena drama, in 290 lines, of which 168 are devoted to the Classical Walpurgis-Night, and 40 to the scene in Hades. Now the laboratory scene is immediately connected with the Walpurgis-Night. Homunculus, who is a 'wohlgebildetes Zwerglein,' not an entelevchy, declares that the classical Walpurgis-Night is taking place during that very night and upon this statement Faust, Mephistopheles, Homunculus and Wagner start at once for Thessaly. Strange to say, Wagner alone has a definite purpose in view. He takes a bottle with him in which to collect the elements for a chemical mate of Homunculus.

At first the travelers meet with Erichtho and Erichthonius. The latter soon develops an affection for Homunculus which elicits malicious remarks from Mephistopheles. Faust, not Mephistopheles, engages in an abstruse conversation with a Sphinx, which becomes still more confused by a Griffin and an Ant joining in it. Empusa, who here enters separately, causes restless impatience by ever new transformations. The Sphinxes, Griffins and Ants appear multiplied innumerable, and all monsters of antiquity 'Chimaeren, Tragelaphe, Gryllen' and numberless many-headed serpents are running to and fro. Harpies circle about like bats, Python comes in several specimens, and the Stymphalian birds are whizzing through the air. Suddenly

a troop of Sirens appear, bathe in the river, perch upon the trees, sing the sweetest songs, present the regrets of the Nereids and Tritons who by their nature are prevented from attending the festival on the land and urge the whole crowd to enjoy themselves in the neighboring bays and islands of the Ægean. Part of those present rush toward the sea.

The travelers pay little attention to all this. Homunculus picks up phosphorescent atoms for the chemical woman. Wagner puts them in his bottle and is beset by countless ghosts of Pompejans and Cæsareans who try in vain to possess themselves of those atoms with a view to a regular resurrection of their bodies.

Then the attention is directed toward the centre of the plain where Enceladus, *in order to glorify this night*, is causing an earthquake and forming a new mountain ridge. Natural philosophers, Thales and Anaxagoras, *who on such an occasion could not be lacking*, get into a violent dispute concerning the phenomenon, the one upholding the Neptunistic and the other the Plutonic theory. Anaxagoras predicts a shower of meteors which fall immediately thereafter from the moon. For that he is praised by the crowd as a demigod while his opponent is forced to retreat to the sea. After the shower of meteors and the retreat of Thales, Pygmies come swarming forth from the chasms of the new mountain and avail themselves of the upper arms and shoulders of the giant as a play and dancing ground, while myriads of Cranes, screaming, circle about his head and his hair, as if the latter were impenetrable forests, and announce an *enjoyable contest* before the close of the general festival.

Meanwhile Mephisto has made the acquaintance of Enyo. Though her grand homeliness almost causes him to lose his composure and become insulting, he restrains himself, tries to gain her influence on account of her high ancestors and makes a treaty with her, the open conditions of which are not of much consequence, while the secret ones are all the more important. The transformation is not mentioned as such.

Faust, on his part, has stepped up to Chiron who, *as an inhabitant of the neighboring mountains*, is making his usual round. A pedagogical conversation with this 'Urhofmeister' is, though not interrupted, at least disturbed by the Lamiae who keep passing between Faust and Chiron and would have led Faust astray, if he had not received 'das höchste Gebild der Schönheit' in his mind. Chiron meanwhile explains the maxims according to which he has instructed the Argonauts and Achilles, but is sorry to say that they lived and acted afterward just as if they had not been educated. When he hears of Faust's intention, he is glad to meet once more a man who desires the impossible, offers him his assistance, carries him through all the fords and sands of Peneus, shows him where Perseus caught his breath on his flight from the Romans, and takes him to the foot of Mount Olympus. There they meet a long procession of Sibyls, many more than twelve. Chiron describes them as they pass by and commends his charge to Manto, the thoughtful and kindly daughter of Tiresias. The latter reveals to Faust that the way to Orcus is just about to open, and when it does open they begin the descent.

On their path they meet the head of Gorgo and, if Manto had not thrown her veil over Faust, neither a trace of his body nor of his soul would ever have been found again in the universe. They arrive at the crowded court of Proserpina, by whom Faust is welcomed as another Orpheus though his request is found a trifle singular. Manto makes a speech in which she asks for Helena's release on the strength of the precedents in the cases of Protesilaus, Alceste, Eurydice and Helena herself. The queen is moved to tears and gives her consent. The three judges to whom they are directed find that the other time Helena had been allowed to return to Hades on condition that she be limited to the island of Leuce. Now she is to return to Sparta only and to appear there truly alive, while it is left to her suitor to win her favor. Here the Helena drama begins.

In this outline the four travelers wander through the Classi-

cal Walpurgis-Night very much as Mephistopheles and Faust did through the Walpurgis-Night of Part I. Their adventures predominate over the description of the characters and events of the Walpurgis-Night proper at the ratio of two to one. The action of Seismos, now still called by the mythological name of Enceladus, takes place and is duly commented upon by the philosophers, but the possibility of a living counterpart, which was contained in Homunculus, had not yet been discovered by the poet, nor did Galatea offset the Phorkyads. All events are merely strung together and no attempt at real dramatic composition has yet been made because a leading idea to bind up the whole is still lacking. The actors of the land are partly the same as in the final form, but their elemental natures or interests have not yet been made prominent and only the Pygmies and Cranes are connected with Seismos. The Sirens are so far the only representatives of the sea. The entrance of any of the great gods, except Proserpina, or of any of the heroes was contemplated now just as little as afterward. A month later, in January, 1827, the speech before Proserpina, probably by a lapse of memory on the part of Goethe or Eckermann attributed to Faust instead of Manto, is mentioned once more. After that there is no further information concerning the poet's occupation with the work until 1829.

Lines 7080-7089 must have been composed on or after August 29 (?) of that year; 7090-7097 and 7100-7111 on or after November 28; a sketch of 7117-7139 again on or after August 29 (?); 7140-7148 on or after January 21, though perhaps much later, as a 'Scenar zu 6377' is found scratched out on the same paper; and 7152-7155, 7559-7565 and 7843-7846 on or after December 26. That is, leaving out of account the last item, because it is on the very threshold of the year 1830, some desultory work on the scene with the Sphinxes, Griffins, Ants and Arimaspeans, where Mephistopheles had taken the place of Faust, had been done previous to the last days of the year 1829.

That Goethe's plans of the Classical Walpurgis-Night had in the mean time undergone far greater changes may, however, be

inferred from the laboratory scene, which had been completed before December 16, 1829, when Goethe read it to Eckermann. Faust was now so deeply affected with his longing for Helena that he had to be carried to Thessaly in order to be restored to consciousness. Hence he could no longer be employed as a vehicle for the exposition and, as we have seen above, Mephistopheles had taken that place. Mephistopheles went to Thessaly to satisfy his amorousness with the Lamiae. Hence these had to be transferred from Faust to him. Homunculus had no longer a body but started out to find one. Hence the adventures with Erichthonius and Erichtho and with the ghosts of the Pompejans and Cæsareans had to be abandoned and the sea scene added. Wagner had lost his purpose and hence was compelled to stay at home. Thus the great outlines of the Classical Walpurgis-Night must have been fixed before, January 1, 1830 or thereabouts, the continuous work on it was begun.

January 17 Goethe reads to Eckermann the scene of Mephistopheles with the Griffins and Sphinxes, parts of which had been written so long ago. January 20 he reads to him the scene 'wo Faust nach der Helena fragt und der Berg entsteht,' the latter probably being a fragment, part of which at least had been composed during the last days of the preceding year. January 24 work has been commenced on the scene with Chiron which at that time was not intended to contain all it does now, because even in the revised form of the scheme of February 6, 'Chiron über Manto sprechend Fausten bey ihr einführend. Übereinkunft' still follows after the sea scene; he hopes to be done 'in ein paar Monaten.' February 10 the poet is a little more than half done and declares 'dass er dabei auf Dinge komme, die ihn selber überraschen. Auch gehe der Gegenstand mehr auseinander als er gedacht.' The last remark fits the scene by the Upper Peneus which in the scheme of four days before, however, does not yet contain the episode of Mephistopheles with the Lamiae, but the following rather complicated conclusion: 'Mephist. u. Dryas Begegnen Schlangen Findet die Sphinx wieder Verwandelt sich in ihrer Gegenwart. Abscheu und

Abschluss Heisser Wind und Sandwirbel Der Berg scheint zu versinken. Mephist. schlichtet.' Goethe ventures to fix the date of the completion more definitely; he hopes to finish 'bis Ostern.' February 14 he reports good progress and 'dass ihm wunderbare Dinge über die Erwartung gelängen.' February 21 he decides to stop reading *Temps* and *Globe* for a month and feels sure that his Walpurgis-Night will profit by this resolution. March 1 Eckermann expresses his astonishment at the size to which the manuscript had grown within the few weeks, that is about since January 20. March 7 Goethe has been obliged to lay aside his Walpurgis-Night because of other pressing work. As the diary informs us, this time was utilized by the copyist for the 'Hauptmundum.' March 21 Goethe has made good progress again, but is taking his time 'damit alles die gehörige Kraft und Anmuth erhalten möge.' From this expression as well as from all preceding evidence we may infer that he was then at work on the sea scene. The same conclusion is reached from the fact that he then was still in hopes of finishing the whole Walpurgis-Night (that includes at that time, as we shall see hereafter, the scene in Hades) before Eckermann left for Italy, that is by the middle of April. In spite of this the work comes to a sudden standstill no more than one week later, for after March 28 the entries in the diary concerning work on Faust cease. Only after a lapse of two months and a half the Walpurgis-Night is taken up again and apparently finished June 17 or 18, or very shortly afterward.

In order to discover the cause of this delay we must try to determine the exact state of the work during the period from March 28 to June 12. In the first place the notes given above show that the work on the sea scene had been commenced, while the existence of lines 8359-8368, 8370-8375, 8377, 8378 on the back of a play bill of June 12, 1830, prove that it had not yet been completed. In the second place the scheme of February 6, as was mentioned above, gives part of the scene of Faust with Chiron after the sea scene which makes it probable that that part had not been finished either. The fact that lines 7461-

7466 and 7469-7470 are found on the back of a 'Nürnberger Ankündigung' of February 20 prove only that Goethe had anticipated parts of this scene just as he had probably done in the case of the close of the sea scene. Hence apparently part of the close of the sea scene, part of the scene of Faust with Chiron and Manto and the scene in Hades were lacking at the time.

A similar though not quite so definite a conclusion may be reached by a careful examination of Eckermann's letter to Goethe of September 14, 1830, in which he says: 'Zu meiner grossen Freude habe ich aus einem Ihrer letzten Briefe in Genua ersehen, dass die Lücken und das Ende der 'Classischen Walpurgisnacht' glücklich erobert worden. Die drei ersten Acte wären also vollkommen fertig, die 'Helena' verbunden, und demnach das Schwierigste gethan.'

The letter referred to can only be one of those which Goethe wrote to his son June 25, 27 and 29, and which bear the postmarks, Weimar, June 28 and 30, and Milan, July 10 and 12. Thence they were forwarded to Genoa where Eckermann and Goethe's son were staying at the time, who left there in the early morning of July 25. The only notice concerning the Walpurgis-Night is in the letter of June 25 and reads: 'Wenn Eckermann, bey soviel Lockungen und Verführungen, noch beysammen und ein rückwärts blickender Mensch geblieben ist, so sag ihm: Die Walpurgisnacht sey völlig abgeschlossen, und wegen des fernerhin und weiter Nöthigen sey die beste Hoffnung.' Hence Eckermann's remark about 'die Lücken und das Ende' is not taken from the letter of Goethe, but is an inference of his own. This inference of his own again can only be based on his knowledge of the manuscript of the Walpurgis-Night which Goethe let him have April 14, and which he discussed with him on the 18th, four days before his departure. Hence the Walpurgis-Night had 'Lücken' and lacked the 'Ende' at that time.

Now good fortune will have it that the Goethe and Schiller archives actually possess a manuscript which offers the Wal-

purgis-Night in such a state. It bears on its 'Umschlag' in Goethe's own handwriting the title: 'Classische Walpurgisnacht erstes Mundum.' If it is identical with the 'Hauptmundum' mentioned by the diary under March 5, at least the greater part of it was done by March 13 when Goethe read 'die neuen Hefte vom Faust;' if it is the same with the 'Mundum' or both the 'Mundum' and the 'Hauptmundum,' it was written between February 21 and March 27. In the former case it would contain at least all the continuous work down to March 13, and possibly also the not very large amount done during the next two weeks, in the latter it would comprise everything down to March 28. This manuscript has 'Lücken' and lacks the 'Ende' though most of those 'Lücken' were rather gaps on the paper than in the composition and hence never filled. It is stitched together and hence was fit to be given out of the house. It is not only stitched together but it was also never completed though there are several empty pages at the close. Hence it represents the state of the work when it had come to a standstill and reached a temporary conclusion. For all these reasons it may not only be maintained that this manuscript is the identical one which Eckermann examined (the 'zweyte Reinschrift' does not seem to have been put together till February of the following year), but also that it represents the state of the Classical Walpurgis-Night between March 28 and June 12, barring some separate groups of lines and possibly a few additions made by Goethe during that period which did not seem to him as of enough importance to chronicle in his diary.

According to the 'Erstes Mundum' the state of the Classical Walpurgis-Night from April to June was, therefore, as follows: The first scene was completed. The scene with Chiron ended with Chiron's account of Hercules, the relation of the Argonauts being put in parentheses. The following scene lacked only the twenty lines of the monologue of Mephistopheles, which precedes the entrance of the Lamiae, since lines 7509-7518 and 7813-7816 which are now not counted as part of the manuscript belonged to it formerly. The sea scene lacks the

last third ; besides that only the two humorous lines about the eighth Cabirus are wanting. The important matters which had not yet been finished therefore were : the second part of the scene with Chiron including Manto's part, the procession of Galatea with the wonder of Homunculus, and the scene in Hades. That the scene in Hades was still being seriously contemplated at the time when the close of the scheme of February 6 was revised is proved by the very fact of that revision. If Goethe had not actually thought of writing the scene, he would not have gone to the trouble of altering its plan. That it was still intended early in March, when the space for the remainder of the scene with Chiron was left, appears from the smallness of that space which suffices at most for 70-75 lines. This could, therefore, have accommodated only the conversation about Helena and Manto so that at least the arrival at Manto's and her promise of aid must still have been planned for the place after the sea scene where we found them in the revised form of the scheme of February 6. This arrival at Manto's and her promise of aid, however, could not stand alone and forlorn by themselves, but needed the scene in Hades for an *appui*. That it had not been abandoned in April either may finally be inferred again from the letter of Eckermann quoted above. For if Goethe in his conversation with him on April 18 had hinted at the possibility of embodying the scene in Hades in the third act, Eckermann would not have said in reply to the communication concerning the completion of the Classical Walpurgis-Night : ' die drei ersten Acte wären also vollkommen fertig, die 'Helena' verbunden, und demnach das Schwierigste gethan.' The only other logical possibility, namely, that Goethe after having intended to write the scene in Hades for almost four years until March (1830), had given it up in April to resume it again in June does not seem to deserve any serious consideration.

What was now the cause of the sudden halt in the work and the long delay in its completion? It was not Eckermann's absence because he did not leave till April 22 when Goethe had expected to be done. It was not that other work was more

pressing because Goethe considered Faust his main business and would have given it the right of way. The only answer is that, as Goethe thought seriously of the conclusion of the sea scene, he became conscious of the great difficulty, if not impossibility, of retaining the scene in Hades under the circumstances and yet very naturally was extremely reluctant to sacrifice that very scene from which the entire Walpurgis-Night had grown and which would have furnished the most appropriate preparation for the entrance of Helena. Whether, as seems to result from our preceding deductions, this was the time when the scene in Hades was excluded, or whether it had been given up a little while before, the development of the poetic Walpurgis-Night had deviated so far from the old prose outline that the scene had to be excluded for dramatic reasons. This is the proposition which will now be proved by an examination of the dramatic structure of the Walpurgis-Night. Before beginning this examination, however, a word must be said upon the work as a whole.

The Classical Walpurgis-Night contains a wonderful wealth of thought and imagery. The lover of Greek mythology finds here not only the characters of the land and the sea which speak and act and appear on the stage, but also much else which the study of Greek poetry and art has endeared to him. He hears of Night and Chaos, Rhea and the Fates, Persephone and Hekate. He beholds the Titans playing ball with Ossa and Pelion. He perceives Zeus with his thunderbolt enthroned on Mount Olympus or battling with his brother in the fury of storm and sea. He sees Leto ending her wanderings on the newly-risen island of Delos and her son Apollo leading a blissful life with the chorus of the Muses on Parnassus. He catches a glimpse of Ares and Hermes of 'Juno, Pallas, Venus' and a number of other gods. In the same way the characters and events of the heroic age unfold before his mental eye. Hercules, hero of heroes, is seen, and the Argonauts, each in turn; Leda and Zeus, Helena freed from Theseus and wedded to Achilles, Orpheus descending to Hades and Oedipus pausing before the

Sphinx. Then is a vision of Paris and the Iliad extending to the fall of Troy, and of Ulysses and the Odyssey from the cunning of Circe and the horrors of the Cyclops to the hospitable shores of Scheria. But the naturalist also finds much to interest him. Seismos is not only mythological personage but elemental phenomenon. The Sirens speak at times as representatives of Neptunism, while Anaxagoras and Thales maintain a scientific standpoint throughout. The ancient god of transformation expounds the modern laws of evolution and the flames of Homunculus on the sea are first regarded as a manifestation of Eros and immediately afterward as the element of fire. To mythology and science, which with the greatest art are blended into one is added much other thought and suggestion, and according to Goethe's own admission some 'gute Spässe' and some 'Piquen' withal.

The examination of the dramatic structure of this wonderful work should be made from the standpoint of the work itself and not from that of the drama as a whole. The Faust tragedy does not conform to the ordinary dramatic rules, but has standards of its own. Says Goethe to Eckermann concerning the fourth act: 'Dieser Act bekommt wieder einen ganz eigenen Charakter, sodass er, wie *eine für sich bestehende kleine Welt*, das übrige nicht berührt und nur *durch einen leisen Bezug zu dem Vorhergehenden und dem Folgenden* sich dem Ganzen anschliesst.' To this Eckermann replies: 'Er wird also völlig im Charakter des übrigen sein; denn im Grunde sind doch der Auerbach'sche Keller, die Hexenküche, der Blocksberg, der Reichstag, die Maskerade, das Papiergeld, das Laboratorium, die Classische Walpurgisnacht, die Helena lauter für sich bestehende kleine Weltenkreise, die, in sich abgeschlossen, wol auf einander wirken, aber doch einander wenig angehen. Dem Dichter liegt daran, eine mannigfaltige Welt auszusprechen, und er benutzt die Fabel eines berühmten Helden bloß als eine Art von durchgehender Schnur, um darauf aneinanderzureihen was er Lust hat . . .' Whereupon Goethe rejoins: 'Sie haben vollkommen recht; *auch kommt es bei einer solchen Composition*

blos darauf an, dass die einzelnen Massen bedeutend und klar seien, während es als ein Ganzes immer incommensurabel bleibt, aber ebendeswegen gleich einem unaufgelösten Problem die Menschen zu wiederholter Betrachtung immer wieder anlockt.'

Applying this to the Classical Walpurgis-Night, we see at a glance that it is more independent of the rest of the drama than any other part, and that nowhere else does Faust himself play so subordinate, or rather episodical, a part. Its subject is the contrast of the world of the land and its wonder, the action of Seismos, which is followed by the fall of the rock from the moon, with the world of the sea and its wonder, the beginning by Homunculus of corporeal existence or the evolution of animal life. These aristeias of the land and of the sea can of course not lead up to the appearance of Helena, but have another scope which was also acknowledged by Goethe himself when he wrote to Eckermann: 'ich . . . vermelde, dass die Classische Walpurgisnacht zu Stande gekommen oder vielmehr *ins Gränzenlose ausgelaufen ist.*' On the other hand, however, 'der leise Bezug zu dem Vorhergehenden und dem Folgenden' is not wanting. Homunculus reveals to Mephistopheles the existence and the date of the Night and actuates him to go. Faust here retrieves his consciousness which he has lost at the close of the first act and, even without the scene in Hades, makes us reasonably expect that his descent in the company of Manto and with her good cheer will have a share in bringing about the entrance of Helena in the third. Mephistopheles meets the Phorkyads whose shape he considers so useful for himself that he assumes it until the end of the next act. But all this, possibly with the exception of the Phorkyads, is purely episodical from the standpoint of the leading events of the Walpurgis-Night proper.

Faust himself disappears before they have really commenced. He appreciates Greece, but he does so because it is Helena's country. He has a glance for the Sphinxes, the Sirens, the Ants and the Griffins and expresses his sentiments concerning them and the recollections connected with them in the grand line:

Gestalten gross, gross die Erinnerungen,

a line which voices the feelings of every lover of Greece as he for the first time sets foot on its soil, but the only question he asks of the Sphinxes is:

Hat eins der Euren Helena gesehn?

It is Helena who fills his soul to such an extent that he imagines to see his dream of Leda with waking eyes, that he heeds neither the advice of the nymphs to restore himself by rest, nor the warning of Chiron that he is insane and in need of an Æsculapean cure. Indeed, it is almost surprising that this Faust should still engage in a conversation about the Argonauts instead of asking at once after Helena, and it is only natural that at one time Goethe actually thought of sacrificing that paragraph as is learned from the parentheses in the 'Erstes Mundum.' This Faust was no longer a suitable witness for the events of the Walpurgis-Night. He does not notice the rumble of the earthquake which disturbs the rest of Peneus, and he is gone when the action of Seismos begins in good earnest. Chiron and Manto, with whom he has most to do, do not meet with any of the other main actors of the Walpurgis-Night, and seem to exist only for him.

Mephistopheles, to be sure, does not stand quite so much aloof from the central action. The amorousness which has been aroused in him by the prospect of meeting the Lamiae dominates his sentiments, but does not preoccupy him to the exclusion of everything else. Until he sees the witches he is, therefore, especially on account of his ignorance of most things ancient, quite a suitable, and at the same time humorous, vehicle of dramatic exposition. After he has caught sight of the objects of his longing, however, only his fear of getting lost retains him for another moment between the Sphinxes and, as soon as that fear is allayed, he starts in pursuit of the Lamiae hoping for what he considers the greatest of pleasures.

Denn wenn es keine Hexen gäbe,
Wer Teufel möchte Teufel sein!

Indeed, Mephistopheles and the Lamiae alone justify the title

of Walpurgis-Night. In Mephistopheles' eyes even the action of Seismos is a Brocken feat:

Das heiss' ich frischen Hexenritt,
Die bringen ihren Blocksberg mit.

Nothing of the geological standpoint here which he occupies in the fourth act. While thus the Night would not be any longer a Walpurgis-Night without Mephistopheles and the Lamiae, the action of Seismos, and what clusters around it, would be just as complete without them. The Lamiae do not seem to pay any attention to it at all, and Mephistopheles, though respecting it as a Walpurgis-Night feat, is filled by it only with the fear of not refinding his landmarks. Dramatically he does not become useful again until he elicits the words from the Oreas which contrast the old mountain with the new and lead over to the Phorkyads who, by their very nature, are debarred from joining the other characters.

In Nacht geboren, Nächtlichem verwandt,
Beinah uns selbst, ganz allen unbekannt.

While Faust thus has no connection either with the central action of the land or with that of the sea, Mephistopheles is not entirely disconnected from the former, yet no longer present during the latter. Only Homunculus, as we shall see hereafter, is both a most attentive witness of the principal action of the land and an absolutely indispensable factor of the action of the sea.

The Night begins with the prologue of Erichtho and the descent and separation of the travelers. This is followed by the exposition proper which prepares the way for the designs of Faust and Mephistopheles and introduces the three principal purely mythological actors of the land existing at that time, the Sphinxes, the Griffins and the Ants, and the Sirens, the chorus of the sea. The Arimaspeans, the Stymphalian Birds, the heads of the Lernaean Hydra and the Lamiae occupy a secondary position. The great turmoil of monsters for which the prose outline provided has wisely been discarded. Seismos and Homunculus, the impersonations of the wonders of the land and of the sea, are

both absent, but the contrast of the land and of the sea finds even here expression. While the Ants show greed for gold, the Griffins both that and inhospitability toward Mephistopheles, the Sphinxes kindness toward Mephistopheles and Faust but distrust toward the Sirens, the last proclaim love and joy and a cheerful welcome to every one.

Weg ! das Hassen, weg ! das Neiden;
Sammeln wir die klarsten Freuden,
Unter'm Himmel ausgestreut !
Auf dem Wasser, auf der Erde
Sei's die heiterste Gebärde
Die man dem Willkommenen beut.

The first rumble of Seismos, which disturbs Peneus in his dreams, gives us a premonition of what is to come. The real action of Seismos, which constitutes the wonder of the land, does not begin, however, till the episode with Chiron and Manto is closed and we return to the Sirens, Sphinxes, Griffins and Ants. In the very moment before the great earthquake the Sirens, speaking this time like philosophers whose mission it is to convince the ill-starred believers in the Plutonic theory of their sad error, proclaim their:

Ohne Wasser ist kein Heil !

and when the earthquake does come, they exclaim :

Niemand dem das Wunder frommt.

Horrified and ready to flee they extend a most courteous invitation to all to accompany them to the sea :

Fort ! ihr edlen frohen Gäste
Zu dem seeisch heitern Feste,
Blinkend, wo die Zitterwellen,
Ufernetzend, leise schwellen ;
Da wo Luna doppelt leuchtet,
Uns mit heil'gem Thau befeuchtet.
Dort ein freibewegtes Leben,
Hier ein ängstlich Erde-Beben;
Eile jeder Kluge fort !
Schauderhaft ist's um den Ort.

Now Seismos, mythological personage and elemental phenomenon in one, has his sway. The Sphinxes, who look upon his action from the mythological standpoint, detest and defy it. The Griffins and Ants make an effort to enrich themselves by it. His own larger creatures, the Pygmies, overbearingly enslave their smaller kin and the helpless Ants, and wantonly slay the peaceable Herons. The Cranes of Ibycus prepare revenge.

Meanwhile the scene with the Lamiae and what follows proceeds. The Oreas declares the mountain of Seismos a 'Gebild des Walns.' Homunculus, anxious as he is to commence existence, has not yet found anything on the land which he would dare to enter.

Allein was ich bisher gesehn,
Hinein da möcht' ich mich nicht wagen.

Then the philosophers appear. Referring to the feat of Seismos Anaxagoras proudly asserts :

Durch Feuerdunst ist dieser Fels zu Handen.

To this Thales confidently retorts:

Im Feuchten ist Lebendiges entstanden

and in the next moment Homunculus, who is to be the visible proof of this theory and to set the wonder of Seismos at naught, asks permission to join them. Soon the Cranes begin to wreak bloody revenge upon the cruel Pygmies, and the rock from the moon by means of which Anaxagoras attempts to save his people crushes both friend and enemy. Thales turns away from this spectacle, saying : 'Es was nur gedacht.' He is not sorry for the 'garstige Brut' of Seismos, but congratulates Homunculus upon not having come to an untimely end with them. With this they leave for the sea, where Homunculus will stand a better chance.

Nun fort zum heitern Meeresfeste,
Dort hofft und ehrt man Wundergäste.

Now comes still the last manifestation of the land ; after the

futile wonder of Seismos the consummation of homeliness and hideousness in the person of the Phorkyads.

Thus we finally arrive by the sea, whose praise the Sirens have sung and where Thales expects more comfort for Homunculus and himself. Nor are we disappointed. After the disgust, greed, bloodshed, hatred, death and hideousness which we have just witnessed, we find joy, good-will, peace, love, life and beauty. While the principal action of the land was delayed by the scene with Chiron and Manto, retarded by the episode with the Lamiae and only loosely connected with the Phorkyads, the sea scene is both well engrafted upon the preceding part of the Night and continuous and well rounded in itself. Two actions, closely intertwined from the outset and rising higher and higher, tend to a double climax in one. The one of these actions is the preparation for the appearance of Galatea which culminates in the arrival of her train, the other is the progress of Homunculus which reaches its supreme point when he commences corporeal existence at her feet.

The Sirens, the 'Dämonen' of the bay, call on fair Luna not to allow herself to be dragged impiously down from the sky, but to shine gracefully and peacefully on the concourse on the glittering waves below. The lovely sounds of this invocation allure the Nereids and Tritons from the deep. Both the Nereids and Tritons and the Sirens wish for the propitious presence of the Cabiri, and the former hasten to Samothrace in their quest.

In the mean time, Thales and Homunculus apply for advice to Nereus. The aged god tells them that his bad experiences with Paris and Ulysses have made him loath of counseling and begs them not to spoil his rare humor. He is looking forward to the arrival of his daughters, the Graces of the sea, whose beauty has no equal either in Olympus or on the land, and he rejoices especially in anticipation of seeing Galatea, the most beautiful of all, the heiress of Venus' temple and chariot of shell. Yet the very thought of the honor and beauty of his most beloved daughter softens his heart and he realizes that he should not deny advice.

Hinweg! Es ziemt, in Vaterfreudenstunde,
Nicht Hass dem Herzen, Scheltwort nicht dem Munde.
Hinweg zu Proteus! Fragt den Wundermann:
Wie man entstehn und sich *verwandeln* kann.

Now the Nereids and Tritons return with the fabulous gods of Samothrace, the saviours of the shipwrecked, whose presence is another guarantee of the peace of the night.

Wir bringen die Kabiren,
Ein friedlich Fest zu führen;
Denn wo sie heilig walten,
Neptun wird freundlich schalten.

While the Sirens affirm their devotion for them and both they and the Nereids and Tritons continue their praise, Homunculus and Thales exchange a less favorable remark which is echoed by Proteus, who though heard is not yet seen.

For a few moments the god of transformation eludes Thales and Homunculus by his usual tricks, but Thales is a friend of his and knows how to deal with him. So Proteus appears in human form, becomes interested in the 'leuchtend Zwerglein,' and gives even more information than he was asked. He does not only state how Homunculus must commence existence, but adds to this a word about his further evolution, because (unlike to the further development of the action of Seismos) this could not be represented on the stage.

Im weiten Meere must du anbeginnen!
Da fängt man erst im Kleinen an
Und freut sich Kleinste zu verschlingen,
Man wächs't so nach und nach heran
Und bildet sich zu höherem Vollbringen.

At the same time Proteus' words are as it were confirmed by Homunculus himself. He is pleased with the soft air of the sea and has a presentiment that it will be conducive to his growth.

Hier weht gar eine weiche Luft,
Es grunelt so und mir behagt der Duft!

All three then proceed to the point of a narrow tongue of land, where the atmosphere is still 'unsäglich,' in order to view the procession of Galatèa.

Still further to assure the success of this procession, the Telchines of Rhodes arrive with the trident of Neptune as the most certain pledge of the continuance of the peace and tranquillity of the sea. Heartily welcomed by the Sirens, they speak wonderful lines in praise of Helios and Rhodes. Yet what they say about the statues which they have produced does not meet with the approval of Proteus and, once more and for the last time, land and sea are directly contrasted.

Das Erdtreiben, wie's auch sei,
Ist immer doch nur Plackerei;
Dem Leben frommt die Welle besser ;
Dich trägt ins ewige Gewässer
Proteus-Delphin.

Thus Homunculus is taken out into the sea in order to be wedded to the ocean, and both Thales and Proteus avail themselves of this opportunity to emphasize once more his evolution. Not by any sudden or violent procedure, but according to eternal laws, he will slowly grow from stage to stage to man.

Da regst du dich nach ewigen Normen,
Durch tausend, abertausend Formen,
Und bis zum Menschen hast du Zeit.

Now everything is ready for the double climax. Galatea's train with all its glory is at hand. Doves announce it; Psylli and Marsi conduct it; amid the circles of her sisters, who bring with them sailor boys they have lovingly saved from death, Galatea herself appears on her resplendent chariot of shell, drawn by her dolphins. The sight of her beauty inspires her aged father with joy and longing and raises Thales' conviction of the truth of his views and his enthusiasm for them to the highest pitch.

Alles ist aus dem Wasser entsprungen !!

(the only line in the whole Walpurgis-Night which is distinguished by two exclamation points!)

Alles wird durch Wasser erhalten!
Ocean, gönn' uns dein ewiges Walten.

If the ocean did not send clouds and create brooks, rivers and streams, what would be the mountains, the plains and the world? (Seismos claims are contradicted.)

A few moments more and Thales' dearest persuasion finds its visible and palpable demonstration. While in the volcanic disturbance of the land Homunculus could not find anything which appealed to him, in the gracious moisture of the sea all seems charmingly beautiful.

In dieser holden Feuchte
Was ich auch hier beleuchte
Ist alles reizend schön.

He can no longer control his longing. He strives toward Galatea; the waters seem to be touched with the pulses of love, his glass is shattered against her shell¹; the wonder of the sea is accomplished.² The Sirens who had sung of the wonder of Seismos:

Niemand dem das Wunder frommt

¹ The idea of having Homunculus unite with the elements may have been prompted by the fate of the maids at the close of the Helena drama. The manner in which it is done is directly traceable to the Amor who guides Galatea's dolphins in Raphael's famous picture. While the other Amors are up in the air with bows and arrows, this one alone is on the water and without arrows, and his head seems almost to touch the chariot of shell.

² Valentin's Homunculus-Helena theory has been disproved by me in the Modern Language Notes, first in February, 1897, and, after a rejoinder from Valentin, more fully in April, 1899. Helena has corporeal being within the revived Greek world, but this world has not the material reality of most other parts of *Faust*. Both the Helena drama and the Walpurgis-Night are phantasmagories and in the one as well as in the other the poet takes special pains to remind us now and then of this fact. The whole Helena drama was composed without any reference to Homunculus because half a year later Homunculus was still conceived as having a body from the start. The union of Homunculus with the sea has nothing to do with Helena because according to the scheme of June 18, 1830, Helena was to leave Hades only in the third act.

now sing of the wonder of Homunculus:

Welch feuriges Wunder verklärt uns die Wellen

and as once in Italy the nightly fire at the prow of a ship had suggested to Goethe the presence of Eros the son of Aphrodite³ so the flames of Homunculus suggest Eros now. Yet this Eros is not the son of Aphrodite but the great god whom cosmogonies place at the beginning of all things. This Eros is to preside over the beginning of Homunculus' career.

So herrsche denn Eros der alles begonnen !

At the same time, however, the flames are taken in their elemental sense and fire and water remind of the share which air and earth also have in the further development of animal life. Thus the Classical Walpurgis-Night closes with a grand and universal homage to each and all of the elements.

Heil dem Meere ! Heil den Wogen !
 Von dem heiligen Feuer umzogen ;
 Heil dem Wasser ! Heil dem Feuer !
 Heil dem seltnen Abentheuer !

Heil den mildgewogenen Lüften !
 Heil geheimnissreichen Grüften !
 Hochgefeiert seid allhier,
 Element' ihr alle vier !

Fire, air and earth retain their due place and honor by the side of water, but the world of the sea with its devotion, peace and love, and the regular and productive wonder of the evolution of animal life, has triumphed over the world of the land with its

³ Epigramme, 95.

Du erstaunest, und zeigst mir das Meer; es scheint zu brennen.
 Wie bewegt sich die Fluth flammend um's nächtliche Schiff !
 Mich verwundert es nicht, das Meer gebar Aphroditen,
 Und entsprang nicht aus ihr uns eine Flamme, der Sohn ?

The connection of this epigram, quoted already by Taylor, with our scene is so clear that it seems better not to think of the passages from Calderon quoted by Max Koch in the Goethe-Jahrbuch V, 319 f., where the fire is moreover artificially produced by Circe.

defiance, war and hatred and the violent and futile wonder of the volcanic upheaval. How intent Goethe was on bringing out this contrast between sea and land, and the victory of the former over the latter may be seen from the fact that much which emphasizes that contrast and victory is later addition. Additions are in the 'Erstes Mundum,' not only the stanzas beginning 'Weg! das Hassen, weg! das Neiden,' and 'Sollte dir's doch auch nicht fehlen,' but also the important lines commencing 'Fort! ihr edlen frohen Gäste | Zu dem seeisch heitern Feste,' and the paragraph which paints the crime of the Pygmies and its retribution in particularly dark colors. An addition is lastly, and one by Goethe's own hand, both in H 73 and in the principal manuscript the double exclamation point which distinguishes the line 'Alles ist aus dem Wasser entsprungen !!' before all others.

What was Goethe then to do with the scene in Hades when the connected work, apart from various separate groups of lines which no doubt existed, had advanced as far as the 'Erstes Mundum' extends? If he wished to retain the scene at all he could only choose between inserting it in the gap after the scene with Chiron or placing it at the close of the act for which it had always been intended. Let us imagine for a moment he had inserted it in the gap together with the conversations about Helena and Manto, and the arrival at Manto's and the promise of her aid which were actually accommodated there! In the first place, this would have made the Faust episode, which has become rather lengthy as it is, so long that the dramatic structure of the Night would have been disrupted. In the second place, and that is more important still, this would have destroyed all interest in the rest of the Night. For after the reader or spectator had once witnessed the grant of Helena's release, he would have looked forward to her appearance and would have been annoyed by anything else. Hence it is very natural that there should be no evidence whatever that Goethe ever intended to insert the scene in Hades in this place, nor would such a possibility have been considered in these lines, had not a number of

commentators and editors assumed such an intention on the part of the poet as a matter of course.

So there remained only the place at the close, either after the present grand finale, or after another ending. It requires no special proof that the former alternative was impossible. Nothing could stand after that finale without unbalancing the general dramatic structure. But the latter alternative was not much better either. After the sea scene had once been brought down to the point where the procession of Galatea enters, its close had to be in the main as it is now. Even if some means had been devised for toning it down, the addition of the scene in Hades would still have disturbed the dramatic balance of the whole. This being the case there was nothing left but to make of it an independent introduction to the third act, and this was done in the scheme of June 18, which reads as follows:

Prolog des dritten Acts.

Geheimer Gang Manto and Faust Einleitung des Folgenden Medusenhaupt Fernerer Fortschritt. Proserpina verhüllt. Manto trägt vor Die Königin an ihr Erdeleben erinnernd. Unterhaltung von der verhüllten Seite, melodisch artikulirt scheinend aber unvernünftig. Faust wünscht sie entschleyert zu sehen. Vorhergehende Entzückung Manto führt ihn schnell zurück. Erklärt das Resultat Ehre den Antecedenzen Die Helena war schon einmal auf die Insel Leuce beschränkt. Jetzt auf Spartanischem Gebiet soll sie sich lebendig erweisen. Der Freyer suche ihre Gunst zu erwerben. Manto ist die Einleitung überlassen.

W. d. 18. Juni 30.

It is evident that this scheme is based on the revised form of the scheme of February 6, and its very fullness proves that Goethe had given new thought to the matter and seriously intended to execute the scene. Why he finally abandoned it after all can only be a matter of conjecture. He may have thought that a short prologue would not fulfill its object or that a long one would impair the dramatic balance of the act. He

may have realized that the homage to beauty at the close of the second act fitly prepared the reader's *Stimmung* for the entrance of the most beautiful among women at the beginning of the third. We know only that Goethe ventured to leave the scene to the imagination of the reader or spectator for some reason or other, and it seems better to refrain from speculation where a definite result cannot be reached. The object of this paper will have been accomplished if it be regarded as a contribution to a clearer understanding of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, and if it has proved that the peculiar dramatic evolution of the prose outline of 1826 forced the scene in Hades out of the second act.⁴

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⁴ Owing to my present remoteness from large libraries the number of books at my disposal has been limited. I have consulted the editions of Faust by Erich Schmidt, Loeper, Schröder and Thomas and the translation by Bayard Taylor; Erich Schmidt's *Urfaust*; Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe; Richard M. Meyer's *Goethe*; Valentin's *Erläuterung zu Goethes Faust*; and the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*. Witkowski's, *Die Handlung des zweiten Teils von Goethes Faust* was not procurable and Valentin's *Goethes Faustdichtung*, etc., no longer in my hand. I am under obligation to Carl Schüddekopf for a communication with regard to the size of the space which was left after the first part of the scene with Chiron in the 'Erstes Mundum.' All other critical material is taken from the Weimar edition, Vol. XV, 2.

GOETHE.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR DOWDEN'S "THE CASE AGAINST
GOETHE."

Among the scholars who have made Goethe the subject of special study Professor Dowden occupies a peculiar position. He has arrived at conclusions which have the merit of fearless candor, but are, possibly, not acceptable on the ground of impartiality. As a student of English literature, and also of the literature of other nations, Professor Dowden has gained considerable reputation and influence, and for this reason it is impossible to pass his remarks over in silence, especially as they were made before a body of avowed students of Goethe, the English Goethe Society.

In making this reply the present writer is animated only by that love of truth of which Goethe has said that it is shown in *the capacity of finding everywhere the good*; and if he should emphasize more than necessary one or the other evident truth, he hopes to be pardoned in the spirit of Shakespeare's:

"Truth can never be affirmed enough,
Though doubts should ever sleep."

And right in the beginning I would like to ask Professor Dowden, what he would think of a critic who should give the misleading title of "The Case Against Shakespeare" to the general statement: that Shakespeare plagiarized extensively; that he frequently indulged in the bad literary taste which was the fashion of the age; that he sometimes heaped horrors on horrors when a milder solution was possible; that much of his wit is coarse, and that his influence on his people was so small that, for nearly two hundred years after his death, it was

scarcely felt in English literature? These facts rest on good evidence—but what about the essential truth concerning the great poet?

We know that there never existed a great poet who was not the child of his times, and who did not, for this very reason, bear more or less the imprint of the good and bad features of these times. If we say that a certain author wrote for all time, we mean only that he expressed with great force and truth the essentials of human nature in the modulations and vicissitudes of his time.

We know—Professor Dowden certainly knows—that all masterpieces are composed of elements which were accessible to all, having come down through the ages, or were the result of social, political, scientific or artistic activities, changes and revolutions. We know that a great poet uses these elements with sovereign power, but yet under limitations imposed upon him by the influences that shaped his character and his life; and, knowing all this, we feel justified in unhesitatingly assigning to a poet like Shakespeare the rank which he has so long held in the estimation of the most competent scholars.

But what is true and proper in this treatment of Shakespeare should be the rule with a poet like Goethe as well.

I have no doubt Professor Dowden will readily admit this. Will he also admit that the following statements of his, taken from a brief outline of his paper which the *London Chronicle* gave at the time, do not conform to this rule, and differ from this treatment?

“Goethe *imposed by the mass of his work*, but does not quality count more than quantity?”

It is a matter of regret that a scholar and critic of the rank of the speaker could make this statement before the English Goethe Society.

Whoever heard a real student of Goethe point to the *volume* of his work as a proof of his excellence as a great poet?

Victor Cherbuliez once remarked of Goethe that he was *the only poet who was at the same time a great philosopher, and the*

only philosopher who was at the same time a great poet. Goethe himself refused to be ranked among the professional philosophers, but he was unquestionably a true philosopher in the more original sense of the word. He was a thinker of extraordinary power, depth and lucidity, and as a thinker he searched into whatever came into his reach and promised results for his intelligence. That he wrote down what occupied his mind—though what is preserved is probably not more than a mere fraction of the work he did in his life—is at least no reason why he should not be valued as a thinker and a poet; and to say that quality counts for more than quantity is to affirm that we must blame him for that portion of his mental activity which could not be all given to poetic production.

In his long life Goethe made some mistakes; some portions of his writings interest at present only those who make a specialty of Goethe-study, and who thus find matter of interest in every line he ever wrote; his 'scientific' labors have no longer their former intrinsic value, and none of them were perhaps needed to help the progress of science; his thoughts on art, though still valuable and often of intense correctness, have long been incorporated in special treatises, or, possibly, have been distanced by later writers, and some portions of what we find in his collected works are only of secondary importance, or, let us admit the possibility, of no importance at all. But what of that?

Surely there is no reason to belittle Goethe on account of this evidence of a restless activity. The serious student finds even in these *hors d'œuvre* of genius much that he has reason to value highly, but he would never think of establishing the fame of the great poet on labors that have little or no connection with poetry. A single work, the *Divina Commedia*, has given immortality to Dante, yet Dante wrote vastly more than this poem in his tolerably long life. The same is true of Petrarch whose sonnets form but a very small portion of his poetical activity, but are his only title to greatness as a poet. If Shakespeare had lived as long as Goethe, is it unreasonable

to suppose that he would have written much which Professor Dowden would not reckon as poetry?

And further: "*Goethe's most important writings are fragmentary or ill-organized.*"

Had the lecturer ever considered what the term 'fragmentary' or 'ill-organized' implies? Is a novel like the *Wahlverwandtschaften* fragmentary? Is *Egmont* fragmentary—or *Iphigenie*, or *Hermann und Dorothea*, or *Tasso*, or any of his incomparable lyrics? In what sense is *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* more fragmentary than, for instance, *Hamlet*? *Hamlet* is killed off by the poet—the drama comes to a forced and unnatural end by a process of stabbing and killing, apparently a concession to the bad taste of the public. *Wilhelm Meister* ends his apprenticeship in a way that is surely as satisfactory as any other possible solution.

Is *Faust* fragmentary? *Faust* is the standing wonder of the age—it has been called a 'worldly Bible'—it is read with ever new enthusiasm by succeeding generations, by young and old, by the ordinary reader and by the most learned critic. It has been made the subject of the deepest study, it has received the closest attention, the most genuine admiration of noted men in all the civilized nations. All these students, critics, readers, admirers of the wonderful work may be said to form a court of inquiry, and the judgment of the overwhelming majority of this court is so unanimous and so favorable that even Professor Dowden might hesitate to set up his own private opinion against it.

Is *Faust* ill-organized? Who will be the judge? There is such a thing as sublimity of purpose which fails in some respects in the execution. You may pick flaws in *Faust* as you may in *Hamlet* or the *Divine Comedy*. It is possible to go even further without injuring the unique glory of *Faust*. We may admit that the second part of the poem is not popular reading; that it does not appeal to the feelings and the intelligence of the average man or woman, nay, that it is frigid, unsympathetic and, simply considered as poetry, vastly inferior to the first part.

But it is neither fragmentary nor ill-organized, if we put ourselves at the point of view of the poet.

The lecturer might hurl his shaft, provided with these two barbs, at some of the best known masterpieces in literature. The *Iliad*, for instance, is a fragment, for it lacks a beginning and an end: we are not told how the quarrel between Greeks and Trojans arose, and we are left in ignorance of the fate of the hero after he had slain Hector. But this fragment is nevertheless a whole, for the poet's intention was to sing only of the "wrath of Achilles."

One of the finest pieces of prose writing in the world is Goethe's *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. Must we call it fragmentary because it does not tell us of the *whole* life of the poet? In that case any poem would be fragmentary that singles out, say a part of a day, for instance the morning, because it does not include noon and evening. Most novels, even those of such masters as Walter Scott, Dickens, Bulwer, would have to be classed as fragmentary, because they, as a rule, tell us only what happens to their hero up to the date of his wedding day. There is here a misconception in the mind of the lecturer which he would be ready enough to censure in one of his pupils who should be guilty of confounding the idea of *unity* in a composition with the idea of *completeness*. We demand the former, but regard the latter merely as a matter of convenience and individual preference.

The foregoing remarks may suffice to show the nature of the extraordinary utterances of a scholar who assumes the rôle of a critic of Goethe; and nothing further is, possibly, called for. But the character of the meeting, and the wide publicity the lecture has received, seem to call for a more extended reply. Professor Dowden makes the attempt of accounting for the *imperfect* work of the poet thus: "His career as an artist, like his life as a man, was neither single nor homogeneous; it was, indeed, a succession of excursions and retreats . . . ; he had the misfortune as an artist that no great literary tradition descended to him, and the result was that *during all his days*

he was an experimenter, and an experimenter who followed foreign models." In order to support this general charge the lecturer treats us to the following specific allegations: "In his earlier years Goethe came under the influence of the French classical theatre, and for a while he composed artificial pastoral plays of love intrigues and turned his dramatic Alexandrines. Then the romantic historical tragedy of Shakespeare and the sentimentalism of Rousseau and Ossian captured his imagination; *Goetz and Werther* were resonant echoes of voices borne to him on the wind rather than original utterances of his own."

We might pause here and ask the question: What would the lecturer say if such a charge were laid against the youthful Shakespeare? Does he not know where Shakespeare drew his inspiration? Does he know what use he made of the work of others? Nay—is he so ignorant as not to know, or so forgetful as not to remember this commonplace of literary history: that one author learns from the other; that every former great mind necessarily influences every later one? Rousseau stood under the influence of Richardson, as Goethe obeyed to a considerable extent the influence of Rousseau, but the latter was a vastly greater man than his English predecessor, and, in order to understand how great was the advance of Goethe over Rousseau, it is only necessary to compare, with some attention and without *parti-pris*, the works of both.

In his *Ein quidam spricht: ich bin von keiner Schule*, etc., the poet admirably hits the ridiculous pretenders who claim absolute originality. "An Independent Fool," "*ein Narr auf eigene Hand*," is the title he gives to such a coxcomb.

To deny true originality to the poet who created *Werther*, while fresh from his experience in Wetzlar—who wrote *Goetz*, while yet full of enthusiasm from the reading of the life of the old knight, with an independence of plan and treatment that leaves the old story behind like the shadow of a giant—is, to say the least, a very bold act. Is Professor Dowden so sure that Walter Scott, who drew the first inspiration for his Waverly

novels from his study of *Goetz*, was utterly mistaken in his high estimate of the originality of the work? At any rate, will he limit this sort of treatment to Goethe, or extend it to all the other great poets of the ancient and the modern world?

It is true that in *Goetz* the influence of Shakespeare's utter disregard of the unity of time and place is felt, but as each scene is *characteristic* and in the *truest sense original* by itself, the question of arrangement of the proper sequence of the scenes, for the purpose of presentation on the stage, is one quite distinct from the original poetry of the piece.

Professor Dowden pursues his theme with fearless, or rather reckless, energy: "Later he (Goethe) cast scorn on the work of this period of youthful ardor, cultivated a new classicism, or pseudo-classicism, imitated or *falsified* the Greek drama, *Iphigenia*, *invested the ideal with a pseudo-epic grandiosity in Hermann und Dorothea*, cultivated by an anachronism in art an artistic sensuality, not spontaneous, but second-hand, in rivalry with Catullus, imitated Martial in his epigrams, reverted to *Racine* (query: when and where?), translated from Voltaire, and pushed a doctrinaire view of art so far that he wrote a drama, *The Natural Daughter*, in which the characters became abstract types and *could not even be granted proper names.*"

Apart from the mistake shown in the italicized words, for the reason that the characters were not named was a very different one and largely due to political considerations, the astonishing element of this charge is its *air of certainty*. The lecturer seems not to have had the slightest doubt that what he said must recommend itself to the Goethe Society, and yet he must have known that the members of this society laid some claim to having looked at Goethe's works with their own eyes, and used, in reading them, their own judgment.

The society was further treated to an examination of the late 'nerveless' eclecticism of the poet's decline. "The explanation of these *aimless wanderings* was partly that Goethe had no great tradition to determine his course and impel him onward.

He experimented endlessly toward the creation of a new German literature, but a literature that grew from the soil and was not the manufacture of tentative culture."

I am afraid the lecturer, when he uttered these sentences, was under a peculiar fatal charm which vitiated his judgment and blurred his mental vision. I believe that he has been long since very sorry to have given expression to these statements which for aimlessness, lack of point and irrelevancy cannot be easily matched.

It, surely, is hardly necessary to inform any student of Goethe that, so far from consciously *making experiments* for the creation of a new literature, he was distinguished among all his fellows and rivals for his unwearied endeavor to give an outward and artistic form to the *realities* he met in his life. How flip-pant is this charge of *aimless wanderings!* I noticed in one of our magazines an article in which Professor Sloan praises the *perorations* of Bismarck's great speeches, now recognized by the most competent German literary men as masterpieces of literature. But Bismarck never wrote a peroration, and all his preparation consisted in a thorough mastery of the *facts* which he intended to present. That his genius was great enough to give a terse and proper expression to these facts procured him a prominent rank in the literature of his people. In this respect he did only what Goethe had done before him, and the error of Professor Sloan is therefore as great as the error of Professor Dowden. Our interest in all that Goethe has written is so great, because we have the strongest reason to believe that he never wrote without having a definite experience in his mind, some fact or occurrence of greater or less importance which necessarily and naturally led to the verbal statement. We must add, of course, that he used such experience *as a poet*, allowing his artistic instinct and his poetic fancy to shape the outcome; but he never wrote aimlessly, never indulged in mere *tentative* work for the purpose of *possibly* making a *hit* some time; in short, he was *genuine*, not *factitious*; and I think Professor

Dowden himself will not deny this, when he comes to reflect soberly on the import of what he so unfortunately stated.*

Goethe made literature because he could not help it. He could not help expressing the truth as he saw it, and what more original literature can there be than the product of such activity? *Aimless wanderings!* What a misnomer in the eyes of him who considers without prejudice how the poet worked!

Let us take an example. Goethe felt an irresistible desire to visit Italy. He starts suddenly for that country, and no sooner arrived, his attention is taken up by a variety of subjects. He works on *Iphigenie*, *Tasso*, *Egmont*, *Faust*. He applies himself to the practice of painting and sculpture, to the study of Vitruvius and Palladio, *i. e.*, of architecture. At the same time he is haunted by the problem of the morphology of the plant, and fascinated by the subject and its study; everywhere he is on the lookout for impressions, and nowhere is he satisfied with anything at second hand. His activity is extraordinary, and that short period of less than two years ripens his *Iphigenie*, *Tasso* and *Egmont*, advances his *Faust*; enables him to form a remarkable, and in the main accurate, theory of the evolution of the plant, and to enrich his mind by an extraordinary number of clear, definite and profound impressions in the world of art and nature. While doing all this he was, in a sense, experimenting, but the more proper term would be: *he was gathering experience*. It would be putting the truth on its head to speak here of *aimless wanderings*, for the whole movement was, in one sense at least, intended to be aimless. Had the poet gone to Italy with a definite plan, and had he rigidly carried out this

* Emerson, in his essay on Goethe, speaks incidentally of the *ridiculous good faith of German authors*. He means this as praise, because Germans, unlike so many writers of the French and other nationalities, do not write for literary effect, but in order to express exactly and individually whatever engages their attention. In other words, there is no attempt at *posing* with the representative German authors. Many of the remarks which Professor D. applies to Goethe would fit Victor Hugo. One of the reasons why Molière ranks as a truly great poet is that he, unlike so many of his countrymen, never *poses*.

plan, is it likely that the outcome of the journey would compare with the results which are before us?

I might stop here and leave the subject to the judgment of the reader whose studies have no doubt enabled him to see at once the shallowness of this arraignment of a great poet. But there are a few points in this arraignment which deserve special attention, because they express, to some extent, an undisputed fact. The one is that Goethe wrote some of his poems in imitation, though but rarely in conscious imitation, of Greek, Latin or French authors; that he translated some of Voltaire's works, and that he found no great tradition in his own country *to urge him on*.

It would be difficult to prove that the fame of a poet, or his real originality, suffers on account of having occasionally imitated another author, especially one who has long been dead. Whether that poet be Martial or Catullus, Propertius or Voltaire, can make but little difference. Much of the best Latin literature is an imitation of the Greek; the Greek authors themselves used earlier models, and it may be truly said that every succeeding phase of literature is in some degree influenced by some preceding phase. Thus English literature grew by imitating Italian and French models. Shakespeare fertilized German literature, and Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe and other German authors have in their turn left their mark on the literature of England, France and other countries. It is not at all true that a literary tradition in the country of the poet is needed to urge him on. He will be urged on by his own genius, by the example of the literatures of other nations, by his contemporaries, in fact by the entire magnificent bequest of past ages. To call all the works of a poet 'tentative,' because some of them are not as perfect or as important as others, or to deny superiority to any, because some fall below the highest standard, is to play with words, or, at best, a most unfortunate attempt to enlighten the public on a subject in regard to which the speaker himself is sorely in need of light.

What did the speaker mean by the phrase that 'Goethe's misfortune was that no great literary tradition descended to him?'

We might ask : What 'great literary tradition' favored Dante or Shakespeare? Are the authors that preceded Shakespeare of more importance than Lessing and Wieland? Was the influence of Herder of less consequence than that of the whole lot of tragedy writers whose pieces were swept into oblivion by Shakespeare? What tradition operated in the case of Shakespeare that was not active also in the case of Goethe? Might we not much more justly say that in this respect Goethe had unquestionably an advantage over the British poet? Had Goethe *experimented* for a new literature, it would have been easy for him to write twice as many dramas as he did—to produce an epic with all the paraphernalia of gods and goddesses, or of angels and archangels, and to imitate any successful composition under the sky. But he did his work in a very different spirit. He claimed emphatically and repeatedly that poetry was *inspiration*, and in this sense he looked upon his productions as the *necessary outcome of instinctive mental action*, the relation between poet and poem, to use his own simile, being like that between the bird and the egg she laid. This *inward force that made him write* was independent of caprice and wilfulness. The subject took hold of his mind, stayed there a while and was finally detached in a poetic form. How is it possible to speak of a writer of such spontaneity and naturalness as an *experimenter*? This characteristic feature in Goethe appeared early and is so persistent throughout his poetical career that it has been noticed by every fairly careful reader. It is just as evident in his prose writings as it is in his poetry. Among the former we might specially mention the 'Campaign in France;' among the latter his elegy on Schiller and the four stanzas which bear the superscription *Urworte* ('Orphisch'). In all these compositions, from the concrete, matter-of-fact descriptions of the 'Campaign' to the philosophical elevation of the *Urworte* we find the direct, individual and

unaffected, but perfect and delicately shaded expression of the inward picture that had formed in the poet's mind. The idea of experimenting is utterly incompatible with such a process of composition.

To speak of imitations of Martial, etc., by Goethe, as of any consequence whatever in forming an estimate of his character as a poet, is not to the point. A poet who reaches the age which Goethe did might have imitated every poet that ever wrote without incurring the risk of being judged by his imitations. Did Goethe imitate Euripides in his *Iphigenia*? Did he, as Professor Dowden says, *falsify* the Greek *Iphigenia*? He imitated the Greek poet as to the general outline of the drama—and he was *original in every essential feature of his own drama*. But because he was original, *i. e.*, *because he did not imitate Euripides in the essential element of his drama*, Professor Dowden concludes that he *falsified* the Greek play. A remarkable way of arguing—which would leave a new poet no choice as to the use of an ancient subject! He would have to follow a prototype *literally* in order to escape the charge of *falsification*, but by so doing he would lay himself open to the charge of ‘*imitation*.’ Euripides made the furies mere creatures of a diseased fancy—Æschylus represented them as real beings who even appear in a court of justice. Æschylus and Sophocles represent Iphigenia as actually killed at the altar of Diana, while with Euripides the goddess interferes with the sacrifice by removing the maiden in a cloud and leaving a deer in her place.

Euripides, representing the thoughts and feelings of a later generation, both *imitated* and *changed*—or must we say with Professor Dowden *falsified* the *maiden* and the *goddess* and the *furies*? *Difficile est satiram non scribere*.

I have felt compelled to use the great name of Shakespeare in order to point out the illogical character of the ‘Case against Goethe,’ because there is no other poet of modern, and perhaps of ancient times also, who compares with Goethe in the power and universality of genius pure and simple. But it has never occurred to me to compare the two great poets in other respects.

Goethe was no Shakespeare any more than Shakespeare was a Goethe. In Shakespeare's great dramas the passionate element prevails, hence they are eminently fit to fix the attention and to engage the sympathy of the spectators, both high and low, educated and uneducated. This peculiar dramatic quality Goethe does not show, if we except the first part of *Faust*, and *Egmont*, in any of his dramas. What he shows may to some appear as of a higher order, appealing to the aristocrats of culture rather than to the masses; at any rate, it must be classed separately from such soul-stirring pictures of passion as *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *King Lear*. At the same time we find that the most pathetic tragedy ever written is nevertheless the work of Goethe, *i. e.*, the first part of *Faust*. It is even more popular outside of England than any of the great tragedies of Shakespeare, but Goethe composed it, so to speak, by a happy accident (tradition and personal experience joined), and he approached its interest, without quite equaling it, only in *Egmont*. The circumstance deserves to be particularly considered as long as such utterances as we find in the 'Case against Goethe' can be prominently displayed before a Goethe Society.

The delicate fancy, the graceful sentiment and the easy flow of animated, infinitely varied and suggestive language in Shakespeare's comedies and other dramas have justly elicited the admiration and praise of the best critics. The theatrical work of Shakespeare impresses us as the basis of Shakespeare's fame, and as something that, taken as a whole, has never been equaled. We overlook blemishes and faults and judge from the general and overwhelming impression.

With Goethe the case is different. In their own way such dramas as *Tasso*, *Iphigenie*, *Egmont*, *Faust* are possibly as perfect and as successful as any that were ever written. Shakespeare approaches the style of Goethe's dramas in his *Hamlet*, a drama in which action is subordinate to thought and fancy, as it is in the dramas of Goethe. But Goethe's character as a poet and a thinker is not completely and solely revealed in his dramas as Shakespeare's is in his, and as was nearly the case

with Schiller. Perhaps, as some maintain, his genius was epic or lyric rather than dramatic; at any rate, the proof of his unrivaled and undisputed superiority as a poet is found in his lyrics rather than in his dramas, and even in the latter the lyric passages are distinguished by such a glow of feeling and beauty of form and coloring that we are often carried away by them, instead of feeling the impulse of the dramatic action. It would nevertheless be a great mistake to deny that Goethe ranks among the very greatest masters of personal characterization. His creations of characters have never been surpassed and but rarely equaled. And what infinite variety there is in them! What delicacy of shading! What felicity in often revealing a whole character by a single trait! From Werther to Faust, from Gretchen to Iphigenie—what a wealth of delineation! What fidelity of painting! What loveliness and beauty in characters like Hermann, Dorothea, Ottilie, Natalie, Egmont!

In the interest of fairness one might be tempted to ask: "How did a scholar like Professor Dowden arrive at his statements and conclusions? It is not probable that he expressed views without previous examination; what, then, was the nature of this examination?"

We are not told how the lecturer arrived at his conclusions, but the following may not be an unfair *résumé* of his thoughts. He found Goethe much admired by men to whom he could not deny the capacity of profound critical insight, and he was forced to admit that the great man was an original thinker of great force, an excellent judge of human nature, and unquestionably a poet and finished writer. But Goethe was all this *differently from the poets and writers with whom his critic was more particularly acquainted*, and so the critic concluded that Goethe was *an experimenter who wished to found a German literature without exactly knowing how!*

He found the poet had written a beautiful idyl in the style of an epic, and *as the critic's authorities were not known to have done so*, the critic concluded that the poet had "invested the idyl with a *pseudo-epic grandiosity* in Hermann and Doro-

thea." That the poem is absolutely devoid of the quality known as 'grandiosity,' that its art is simplicity itself, though poetic in every turn, that it is pervaded by a noble pathos born of simple virtues in their conflict with circumstances which called for no bloody decision, but only for the moral firmness of the common man of honor: all this counts for nothing in the eyes of a critic *who is not used to that sort of poetic work!*

Goethe wrote a few epigrams in the style of Martial—forthwith his critic puts him down as an experimenter 'who follows foreign models,' as though it were possible to do anything whatever in the line of art of which there could not be found parallel attempts in the past; as though the *using of a form once invented* deprived the one who used this form afterward of the right to be called *original*, no matter how *individually new* his work may be!

Professor Dowden surely knows that the iambic lines which we call blank verse and which were used by Shakespeare were imitated from the French and Italians; that he borrowed the form of his sonnets from the Italians, and that, if we may say that Goethe occasionally *imitated* some one in the matter of form, we are forced to say the same of Shakespeare and every other poet.

And right here our critic gets entangled. On the one hand he charges Goethe with being an *experimenter* who follows foreign models, because he wrote in the style of Martial and of Homer; and on the other, he pities him because he lacked a *great tradition*, as though there could be a greater tradition than the tradition of the best poets of all the ages.

He virtually says to him: "If you write a novel like *Werther*, I count for nothing the note of individual truth which rings through the work—but I condemn the whole work as an imitation, because I find that the author used the epistolary form made popular by Richardson and Rousseau, and showed that he was greatly impressed with the characteristics of Rousseau and Ossian." And so of *Goetz*: "Whatever there is of your own in the work is a matter of indifference, because I know

that at the time when you wrote it you were under the influence of Shakespeare's romantic historical tragedy."

And further, in regard to *Iphigenia*: 'The Greek *Iphigenia* is very *different* from yours, *therefore* you *falsified* it; and your classicism is *pseudo-classicism*, because it isn't the classicism which I, the critic, regard as the true one.

In conclusion one general remark.

A truth that underlies nearly all the shallow criticism of this sort remains to be stated, though it is a truism rather than a new statement. Goethe spent the greater part of his life in a small town, at a petty court and amid surroundings that would not allow the expansion of great tragic force, even if this had been the poet's specialty. When we compare, in respect to their fate and the conditions of their lives, poets like Shakespeare, Racine, Corneille and Molière with Goethe, we notice at once that the former sought and found the centre of their poetic activity in the capital of their country, and in close proximity to the court, while Goethe lived in a country which was yet far from having attained that unity which made a common capital and a single prominent court possible. Neither Vienna nor Berlin, and still less Dresden or Munich or Frankfort could be, even remotely, compared to London or Paris. There was no *public* for tragedy in a small place like Weimar, the stimulus to write tragedy was therefore wanting, and the same was true of the higher comedy. Germany had not yet recovered from the terrible fate brought upon her by foreigners as a consequence of the great reformation. The glory of Luther's mighty work his people paid for, in the thirty years' war, by the most terrible ruin that ever befell a great nation. Subsequently, divided into hundreds of little states, Germany fell an easy prey, at the beginning of this century, to the most skillful general of the age who had sole control of the immense resources, not only of France, but of a large number of allied German and Italian states. The national regeneration, though it was only a partial one, which caused and followed the expulsion of the French in 1813, found Goethe too old a man to be stimulated by it. His

best work was done, and the character of this work had been determined not only by his individuality, but also by the incentives he had experienced. Schiller, who was ten years younger and endowed with a different temper, was far more under the influence of the events of his time, especially the French revolution; his tendency was more readily fixed, because he lacked the wide range of the older poet and was less likely to be diverted from the line of work which gave him at once such brilliant promise of success. Schiller had suffered oppression, hence his fiery outburst of suppressed feeling in the *Robbers*. Goethe had more or less enjoyed life—he had been rather fortunate in all he had undertaken, hence his temper remained genial; it never became revolutionary; and while he very well saw that with the success of the French revolution, after the cannonade of Valmy, a new era of history had begun (cf. Campaigne in Frankreich) he judged rightly that the fanatical fury of the French did not suit the Germans. His life became contemplative, because no great misfortune stirred his indignation; his poetry epic and lyric rather than dramatic, because the conflicts in which he was involved were of an inward, personal nature, and he stood aloof from the greater political life that goes on in a great state and throbs at a great capital. Hence the absence of violent contrasts in his dramas, of passion uncontrolled, and wickedness pure and simple.

His Mephistopheles even is not a devil of such incarnate wickedness as Shakespeare's Iago. There is not a ray of humanity in Iago, but Goethe's Mephistopheles is at least humorous at times, and he never tries to appear better than he is. Is Iago, therefore, a more artistic figure than Mephistopheles? I doubt that greatly, but he is undoubtedly a more dramatic one. Goethe was imbued with the modern view of natural history which sees in the world an infinite series of transitions, and nowhere an abrupt contrast. He did not believe in completely bad men as Shakespeare did, and, therefore, he did not paint such. In this we cannot help finding his undoubted superiority over Shakespeare and almost all other poets of the

highest rank. But he knew that men can be very weak when tempted, and he painted such men with the irresistible truthfulness of genius. This is already clearly visible in his *Werther* and his *Goetz*. The striking originality of these two works can be denied only by a *doctrinaire* of the worst type—and by Professor Dowden, let us add, when he is not quite himself.

No more original works ever flowed from the pen of a great poet than *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Egmont*, *Tasso*, *Faust*, *die Wahlverwandtschaften*, *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* and the incomparable lyrics which alone would suffice to make their creator immortal. But in all of these we meet with not a single character that is thoroughly bad or so moved by passion, or by a wicked purpose, as to excite our indignation. They satisfy the demands of the highest intelligence, and it is true that the highest intelligence, any more than the best taste, is not found with the multitude. It is, however, also true, and deserves to be noted as a proof of the marvelous power of the poet's genius, that, though devoid of the popular elements of intense passion and ferocious hatred, some of his works have had a *popular* success of the most pronounced type. No play on the stage is more successful, even in a popular sense, than *Faust*; few equal *Egmont* in effectiveness (—one must have seen the play *well* acted to appreciate this—); while *Hermann und Dorothea* has always been dear to the whole German people, and has been praised by other nations wherever it has become known. *Tasso* and *Iphigenie* as dramas are great and perfect works of art, but they appeal to the cultured few rather than the masses; and the same may be said of the two great novels.

Whether or not Goethe might have produced more dramas of a type to attract the masses, if he had been placed in a city like London in the stirring age of Elizabeth, or in Paris at the court of a luxurious and glory-loving king like Louis XIV., is a question I should not dare to answer. If Professor Dowden, or any one else, should answer it in the negative, I should feel that no particular injustice were done to Goethe. Goethe would not be

the unique genius whom we know and admire, if he had only been another Shakespeare or another Molière. The dramatic intensity of *Othello* and *Macbeth* is very different from the moral and soulful pathos in *Faust*, *Egmont*, *Tasso*, *Iphigenie*; but to say that the former is necessarily superior to the latter is to assume that one knows to the very core the art and the genius of both Shakespeare and Goethe.

Professor Dowden may be justified in his assumption of such a knowledge, but that it *is* an assumption and *nothing else* will scarcely be doubted by any one who will take the pains to study the works of Goethe.

CHARLES A. EGGERT.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
November, 1898.

A LOW GERMAN BALLAD.

COMMEMORATING THE SIEGE OF GÖTTINGEN IN THE
THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

In the library of the University of Göttingen, under the cipher *Cod. Philol.*, 198, is to be found the manuscript of a Low German ballad, which according to the introductory title had been composed to commemorate the futile attempt of General Piccolomini to take the town of Göttingen during the thirty years' war in 1641. The ballad had been composed by a Göttingen student and seems to have enjoyed much popularity among the townspeople. A further search revealed the fact that there existed also a printed copy of the poem upon a sheet of coarse unsized paper, and, further, that the manuscript was only a copy of the printed text made evidently by some one who desired to obtain the words and was unable to purchase a printed copy, the edition having been most likely very limited. This I judge to be the case as the title of the piece clearly states, that it was printed at the request of many good friends by a local printer and presumably, therefore, had a very limited circulation.

Be that, however, as it may, the MS. bears on its face the evidence that it is a mere copy of the print, as it gives the title and date of printing together with the name of the printer exactly as found on the printed page.

The title runs as follows:

En plattdütsches Leid

Dat

Asze dei Kayserliche Generahl Leutent

Picclemin

dei Stadt Göttingen Anno 1641 belagert hadde, un sei nich
inkriegen konne, ahk davor weg- un in ein anner Land

lahpen moste, von ennen Göttingschen Studenten

mahket, un in der gantzen Stadt sungen isz,

uppestund taun ersten mahle up Bidden

vehler gauen Frünne drücket von den

Göttingschen Bauchdrücker

Hans Frereck Hager

Ein dusend seben hunnert un Dörtig.

As alluring as it is to imagine that the song was written shortly after the events it describes and sung by the happy burghers in gratitude for their deliverance, the length of time which elapsed before it was printed in 1730 renders this improbable. It is more likely that its student author was not a contemporary of Piccolomini but that he lived a century later and being perhaps a native of Göttingen, had become interested in this episode of the town's history and so worked it up into ballad form. This is, however, only a theory and it is possible that further search might reveal additional evidence which would definitely settle the date of composition. The manuscript was purchased for the Göttingen library by Professor Roessler in 1853 together with various other manuscripts and original documents. The ballad does not appear in Diefurth's collection of *Historische Volkslieder* and, as far as I have been able to discover, has never been reprinted.

Before giving the text of the poem, it will perhaps be well to describe in brief the events which it commemorates. It was toward the close of the thirty years' war when the imperial forces laid siege to the town of Göttingen. The details as given in the *Zeit- und Geschicht-Beschreibung der Stadt Göt-*

tingen, published in 1734, are as follows: In 1641, after fruitless negotiations between the deputies of Duke Friedrich and Duke Christian Ludwig with those of Archduke Leopold William of Austria, the war waged more furiously than ever. The Archduke marched with his entire army to Einbeck, a small town about twenty miles north of Göttingen, which he captured in a few days. Taking up his headquarters at Northeim, about twelve miles from Göttingen, he sent a summary demand to this latter place to surrender. This the magistrates refused to do, pleading as an excuse their duty and oath to their sovereign the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Thereupon Archduke Leopold, with the (Bavarian) general Octavio Piccolomini and the imperial army, made his appearance before the town. This was on October 21 of the year 1641. In all probability Piccolomini was the actual leader of the forces as in the ballad he plays the principal rôle. In the surrounding villages they threw up breastworks and dug trenches. The inhabitants of the town courageously made two sorties, in both of which they were successful, capturing among others a lieutenant-colonel, a captain and a lieutenant. The besiegers replied by a prolonged bombardment of the town, lasting from between eight and nine in the evening to two o'clock in the morning. In spite of the fact that large fire-balls weighing about one hundred and fifty pounds were thrown into the town, but comparatively little damage was done, especially by fire, owing to the vigilance of the citizens. During the bombardment, says the historian, there was visible between eleven and twelve o'clock, as a special token of the grace of God, directly over the town, a clearly defined rainbow adorned with the appropriate colors. After vainly attempting to take the town, in the night of the sixth of November, the imperial army abandoned the siege and stole silently away.

So much for the historical account of the siege. Without stopping long to inquire into the veracity of the historian or as to the probability of such an extraordinary phenomenon as a rainbow at midnight, it might be said in passing that such an occurrence is not impossible. Provided only that the moon was

shining we should have to do here with the so-called lunar rainbow, such as Schiller describes in the Rütli scene in *Tell*, and which is still seen at rare intervals.

The text of the poem is as follows:*

En plattdütsches Leid

Dat

Asze dei Kayserliche Generahl Leutent

Picclemin

dei Stadt Göttingen Anno 1641 belagert hadde, un sei nich
inkriegen konne, ahk davor weg- un in ein anner Land

lahpen moste, von ennen Göttingschen Studenten

mahket, un in der gantzen Stadt sungen isz,

uppestund taun ersten mahle up Bidden

vehler gauen Frünne drücket von den

Göttingschen Bauchdrücker

Hans Frereck Hager

Ein dusend seben hunnert un Dörtig.

Nah sihner eigenen Meldie.

1. Picclemin, wat wuttu dauhn,
Wuttu verdeinen dat Kayser Lohn,
En grater Generahl blieven,
Sau maustu henna Göttingen thein,
Un maust sei da verdrieven.
2. Picclemin sprack en hastig Wohrt:
Eck will den Kayser deinen fohrt,
Den Brunswikker helpen hahten,
Eck will hen up den Heimburg thein,
Un mihn Volck da sein laten.
3. Oberste Rose up user Fürsten Raht
Brocht hei tau hape alles, wat hei hadd,
Etliche Rüter un Lans-Knechte,
Dameh kam hei von Hameln marchert
Dat was vor Göttingen rechte.

* The orthography of the manuscript differs frequently from that of the printed text, but as the variants are unimportant and consist mainly in the omission of *h* as sign of length and in writing final *ei* as *ey*, I have not thought it necessary to reproduce them.

4. Asze hei nun boven Elligehusen kam,
Da deen dei Kayserschen gegen öhm stahn,
Sei wöhren hahch vermähnten,
Sei deen tau Boveden ower marcheren,
Sei wollen den Rosen upfräten.
5. Oberste Rose sprack sine Saldaten an,
Jü Brunswikker daut nah Göttingen gahn,
Un daut jöck tapper wehren,
Un wenn dei Kayserschen achter jöck kohmen,
Will eck meck bahle ümkähren.
6. Picclemin schwor ne dühren Aehd,
Jü Braure, tau Göttingen gifft gaue Büht
In allen Gatzen un Strahten,
Sei mahkeden bräe Taschen grath
Dei halff verschmachten Saldaten.
7. Asze hei nun unner Geiszmär kam,
Da fong hei erst dei Belagerung an,
Mahkete Schantzen un Lahb-Graben,
Dameh woll hei dat Uhtfallen wehrn,
Dei Göttingschen wollend nich haben.
8. Dei Göttingschen Saldaten giengen tau Raht,
Dat Geiszmär Dohr man öhne updaht,
Up dei Schantzen deen sei tau setten;
Dat konnen dei Kayserschen nich verdragen,
Sei reipen, man solle sei entstetten.
9. Asze recht dei Scharmützel soll ergahn,
Un nun ein Kährl bihn annern stahn,
Da deen dei Kayserschen uhtrihten;
Sei leipen uht der ersten in dei annern Schantze,
Dat Gewehr deen sei wegschmihten.
10. Dei Oberst-Leutent von der Kärserschen Armee
Dei stund asze ein verjahgdes Rehe,
Kein Wohrt kon hei mär sprehken,
Hei leip seck hen, hei leip seck hähr,
Sin Harte woll öhm tau bräcken.

11. Dei Oberst Leutent dei Ahpe un Dohr,
Dei ersten beyden Schantzen verlohrt,
Wol hunnert wohren erschlagen.
Hei sülwenst wohrt gefangen nohmen,
Dat dorfft hei neimand klagen.
12. Ein Hopmann un mähr Offecier
Sind ahk wohl daht geblewen hier
Wol up der Bayerschen Seiten,
Mähr Offecier sind gefangen nohmen,
Dei mosten nah Göttingen gleiten.
13. Picclemin erschrack up düszer Sakh,
Hei wohrt sau zornig asze en Drahk,
Sihn Volck hadde nits tau frähten,
Sei freiten Linsen, Arfften un Bahnen,
Dat sei hell kakken dähten.
14. Asze hei dei Schantze un weer flickt,
Un näher nah der Stadt herrückt,
Woll hei nich länger teufen.
Hei brochte achte Stücke an der Thahl,
Dei sollen Göttingen bedreufen.
15. Drey Füermäser an der Thahl,
Sine Fuer-Kublen altaumahl
Hei hart vor Göttingen brachte,
Damehe schot hei dei gantze Nacht,
Dat öt fry schalde un krachte.
16. Asze hei nun sau gewaltig schoht,
Met Kublen un Granaten groht,
Wol recht um Mitternahte,
Einen Regenbogen man lüchten sach,
Dei dei Börgers frälich machte.
17. Picclemin ging by dei Kunstabels stahn,
Hei leiht uht grahter Bedreuffnisz gahn
Ein Wohrt uht sihnen Munne:
Worum steckt denn dat Füer nich an?
Dat hett meck leider Wunder.

18. Wat was öt doch vor Einbeck gauth,
 Dei Börgers hadden ennen schlechten Mauth,
 Asze wie dat Füer nin schmehten,
 Dei Göttingers lachet ösk noch dartau uht,
 Soll ösk dat nich verdreiten.
19. Isz denn nun hier kein mann bekind,
 Dei ösk bröcht in ein anner Land,
 Wie möchten hie werden erschlagen,
 Un wenn dei Schweden achter ösk kohmen,
 Könne wie dat nich verdragen.
20. Leopolds Dag kam eben heran,
 Picclemin bund den Ertz-Hertzog an,
 Den Brennwiien soll hei spendehren,
 Hei seh: et is nich Suhpens Thit,
 Wie möhtet bahle marscheren.
21. Jü hungerigen Saldaten nöhm tau hahp
 Jüe Büszen un lehgen Frehte-Sack,
 In Franckreich möhte wie jöck leiten.
 Sau geht denn hen den Brick den Brack,
 Vor Göttingen könne wie nich blieven.
22. Dei Papen hadden nich gerne vernohmen,
 Dat sey nich wöhrn in Göttingen kohmen.
 Doctor Polenz wolle nich hebbem,
 Dat öhm dei Ertz-Hertzog dei Fenster inschmeht,
 Hei wol öhn vorn Biszschop verklagen.
23. Dei Göttingsche löbliche Commandant
 Verdeint Lob, Preisz, verdeint ahk Danck,
 Hei leit dei Stücke brummen,
 Hei danckede GOTT mit der gantzen Stadt,
 Dat sei sind lahsz gekohmen.
24. Dei ösk düit Leidgen hett erdacht,
 Des Fihndes Zorn gar wähnig acht,
 Leit GOTT den Hähren sorgen,
 Dat hei den Fihnd bahle störten woll,
 Dat biddet hei Abend un Morgen.

This song has of course mainly a local interest as it commemorates no great or decisive battle of the thirty years' war, at the same time it is not devoid of a certain broad though crude humor especially characteristic of the North German peasant of to-day and most probably characteristic of all classes at the time the song was composed. For as is well known, and has been very ably expressed in an article *Der Bauer und die Kunst* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, January, 1899), the gulf which education and refinement has to-day placed between the cultured classes and the peasants did not formerly exist. In physiognomy and in nature the upper classes and peasants during the Middle Ages and down almost to the eighteenth century were practically identical. This humor is especially instanced in one passage of our poem which, however, because of its broadness is offensive to modern ears. Still it is entirely free from cynicism and illustrates only the naive standpoint of a man who is accustomed to call a spade a spade.

Although beneath the title of the poem stand the words, *Nah sinner eignen Meldie*, the unknown author owed the metre of the song and the very rhymes of the opening stanzas to another Low German song very popular at the time. A very similar song upon the battle at Treves, August 11, 1675, is given by Baring in his work: *Beytrag zur Hannoverischen Kirchen- und Schul-Historia*, Hannover, 1749, S. 49. The opening stanzas are found also in Havemann, *Geschichte der Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, 1857, III, S. 271, and the whole song appears with a translation into High German in Ditzfurth's *Historische Lieder* as No. 19. The opening stanzas are as follows:

Düc Krequi, hör, wat wultu dohn?
 Wultu verwarft'n dat grote Lohn,
 En got Frantzose blieden?
 So mostu hen na Trier gahn
 De Dütschen dar weg driefen.

De Frantzmänn sprak ehn trotzig Wort
 De Dütschen wil ik jagen fort,
 Canalj', ik wil dick faten!
 Ach setestu biem Grüttte-Pott,
 Et möchte dick wol baten.

The similarity of this song to the other is too obvious to be overlooked and one is at once tempted to consider one as an imitation of the other. If we assume that the Göttingen poem was written but a short time before the date of its printing, the poem on the battle of Treves might very well have served as a model for the former. The similarity, however, is confined mainly to the opening stanza and this leads us to consider a second possibility, namely, that each poem arose independently of the other but in imitation of an older poem whose popularity and circulation were such as to cause it to be taken as the model for many poems of like nature. An investigation has shown that this is, in fact, the case, the model being the famous ballad of *Henneke Knecht*, published by Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, as No. 463, and found also in the enlarged edition by Erk-Böhme. The author of the poem on the battle of Treves puts us on the right track by remarking under the title of the poem: "To singen na der Wiese: Henneke Knecht wat wultu dohn," etc. This ballad of Henneke Knecht is a capitally humorous account of a young farmer's lad, who runs away to sea in the belief that the life of a sailor must be infinitely superior to the dull drudgery of the farm. No sooner, however, does he begin to feel the discomforts of that woeful malady seasickness than he wishes himself once more home. It is, as Böhme says, a good example of the failure to observe the advice of the old proverb: "Schuster bleib bei deinem Leisten."

The ballad was composed in all probability as early as the close of the fifteenth century, as it is mentioned as early as 1524 as a well-known melody, though the earliest print of it dates from the seventeenth century. Baring, who was the first to rescue it from oblivion, speaks of it as follows: "Es ist das Henneke Knechts-Lied vor Jahren so bekannt gewesen, dass es

fast bei allen Zusammenkünften, bey der Wiegen, und von den Kindern auf der Gassen auch sogar denen Vögeln vorgepiffen . . . und gesungen worden ist. Das Henneke-Knechts-Lied hat man nach gehaltenen Lands-Gerichten von denen Musikanten vor Zeiten spielen lassen." The popularity of the ballad was therefore exceedingly great and it was probably known wherever Plattdeutsch was spoken or understood.

A comparison of the three ballads shows that the author of the one on the battle of Treves followed the *Henneke Knecht* closely in the first two stanzas and then, inspired by his own theme, struck out on independent lines and does not seem to have glanced at or thought of the model again. The result is a poem of decided merit, perfectly original with the exception of the opening stanzas. The unknown Göttingen student, who described the siege of the town, evidently considered his muse too feeble to attempt an independent flight, or else felt that the very similarity of his poem to the original might guarantee its popularity, and followed the older poem so slavishly that almost every stanza bears evidence of copying.

The *Henneke Knecht* begins as follows:

Henneke Knecht, wat wult du don
wult du verdeinen dat ole lon
over sommer bi mek bliven?
Ik geve dek en par nier schoh,
den plog kanst du wol driven.

Compare with that the first stanza of our poem:

Picclemin, wat wuttu dauhn,
Wuttu verdeinen dat Kayser Lohn,
En grater Generahl blieven,
Sau maustu henna Göttingen thein,
Un maust sei da verdrieven.

It will be noticed that each stanza consists of five lines, the first two rhyming with each other, then the third and fifth rhyming, while the fourth is in all cases unrhymed. With the

exception then of the fourth line, which we should expect to be different, we find that our would-be poet has made use of the identical rhyme-words of his predecessor.

The first half of the second stanza is similarly identical. In *Henneke Knecht* it runs:

Henneke sprak sek en trotzich wort
 " Ik wil nenen buren deinen vort
 solk arbeit wil ek haten.

This our author has retained as follows:

Picclemin sprak en hastig Wohrt
 Eck will den Kayser deinen fohrt
 Den Brunswikker helpen hahten.

Even the word *hastig* which he substituted for *trotzich* occurs in the next stanza of *H. K.*, which he was unable to use for his poem as the allusions to the other story are too evident to be changed.

The first line of the fourth stanza of *H. K.*:

Henneke wort bi sek to rat

probably served as the model for the beginning of the third stanza of our poem:

Oberste Rose uf user Fürsten Raht.

Similarly the beginning of the fourth stanza:

Asze hei nun boven Elligehusen kam
 Da deen dei Kayserschen gegen öhm stahn

seems to have been modeled on the sixth stanza of *H. K.*:

As Henneke to Bremen binnen quam
 gink hei vör enen schipper stau

the rhyme being identical and the thought similar.

The eighth stanza of *H. K.* begins:

Henneke swor enen düren ed

This we find reflected in the sixth of our poem:

Picclemin schwor ne dühren Aehd.

Three stanzas our poet manages to produce without any reference to his model, but as if exhausted by the effort, he returns more slavishly than ever to the original.

In *H. K.*, the ninth stanza reads:

Do Henneke Knecht q̄tam up de se,
stun hei as en verjaget re
en wort konn hei nich spreken;
Hei dachte hen, hei dachte her
sin herte woll öm tobreken.

This we find reproduced almost word for word in stanza ten of our poem:

Dei Oberst-Leutent von der Käaserschen Armee
Dei stund asze ein verjahgdes Rehe,
Kein Wohrt kon hei mār sprehken
Hei leip seck hen, hei leip seck hähr
Sin Harte woll öhm tau bräcken.

For the thirteenth stanza our author borrows the rhyme *Sakk: Drakk* from the eighth of *H. K.*

The remainder of the poem is freer from imitation of the older one.

Only in two places is a similarity to be found. The twelfth stanza of *H. K.* begins:

Is hir denn nu niemand bekant
dei mek bringt in dat Sassenlant.

This we find reproduced in the nineteenth stanza of our poem:

Isz denn nu hier kein mann bekind
Dei ösk bröcht in ein anner land

The opening line of the concluding stanza is likewise copied from *H. K.*, where it reads:

De ösk düt ledken erst erdacht

This we find in our poem in the form:

Dei ösk düt Leidgen hett erdacht

absolutely identical, except for the substitution of *hett* for *erst*.

With reference to the dialect, the two poems are quite independent. This is, of course, to be expected as the form of so popular a ballad as *H. K.* must have varied with every dialect into which it was introduced and we are not at all certain in what form our poet knew it. Most probably he had learnt it orally and in the forms of his native dialect. The dialect of our poem is as well as I can make out that of Göttingen.

Older *ō* appears in the Göttingen poem as *au*, e. g. *gauth*, *dauhn* and in *H. K.* as *ô* or *oe*, *goet*, *roen* (= *roden*), *don*. The vowel of the pret. of the reduplicating verbs in the Göttingen poem appears as *êi*, e. g. *leip*, *reipen*, *leit*; in *H. K.* as *ê*: *let*. Old *ai* appears in *H. K.* as *ê*: *ed* (Eid), *wêt* (*weiz*), *klee* (*kleider*); in Göttingen poem as *êi* or *ae*: *kein*, *Aehd* (Eid). The diphthong *io* appears in *H. K.* as *ê*: *leve* (*liebe*), *nemand* (*nemand*); in Göttingen poem as *êi*: *nêimand*, *verdreiten*. In both poems, however, *verdienen* appears as *verdeinen*. In *H. K.* the pret. sing. of *kommen* is written *quam*, in Göttingen poem *kam*. Original *ë* before *r* appears in Göttingen as *a*: *harte* (Herz) as usual in Plattdeutsch; in *H. K.*, however, as *e*: *herte* (Herz). This would seem to point to a dialect bordering on the Midland German as does also the retention of the old *qu* in the preterite of *kommen*. It will be seen that the dialect of the Göttingen poem has an aversion to the long vowels *ô* and *ê*, speaking them as diphthongs, which is characteristic of all the Low German dialects west of the Elbe. Cf. Jellinghaus, *Zur Einteilung der niederdeutschen Mundarten*, p. 22. An exception to this is found in the pret. sg. of the verbs of the second Ablaut class: *schôt*. This agrees with Jellinek's description of the dialect (p. 3). The rhyme with *schôt* may have influenced the spelling of *grôt*, as older *au* generally appears as *ä*, cf. *Lahp-Graben*. In the case of *Lohn*, High German may have influenced the spelling, as it rhymes with *dauhn*. In the Göttingen poem the *l* in the second person sg. pret. of *wollen* has been lost: *wuttu*, whereas in *H. K.* it is retained: *wult tu*. The Göttingen poem is not entirely free from High German forms. In many cases these are proper names or technical terms, such as *Oberste*,

Schantzen, *Scharmützel*, *Erzherzog*, etc., which are naturally taken over unchanged. In one or two cases, however, High German forms occur where no good reason exists. This is especially the case in the rhyme *Seiten: gleiten*, where *H. K.* has the correct Low German forms *siden: gliden*. The name of the deity also occurs in High German form: *Gott*. This is, however, to be expected as the Low German had yielded before this time to the High German as the language of the Church.

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HAUPTMANN'S "DIE VERSUNKENE GLOCKE."*

In December, 1896, the first performance of Gerhart Hauptmann's "*Die Versunkene Glocke, ein deutsches Märendrama*," was given in the Deutsches Theater in Berlin. The play gained great popularity from the very start, so that it made conquest of the stage throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary in an astonishingly short time. I have before me the thirty-fourth edition (S. Fischer, Berlin), published in 1897, when the play was hardly one year old.

The drama has very aptly been called "Das Mädchen aus der Fremde" by Miss U. C. Woerner in her excellent little book on Gerhart Hauptmann. It is indeed the mysterious maiden from the strange land of romanticism, the Mignon of the end of the nineteenth century, who offers the treasures of symbolism, fairy tale and wilful fancy to our work-a-day world.

This is the only one of Hauptmann's plays entirely in metrical form; the metres employed are the tragic iambic verse of five stresses; the heroic couplet; Knittelvers, and irregular lyrical metres.

It has five acts, and following the example of Ibsen no division into scenes within the acts. In the subsequent narrative of the action of the play I shall take the liberty of forming somewhat arbitrary groups of events according to dramatic consanguinity, if that term may be permitted, instead of the traditional and merely formal division according to the entries and exits of the characters.

* This paper is one of a series of studies treating of Hauptmann's plays and their literary relations, some of the conclusions of which are simply stated here.

ACT I.

In Act I we are at once introduced into the atmosphere which pervades the whole play, that of mountain and forest, meadow and fountain, and the mysteries of its teeming life in the guise of the creations of the fairy tale. There is a little gold-haired elf, Rautendelein (Red Annie), mischievous, careless, eager for life, concerned only about the sunshine and the joys of her present existence; there is Nickelmann, the watersprite, who inhabits a fountain, ugly, old, froglike, whose "Brekekekex, quorax, quorax" reminds us of Aristophanes' *Frogs*. He wants the lovely Rautendelein for his wife, but is scorned by her. Next appears the Waldschrat, the traditional satyr, the goatlike wanton of the woods, representing the baser side of animal existence, sensual, vulgar, fond of any kind of mischief regardless of the consequences.

The second scene begins with Heinrich, severely injured, dragging himself upon the mountain. He is still a young man, surely not beyond the thirties, a bell founder by profession. We learn his story from his conversation with the other persons of the scene, Rautendelein and Wittichen, the old woman of the forest, who is the only one speaking a dialect—the dialect of the Silesian mountains, Hauptmann's native place—and is full of homely wisdom and woodcraft. While hauling a bell that he had cast for a church on the top of the mountain to its place of destination, wagon, bell and himself had suddenly been hurled down a precipice into a lake which had swallowed up the bell. A mystery surrounds the event. Heinrich has no distinct recollection of it. We are left to infer that the spirits of the woods, hating the bell and the religious tendencies symbolized by it, caused the disaster. At the same time we are made to feel that Heinrich's suffering, perhaps even his fall, is due to some mysterious psychic cause. As Rautendelein speaks to him, a strange transformation takes place in him. A glow of warmth, passion, hope and enthusiasm comes over him. He entreats her not to leave him—to kiss him. In this scene lies the beginning of the dramatic action. Rautendelein cannot

understand his words nor his agitation. She sees his tears and is perplexed, for being an elf she does not know tears. Heinrich falls asleep exhausted, and Rautendelein draws a magic circle about him to keep off intruders.

In the third scene appear, allured by the Waldschat's mocking cries of help, the preacher, schoolmaster and barber from Heinrich's village, who have gone forth to seek him. The three are typical representatives of life in a small village; the preacher of the comfortable conventional Christianity, intolerant to fanaticism, determined to maintain the existing order under all circumstances. The schoolmaster stands for shallow and pedantic rationalism. He does not believe in witchcraft or ghosts, but charges his manifest dread to the possible presence of thieves, murderers and smugglers in the woods. The barber is the vicious, vulgar gossip monger that makes him a familiar figure in popular stories in Germany. They find Heinrich and Wittichen. There is an encounter between them and Wittichen in which their two conflicting views of life are plainly exposed. They take Heinrich with them. In a closing scene fairy life holds full sway again as in the beginning. After a chorus of elves the dramatic action moves one step farther. Rautendelein suddenly discovers tears dropping from her eyes: the symbol of her transformation. She now feels sympathy, yearning for human society, and determines to follow Heinrich. Nickelmann tries vainly to dissuade her. The act ends with her departure and a final mournful "Quorax! Brekekekex!" of the destitute watersprite.

ACT II.

The second act is also expository. The scene is laid in Heinrich's home "in the valley," at the foot of the mountain forest. The first scene gives a charming picture of conjugal love and devotion. His wife, Magda, has dressed their two children for the celebration of her husband's masterpiece, which is to take place as soon as a white flag announces that the bell is safely hung in its place.

Into this scene of happiness and hope bursts the news of

Heinrich's disaster, soon followed by the three men carrying the injured man. Magda's grief, her solicitude, her attempts to cure and encourage, are extremely pathetic. In a dialogue between husband and wife it becomes clear that he has ceased to love her. The poet evidently wants to give us the impression that he has outgrown the world in which they have been happy together. To her he is the master who has reached the pinnacle of fame, while he tells her that this bell was not perfect but had a hidden crack. He wishes to die. Magda leaves the house in order to bring in a woman known for great healing powers. We feel that the tie between husband and wife is broken: the third step in the dramatic action.

As soon as Magda has gone, Rautendelein comes disguised as a servant maid. At first Heinrich thinks he dreams. Very soon, however, after she "has opened his eyes by a kiss," his hopefulness and zest return. She puts him to sleep through incantations. Upon awakening Heinrich bursts out into the words of joy and hope, p. 79:

“Was ist mit mir geseh'n! Aus welchem Schlaf
erwach' ich. Welches Morgens Sonne dringt
durch's offne Fenster, mir die Hand vergoldend?
O Morgenluft! Nun, Himmel, ist's dein Wille,
ist diese Kraft, die durch mich wirkt und wühlt,
dies glühend neue Drängen meiner Brust:
ist dies ein Wink, ein Zeichen deines Willens—
wolan, so wollt ich, wenn ich je erstünde,
noch einmal meinen Schritt ins Leben wenden,
noch einmal wünschen, streben, hoffen, wagen—
und schaffen, schaffen.”

During this speech, Frau Magda enters. Perceiving the signs of his recovery she bursts into a cry of joy. There the act ends.

The knot is now tied, the tension is very high. Frau Magda thinks her husband is given back to her; the observer is in suspense. The following act dispels all doubt. Heinrich belongs to Rautendelein.

ACT III.

The third act is, with the exception of the closing words, by far the weakest of the play. There is no progress whatever in the dramatic action. The purpose of the act is to show Heinrich in his new calling. Heinrich has left wife and children, and his human brethren in the village, to dwell in the mountains with Rautendelein. There, near his workshops, this act takes place. It has only two scenes. The first is a fairy scene between Nickelmann, Waldschrat, and later Rautendelein, for the purpose of acquainting the audience with the occurrences intervening between the second and third acts. Nickelmann mourns the loss of Rautendelein to Heinrich, Waldschrat mocks him with insinuating vulgarities, and Rautendelein is happy and proud.

The second part of the act is given to a lengthy dialogue between the preacher and Heinrich. The former comes to reclaim Heinrich for his wife and children, and for human society, looking upon him as a victim of the superhuman powers of Rautendelein. The irreconcilable conflict between the views of the preacher and Heinrich, the Christian and the pagan, becomes more and more manifest. At last, as the preacher sees the hopelessness of his appeals to his priestly authority, he reminds Heinrich of his duty toward his deserted wife and children. Heinrich has nothing to answer, but words of pity as sounding as they are insincere, and the excuse that he has no power to help them. The act ends with the very impressive words of the preacher in speaking of the submerged bell, p. III:

“Sie klingt euch wieder, Meister! Denkt an mich!”

ACT IV.

The catastrophe comes in the fourth act. We find Heinrich in his workshop in the midst of his activity with six dwarves assisting him. We learn to our surprise that he, the bell founder, has expanded his capacities to an astonishing degree. He is erecting a building, half temple, half kingly castle, on the

top of the mountain wherein he plans to hang, not a bell, but wonderful chimes, which are to herald his message far into the world. Besides, he is mining the hidden treasures of the earth. In short, he has become a sort of Prometheus. But his activity is nervous and restless. He scolds his helpers, and maltreats them with the cruelty of the man that has to drown the insistent voice of remorse and doubt in his own mind. The preacher's words begin to show their effect. After giving expression to his self-tormenting thoughts in a monologue he falls asleep on his couch. Nickelmann appears to him from a water trough, not in his usual character of a comparatively subordinate water sprite, but as an evil spirit, a tormentor, the embodiment of the evil conscience, like the evil spirit appearing to Gretchen in the cathedral scene in Faust. He recounts Heinrich's guilty deeds in fiendish glee to him and tells him that all his efforts will be futile. Upon awakening, Heinrich calls for Rautendelein who vainly tries to comfort him. We begin to see that her power over him is waning. All her entreaties, her love, her devotion, admiration and unbounded confidence in him cannot give him the old ambition and hopefulness. The voice of doubt in his heart will not be silenced. Suddenly the mocking calls of the Waldschrat are heard outside, announcing the arrival of the enraged villagers bent on stoning Heinrich and burning his work. A stone flung through the window strikes Rautendelein. Heinrich rushes out driving off the aggressors. After his victorious return, at the end of a scene between him and Rautendelein, over which the anguish of impending disaster hangs like a thundercloud, Heinrich lends voice to his final estrangement from his spirit of life, Rautendelein. His words, p. 137 :

“ Sieh: tief und ungeheuer dehnt der Raum
und kühl zur Tiefe sich, wo Menschen wohnen.
Ich bin ein Mensch. Kannst du dies fassen, Kind ;
fremd und daheim dort unten—so hier oben
fremd und daheim . . . Kannst du das fassen ? ”

separate the two. He feels himself a different being from her. The disaster now is unavoidable. It is introduced by a scene of an almost dreadful dramatic power. As Heinrich is continuing his dialogue with Rautendelein, he pauses at intervals to listen to sounds from below. We have the words of the preacher at the end of the third act still in our ears :

“Sie klingt euch wieder, Meister. Denkt an mich !”

It is the bell, we feel, and the same anguish creeps over us that clutches at Heinrich's heart. And there, something comes creeping slowly up the mountain from the lake, dragging something heavy upon the slope of the mountain. It approaches nearer and nearer. Heinrich recognizes the spirits of his two children carrying a pitcher filled with “something salt and bitter,” as they tell him. It is the tears of their deserted mother. “And how is she,” he asks. “She is well,” they reply. “And where?” “With the water-lilies.” In that moment the bell begins to sound loudly from below. We see the whole situation as in a flash of lightning. Heinrich's wife has found her death in the silent lake, both his children have died—his guilt could not be brought before his and our eyes with more crushing force. And the bell is the herald of his guilt. The old preacher spoke truth. In the madness of his despair Heinrich curses Rautendelein and casts her out.

ACT V.

In the last act we return to the scenery of the first. It is introduced by a song of the elves telling of Balder's, that is, Heinrich's death, and the destruction of his work by his pursuers. Rautendelein enters, faded, wan, broken. Sitting down on Nickelmann's fountain, she sings a sad song of her fate, that has condemned her now to become the watersprite's bride, and to live with him in his well. The hopelessness of her situation is made more apparent by a dialogue between Waldschrat and Nickelmann immediately following her song, both brutally triumphing and gloating over her ruin.

After a while Heinrich appears, worn, a fugitive, carrying a rock in his right hand, as if to defend himself. Defeated and broken, as in the first act, he can not hope for a restoration to life this time. He meets Wittichen again and calls for Rautendelein; but Rautendelein cannot give him any help now. Upon his pleading, Wittichen consents to let him taste the joy of life once more, but she warns him that it is only for a short moment. She gives him three cups, the first filled with white, the second with red, and the third with yellow wine. If he drinks the white wine, she tells him, his old strength will once more return. The second cup will give him once more the bright spirit that has left him. But, she adds, he that has drunk from the first two cups, has to drain the third one also, and that means death.

Heinrich drinks from the first two cups. Once more the old life flickers in him. He calls for Rautendelein. She comes and he dies in her arms.

The concluding words of the act announce the coming of the dawn of a new hope and a new life for him :

Rautendelein (zu ihm hinfliegend, seine Kniee umschlingend, mit Jauchzen).—Die Sonne kommt!

Heinrich.—Die Sonne!

Rautendelein (halb schluchzend, halb jauchzend).—Heinrich!!!

Heinrich.—Dank!

Rautendelein (umarmt Heinrich und drückt ihre Lippen auf die seinen—darnach den Sterbenden sanft niederlegend.—Heinrich!

Heinrich.—

“Hoch oben: Sonnenglockenklang

Die Sonne . . . Sonne kommt!—Die Nacht ist lang.”

(Morgenröthe.)

But what does become of Rautendelein, the bright little maiden who has won our sympathy in a far higher degree than Heinrich? Will she have to return to the disgusting Nickelmännchen into the well, or will she share Heinrich's resurrection? The copy of the play before me gives no hints regarding her.

Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, has the kindness to tell me that when he saw the play at the Deutsches Theatre in Berlin last summer, Rautendelein rushed back into the well immediately after Heinrich's last words. We have to consider this interpretation as that of the author who undoubtedly had superintended the preparation of the play for the performance.

DRAMATIC PROTOTYPES.

The *scenic mechanism* of *Die Versunkene Glocke* and the *poetic form* are largely modeled upon Grillparzer's *Melusina, ein Märchendrama*. The scenery in the first and third acts of the latter play is essentially the same as that of our play. It is "ein Wald, im Hintergrunde mit Felsen geschlossen. In der Mitte das Becken eines verfallenen Brunnens. Im Vordergrund ein Felsensitz, von Gesträuchen umgeben." This fountain plays very much the same part in both dramas. It is the scene of the hero's first meeting with an elf-maiden, and also of his final reunion with her, and of his death, precisely as in the case of Heinrich and Rautendelein. The atmosphere of forest and mountain pervades both plays, the charm of the fairy world envelops the whole action; even the chorus of the three elves is common to both plays, as is also the irregular lyrical form. The slight difference, that in the model play the heroine is one of this chorus, while Rautendelein is, as we shall see later, an independent elfish being, can hardly be considered important. A comparison of the stories of both plays in a broad outline will easily show their points of contact.

In the first act of *Melusina*, after a short introductory song by hunters, enters Melusina, a frolicsome, teasing maiden, like the Rautendelein of the first act of *Versunkene Glocke*. Next comes the knightly hunter, Raimund, tormented, like Heinrich, by a romantic yearning for something indefinite, which for him is embodied in the mysterious maiden, Melusina. He falls into a magic sleep (like Heinrich) to give room to the chorus of elves,

Melusina and her two sisters. Melusina has the same yearning for human companionship and love as Rautendelein ; p. 238 :

Melusina.—

Ihr ewig jung und ewig alt!
Mich lockt nicht euer träumendes Genügen,
Auf eurer Zauberburg ist's mir zu kalt,
In wärmern Armen will ich liegen.

and p. 238 :

Melusina.—Überall Nacht ist ohne Liebe,
Überall Tag, wo Liebe lacht.

and again to Rainund, p. 239 : “. . . Es ist uns verboten, mit Menschen Gemeinschaft zu haben, aber ich liebe dich . . . ”
Also p. 240 : “. . . Kann dir das genügen, so wirst du überglücklich sein, glücklicher als noch nie ein Mensch. Meiner Liebe bist du gewiss. Der Erde Müh' und Noth entnommen, wirst du erkennen, was du jetzt nur ahnest, und *schauen*, was dir jetzt Mühe macht, nur zu denken . . . ”

With these passages compare some of Rautendelein's words, after she has wept her first tear for Heinrich :

Rautendelein (to Nickelmann, p. 42) :

Ei nein, es geht auch so (refusing to come to Nickelmann), was soll mir das!
Dein alter Brunnenrand ist bröcklig, nass,
und nichts als Asseln, Spinnen . . . was weiss ich!
Und du und allesamt; ihr ekelt mich.

And later, p. 44 :

Rautendelein.—Ich möchte fort, nur von Euch allen fort.

And again, p. 45 :

Rautendelein.—

Grosmutter sagt, du seist ein weiser Mann
So schau dir deine Springbächlein an:
da ist kein Wasserlein so dünn und klein,
es will und muss ins Menschenland hinein.

p. 46:

Rautendelein (to *Nickelmann*).—

Und ist deine Krone von eitel Saphir,
 so lass deine Töchter prunken mit ihr.
 Meine güldenen Haare, die lieb' ich viel mehr,
 die sind meine Krone und drücken nicht schwer.
 Und ist von Korallen dein Schrein und dein Tisch:
 Was soll mir ein Leben bei Molch und Fisch, etc.

Melusina's sisters warn her not to trust man, because he is false and faithless, p. 238:

Melusina
 Ich warne dich
 Falsch ist der Mensch und treulos;
 Ihn reut was er verspricht:
 Trau du dem Menschen nicht!

And *ibid*:

Melusina
 Ich warne dich!
 Er wird dich verlassen,
 die Liebende hassen;
 Es machen wie's Andre, er Andren gemacht.
 Dann kommt dir zu büssen,
 Und rächend verschliessen
 Dich zürnende Geister in ewige Nacht.

In *Versunkene Glocke* it is *Nickelmann* who tries to dissuade *Rautendelein* from following *Heinrich*, using very much the same arguments, p. 44.

Steht dir ins Menschenland der krause Sinn?
 Ich warne dich.

(follows a passage borrowed from *Fouqué's Undine*; see below)

p. 45:

Fürwitz! lass ab, dräng nicht in ihre Reihn!
 Du legst um deinen Hals 'nen Mühlenstein,

Sie schummern dich in graue Nebelnacht,
Du lernst zu weinen, wie du hier gelacht.
Du liegst gekettet an ein altes Buch
Und trägst wie sie der Sonnenmutter Fluch.

Raimund is loved by Bertha, but neglects her to follow Melusina, as Heinrich does his wife Magda. Raimund follows Melusina into her palace, but after a while tires of her. He also is tormented by homesickness for humankind.

Compare the following two passages :

Raimund says, p. 253:

Und wenn manchmal ein Gedanke an meine Heimat

Heinrich, p. 137:

Sieh: tief und ungehener dehnt der Raum
und kühl zur Tiefe sich, wo Menschen wohnen.
Ich bin ein Mensch. Kannst du dies fassen, Kind:
fremd und daheim dort unten—so hier oben
fremd und daheim . . . kannst du das fassen ?

Both Raimund and Heinrich at last drive the loving maidens with curses from them, who thereby become subject again to the spirits of the water. Heinrich, as well as Raimund, incurs the wrath of his fellows by his association with the spirit world ; and both find their death at the same fountains, where they first met their elf-maidens, to be reconciled and reunited with them.

The similarity of the two plays extends no farther. Wittichen, Nickelmann and the Waldschrat have no prototypes in the *Melusina* ; they will be traced out below. The main characters of *die Versunkene Glocke*, Heinrich and his wife, Rautendelein, the villagers ; the general tendency, with the exception of those characteristics mentioned above, point to different sources.

In the matter of poetic form and dramatic technique Hauptmann shows himself independent of his model in several important points, an independence largely gained by his naturalistic training :

He uses the "milieu" much more extensively and effectively.

In the first act of *Melusina* the hero appears, after a few introductory lines by the hunters and Melusina, to acquaint the spectator *by his own words* with the situation. The introductory scene of *Versunkene Glocke* is longer and much more elaborate. The hero does not appear until the whole situation has been set in a very strong light. The naturalistic poets, as has been shown, regard their heroes as a product of material forces working upon them furnished by inheritance and the "milieu," or surroundings. Consequently these forces ought to be exposed independently and previously to the appearance of the hero, who is their victim.*

Every act in *Versunkene Glocke* is introduced by a long scene that does not advance the dramatic action in the least but whose sole purpose consists in giving the "milieu." The long scene at the beginning of the second act between Magda, her children and the neighbor woman; the lengthy fairy scenes at the beginnings of the third and fifth acts are preparatory to the following scenes. The fourth act alone opens directly upon the dramatic action, because there is practically no change of scenery from the third.

As to the poetical form I am inclined to plead its superiority over Grillparzer's drama. The metrical form, to be sure, is wooden and lame; nothing of the lyrical swing and smoothness of Grillparzer's tripping lines. Nothing of the appropriateness of the metre to the character employing it. Imagine Nickelmann and the lewd Satyr pouring out their vulgar souls in the solemn five-stressed iambics, which the latter sometimes, as at the beginning of the third act, varies with heroic couplets; or old Wittichen parading her home-spun in the tragic metre of Schiller, the same, in which Heinrich clothes his loftiest sentiments. Why did Waldschrat not remain faithful to the "Knittelvers," of p. 39, so becoming to him? Who knows whether by persistency he might not have turned his equals into his way of thinking. The few lyrical passages, the elf choruses on pp.

* See for this the chapter on naturalism (cf. note on p. 1).

34 ff, in four-stressed trochaic lines, Rautendelein's song of grief in the last act, and the few songs in irregular metres scattered through the play lack the subtle charm and suggestive tenderness which we find in Grillparzer's songs.

The excellence of Hauptmann's poetry over Grillparzer's lies in the greater intensity and individual vigor of his imagery. He lives himself, if I may use a very forcible Germanism, into the souls of his characters and sees events with their eyes, while Grillparzer's imagery reflects merely his own fancy and is therefore monotonous and colorless, though more polished. In *Melusina*, the hunters, the elves, Raimaud, his servant Troll, all speak exactly the same language, relying for the display of their mental disparity solely on the choice of more or less dignified and elastic metres. In *Versunkene Glocke* the Waldschrat shows his filthy mind in every phrase and image. I give one sample, p. 39.

Masslieb und Vergissnichtmein
stampf' ich in den Grund hinein
spritzt das Moos und knirrt das Gras,
Elbchen ! hei ! so mach' ich das,
Bucke, bocke, heissa ! ho !—
Bulle schnauft in's Haferstroh
und die junge Schweizerkuh
streckt den Hals und brüllt ihm zu.
Auf des Hengstes brauner Haut
Flieg' ist Bräut'gam, Flieg' ist Braut,
und der Mücken Liebestanz
dreht sich um den Pferdeschwanz.
Holla ! alter Pferdeknecht !
kommt die Magd dir eben recht ?
Beizt der Mist im heissen Stall
giebt es einen weichen Fall, etc.

Nickelmann's prosaic and vulgar old soul confronts us in every sentence. Read his variation of the beautiful comparison of man and elf borrowed from Fouqué's fairy tale *Undine*,*

* See below.

p. 44 :

Nickelmann.

Der Mensch, das ist ein Ding,
 das sich von ungefähr bei uns verding:
 von dieser Welt und doch auch nicht von ihr.
 Zur Hälfte—wo? wer weiss!—zur Hälfte hier.
 Halb unser Bruder und aus uns geboren,
 Uns feind und fremd zur Hälfte und verloren.
 Weh' jedem, der aus freier Bergeswelt
 sich dem verfluchten Volke zugesellt,
 das, schwachgewurzelt, dennoch wahnbethört
 den eignen Wurzelstock im Grund zerstört
 und also, krank im Kerne, treibt und schießt,
 Wie 'ne Kartoffel, die im Keller spriesst, etc.

and p. 45 :

Hör' was ein Tausendjahr'ger zu dir spricht:
 lass du die Knechtlein ihrer Wege gehn,
 den Menschen Wäsche waschen, Mühlen drehn,
 in ihren Gärten wässern Kohl und Kraut, etc.

Then follows his last plea which contains a very fine point,
 p. 46 :

Du aber, Prinzessin Rautendelein !
 Sollst eines Königs Gemahlin sein.
 Ich hab' eine Krone von grünem Krystall,
 die setz' ich dir auf im goldschimmernden Saal:
 die Dielen, die Decken von klarblauem Stein,
 Aus rothen Korallen Tisch und Schrein . . .

He would probably have hurled all the wealth and splendor of earth and water at her if she had not then interrupted him. That is the vulgar soul true to nature, and his idea of happiness!

Wittichen's speech is full of cynical wisdom and penetrating practical sense so common among the lower classes who, without having become vicious, have lost their faith in all ideal aspirations together with the vapid, high-sounding phrases with which they stubbornly confound them (as she does in the case of Heinrich whom she classes with common men), cf. p. 33 :

Nähmt ihr da oarma Knerps, dar durte leit !
 Woas gihts' mich oa. Ich hoa 'm nischt gethon.
 A mag sei Laba laba, wenn a's koan
 vor mir su lange wie a Oden hot:
 dar, freilich, werd nie goar zu lange recha.
 Ihr nennta Meester. Mit dar Meesterschoaft
 is ni weit har. Euch miga se wull klinga:
 die eisna Glocka, die doas Perschla macht.
 Ihr hott asune Uhrn, die nischte lirn;
 in's klinga se ni gutt. Ihm salber au ni.
 A weess wull, wu's da Dingern oalla fahlt:
 oam Besta fahlts 'n und an Sprung hot jede.
 Hie, nahmt de Trage, troat doas Jingla heem !
 Da grussa Meester.—Meester Milchgesicht !
 stih uf: Du sullst 'm Paster halfa pred'gen,
 'm Lehrer sullste halfa Kinder prigeln,
 und 'm Balbierer sullste Schaum schloan halfa.

I may be permitted to quote one more highly characteristic passage from her lips, p. 34 :

Wittichen.

Spoart ihr doas Räda ! Eure Prädicht kenn ich.
 Ich wiss, ich wiss: de Sinne, doas sein Sinda.
 Die Erde iis a Soarg. D'r blaue Himmel
 d'r Deckel druf. De Sterne, doas sein Lechla,
 de Sunne iis a grusses Luch ei's Freie.
 De Welt ging under, wenn ke Foarr nich wär,
 und inse Herrgott is a Popelmoan.
 A seld' ann' Kutte nahma, ihr verdient's
 Schloappschwänze seit'r: doas is's, wetter nischt.

The styles of Heinrich, the preacher, Rautendelein and all the other persons show similar appropriateness to their characters even in the shades of varying moods.

An equal importance for the genesis of Hauptmann's drama belongs to Ibsen's *Masterbuilder Solness*, which, besides having a share in the scenic apparatus and the symbolism, has furnished a great deal of the material for his plot and the fashioning of his two principal characters. A few words will suffice to set the

fable and main characters of Ibsen's highly symbolistic play in the right light. Solness, a successful masterbuilder, who formerly built many churches, but as the result of the burning of his own home has later devoted himself to the erection of dwellings for men, is introduced to us as a man on the turning point of life, at the height of his professional career. Endowed with a dauntless energy, goaded by an insatiable ambition, he begins to foresee the waning of his powers and to dread the growing generation, youth, who must replace him. Sleepless fear engenders doubt of his own powers which corrodes the pillars of his strength and hastens his downfall. There is another enemy in his breast—remorse. His ambition has indirectly killed his children and ruined the life of his wife. The beginning of his success dates from the destruction of his first home by fire, possibly, only possibly, caused by a defective chimney. He had known the danger, but neglected to repair the damage, secretly hoping, as we are made to understand, for the disaster which would enable him to lay out the large property into building lots.* As an indirect result of exposure during the fire, his two children died, and his wife, whom he had ceased to love through his selfish ambition, has lost her affections, her love, her buoyancy, becoming a hopeless drudge, whose only motive of action is duty. Into this atmosphere of despair and egotism there enters Hilde Wangel, a young girl who had known Solness ten years before, then a young man, unbroken in spirit, when he had built a high tower in her native place, which he had dedicated by a wreath hung on the top by his own hand. He had promised her at that time to build a kingly castle for her ten years from that date, sealing his promise with her kiss. She comes now to remind him of his promise, but finds him much changed. He is about to dedicate his own new home; but now he does not dare to ascend to its top to hang the wreath himself. She persuades him to try the daring deed; he tries, but falls and is shattered on the ground.

* Act II, Sc. 4.

Hilde is not a real woman ; she is wholly symbolic, representing the spirit of activity, of the pushing life of uncowed and unhesitating youth. She is like the popular elves of whom I shall have to speak below in that she has no *conscience*. More than once she advises him to have a "robust conscience." She has no sympathy with human fear, but only with life, with the exertion of human powers. The only comment she has to make, as she hears of Solness' danger in climbing upon the house is: "That will be terribly exciting,"* pp. 68 and 80. With all she has a roguish and teasing disposition. She has an absolute confidence in Solness and constantly fires him on to great deeds.

The parallel between Heinrich, Rautendelein and Magda on the one hand ; and Solness, Hilde and the wife of Solness on the other, are too obvious to need many words of explanation. Heinrich too sacrifices his family ; he too is aroused to new life, a new great effort, out of the weakness of doubt, by a young maiden, the spirit of new life, claiming him for his own. His wife, like Frau Magda, does not take part in his transformation. We can see that Frau Magda would have become just what Mrs. Solness is, if Heinrich had not deserted her. Some of the most important imagery is the same: Solness' climbing into light corresponds to Heinrich's advance upon the mountain, as a symbol of progress :

Solness.—Nein, ich baue jetzt keine Kirchthürme mehr. Und auch keine Kirchen.

Hilde.—Was bauen Sie denn jetzt ?

Solness.—Heimstätten für Menschen.

Hilde (nachdenklich).—Könnten Sie nicht auch über den Heimstätten da so'n wenig—so Kirchthürme machen ?

Solness (stutzt).—Was meinen Sie damit ?

Hilde.—Ich meine—etwas was emporzeigt—frei in die Luft hinauf. Mit dem Wetterhahn in schwindelnder Höhe.

Solness (grübelt ein wenig).—Merkwürdig genug, dass Sie das sagen. Das ist's ja eben, was ich am allerliebsten möchte.

* I quote in the following the Reklam Ed., the only one I have at my command.

p. 52 :

Solness (ernst).—Haben Sie denn nie gemerkt, Hilde, dass das *Unmögliche*, dass das einen gleichsam lockt und ruft? etc.

Hilde's kingly castle is like the

hoalb ane Kerche, hoalb a Kenigsschluss.

(p. 159) of *Versunkene Glocke*; and most important of all, Solness' fall to destruction during the celebration of his great new home has evidently suggested Heinrich's fall. Inspired by Hilde, Solness also offers defiance to conventional obligations: p. 86: "Von heute ab will ich auch freier Baumeister sein auf meinem Gebiet." The example of Solness must have misled Hauptmann into the curious inconsistency* of making, in the three last acts, a masterbuilder of the bell-founder Heinrich. If we suppose that Solness, instead of being killed by his fall, was severely injured, and that Hilde, arriving after this fall, inspired him to a new life, we have most of the essentials of Hauptmann's plot.

The other plays, which, as far as I can see, have contributed to the technical apparatus of the play in question are Goethe's *Faust*; and Ibsen's *Brand*, and *An Enemy of Society*. To *Faust* we have to trace, aside from the magic circle drawn by Rautendelein around Heinrich in the first act, which may be considered common property of the stage; the transformation which takes place in Heinrich during a magic sleep into which Rautendelein throws him toward the end of the second act, evidently patterned after the first study scene in *Faust*. The kindling of new hope in Heinrich's breast after Rautendelein's kiss upon his eyes, and upon his awakening from the magic sleep in the second act shows too great a similarity with Faust's Easter monologue at the end of the night scene beginning:

Welch tiefes Summen, welch ein heller Ton . . .

not to compel a comparison.

The points of contact with *Brand* are the following:

* See pp. 64 f. below.

The allegorical use of valley and mountains; the valley as the symbol of darkness and gloom, the mountains as that of light and hope. Wittichen says of Heinrich, p. 23 :

Dar durte hot die Sunne die geseahn,

just as the Doctor says to Brand, p. 117 of the Archer edition :

Here summer sunshine pierces not,
Here polar ice-blasts rive and rend—
Here dank and stifling mists descend.

The hero's longing for progress is in both poems symbolized by his climbing upon the mountains. The idea of building (cf. Solness) is common to both. Brand builds churches; he expresses the idea, p. 36 :

Mountain or dale church, which is best ?

And following his suggestion Heinrich builds something, half church, half temple, upon the mountain top. Brand also is a reformer, though his gospel is that of the uncompromising will, while Heinrich's is that of the senses;* he wants to lead the people upward, he is stoned as well as Heinrich—and as Dr. Stockmann in *An Enemy of the People*, the noble but tactless reformer whose mistaken doctrine : "The strongest man upon earth is he that standeth most alone" is the apparent rule of Heinrich's conduct. Brand and Heinrich both try to beat down the furies of remorse over the sacrifice of wife and children with similar empty phrases of their heaven-imposed task. At last, cast out and driven upon the heights by their former friends, both die bankrupt, although Hauptmann would not have us think so, at the Ice Church, Ibsen's symbol of the extinction of all human affections and instincts. The condemnation pronounced by the choir upon Brand's striving, p. 260 f. :

Never shalt thou win his spirit
Thou in mortal flesh wast born:
Spurn his bidding or revere it;
Equally thou art forlorn.

* See below : Heinrich's message.

p. 261 :

Worm, thou mayst not win his spirit—
 For death's cup thou hast consumed;
 Fear his will, or do not fear it,
 Equally thy work is doomed.

and :

Dreamer, thine is not his spirit,
 Naught to him thy gifts are worth;
 Heaven thou never shalt inherit,
 Earth-born creature, live for earth!"

finds its echo in Wittichen's judgment of Heinrich's work on pp. 33 f., and pp. 159-166. Incidentally, it seems probable that the line quoted above: "For death's cup thou hast consumed" contains the seed of Hauptmann's unexplainable symbolism (p. 166) of the three cups filled with white, red and yellow wine, the third of which means death.

It may be accidental though it scarcely looks so, that the dean in Brand (p. 255) as well as the preacher in *Versunkene Glocke* (p. 109) justify the blind raging of the mob by the same words: "Vox Populi Vox dei."

THE CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY.

Heinrich, the Bell Founder.

The hero of the play is Heinrich, the bell founder. The poet tries to make him a protagonist of humanity in its onward march, a brother of Prometheus, Faust and Ibsen's Brand; titanic in his divine discontent with worn out religious and social forms, in his strength of character and will, and in his passionate striving for light. We shall see whether he has succeeded in his task.

1. Heinrich is not a unified personality; he is plainly pieced together. His composite character furnishes the strongest proof of the direct influence of other poets. If Heinrich were an organic poetic growth, such a discrepancy of attributes as will be pointed out presently, would be impossible. During the first two acts he is a bell founder, of great fame, it is true, but with

nothing but human properties. In the last three acts he has suddenly become a master builder, like Solness, erecting something partly a temple, partly a king's palace; casting also beautiful chimes, and in addition wresting all the hidden mineral wealth from the grasp of the earth. Nay, more, he has become superhuman, commanding over all the mysterious powers of the earth, holding the dwarfs and spirits of the earth under the iron yoke of servitude. However, as long as he deals with creations of fairyland we are willing to lull our scepticism to sleep. But in the fourth act, when he drives off single-handed the whole incensed mob from the village that have come to stone him and burn his temple and workshop, we are startled. Here he deals with actual people, and our experience teaches us the impossibility of the outcome of the battle as we see it in the drama. There is nothing in the play to make the result of that battle probable; the hitch is there, and no appeal to the fairy character of the play will remove it.

2. As to strength of character and will, Heinrich is rather below than above the common level.

Gustav Freytag* has shown that in their relation to the progress of dramatic action two types of tragic characters are possible. The hero may take the initiative, forcing the dramatic action forward until at last he is overwhelmed by the opposing forces, he is the aggressor; or he may be on the defensive. The counterplayers force him into more and more violent opposition, until he succumbs to their onslaught. The first type has our admiration in a higher degree, though the second may command our sympathy. It may be interesting to note that according to Freytag all the heroes in Shakespeare's great tragedies, with the exception of Lear and Othello—I think we ought to add Hamlet to the list—belong to the first category, while the great majority of those of the German poets belong to the second.

Whether the materialistic buffer theory underlying naturalistic characterization favor the creation of the second type or not, it is

* *Technik des Dramas*, Cap. I, 1.

certain that Heinrich belongs to it. Hauptmann has thus far failed to place a great character on the stage. Heinrich, like Johannes Vockerat in *Einsame Menschen*,* whom he resembles in some traits, is lacking in decision of character, even in courage and sincerity. It is not he that arouses himself from despair after his fall, but Rautendelein. But soon the old doubt begins to reassert itself, after the conversation with the preacher; and after Rautendelein's guiding hand is withdrawn he collapses again. Though we hear much about his work and great plans, as of those of Johannes Vockerat, we don't believe him; and the more seriously he takes himself the less we are inclined to regard him. His cowardly and egotistic self-pity in the dialogue with his wife, who is so much stronger and better than he, his whole conduct toward her, as she is caring for him and trying to comfort him in her great love for him, is revolting. He is there merely a peevish weakling. His impotent and insincere sympathy with the sufferings of his deserted wife, his unfounded conceit, even a cowardly attempt to excuse himself, make us almost despise him outright. Who can hear these words addressed to the preacher, who reminds him of his duty toward his family, without clenching his fist? p. 107:

Heinrich (nach längerem Stillschweigen, bewegt)—

Könnt' ich sie trocken, Pfarrer, diese Thränen—
 Wie gerne wollt' ich's thun! doch kann ich's nicht.
 In Kummerstunden grübelnd, fühl ich ganz:
 es jetzt zu lindern, ist mir nicht gegeben.
 Der ich ganz Liebe bin, in Lieb' erneut,
 darf ihr aus meines Reichthums Überfülle
 den leeren Kelch nicht füllen, denn mein Wein—
 ihr wird er Essig, bitter Gall' und Gift.
 Soll der, der Falkenklaun statt Finger hat,
 'nes kranken Kindes feuchte Wangen streicheln?
 Hier helfe Gott.

There is only one name for that sort of a fellow—cad.

The result of the fatal weakness of the hero is a great waning

* This has been pointed out by Miss Woerner, l. c.

of the interest after the first two acts. We care little what may become of a fellow like Heinrich, and our sympathies are scattered among worthier objects, as Rautendelein and Frau Magda and her children.

3. There might be a possibility for Heinrich of redeeming himself at least partially by great intellectual powers. He has a message to the world, and we receive hints that it is a great message, a new gospel. It is proclaimed at last in many sounding lines, and we are disappointed. It is neither new nor is it expressed in a more poetic or forcible language than has been done before. Heinrich has cast many bells which herald forth from their church steeples the glory of Christianity. His last bell, his masterpiece, is to fulfill the same office in the mountain church. But Heinrich has long felt a laming distrust of the soundness of the old religion. At last he comes to the conclusion that all his work has been lost in serving a wrong cause; his new knowledge hurls him into an abyss of despair, an event fitly symbolized by the falling of the bell. The poet has two questions to answer: First, wherein does the weakness of the old religion, as represented by the preacher and the villagers, consist; and, secondly, what remedy has Heinrich, the reformer, to offer? The answer to the first question comes from Wittichen:

p. 34.

Spoart ihr doas Räda! Eure Prädicht kenn ich.
 Ich wiss, ich wiss: de Sinne, dass sein Sinda.
 De Erde iis a Soarg. D'r blaue Himmel
 d'r Deckel druf. De Sterne, doas sein Lechla,
 de Sunne iis a grusses Luch ei's Freie.
 Die Welt ging under, wenn ke Foarr nich wär
 und inse Herrgott is a Popelmoan . . .

And on p. 23, speaking of Heinrich:

Dar durte hot de Sunne nie gesahn.

The charge made against Christianity then is suppression of the joyous life of the senses, the obscuring of the sunlight of truth through traditional superstition, and the tyranny of the clergy. And wherein does the new religion consist? What is the

new Saviour to be, who is so persistently called by the name of the old Germanic sun god, Balder? All that we learn from Heinrich's words, is that it consists in a close communion with nature, in the opening of all our senses, eye, ear, even taste to the lessons of the universe, a worship of the sun, and in a passionate, hungry love, the poet's and the artist's love, of all this teeming, glowing life of sound, color, form, smell and taste about us. All this is clearly said in Heinrich's first meeting with Rautendelein, p. 17:

Heinrich.

So löse mich

mit Liebesarmen von der harten Erde,
 daran die Stunde mich, wie an ein Kreuz,
 gefesselt! Löse mich! ich weiss, du kannst es,
 und hier von meiner Stirn . . . befreie mich
 mit deinen weichen Händen: Dornenzweige
 flocht man um meine Stirne. Keine Krone!
 nur Liebe! Liebe! . . .

So, ich danke dir.

Es ist hier schön. Es rauscht so fremd und voll.
 Der Tannen dunkle Arme regen sich
 so rätselhaft. Sie wiegen ihre Häupter
 so feierlich. Das Märchen! ja, das Märchen
 weht durch den Wald. Es raunt, es flüstert heimlich.
 Es raschelt, hebt ein Blättlein, singt durch's Waldgras,
 und sieh: in ziehend nebligtem Gewand,
 weiss hergedehnt, es naht—es streckt den Arm,
 mit weissem Finger deutet es auf mich—
 kommt näher,—rührt mich an . . . mein Ohr . . .
 die Zunge . . .
 die Augen—nun ist's fort—und du bist da.
 Du bist das Märchen! Märchen, küsse mich."

Aside from the trivial toying with the symbols of Christianity and the misleading introduction of the Märchen, this is poetry, and when taken in connection with the scene at the end of the second act makes the poet's meaning sufficiently clear. But it also makes almost the entire third act redundant and therefore

superfluous. In the lengthy dialogue between Heinrich and the preacher, which is to set the two opposite views of life, Christianity and modern paganism, in a clear contrast, it will be difficult to find one single new thought. We can plainly see the great effort of the poet, taxing his linguistic powers to their full capacity for grandeur and sublimity of images, and sonorous weight of phrase, but we also must mark with regret the disappointing result. The most that we hear is bombast, worse than Schiller perpetrated in his youth, because it is so unutterably empty. This judgment, though severe, will not, I trust, be deemed unjust.

What is this, for instance, p. 102:

ein Glockenspiel! Dann aber ist es eines,
wie keines Münsters Glockenstube je
es noch umschloss, von einer Kraft des Schalles,
an Urgewalt dem Frühlingsdonner gleich,
der brünstig brüllend ob den Triften schüttert;
und so: mit wetternder Posaunen Laut
mach' es verstummen aller Kirchen Glocken
und künde, sich in Jauchzen überschlagend,
die Neugeburt des Lichtes in die Welt.

Urmutter Sonne!! dein und meine Kinder
durch deiner Brüste Milch emporgesäugt—
und so auch dieses, brauner Krum' entlockt
durch nährend-heissen Regens ew'gen Strom;
die sollen künftig all ihr Jubeljauchzen
gen deine reine Bahn zum Himmel werfen.

In that strain he continues for a long while. Or, p. 106:

Heinrich.

Ist dies sein Plan, ihr haltet Gott nicht auf,
Doch nennt' ich jetzt mich blind,
wo ich, von hymnisch reinem Geist erfüllt,
auf eine Morgenwolke hingebettet,
erlösten Auges Himmelsfernen trinke:
ich wäre werth, dass Gottes Zorn mich schlüge
mit ew'ger Finsterniss."

That is fustian, pure and simple. Hauptmann has overreached himself. The gist of the whole message, and part of its imagery, too, is contained in the story of "The Bell," in Hans Chr. Andersen's *Wonder Stories*.* We have Paul Schlenther's authority†—and he is to be taken as an "eye-witness," having his information from the author directly—that Hauptmann has always been a devoted student of Andersen. Besides, it will be shown below in the chapter on the bell symbolism that Hauptmann must have used this story for the creation of his drama. Hauptmann has not improved upon Andersen by elaborating a singularly beautiful and poetical passage. It is the last paragraph in the story, and, being short, will bear quoting in full:

"The sea, the great, glorious sea, which rolled its great billows toward the shore, lay stretched out before him, and the sun stood aloft like a great flaming altar, there where the sea and sky met. Everything melted together in glowing colors, the wood sang and his heart sang too. All nature was a great holy church, in which trees and floating clouds were the pillars and beams, flowers and grass the velvet carpet, and the heavens themselves the vaulted roof. The red colors faded up there when the sun sank to rest

and the prince stretched forth his arms toward heaven, toward the sea and toward the forest

and they ran to meet each other, and each took the other's hand in the great temple of nature and poetry. And above them sounded the holy, invisible bell; and blessed spirits surrounded them and floated over them, singing a rejoicing song of praise."

There we have the modern form of sun worship; the mysteries and fairy atmosphere of the forest, the religion of nature.

The other part of Heinrich's teaching, the charge against Christianity of doing violence to the natural impulses and the revolt of the senses against the gloomy tyranny of conventional

* I quote from the H. C. Coates & Co. ed., Philadelphia (Standard).

† Pp. 13, 21 and elsewhere.

Christianity is the subject of Goethe's ballad, *Die Braut von Korinth*. Hauptmann's dependence on the following verses seems undeniable:

Ferne bleib', o Jüngling! bleibe stehen;
 Ich gehöre nicht den Freuden an.
 Schon der letzte Schritt ist, ach! geschehen
 Durch der guten Mutter kranken Wahn,
 Die genesend schwur:
 Jugend und Natur
 Sei dem Himmel künftig unterthan.

Und der alten Götter bunt Gewimmel
 Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert.
 Unsichtbar wird Einer nur im Himmel
 Und ein Heiland wird am Kreuz verehrt;
 Opfer fallen hier,
 Weder Lamm noch Stier
 Aber Menschenopfer unerhört.

Aber aus der schwerbedeckten Enge
 Treibet mich ein eigenes Gericht
 Eurer Priester summende Gesänge
 Und ihr Segen haben kein Gewicht.
 Salz und Wasser kühlt
 Nicht, wo Jugend fühlt
 Ach, die Erde kühlt die Liebe nicht.

Dieser Jüngling war mir einst versprochen,
 Als noch Venus' heit'rer Tempel stand.
 Mutter, habt ihr doch das Wort gebrochen,
 Weil ein fremd, ein falsch Gelübd' euch band!
 Doch kein Gott erhört
 Wenn die Mutter schwört
 Zu versagen ihrer Tochter Hand.

Hauptmann's substitution of the dwellers of the Germanic Asgard for those of the Greek Olympus in Goethe's poem, giving the revolt a distinctively German national character, was probably suggested by a more recent onslaught on Christianity

made by Felix Dahn in his well-known books '*Sind Götter,*' and '*Odhin's Trost.*'

Rautendelein.

Rautendelein, the elf of pagan origin, next to Heinrich in dramatic importance, likewise does not derive her existence from a uniform conception. She is the spirit of light, infusing new strength into Heinrich's heart. She is the embodiment of the hero's own new soul, filled, like her, with the ecstatic joy of pagan sensuousness. The poet himself offers this interpretation on the lips of Wittichen on p. 166:

. Trinkst du's zweete (Glas),
Spürst du zum letzta Moal da lichte Geist,
dar dich verlussa hot.

That the words, "da lichte Geist" have the double meaning of Heinrich's soul and of Rautendelein, becomes evident when, as soon as he has drained the second cup Rautendelein appears to him. Besides, if these words did not refer to Rautendelein, the effect of the red wine of the second cup would be contained in that of the white wine in the first, which gives him (*Ibid.*) "no amol. . . . die ale Kroaft," that is, the old vigor.

The inconsistency in Rautendelein's character is this: Why is she, an elf of light and sensuous life, obliged to become the bride of the watersprite, and to dwell with him in the old fountain, after her lover has cast her out? In all mythology and fairy tale elves return to their native element. It is only the water elves that are claimed by the world of the water. But Rautendelein is not a water elf in Hauptmann's play. She ought to rise to the sun to be fused in her original element of light.

We are again forced to look for other creations of poetry or fairy tale for an explanation of this lack of unity in Rautendelein's character.

Rautendelein looks like a composite of Fouqué's *Undine** and Ibsen's Hilde Wangel in *Masterbuilder Solness*.

* Compare also Hans Christian Andersen's story *The Little Sea Maid* in his *Stories and Tales*.

The little elf Undine has no soul. On p. 72* she says :

“ Seele, lachte ihn Undine an ; das klingt recht hübsch und mag auch für die mehrsten Menschen eine gar erbauliche und nutzreiche Regel sein. Aber wenn es nun gar keine Seele hat . . . Und so geht es mir. †

But she has a longing for a soul, p. 86 : “ Aber alles will höher als es steht. So wollte mein Vater, . . . seine einzige Tochter solle einer Seele theilhaftig werden und müsse sie darüber auch viele Leiden der beseelten Leute bestehen.” She can get it only through the love of a mortal man (ibid.). The coming of the soul announces itself through tears and heaviness of the heart, p. 74 : “ Schwer muss die Seele lasten, fuhr sie fort . . . sehr schwer ! Denn schon ihr annahendes Bild überschattet mich mit Angst und Trauer. Und ach, ich war so leicht, so lustig sonst ! ” She utters these words just after bursting into tears for the first time in her life. Further, p. 85 : “ Darum haben wir auch keine Seelen ; das Element bewegt uns, gehorcht uns oft, so lange wir leben, zerstäubt uns immer, so bald wir sterben, und wir sind lustig, ohne uns irgend zu grämen, wie es die Nachtigallen, Goldfischlein und andre hübsche Kinder der Natur auch sind.” According to this the essence of the soul consists in sympathy with the woes of others ; the tear is the symbol of this sympathy. All these characteristics are found in Rautendelein. She is careless and knows only joy at the beginning of the play ; she does not know yet what tears are, p. 17 :

Ich kann dich nicht verstehn: was sind das, Thränen ?

But soon she learns to know them ; her first tear forms in her eye after she has met Heinrich, and through love has gained a soul. The simplicity of this scene, which begins with her telling Nickelmann that she is so sad, oh ! so sad, on her left eye, dimmed by her first tear, is beautiful and very touching, and

* I quote from the sixth edition. Berlin, 1841. Ferdinand Dümmler.

† Cp. with this and the following Andersen, “ The Little Sea Maid.”

belongs entirely to Hauptmann. She, too, longs for the land of man like Undine. She says to Nickelmänn on p. 45 :

da ist kein Wässerlein so dünn und klein,
Es will und muss ins Menschenland hinein;

employing essentially the same image as "*Undine*", p. 33 :

Aus dunst'gem Thal die Welle,
Sie rann und sucht' ihr Glück
Sie kam in's Meer zur Stelle,
Und rinnt nicht mehr zurück.

Rautendelein's fate is very much like that of Undine. After a short happiness her lover accurses her and puts her from him and she has to spend the remainder of her days in the water. Both see their lovers once more in the hour of their death and have to descend into a fountain which plays an important part both in Fouqué's story and Hauptmann's play. The poet borrowed from the story Undine's comparison of nixes and men, putting it in Nickelmänn's mouth who, as a result of the poet's partial confusion of Undine, the nix, and Rautendelein, the spirit of light, identifies her world entirely with his. Nickelmänn says, p. 44 :

Der Mensch, das ist ein Ding,
das sich von ungefähr bei uns verding:
Von dieser Welt, und doch auch nicht von ihr.
Zur Hälfte—wo? wer weiss!—zur Hälfte hier.
Halb unser Bruder und aus uns geboren,
uns feind und fremd zur Hälfte und verloren.
Weh' jedem, der aus freier Bergeswelt, etc.

What has he to do with the free world of the mountains who dwells at the bottom of a dark well!

Undine's story runs thus (I quote only the significant passages, p. 83 ff.): "Du sollst wissen, mein süßer Liebling, dass es in den Elementen Wesen giebt, die fast aussehen wie Ihr, und sich nur selten vor Euch blicken lassen." (Follows a description of these beings. *) "Die aber dorten wohnen, sind

* It is generally known, and of no interest here that this description of the elemental spirits leads back to Paracelsus.

gar hold und lieblich anzuschauen, meist schöner als die Menschen sind. . . . Wir wären weit besser daran, als Ihr anderen Menschen;—denn Menschen nennen wir uns auch, wie wir es denn dem Leibe und der Bildung nach sind,” . . . etc.

Thus far Rautendelein and Undine show identical traits. The difference between the two is this, that while the latter is nothing but a loving woman, the former represents in addition a living principle, an active force. It is clear that Grillparger's Melusina cannot have contributed to her character, for she is, like the traditional Frau Venus, the embodiment of the very opposite tendency, of luxurious ease and passive sensuous joy, and it is the very absence of activity which drives her lover from her palace. Hauptmann's Heinrich also wants activity, renewed strength of work; and who can give it to him? Hilde Wangel, the spirit of youth, who inspires Masterbuilder Solness to long-forgotten daring, becomes Heinrich's spirit of light.

Nickelmann.

Of *Nickelmann*, the watersprite of the fountain, little is to be said. He has this in common with Kühleborn, the river sprite in "*Undine*", that he hates humankind on the whole, though not Undine's lover, Huldbrand, until the latter proves faithless to her. By being cursed by her husband Undine falls into Kühleborn's power to be taken back to the submarine dwelling of her father, similarly as Rautendelein has to go with Nickelmann to be his bride. Nickelmann's age, a thousand years, reminds us somewhat of the Au-mann, in Andersen's story *Bell Deep*, who dwells at the bottom of the Au River, and is so very old that the old bell at the bottom of the river, which was there "long before grandmother's grandmother was born," is but a child in comparison with him.

It may be pointed out here that the splendors of the palace of Andersen's Little Sea Maid, who is what Nickelmann calls Rautendelein, "a princess of the sea," have evidently furnished the material for the description of the surroundings, expecting Rautendelein as the watersprite's bride. See his words beginning, 46:

Du aber, Prinzessin Rautendelein . . .

and her answer beginning :

Und ist deine Krone von eitel Saphir . . .

The "Waldschrat," who may have been suggested by Goethe's Satyros, to whose Knittelvers he condescends once (p. 39), while wearing the mask of the traditional satyr, is an entirely individual character.

The preacher, schoolmaster, barber, Frau Magda, cannot, as far as I am able to see, be traced to any direct source.

The old Wittichen seems to me the most interesting and most real character of the play. She, too, has largely a symbolic significance, personifying the remnant of pagan wisdom and nature worship which a thousand years of Christianity have not been able to eradicate from the lower strata of the people, the dwellers of village and forest, farm and sea coast, in Germany. She reminds us occasionally of the ancient goddess Holda, in one of her functions, as the protectress of slumbering and awakening life, who, debased by the zeal of the early Christian church, has popularly become Frau Holle, the "Buschgrossmutter," the old woman of the woods, who is suspected of those kinds of mischief and witchcraft of which the barber accuses Wittichen on p. 27.* In the fifth act Wittichen unexpectedly assumes the powers of a prophetess and of the three Fates—being technically a somewhat belated *Deus ex machina*—in enabling Heinrich to call Rautendelein to his side. Otherwise Wittichen belongs to a favorite type of the modern naturalists in Germany, though not only there, as a glance at almost any of Zola's novels will show—and one portrayed with great skill; I mean the elderly, experienced, cynical, yet good natured, dryly humorous woman of the lower classes, such as Hauptmann himself has given us in *Frau Lehmann* in *Einsame Menschen*; and, from its criminal aspect, in Frau Wolff of *Der Biberpelz*. I want to call particular attention to *Holz-Schlaf's* Mutter

* Cf. Grimm, *Mythologie*, I Cap. 13.

Abendrot'n in *Die papierne Passion*, a most excellent sketch of this type.

THE BELL SYMBOLISM.

Miscellanies.

The bell symbolism has been common property to the German people ever since Schiller's great didactic poem to a degree that an attempt to point to any particular work of literature treating of it, as having influenced Hauptmann would seem rather audacious. A few words of interpretation may be in place. The bell has two purposes, to proclaim and to summon. Heinrich's old bells all proclaimed the Christian faith, his new chimes were to herald his new message to the world. And he is summoned to his death by the sounds of the old bell from the lake at the foot of the mountain. A few circumstances remind us of *Bell Deep* in Andersen's *Stories and Tales*, in which a bell that has rolled down a mountain into a deep pool in the river below frequently ding-dongs of its own account, as it talks to the Au-mann; "and many people maintain that its strains forebode the death of some one."

Andersen's *The Bell* in his *Wonder Stories* also tells of a bell sending forth its peals from the depth of a forest; and it may be noted that it is associated with the worship of nature as indirectly in our drama.

I may be permitted to point out the source of the incident of Heinrich's children carrying a pitcher filled with the tears of their mother. The fairy tale from which it is taken is too well known in Germany not to occur to any one there, but it may bear repetition in this country. It is told in Grimm's *Mythologie*.* It tells of a mother who having lost her only daughter, mourned and wept in inconsolable grief. One night, the spirit of her child appeared to her in her dream, very sad and worn, carrying a heavy pitcher. She asked her mother not to weep for her, for all her tears would be gathered in her pitcher all but too heavy already. And the mother wept not another tear.

* Zweite Ed. Göttingen, 1844, p. 884.

I have completed my task. I hope that my readers will not feel as intensely as I have done the odium pertaining to the slow, grub-like work of disintegrating another man's work for the purpose of exposing its innermost texture. What I believe I have shown, is this: Many essential parts of *Die Versunkene Glocke*, much of its technique, the greater part of the two main characters, as well as its message, are borrowed. Hauptmann has again confirmed the observation, made in another place, that he seems unable to create a dramatic character, and that he lacks the breadth of view, and the depth of culture necessary to produce, or even codify in final, poetic form, great and leavening thoughts. There is no dramatic action throughout his plays. We see a succession of detached scenes, living pictures, as it were. His leading persons, like Heinrich in our play, have nothing to do. They are very commonplace individuals who have to pose as great characters, like Faust, or Prometheus, and feel as uncomfortably and out of place in their strange disguise, and succeed as little in their grave attempts at make-believe, as thousands of other, though less serious, commonplace individuals in living pictures at evening parties. His minor characters are mere statist; they have not the least influence on the dramatic action; there is not a trace of counter action, either retarding or hastening the main events. We could take the preacher, barber, schoolmaster, Wittichen, Nickelmann, Waldschrat, and all the rest of them out of the play, and still the action would be essentially the same. The only outside agency influencing the course of events is the mob from the village, which does not appear on the scene.

These objections will no doubt seem very grave. And yet they will not avail to rob the play of its great, though scarcely enduring, poetic charm and suggestiveness, which make it a greater contribution by far to literature than all the critical essays called forth by it. The charm lies plainly in the child-like simplicity and directness of the poet, in his great love of nature, and in his skill of exact reproduction of the minutest detail. He has gained a deep insight into all the little turns of

speech, the peculiar imagery, the characteristic tendencies, betraying the life, the prejudices, the sufferings and affections of his men and women; he has lived himself into their surroundings until his mind reproduces them like the magic camera. The greatest charm of the play, however, and the one which happily always escapes the clumsy fingers of analysis, is a mellow, loving, sadness, which is one of the secrets of the soul of the genuine poet.

I shall refrain from mentioning the innumerable shorter articles in popular magazines, giving only the titles of studies which contain essential contributions to the interpretation of Hauptmann's work :

Paul Schlechter. *Gerhart Hauptmann. Sein Lebensgang und seine Dichtung.* Berlin, 1898.

U. C. Woerner. *G. Hauptmann.* München, 1897.

A. Bartels. *G. Hauptmann.* Weimar, 1897.

A. v. Hanstein. *G. Hauptmann.* Leipzig, 1898.

M. Necker. *G. Hauptmann. Bl. f. litt. Unterhaltung,* 1898, pp. 1 ff.

M. Schneidewein. *Das Rätsel des G. Hauptmann'schen Märchendramas "Die Versunkene Glocke."* Leipzig, 1897.

H. Ramiew. *Die Symbolik in Gerhart Hauptmann's Märchendrama, "Die Versunkene Glocke."* Mainz, 1897.

MARTIN SCHÜTZE.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

April 15, 1899.

REVIEW.

GOETHE'S IPHIGENIE AUF TAURIS, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES. By Charles A. Eggert, Ph. D. Formerly Professor in the University of Iowa. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

This edition deserves special mention on account of the remarkably clear, thorough and original treatment it has received from the editor. A succinct account of the story of Iphigenia, as it may be gathered from the Greek tragic poets and from tradition, precedes a chapter on the "Forerunners of Goethe's Drama"—*a*, "The Iphigenia among the Tauri by Euripides,"—*b*, "French and German Imitations." Attention is called to the importance of the character of Orestes, "because with this character Goethe has compared himself." Then follows an analysis of Goethe's Iphigenie. The editor says:

"What distinguishes Goethe's drama from that of all his predecessors is the prominence given in it to a purely ethical and psychological treatment by the side of which the mythological element appears one of secondary importance. He puts before us a noble woman, a heavily stricken brother, a devoted friend, a generous, though fierce barbarian King, and an intelligent friend and servant of this King. These characters appear before us with their beliefs, superstitions and personal peculiarities. Their actions are primarily based on superstitious belief, but they go on acting as though the superstition counted for nothing and their personal qualities for everything."

The editor shows how this way of looking at the subject matter was already foreshadowed by Euripides, in so far as this poet makes it appear that the furies are creatures of the imagination, and not real characters as Æschylus treats them; but he shows also the great originality of Goethe in that with him it is not the "machine god" (*deus ex machinâ*), that brings about the solution of the dramatic Knot, but that "it is *humanity* which works the redemption." He says further:

"At the same time we must admire the art of the poet in making

use of the mythological element." "Orestes has faith in the oracles and this faith, though it does not apparently raise his hopes of recovery, yet contributes to the healing process. This faith has led him to the Taurian shore. He finds there his sister, and the faith in the oracle gains strength from this fact. Believing in a divine guidance, though beset by doubts and fearing the worst, every new experience strengthens his faith and helps the process of his delivery from madness. In like manner it is the firm faith of Iphigenie in the beneficent character of the Olympian gods that gives her the necessary strength to be true to herself and thus prove a blessing to others."

The chapter in which this passage occurs (IV, pp. xxiv-xxxvi) is a model of close reasoning on the basis of evidence taken from the poet himself and his Greek colleagues. "The Genesis of the Drama" (V) is also clear and accurate (except in a few references as to pages, etc.). "The Work on Iphigenia in Italy" is well presented (VI), and is followed by "The Dramatic Character of Goethe's Iphigenia" (VII); some remarks on the 'Metre' (VIII) and a short description of the Manuscripts. The description of manuscript "H" is not quite accurate, but this is a matter of secondary importance, as the manuscript itself is not in Goethe's own hand. The Notes contain much that is new and give evidence of a remarkable industry and critical acumen. Several blunders of former editors are corrected. The notes shed much new light on the text, the whole giving evidence of a clear insight into the nature of the poet's work.

We do not believe that the importance of the third act, which the poet himself called the 'Axis of the piece,' has ever been so lucidly and forcibly set forth as by Professor Eggert. His analysis of the idea of the curse in Goethe's treatment is excellent. The concluding words of this analysis may here be quoted (p. xxxvi):

"There is no room here for the operation of a 'curse' in the Greek sense. That curse belonged to the barbarism which is now swept away by the current of nobler thoughts and feelings as revealed in the character of Iphigenia. In this sense the drama is 'incredibly modern.' It is based on pure humanity, and the spectres of a barbarous age figure in it only as shadows which make the beauty of a new civilization stand out in greater radiance."

A number of errata, and a few omissions, might be pointed out, but as none of them are of any special importance no mention need be made of them. The edition has a good bibliography (in which

some good names, for instance that of Professor Stephen Waetzoldt, have been omitted, a few others—Hoferer, Poelzl—mis-spelled) and an excellent index. The mechanical execution is good. The text is a faithful reproduction of the Weimar text, but with the modern Prussian spelling, and some improvements in the matter of punctuation.

In conclusion we may refer to an ingenious attempt of the editor to settle the vexed question why Goethe gave to his work the title of 'Iphigenie auf Tauris,' instead of 'Taurien.' He accounts for it by the analogy with the French titles: Iphigenie en *Aulide*, and Iphigenie en *Tauride*, by Racine. As Goethe had both of them before him, he was probably led to think of *Tauride*, as an analogous form with *Aulide*, so that the translation *Aulis* of the latter suggested to him the translation Tauris for the former. As more euphonious than Taurien, after Iphigenie, the word may thus have pleased him better in the title of the work.

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AMERICANA GERMANICA.

EARLY INFLUENCE OF GERMAN LITERATURE IN AMERICA.

Any retrospect of the civilization of the United States during the century now drawing to a close would be incomplete if it neglected to give due recognition to the influence of German culture on the higher artistic and intellectual life of the nation. In the pursuit of knowledge in all its forms, in the cultivation of literature, music, and the arts, the influence of Germany has been deep and inspiring. Any one of these fields offers ample rewards to the student of the cultural relations of the two people. Confining ourselves to literature alone, the relations between Germany and the rich literary and intellectual life of New England during our century are so well known as to form an open chapter in the history of American literature. Since the time when Ticknor and Everett (in 1815) and, following them, many of the greatest intellects of our country sought inspiration at the shrines of German learning, and became prophets of German literature, which they had learned to appreciate, the influence of German culture on our national life has never ceased. German literature, while it was still a privilege of the chosen few who craved new revelations, probably acted upon the hearts with an intensity which has passed away now when its highest efforts have won the restful distinction of classic literature. The stream flows broad, majestic, and imperturbable at the present time and bears many crafts. While the knowledge of German in the beginning of our

century was so rare as to confer distinction, it has long become a requisite of general education and has attained a vogue which would probably have seemed a sheer impossibility a hundred years ago.

It is the purpose of this study to deal with the influence of German literature in America during an earlier period when the German language was practically unknown, and when the significance of German culture and literature was but imperfectly appreciated.¹ It would be unreasonable to censure our country for this; it will rather be our aim to unfold the causes to which this want of understanding was due.

It is in the nature of things impossible to draw a sharp boundary line between different phases of literary development. It has been deemed advisable, however, to confine these observations to a period including and antedating the first quarter of our century. This is a period upon which the historian looks with somewhat unjustifiable soreness of heart; it is the time of plentiful American reprints of the issues of the English press, with but few original contributions of any value.² The mournful complaint of the American author of the time about want of encouragement dings in our ears on turning over the pages of long-forgotten American reviews. It was hard for him to realize, or, when realized, to acquiesce in the fact that it was impossible for him to compete with the accepted classics of English literature and the new developments of the end of the last and beginning of the new century. A literary movement, however, cannot be made to order, and we do well to derive some satisfaction from the fact that the American public, with much trash, read much that was valuable, even though not a native product.³

It would be useless to claim that America could vie with England or Germany in appreciation of literature.⁴ American civilization was far too conservative to permit of that play of

¹The consideration of German literature among the Germans of Pennsylvania does not fall within the scope of our article. On this subject many interesting communications have been made in the pages of *AMERICANA GERMANICA* and elsewhere.

sentiment and imagination, or to favor the experimental handling of social problems, a certain amount of which is an absolute requisite for art production, or even art appreciation.⁹ The radicalism introduced by the French Revolution was undoubtedly helpful to bring into favor certain products of German literature like the works of Schiller and Kotzebue. But it is well known that the French Revolution affected the political life of the nation more than its intellectual or art life. Conceding all this, it is nevertheless true that the American public was always a reading public.⁰ Charles Brockden Brown expresses himself on this subject in words that evidently reflect his convictions:¹ "Ill-informed persons might draw false inferences from the scarcity of original books among us. . . . America is probably as great a mart for printed publications as any country in the world; the proportion of readers is probably not exceeded even in England and Germany." He also refers to the difficulty of forming a bibliography of these publications owing to the fact that there were twenty to thirty publishing towns in the United States.

These reprints give us the best idea of the extent to which English works were circulated in this country, and they deserve attention from this point of view. We cannot depend for our information on reviews or annual catalogues or any of the other means we have at the present day for obtaining a knowledge of new publications. During the last century the problem was attempted again and again, but never solved satisfactorily, how to produce a periodical publication of sustained vitality. Scores of reviews and magazines were started, each one according to the sanguine hopes of the editor the successful periodical of the future, but all perished after more or less protracted struggle. There is something irresistibly comic in this constant repetition of the same experience, unless we should feel inclined rather to respect our ancestors for their tenacity in the face of adverse fortune. We must remember the small size of even the princi-

¹ *The American Register and General Repository for 1806-07*, Vol. I. }

pal towns of the country and the restricted local circulation of such magazines, to appreciate the difficulty of the task. Even when reviews, towards the beginning of the century, had some hope of greater longevity, reprints do not form, as a rule, a subject for their consideration unless they set aside part of their space for a list of books newly published in America.

From the fact that a practical acquaintance with German was extremely rare in America during our period it is clear that German literature must reach our country, if at all, through the medium of reprints of English translations.¹ This was the case. The few original translations from the German made in America during this early period will receive attention in proportion to the rareness of any such efforts. Strictly speaking the reprints of translations should be judged in connection with the whole subject of American reprints. The fact is frequently emphasized by contemporary and modern writers that reprinting was done in an absolutely indiscriminate fashion, the stamp of approval by an English audience being sufficient to obtain currency for a work in America. We may concede the general truth of this remark and still hold the opinion that the attitude of the American public must have been a selective one, in some ways, towards the large mass of prints that flowed in from England directly or through the intermediary of reprints. To deny this fact would be equivalent to denying the difference between the political and social development of England and America. Such investigations do not to my knowledge exist, leaving us to interpret, to the best of our means, the special significance which these reprints of German translations possess for America.¹

While the reprints of English literature give us the best idea what books were more or less extensively read, it is hardly necessary to mention that many books were imported from

¹ That the significance of these reprints is not overlooked is shown by the fact that they are usually enumerated with the originals in modern biographical works on English authors. To obtain trace of them is the principal difficulty.

England, or in the form of Dublin reprints. Among these were many works that appealed only to a limited circle of readers and found a place on the shelves of the society libraries that existed in all the larger towns of the country, or in the collections of the educated book lover. Among this class of literature were many translations from the German which it would not have paid to reprint in America. Circulating libraries furnished the public with abundant reading, much of it of an ephemeral character.

While it has been our duty to call attention to the imperfectly developed sides of American culture, in order not to appear guilty of seeming to enhance the value of our discussion at the expense of truth, it would be as unfair to hide the brighter sides of the picture. Among the conditions favorable to literary appreciation may be mentioned the respectable and established intellectual culture of Philadelphia, the tendency of Boston towards intellectual predominance, the first signs of which made themselves felt by the beginning of our century, and the ambitious attempts of the literary circles of New York during the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century which presaged the coming of greater lights of literature. Apart from the fact that reading was general (as already stated), eloquence in all its forms, as pulpit, forensic, and parliamentary eloquence, appealed to Americans, and we often hear the claim advanced in the beginning of our century that America excels all nations in forensic eloquence. We need only refer to the fact that the beginnings of Cooper and Washington Irving¹ fall within our period, not to mention the earlier, highly creditable work of Charles Brockden Brown. After these introductory remarks—to say more would carry us away too far from the purposes of our investigation—we may proceed to the consideration of our subject.

¹ Both Cooper and Irving enjoyed the greatest popularity in Germany. We could quote several examples of eminent German authors and critics declaring Irving to be their favorite author.

GESSNER AND KLOPSTOCK.

The first work of German literature that reached America proved also the most popular of all, not only during the time when it was comparatively new, but almost during the whole period of sixty years and more, of which we are treating. In the year 1762 the first American reprints of Gessner's *Death of Abel* appeared, and from that period till 1820 scarcely a decade passes without furnishing us with a number of reprints of this work, which enjoyed the greatest popularity both in England and America. I have enumerated in all seventeen reprints of the same, without claiming to have stated the full number actually printed.¹

It is difficult enough for us to appreciate at the present day Gessner's *Idylls*, which at one time formed the delight of the world of belles-lettres. It is still more difficult to appreciate the *Death of Abel*, which was taken quite seriously in its day. Every page breathes sentiments of the loftiest virtue with a monotony that makes the work unreadable even for the most patient reader of modern times. In spite of its virtuous tone the work aroused some opposition in England on account of its free treatment of a biblical subject. Whether such objection was raised against it in America I have not been able to ascertain. Its great popularity makes it reasonably certain that it was regarded as a work of highly acceptable nature. I have found traces of the fact that it was used in America as a gift book, just as in England. Gessner was an especial favorite with ladies, so that it is not astonishing to find that "a Lady" wrote a work in imitation of the *Death of Abel*, entitled *The Death of Cain* (London, 1790?). This product of an imitator, written in a turgid, inflated style, as if intended as a caricature of Gessner, found its way to America and was several times reprinted and sometimes bound in with the *Death of Abel*.

¹ For further information in this and similar cases it will be sufficient to refer here to the appended "List of Translations," with an index containing the reprints arranged under the head of authors, and with date stated.

About the beginning of our century (1802) we find three reprints of Gessner's *Idylls*; in two cases the *Idylls* are preceded by the *Death of Abel*. With some difficulty it is possible for the modern reader to appreciate the attitude of past generations towards these much admired idylls. Gessner possessed an artistic perception for nature that would make him particularly acceptable to the English public; it must be confessed, however, that this did less to endear him to the English (and presumably American) reader than his "affecting simplicity and sentimentality."

The "divine Gessner" proved himself an inspiration to other sentimental dabblers in literature than the "Lady" already mentioned. It would hardly be possible to find a style that is more easily imitated than Gessner's sweetly sentimental effusions. We often find palpable imitations of Gessner's style among the "original" efforts of American writers in the ephemeral magazines of our period. Selections from Gessner himself are also quite frequent.

The principal literary significance of the *Death of Abel* is probably the fact that it popularized Klopstock's style of religious poetry among English-speaking peoples. The first English translator of Klopstock's *Messiah* expressed this in a form that seems somewhat astonishing to us, when he advertised the *Messiah* as being "in the manner of the *Death of Abel*." The *Messiah* did not enjoy equal popularity with the lighter and shorter *Death of Abel*. Still the existence of three early American editions (1788, 1795, 1811) proves that there was a constant demand for the work and sets us thinking what class of readers were in the habit of perusing this work, which has always been considered a trying one to the patience of the average mortal. The explanation lies in the fact that the people of the last century were accustomed to a much heavier style of religious and contemplative reading than at the present day. Schubart, the German poet, found the common people far more susceptible to the beauties of Klopstock than the over-educated. Let us hope, too, that many American readers among the people

derived inspiration from the poem, which could not easily be the case with the more cultured. It is necessary to remember that the poetic bloom of the original was lost in the indifferent prose translation. Nevertheless a Rev. Solomon Halling, of South Carolina, drew his inspiration from this prose version when he attempted in 1810 the first book of the *Messiah* in English blank verse. He was evidently without knowledge of German.¹

THE "GERMAN DRAMA" IN AMERICA.²

Probably no development in the realm of German literature was so tangible to the American public, and so forced upon its notice, during our period, as the "German Drama." The name conjures up in our mind visions of the master works of Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing. Not so to the American lover of the drama at this time. Kotzebue dominated the stage, as well as the minds of the public, and Schiller received an added lustre, if his creations (as far as they were known in America at that time) could stand comparison with the "German Shakespeare."³ Kotzebue is a fallen idol. So great is the difference between the popular adoration once accorded him and his present total neglect that few care whether even the small measure of justice that is his due is meted out to him. Needless to say that Kotzebue's world-wide reputation is not without good foundation.

A few words will express all that need be said about the

¹ Cf. 141. A reprint of the *Memoirs of Frederick and Margaret Klopstock*, Philadelphia, etc., 1810 (No. 140), shows that there was a certain amount of interest in Klopstock's life among the American public. With the *Messiah* editions printed in New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts, and the South also heard from, we recognize that Klopstock's name was rather well known in America. We find him referred to now and then as the celebrated Mr. Klopstock.

² Numbers used without further specification refer to the appended "List of Translations."

³ We have proof of the general interest that Kotzebue's works excited in the popularity that his autobiographical works possessed. The American magazines of the beginning of the century frequently contain biographical notices of Kotzebue, which is a very rare thing in regard to the contemporary authors writing in a foreign language.

German drama, before considering the prevalence of Kotzebue and the active efforts of William Dunlap to introduce his plays on the American stage. A translation of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* appeared in 1789 (or 1790?) from the hands of David Rittenhouse, a Pennsylvanian, celebrated in his day as a scientist.¹ The translator says of it: "This translation was attempted at the request of a friend; and the many virtuous sentiments and excellent lessons of morality it contains, will apologize for its being offered to the public. To young ladies it may afford useful instruction, and it will, from the nature of the distress, be particularly interesting to them." It is of interest as one of the earliest translations of a German drama into English. I cannot find any record that the piece was ever performed on the stage. Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, however, found its way from England to the American stage and was performed at Charleston, S. C. (1795), and Philadelphia (1796) under the title *The Disbanded Officer, or the Baroness of Bruchsal*, the title given it by the English adapter, Johnstone.² Schiller's *Robbers* was performed at New York, May 14, 1795, "to which the company was pronounced unequal."³ Reynold's *Werter and Charlotte*, a dramatization of Goethe's *Werther*, was produced at New York and Boston in 1796 and 1797.⁴

Among the early friends, in America, of German literature, and the German drama in especial, no one deserves so much our attention as the man of whom we subjoin a short biographical notice.

¹ W. Barton, *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse*. Philadelphia, 1813, p. 495. It is to be presumed that Rittenhouse, whose ancestors were Dutch, learned German from his Pennsylvania German surroundings. I have not been able to trace a copy of *Lucy Sampson*.

² G. O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre, 1792-1797*, Philadelphia, 1891, pp. 207, 214, 217, 282, 283. About this adaptation cf. G. Herzfeld, *William Taylor von Norwich*, 1897, p. 8, H. W. Singer, *Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte, M. Bernays gewidmet*, 1893, pp. 8-10.

³ Seilhamer, pp. 111, 116.

⁴ Seilhamer, pp. 317, 324, 358, 369, 383, 395. The production of the *Harlequin Dr. Faustus*, Philadelphia, June 3, 1796, might also be mentioned, on account of the interest attaching to the story of Dr. Faustus. Cf. Seilhamer, 207, 214, 218.

William Dunlap was born at Perth Amboy, N. J., in 1766. He went to London in 1784 where he remained several years, studying painting with Benjamin West. He was connected with the management of the old John Street Theatre, New York, in 1796. In 1798 he assumed the management of the Park Street Theatre. After the financial failure of his theatrical venture in 1805 he went back to painting, and, among other occupations, served for a time as assistant paymaster of the New York militia (1814-1816). Dunlap was the author of numerous translations from the German and of a number of original dramas, and his knowledge of the stage and painting enabled him to become the historian of the American theatre and of American art. His life was an unsettled one from want of permanent success in his various ventures. He died at New York in 1839. We would perhaps wrong Dunlap if we held him responsible for his want of success. Dunlap did not escape the lot of those who attempt to cultivate art in America without a main view to popular demands and the business aspects of the situation. His name is now appropriately honored by a society bearing his name, whose aim it is to revive a knowledge of Dunlap and his writings, and to furnish information about the history of the early American theatre.¹

When Dunlap entered on his duties as manager of the Park Street Theatre at New York in the autumn of 1798, the most profitable part of the season (September) was lost, the theatre not being completed, so that the first performance could not take place till December 3. Under these circumstances Dunlap's venture was saved by bringing out Kotzebue's *Stranger* (*Menschenhass und Reue*), which had already gained the height of popularity in England. The success of this piece—"undoubtedly owing to the merits of Kotzebue"—alone enabled him to keep the theatre open. It was an adaptation written by Dunlap on the basis of a poor translation from the German,

¹ The publications of the Dunlap Society are not as frequently found in public libraries as they deserve. Further information about Dunlap may be found in his writings and the ordinary means of biographical and literary reference.

and was played for the tenth time on the eighth of March, 1799. This was a long run at that period.¹

The success of the piece determined Dunlap to study German. The study of that language is surrounded, at the present time, by a prosaic atmosphere both for pupil and teacher. Dunlap had the privilege of receiving his instruction from a highly romantic individual, "a victim of the Inquisition," who entertained him with a narrative of his life quite in the fashion of the Tales of Horror, in which German literature held the undoubted supremacy in the estimate of the English and American reader.² Dunlap's unaffected style rises to seriousness and grandiloquence as he dwells on the tale of this man, a Swiss, who told him that he was devoted by his parents to the priesthood, and that, while serving in Spain as chaplain to a Swiss regiment, he was cast into the prisons of the Inquisition, kept immured for two years, and submitted to cruel torture, for attempting to escape with a Spanish lady, of whom he had become enamored.

When speaking of the fact that he was consecrated to the priesthood before he was born, "his eyes, which had glared furiously while he spoke, became dim—his teeth grated, and then became fixed—his hands were clenched—his whole frame convulsed—an hysteric laugh relieved him—tears followed"—

¹ Cf. William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre*, London, 1833, Vol. II, p. 81. This work and Ireland's *Records of the New York Stage* have furnished the principal information about Dunlap's management of the New York Theatre. It was also possible to verify these dates for the seasons 1798-1799, 1799-1800, 1800-1801, in files of New York newspapers of the time. These files were in general fairly complete, but January and February, 1801, were missing. The number of performances that each piece went through are given in the notes, as far as records could be obtained. If we consider that performances were given only three or four times a week, we can estimate the great popularity which the "German Drama" enjoyed. The *Stranger* was played December 10, 12, 17; January 1 (1799), 16, 30, February 6, 18, March 2 ("for the last time this season"), March 9 ("by particular desire"), April 12 ("by particular desire, and positively for the last time this season"); January 15 (1800), February 26; June 12 (1801).

² Dunlap, Vol. I, pp. 391-401.

etc. When Dunlap observed his morbid sensibility "the image of that power [*i. e.* the Inquisition] which had broken down such a frame and such a mind immediately presented itself."¹

Dunlap gained such facility in reading German that he may be regarded as a very satisfactory translator according to the standards applicable to a time when German studies were in their infancy.

Dunlap did not neglect the opportunity for further theatrical successes offered by the popularity of Kotzebue's pieces. On March 11, 1799, his version of Kotzebue's *Lovers' Vows* (*Kind der Liebe*) was played with full success.² The public and performers were so well satisfied with this translation that, many years after, it was frequently played in preference to the London copy.³

"On the first of April, the play of *Count Benyowski* was brought out with great expense and care. The audience was much gratified, and expectation, though on tip-top, fully satisfied. The costumes of Russia and Siberia were strictly conformed to, and the snow and ice scenes of Kamschatka would have been invaluable in the dog-days." "The play was well performed for a first representation. It is necessary to say that the literal translations of *Count Benyowski* can give no idea of the drama as prepared for the New York stage."⁴ It was played at intervals for some fifteen years.⁵

Encouraged, probably, by the gratifying success experienced so far in introducing the "German Drama", Dunlap ventured on a bold undertaking. "The next play of note, as a novelty,

¹ Dunlap, Vol. I, pp. 393, 394.

² Dunlap, II, p. 95. Dunlap is mistaken when he states that his version of *Lovers' Vows* was never published. It was published in 1814 (No. 158). *Lovers' Vows* was played March 11, 18 (third time), 21, 29, April 8, 19, May 27, November 22; October 20 (1800).

³ J. N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage*, New York, 1866, Vol. I, p. 185.

⁴ Dunlap, II, p. 96. *Count Benyowski* was played April 1, 3, 5, 20; January 22 (1800), February 8.

⁵ Ireland, I, p. 185.

was Schiller's *Don Carlos*, performed on the sixth of May, 1799." Dunlap was compelled to curtail the piece to bring it within the limits permitted to a play on the American stage, and it was curtailed still more during the performance. "It was unmercifully shorn of its beams." Although the attendance was satisfactory, to judge by receipts (676 dollars), it could hardly be expected that the piece would appeal to the existing taste. It was not repeated. This was, according to Dunlap, the first performance of Schiller on the American stage.¹ On May 10 a second piece of Schiller was performed according to Ireland, namely, *Kabale und Liebe*, in the translation of M. G. Lewis entitled *The Minister*,² and on June 14, according to the same authority, a comedy from Kotzebue, by Dunlap, called *The Indians in England, or, Nabob of Mysore (Die Indianer in England)*.³ When the season 1798-99 came to a close Dunlap had performed on his stage four pieces of Kotzebue and two of Schiller.

During the summer, while the theatre was closed, Dunlap retired to Perth Amboy and employed his time in translating Kotzebue's *False Shame* and turning Kotzebue's "farce" *Der*

¹ Dunlap, II, p. 97. To give an idea under what conditions a piece like *Don Carlos* was performed in an American theatre of the time, I quote part of an advertisement from the *Daily Advertiser* of that date: "The last night of performing for the benefit of the lessee of the theatre. A celebrated tragedy written by Frederick Schiller, author of the *Robbers*, etc., called *Don Carlos*. Between the play and the opera, a melodrama, called *Ariadne* abandoned on the Isle of Naxos. To which will be added the very popular comic opera of the *Prize*."

Dunlap was not quite accurate in stating that this was the first performance of Schiller in America. We have noticed an earlier performance of the *Robbers*.

² Ireland, I, p. 186. After the *Minister* was to be given, a comedy in two acts called *The Deuce is in Him*. Between the play and farce was to be spoken an eulogy on General Washington (New York *Daily Advertiser*). The *Minister* was performed May 10 (1799), June 10 ("for the second time the very popular tragedy called *The Minister*," etc.), December 20. These three performances prove that the drama enjoyed a certain amount of popularity.

³ Ireland, I, p. 187. It does not appear by what authority Ireland attributes this version to Dunlap. Dunlap (*History of American Theatre*, II, p. 383) mentions *Indians in England* among his works and adaptations for the stage.

Wildfang into an opera which he called the *Wildgoose Chase*.¹ On October 11 Dunlap had the gratification of receiving a letter from Kotzebue, "in which he [Kotzebue] expresses his pleasure that the favourable reception of his muse in America should be owing to his correspondent [Dunlap]." Kotzebue offered to sell Dunlap a number of his unpublished pieces, with the same right as that given to Covent Garden, to resell to the American stages, under guarantee that the pieces should not be printed. Dunlap does not mention his entering on any such arrangement; nor does it seem that any such arrangement was practical for America.²

On November 29, 1799, was played, for the first time, Kotzebue's *Self-Immolation, or, Family Distress (Der Opfertod)*. It was unsuccessful and is not even mentioned by Dunlap.³ The comedy of *False Shame*, however, as translated and adapted by Dunlap, "was performed with the utmost success on the eleventh December, 1799." "This play, without scenery or decoration, by plain dialogue and natural character, supported the theatre this, the second, season of the author's direction. As in the case of *The Stranger*, it ran through the whole winter. *The Force of Calumny, Fraternal Discord*⁴ (from the same pen), and other pieces did their part, but *False Shame* was the pillar on which all rested." Dunlap thus dwells with particular delight on the success of this comedy, which he states was excellently acted in the principal parts.⁵

¹ Dunlap, II, p. 118.

² Dunlap, II, p. 119. The *Commercial Advertiser* of November 21, 1799, contains after the announcement of the next play (*Lovers' Vows*, November 22) the statement: "We have authority to say that those manuscript pieces which by contract are not to be printed for many years yet to come, will be forwarded to the director of the New-York Theatre immediately from their illustrious author." This may be nothing more than a boast made for the sake of advertisement, based on Kotzebue's proposal. At the same time it is possible that Dunlap had entered upon negotiations with him.

³ Ireland, I, p. 190. Played November 29, December 2.

⁴ I cannot find a record of a performance of this piece till the next season.

⁵ Dunlap, II, pp. 121, 122. The original MS. (4^o, not paged) is in the Harris Collection of American Poetry, Providence, R. I. *False Shame* was played December 11, 13, 18; January 6 (1800), 17, February 3, 22, April 25; March 25 (1801).

“*Der Wildfang*, as translated and metamorphosed into an opera, called the *Wildgoose Chase*,¹ was first performed on the twenty-fourth of January (1800), and continued a favorite as long as Hodgkinson continued to play the Young Baron. *The Force of Calumny* had likewise been successful;² but the secession of Mr. Cooper in March was a severe blow to the theatre and its receipts. However, Kotzebue, with the manager’s industry, kept up the business. *The Virgin of the Sun* was brought out at great expense, with splendid scenery and dresses, and was attractive through the season.³ *Pizarro*, composed from the original and Sheridan’s alterations, was performed on the twenty-sixth of April; the concluding scene by Sheridan was omitted, and the sublime last lines of the author preferred.⁴ These two pieces, with all their faults, have great merit, and deserved the thanks of the ‘manager in distress.’”⁵

Ireland records further performances of Kotzebue’s plays. The *Count of Burgundy* was brought out on March 3.⁶ On April 21 was played for the first time Kotzebue’s *Corsicans, or, the Dawnings of Love*,⁷ on May 5, Dibdin’s farce from Kotzebue, *The Horse and the Widow*⁸ (*Die Wittwe und das Reitpferd*), and

¹ Published New York, 1801 (No. 67). *The Wildgoose Chase* was performed January 24 (1800), 27, 29, February 19, April 10, December 19, 22.

² *The Force of Calumny* was performed February 5 (1800), 7, 10, March 7.

³ The version “probably by Dunlap” (Ireland, I, p. 192). Dunlap’s version was published New York, 1801 (No. 64). *The Virgin of the Sun* was played March 12 (1800), 14, 17, 19, 22, November 21, December 10; March 30 (1801).

⁴ Published May 23, 1800 (*Daily Advertiser* of date). (No. 59.) *Pizarro* was performed March 26 (1800), 27, 28, 31, April 2, 4, 10, 23, May 16, December 12, 15, 26; March 18 (1801). The performance of March 26, 1800, is advertised as Sheridan’s adaptation. For April 23 Dunlap’s adaptation was advertised, May 16, Sheridan’s again, so that Dunlap seems to have used his own version only as an experiment.

⁵ Dunlap, II, p. 123.

⁶ Ireland, I, p. 191. It was repeated March 5. Ireland states that the adaptation was by Dunlap and was less successful than most of his adaptations. Dunlap does not mention it among his works (*History of American Theatre*, II, p. 383).

⁷ Ireland, I, p. 192. I cannot find any record that the piece was repeated.

⁸ Ireland, I, p. 193. I do not find any record of a second performance.

on April 23, a sequel to the *Stranger* called *The Stranger's Birthday*.¹

Ireland does not even exhaust the list of German plays given during this season. By reference to the newspapers of the day we find announcements of the following performances: April 16, *Sighs, or, the Daughter* (Prince Hoare's adaptation of Kotzebue's *Armuth und Edelsinn*); May 28, Kotzebue's *Joanna of Montfaucon* (adapted by Cumberland)²; June 6 (?), Kotzebue's *Happy Family*³ (*Die Silberne Hochzeit*), and most interesting of all, April 7, "the favorite tragedy of the *Robbers*."⁴

We find on reviewing this year that Dunlap presented fourteen pieces from Kotzebue that were new to his New York audience. Indeed a most remarkable testimony to his enterprise as theatrical manager.

Dunlap sums up the significance of the "German Drama" for his theatre in the words: "The necessity for producing these attractive novelties (Kotzebue's plays) rendered *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, and all the glories of the drama for the time a dead letter."⁵

While Dunlap's enterprise appeared to the outsider to be prosperous there was much discord and discontent within. "Even those plays which attracted the public, and gave bread to some and the means of destructive indulgence to others, were stigmatized by the actors as *Dutch Stuff*, and by other epithets equally characteristic. But why dwell on evils of this disgusting kind?" Dunlap adds: "Can they be removed?"⁶

"The new season opened on October 20, 1800, with *Lovers*'

¹ Ireland, I, p. 192. According to Ireland this was an original sketch by Dunlap. In the newspaper announcements it is mentioned as a translation of Kotzebue's *Die edle Lüge*.

² Ireland notes a performance for January 23, 1801. Dunlap (II, p. 140) mentions the piece under the season 1800-01. It was "without success compared to former plays by this author."

³ Dunlap (II, p. 136) mentions this piece under the season 1800-01. It "was played unsuccessfully."

⁴ *The Robbers* is announced again for June 3, 1801.

⁵ Dunlap, II, p. 124.

⁶ Dunlap, II, p. 125.

Vows." "The first play the manager [Dunlap] produced this season was perhaps the most meritorious of the many translations and alterations which came from his pen. *Fraternal Discord*, altered and adapted from Kotzebue's *Bruders Zwist* (*Die Versöhnung oder der Bruderzwist*), was made more English, particularly in the *prominent characters* of Captain Bertram and his old brother—sailor and boatswain—than any of the previous pieces from the same source. The two parts were most admirably played, and nothing was ever finer of the kind than Jefferson's sailor, except the gouty captain of Hodgkinson. The merits of this piece have been so far acknowledged by English managers and actors, and even by American audiences, as to obtain a preference over the foreign version from the same source."¹

On March 9 Dunlap's version of the *Abbé de l'Épée* (by Bouilly) was played for the first time and was eminently successful.² Possibly Dunlap used Kotzebue's adaptation of the French piece.

"The manager [Dunlap] had, in the midst of annoyance from sources as adverse to literary exertion as can well be imagined, translated and adapted to the American stage the play of *Abälino, the Great Bandit.*" Dunlap did not know at the time who was the author. "The success of the piece was great, both in New York and elsewhere. It was performed for the first time in the English language, the eleventh of February, 1801."³ "Zschokke's *Abälino* has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and brought forward on most of the European stages under various disguises. It was first played in a language foreign to its author, in New York, and only played

¹ Dunlap, II, pp. 134, 135. *Fraternal Discord* was published New York, 1809 (No. 132). I have noted performances on October 24 (1800), 27, December 19, 29; March 2 (1801). The foreign version is *Dibdin's Birthday*, London, 1800.

² Dunlap, II, p. 146. I find performances announced for March 9 (1801), 13, 16, 20, April 6.

³ Dunlap, II, p. 142. Printed at least four times. (No. 96, 170.) Performances took place February 11, March 2 (sixth time), 11, April 10, June 5.

in America by its original title.¹ Never was a play more successful, or a successful play less productive to its author or translator. It was overwhelmed with snow."²

The next season (1801-1802) we find Dunlap again busy translating from the German, but his efforts are not so successful as in the preceding years. "On the fourth of December, 1801, a farce called *Where is He?* by the manager [Dunlap], from the German, was played with success. The *Force of Calumny* was successful this season, but in the commencement the business was a losing one."³ "On the twenty-sixth of March, 1802, Schiller's *Fiesco*, curtailed, was performed (Cooper playing *Fiesco*): it was coldly received."⁴ It may be recalled in this connection that *Fiesco* was not properly appreciated by the German audience when first presented. The newspapers announce a performance of the *Wise Man of the East* (Mrs. Inchbald's adaptation of Kotzebue's *Indianer in England*) for June 1 (1801).

For the following season (1802-1803) Dunlap made only three translations. "The manager [Dunlap] had translated from the German and brought out, on the fifteenth of November (1802) a play called *Peter the Great*. Mr. Cooper, Mr. Hodgkinson, and Mrs. Whitlock were the principal performers, but the piece did not live."⁵ Ireland further records⁶ a performance, on February 28, 1803, of a farce, *The Good Neighbor* (an adaptation from Iffland), which was favorably received, and Dunlap mentions⁷ a performance, on March 30, of *The Blind Boy*, altered from Kotzebue's *Epigramm*, which was produced with small

¹ M. G. Lewis (*Rugantino*, reprinted, New York, 1810 [No. 146]) and R. W. Elliston (*Abellino*, reprinted, New York, 1806 [No. 113]) furnished adaptations for the English stage in 1805. We see that Dunlap commits a slight error in stating that his version alone went by the original title.

² Dunlap, II, p. 143.

³ Dunlap, II, p. 160.

⁴ Dunlap, II, p. 161.

⁵ Dunlap, II, p. 165. Printed, New York, 1814. (No. 160.)

⁶ Ireland, I, p. 212. Printed, New York, 1814. (No. 156.)

⁷ Dunlap, II, p. 191.

success ("Parts much applauded ; it was never popular"). This is, apparently, the last piece translated from the German by Dunlap for the purposes of his theatre. Dunlap struggled on for some time longer, but on January 22, 1805, the theatre was finally closed.

We have spoken at some length of Dunlap's theatrical enterprises, and told the story as much as possible in his own words.¹ We feel the evident pleasure with which, after a varied career, Dunlap looks back, as an aged man, on the period when the successful novelties of the "German Drama" made his management, for a time at least, a success. Although he dwells with satisfaction on his somewhat subordinate activity as translator and adapter of plays, he shows the greatest fairness towards the author who provided him with the most copious materials for his enterprise. Speaking of the disparagement that the German drama suffered in England, Dunlap says that he appreciated the old English drama more, but would not depreciate the Germans to the level of the modern drama manufacturers of England. "As my admiration of the German dramatists was not founded on the praise of English writers, so my opinion has not been shaken by their censures."² He accuses the English playwrights of writing down the German plays when they became the rage in England, and at the same time stealing from them "as unconscionably as they berated them unmercifully." There is much truth in this accusation. About the author whose works were the mainstay of the "German Drama," Dunlap expresses the following opinion : "Kotzebue's great talent was facility of invention ; his incidents are admirable ; his delineation of character is often fine ; but many of his characters partake of the age in which he lived, and of his own false philosophy and

¹The information furnished by Dunlap seems to be in general exact. He kept a diary (several of these are in the library of the New York Historical Society) and presumably used it for writing his *History of the American Theatre*. In minor matters there may be mistakes, or there may be some obliquity of vision here and there, a thing which is almost unavoidable in memoirs.

²Dunlap, *Memoirs of G. F. Cooke*, London, 1813, Vol. I, p. 230.

false estimate of the foundation on which society ought to rest."¹

This judgment, though apparently tempered by a long lapse of years, would probably receive further modification at the hands of the most lenient modern critic. Nobody concedes Kotzebue at the present day any ability in character delineation. It would be difficult to find in the world's history another author so specious and at the same time so entirely devoid of sterling worth. Kotzebue's creations reveal the base metal to even the slightest scratch, all his excellence is merely superficial. But superficial excellence (if the phrase be permissible) Kotzebue possesses in the highest degree. The conversation in his plays is that of living persons, handled with equal skill whether two or more characters are introduced. It is clear that when his plays were impersonated on the stage by actors, persons of flesh and blood, an effect must have been produced, on half-cultivated minds, of highest truth to life. We should finally add Kotzebue's unscrupulous use of all the sentimental and humanitarian foibles of the age, although he was by nature entirely incapable of handling ethical questions. It has been the experience of all times that the great mass of the reading public and of the theatre-goers is satisfied with dummies reiterating the fashionable or popular sentiments of the hour. As long as Kotzebue's sentimentality and sham heroism appealed to the public, or part of the public, his pieces held their own. As soon as public taste changed in these matters they fell into oblivion, and now only the student of literature has occasion to pass over the waste grounds of what was once a flourishing literary reputation. It should be added, however, in justice to Kotzebue, that in the field of low comedy the brilliancy and spontaneity of his wit, though always inclined to the cynical or heartless, have kept him a place on the stage during our century, at least in Germany.

It is interesting to note how Dunlap's endeavor to make the stage an instrument of higher moral and artistic culture failed

¹ Dunlap, II, p. 90.

in the face of the same abuses that lower the drama at the present day and cripple its possible influence for good. The intense objection that the stage encountered from many on moral and religious grounds and the attempts at legislative prohibition of theatrical performances did not, it appears, deter society from patronizing the theatre. The theatre certainly enjoyed a proportionately greater popularity than it did during many parts of our century. But the tendency toward the "star" system and the temptation to consider the play merely as a vehicle for an actor's skill, the necessity, on part of the manager, of conforming to, instead of forming, the public taste, so as to insure the necessary financial success—commercialism is an apt name for this evil in the domain of art,—all these abuses Dunlap felt as a heavy handicap or a positive hindrance. It is not possible to enter into the consideration of these interesting problems, which from the conservative character of American institutions and, consequently, American life remain very much the same at the present day. It was necessary, however, to call attention to them so as to obtain a background for an estimate of the significance of the "German Drama" in America. It will be apparent from these remarks why Kotzebue's plays enjoyed such a great vogue. Besides exploiting certain sentimental fallacies of the day they possess excellent qualities as acting plays. Dunlap thought that his endeavors as a theatrical manager would have been crowned with better success, if he had been able to conduct his theatre on the plan of the model theatres of France and Germany, without all the petty annoyances already enumerated. He casts a longing eye on Goethe and Iffland in their capacity as managers of an ideal stage. While it is not possible to tell how far some of the knowledge of the German stage that Dunlap reveals in his *History of the American Theatre* may have been acquired at a later time, there can hardly be any doubt that during the period of his active management he was well informed about the condition of the German stage.

While the vogue and world-wide reputation of Kotzebue is a

literary fact of some significance, the single works of Kotzebue are so lacking in artistic individuality as to deserve no minute examination. For the same reason the single translations of Dunlap do not call for a detailed examination, even if the scattered materials were readily accessible for this purpose. Dunlap shows himself, in the number of his pieces that I have examined, as a conscientious translator. He follows his original closely but with due attention to English idiom. Where the difference between American and foreign customs is too marked, or where passages seemed objectionable, he permitted himself slight changes. For presentation on the stage the pieces had to be shortened; these omissions were indicated in the printed text. Dunlap's knowledge of German was very good for a time when even a smattering of the language was rare. His style is simple and unaffected, giving him a decided advantage over many of his English rivals, who embalmed Kotzebue's easy conversational style in the somewhat elaborate and artificial English prose style of the eighteenth century. We must keep in mind that Dunlap attempted original dramatic writing, and while his efforts, like almost all that was written for the American stage, are lacking in permanent value, they take respectable rank among the early productions of American literature. Genest, the historian of the English stage, gives the preference, in most cases, to the English versions, which had been adapted with more freedom, but he also has words of praise, at times, for Dunlap. One important difference between Dunlap and his English competitors was this: Dunlap possessed a knowledge of German that was rare among practical playwrights. He treated the intentions of his author with due respect, while the English purveyors of dramatic literature tailored Kotzebue's pieces unscrupulously and to their hearts' content, trimmed them and changed them to suit their conventional ideas of what a drama should be.¹ Since Kotzebue's plays,

¹ John Howard Payne's version of *Lovers' Vows* affords a curious specimen of adapting. (Cf. No. 133, where Payne's own explanations are quoted.) During his stay in England (1813-1832) he made numerous adaptations of dramatic

whatever else their merits be, are loosely constructed it was easy for every bungler to try his hand at improving them.

Dunlap had a rival who attempted to compete with him in introducing Kotzebue to American readers. This rival was Charles Smith,¹ a bookseller of New York, whose ambition was directed toward translating all of the works of Kotzebue. Be it that adverse criticism discouraged him,² or be it that the magnitude of the task broke down his resolution, it seems that Smith did not translate more than three pieces of Kotzebue (Nos. 50, 58, 68 [1800]), and then drifted the way of the ordinary American publisher, appropriating the fruits of another's labor by the easy process of reprinting English translations. His reprints (1800, 1801) fill two volumes and part of a third, (cf. No. 51) and represent probably the largest number of translations from the German printed by an American bookseller during the early period. Smith's original translations would hardly deserve mention, but for the fact that he comes in for the indulgence which, by a general courtesy, is extended to pioneers of a new movement. His translations are veritable transliterations of the original, and one does not know how much of this should be attributed to want of skill in handling

literature, principally from the French. Some of these adaptations may go back to the German, but they do not necessarily fall within the province of our article, as they were made for the English stage. The Congressional Library has a manuscript translation of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, dated 1848, ascribed to Payne. If it is genuine, it would be proof of German studies of the American author.

Dunlap, to mention it here, did not hesitate to give his opinion about the character of the English adaptations. He says, *Memoirs of G. F. Cooke*, London, 1813: "It became the interest of certain English writers to put it [the brilliant German drama] down. The English translators succeeded in darkening its brightness by a most thick, sometimes impenetrable, fogginess."

¹ Some information about Smith may be found in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography* and in an article by Dr. Francis, *International Magazine*, New York, Vol. V (1852), p. 261. "I believe he was a New Yorker" (Francis).

² Smith's translations from Kotzebue were severely criticised in C. B. Brown's *Monthly Magazine and American Review for the Year 1800*, New York, Vol. II, p. 133 ff. (*The Count of Burgundy*), p. 225 (*The Wild Youth*). The third drama translated by Smith was *La Peyrouse*.

the English language and how much to his desire to be absolutely faithful to his original. Smith shows himself often at war with the rules of English grammar. If he was not of German extraction but had acquired German by study later in life, his knowledge of German deserves more credit than his ability to express himself in English.

It is stated on good authority that the Rev. Will lived about this time (1799) in New York and enriched American literature by translations from the German.¹ It has not been possible to verify this statement and to determine the extent of his activity in New York.

We have given Dunlap a lengthy consideration on account of his individual efforts in introducing the German drama into America. His merits in this direction will become apparent, if we pass once more in review his activity and compare the number of German plays acted under his management with those played in London theatres. A number of these pieces were not produced

¹ Dr. J. W. Francis (1789-1861), who was an oracle on all questions pertaining to old New York, makes this statement in his reminiscences (*International Magazine*, New York, Vol. V, 1852, p. 261; *Old New York*, New York, 1858, p. 46). Dr. Francis, who was of German extraction, during his youth attended Rev. Kunze's German Lutheran Church, and was therefore acquainted with German circles. Although many of the details furnished by him in regard to early translators from the German are inexact, as he depended apparently on his memory, it is more difficult to believe that he would record a person as residing in New York, when there was no foundation for it. *Old New York*, p. 46, he mentions him as having furnished translations from the German for the John Street Theatre (evidently an error) and adds: "This accomplished man, after but a short stay in New York, returned to Europe, where, in 1799, he published in London, in two volumes octavo, a translation of Knigge's *Practical Philosophy of Social Life*." If these dates be correct, Francis could hardly have a reliable personal recollection about Will. The directories of New York of about that time contain no reference to the Rev. Will, but show other persons of the same name, possibly relatives. A Henry Will was treasurer of the Reformed Church and of the Musical Society. The Rev. Peter Will published in England, between 1795 and 1799, a number of translations, designating himself as minister of the Reformed Congregation in the Savoy. I cannot trace him afterwards in England for a long time, so that it is possible that he emigrated to America. Francis assigns to him the translation of the *Constant Lovers*, New York, 1799 (No. 42), Boston, 1799 (No. 41), New York, 1801 (No. 73).

on the London stage, at least not contemporaneously, according to the authorities accessible to me. Such plays are: Schiller's *Don Carlos*, *Fiesco*, Kotzebue's *Count Benyowsky*, *False Shame*, *The Force of Calumny*, *The Stranger's Birthday*, *The Virgin of the Sun*, *The Birthday* (*Epigramm*), *The Good Neighbor* (from Iffland), *Peter the Great* and *Where is He?* The performance of Dunlap's *Wildgoose Chase* (*Wildfang*) preceded Dibdin's *Of Age To-morrow*, the performance of Dunlap's *Indians in England* preceded Mrs. Inchbald's *Wise Man of the East*, as did his *Abaellino* the English adaptations. In many cases, too, it would happen that Dunlap followed with his adaptation a half a year or a year in the wake of the London performance, as in the case of the *Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, *Fraternal Discord*, and *Pizarro*. Besides adaptations from other hands, like Kotzebue's *Self Immolation*, *The Count of Burgundy*, *Sighs* (*Armut und Edelsinn*), *The Horse and the Widow*, *Joanna of Montfaucon*, *The Wise Man of the East*, and Schiller's *Minister* (*Kabale und Liebe*), that were performed on the London stage, there were others of which a London performance is not recorded, such as, *The Corsicans*, *The Happy Family*. These pieces, principally from the versatile pen of Kotzebue, covering the entire range of dramatic writing, would have been indeed a splendid school of the drama if Kotzebue's work possessed more solid worth. This is not the proper place to enter upon an account of the character of these various dramas.¹ Nor is it necessary to enumerate here the many reprints of Kotzebue's pieces. A look at the index and the "list of translations" will suffice to establish the fact that Kotzebue outrivalled in popularity all other German authors. His popularity is indeed a remarkable phenomenon in the chronicles of literature. The predominance of the German drama existed at other American theatres as well as at New York, but with this difference, that while Dunlap endeavored to furnish his own

¹ Cf. about Kotzebue and his work the biography of C. Rabany, *Kotzebue, Sa Vie*, etc., Paris, 1893, and the literature referred to in Goedeke's *Grundriss*.

adaptations, the other theatres were more often content to use the versions of the English adapters.¹ Dunlap justly complains of the indiscriminate preference which American audiences showed for everything that had passed the tribunal of English opinion. With all this prejudice to combat, some of Dunlap's adaptations held the stage for a longer or a shorter time. They were successfully introduced on the Boston stage and were played there for several years.² *Lovers' Vows* and *Fraternal Discord*, as already mentioned, were frequently given the preference over the English versions. Ireland records a special revival of Dunlap's adaptations during the seasons 1814-1817.³ His *Abaellino* gained an enormous popularity and was played in all the American theatres. When later Lewis' translation of the prose romance *Abaellino* was published under the title of the *Bravo of Venice*, it was reprinted in America with the first title *Abaellino*, under which name Dunlap had made the story popular.

A number of Kotzebue's pieces, like *Pizarro*, *The Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, kept the stage during the whole of our period. Indeed *Pizarro* and the *Stranger* did not pass from the boards until comparatively recent times.⁴ It would be easy to fill pages with an account of the favorite actors and actresses who appeared in the part of Rolla (*Pizarro*), Frederick (*Lovers' Vows*), and Mrs. Haller (*The Stranger*). As long as the *Stranger* kept the stage the discussion of the morality of the piece follows it like a

¹ Besides those already mentioned I have used as authorities the following works: C. Blake, *An Historical Account of the Providence Stage*, Providence, 1868; W. W. Clapp, *History of the Boston Stage*, 1853; H. P. Phelps, *Players of a Century, a Record of the Albany Stage*, 2 ed., Albany, 1880; W. B. Wood, *Personal Recollections of the Stage*, Philadelphia, 1855; and various reviews and magazines that devote attention to theatrical matters.

² Dunlap, II, p. 120.

³ The following adaptations of Dunlap were revived: *Count Benyowsky*, *Force of Calumny* (1814-15), *Lovers' Vows* (1815-16), *Fraternal Discord* (1816-17).

⁴ Remarks by Ireland and Blake show that these pieces were still in vogue between 1860 and 1870. ("It [*The Stranger*] bids fair to retain its popularity for a long time."—Blake.)

faithful shadow.¹ Mrs. Mowatt relates, from personal experience, in order to show that Kotzebue's *Stranger* could have a moral effect, how a young lady contemplating the crime which had made Mrs. Haller miserable, was stricken by conscience, during a performance of the *Stranger* at Charleston, and, with a shriek, fainted from a sudden attack of hysteria.² Nothing would probably have delighted the vain author more than to have lived to record in his favor this testimonial from across the Atlantic. His delight in such certificates of morality is of course a half-conscious confession of his weakness as a moralist.

We have noticed how during Dunlap's management Kotzebue "was the rage" for a number of years (1799-1802) and then, by a natural sifting process, only a number of pieces kept the stage. For the season of 1813-14 William Wood records a remarkable revival of the German drama at his Philadelphia theatre. He says:³ "The German drama, at this time, stood high in public favor. We may call it, indeed, *the German Season*. *Pizarro*, *Virgin of the Sun*, *The Stranger*, and *The Robbers*, had been long favorably established, as well as Kotzebue's minor pieces, *How to Die for Love*, *Horse and the Widow*, *Of Age To-morrow*, and others. Benyowsky has been already noticed. But this season they became entirely the fashion, and made the German drama a matter much discussed. Schiller's noble drama of *The Minister, or Cabal and Love*, was now altered and acted with distinguished success, under the title of the *Harper's Daughter*."

¹ A typical discussion of this kind is to be found in the *Companion and Weekly Miscellany*, Baltimore, 1804-05, p. 33, where "Crito" claims that the repentance of Mrs. Haller precludes any bad example, while his opponent brands Kotzebue as being "pretty well known to be one of that vile band of German conspirators against the peace, the virtue, nay, the very existence of civil and religious society." We will not err in assuming that the critic draws here for his weapons on the arsenal of Mrs. Hannah More, or some other equally redoubtable warrior for good, established morality.

A majority of the critics were, it seems, arrayed against the morality of the piece.

² Anna Cora Mowatt, *Autobiography of an Actress*, 1865.

³ *Recollections*, p. 183.

While we have not hesitated to give Kotzebue the consideration that he deserves from the esteem in which his dramas were held by persons of taste and some critical ability, the works of Schiller and their reception in America excite naturally a greater interest. We smile now when we find Schiller so to speak arm in arm with Kotzebue and Zschokke.¹ But we must consider that the American readers and audiences of the time did not have accessible numerous accounts of German literature, as we have, in which the works of Zschokke's youth and the whole pretentious writings of Kotzebue are disposed of in a line or two at the most, while the account of Schiller's life fills many pages. We must remember that Schiller, for a long time, was known only by the less mature though perhaps more striking works of his youthful years, principally the *Robbers*, and to a certain extent by *Kabale und Liebe*. But still the feeling is discernible that Schiller's *Robbers* possessed something that was lacking in the same way in any other author of the time. This element we can best sum up in the word sublimity.

The editions of Schiller's works reprinted in this country are contained in the appended list of translations, where statements may be found in regard to the different translations which they represent. There existed at least three American reprints of the *Robbers* (1793, 1802, 1808?) and possibly a fourth (1825 or earlier). *Kabale und Liebe* was reprinted twice (1802, 1813), the latter edition being an adaptation made for the American stage. We find one edition of *Fiesco* (1802), and it is interesting to note that Coleridge's translation of the *Piccolomini*, in spite of the fact that it failed to attract attention in England, was reprinted in America (1805). This may be taken to show that the publishers expected a general interest in Schiller extending beyond those works which appealed to the existing taste in matters of the drama.

¹At Providence, R. I., *Abaellino* "was announced in the bills as the best dramatic work of the best dramatic writer of the age, Schiller" (Blake, p. 62). It is impossible to tell whether the management really believed this. It is interesting to notice that the extravagant character of the *Abaellino* was probably sufficient to make this announcement appear credible to the public.

Of these plays the *Robbers* alone enjoyed a general vogue on the American stage. Not that the piece could at all compete in frequency of performance with Kotzebue's popular dramas, the *Robbers* being, indeed, unsuited for frequent repetitions; but the play nevertheless put in an appearance from time to time as one of the most substantial morsels for the palate of the theatre-goer.¹ In England, as is well known, the *Robbers* was not publicly performed, for political and kindred reasons, and even during the first quarter of our century no performance seems to be recorded. Here we have clearly an example of difference in political institutions affecting the literary conditions of the country.

It would be interesting to examine in detail the adaptations in use for the American stage, if such can still be traced at the present day. John A. Dunlap speaks of these versions in the following words:² "Schiller's plays are well known to the literary world, but, except the *Robbers*, they are not familiar to the frequenters of the English or American theatres; and *The Robbers* so mutilated and mangled as to give no adequate idea of the great German poet."

William B. Wood, one of the most respected stage managers and actors of this early period, whose name we have already mentioned more than once, makes some interesting remarks about the corruption which the German drama suffered at the hands of English and American translators and managers, making it often difficult for the public to judge of the merits of the originals. He gives the following account of the version of the *Robbers* in use in the Philadelphia theatre, which he considers a judicious adaptation of a German piece for the American stage.³ "In the *Robbers* the episode of Kozinski and the dis-

¹ I mention a number of performances that have come to my notice: New York, 1795 (probably the earliest performance of the piece in English), April 7, 1800, June 3, 1801; Philadelphia, season 1805-06, 1810-11, 1813-14 (Cooper, Charles de Moor); New Orleans, January 1, 1806; Providence, September 17, 1806 (theatre closed "with Schiller's celebrated tragedy *The Robbers*"); Albany, spring 1815.

² Dunlap, II, p. 104.

³ *Recollections*, p. 185.

guise scenes of Charles as the count were omitted, with great advantage to the general interest of the piece, and particularly as they affected the position and value of Amelia. A prolixity in some of the scenes, especially those of Francis, Kozinski, and the assumed count, throws a weight upon the play, which may well be avoided, and save, to the actor of Charles, much power, otherwise wasted on minor situations, and which is loudly called for at the close of the fourth and throughout the fifth act."

As it is seldom possible to furnish a detailed criticism of German works from the pen of an early American reviewer, it may be of interest to quote some remarks about the *Robbers* found in the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, a periodical which embodied the young aspirations of Boston culture in a manner very creditable for that time. The remarks are characterized by a fairness which is somewhat rare in conservative public opinion of the time. They are found in a series of articles under the title *Silva*, Vol. IV (1807), p. 371. The accents of the critic are perhaps a little stammering but his admiration is undisguised. "There is no doubt some raving and theatrical declamation in the tragedy of the *Robbers*, but I do pity the soul, that is not melted with its tenderness and roused by its energies. Perhaps, in the whole fairy-ground of fiction, a character like Moor cannot be found. His revenge is of the most natural kind, always uniform, and wonderfully great. The kind feelings are not buried nor destroyed . . . they only slumber in temporary torpor. Sentiments the most manly, and perceptions which savour of true greatness, are often expressed in language the most forcible and sublime. As for Francis, he has the form, the features, and the folly of a villain. Great art is clearly exhibited in his manner of deceiving his father, and his subsequent conduct makes him the finished hero of vice. Who does not love Amelia? So constant in her affection, so great in her hatred. As for the robbers, how nicely are their characters and dispositions marked! All are criminal, yet some are perhaps to be pitied, and others are downright offenders, with blackest hearts and hands full of shameful vice. But if we

consider the state of society at that time, they will not appear so very detestable. Knowledge and religion were mere names, or not better than superficial science or hateful superstition. The use of arms was fully allowed, by which means alone the poor were protected, and provided for, and the female sex defended from insult, or their dishonor revenged. The robbers in this play are eager to sacrifice the infamous Charles, and in fact he is buried in the tomb he has prepared for his father. How do they catch every word of Kozinki's [sic] tale, and how do they burn for revenge on the villainous prince, the possessor of his Amelia! Indeed our state of civilization is no standard, by which the feudal ages are to be tried. To me it appears, that the crimes of the robbers were the common disorders committed by the strong, and so universal were the ravages of a similar nature, that I rather consider the actions and bloody thoughts of the robbers as necessary consequences of barbarism, than criminal aberrations from moral virtue. The language of the play is generally natural. It is strong in a high degree, and powerfully impresses the dictates of revenge, the emotions of terror, and the sentiments of pity."

We have already mentioned the early New York performances of *Kabale und Liebe*, which preceded the London performances by several years. Of this piece a stage version used in an American theatre is still extant. This, an adaptation of Lewis' translation of *Kabale und Liebe* (*The Minister*), made for the Philadelphia stage under the title of *The Harper's Daughter*,¹ gives us an idea how a *Sturm und Drang* drama was shortened for the American stage, and according to what principles it was brought into harmony with the conservative ideas of propriety, morality, and religion.

¹ Published 1813 (cf. No. 152), played 1813-14 at Philadelphia and Baltimore during the season already mentioned when the German drama experienced a remarkable revival. I do not know what relation exists between this version and the adaptation played at Covent Garden, May 4, 1803. This version was attributed to Lewis himself. Cf. Genest, *Account of the English Stage*, Vol. VII, p. 583, also Singer, *Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte*, Michael Bernays gewidmet, 1893, p. 12.

By a bold cut (amounting to more than the average act) all scenes in which Augusta (Lady Milford) appears (Act II, Sc. 1-5, Act IV, Sc. 6-11) were excised;¹ two minor characters, Catherina (Sophie) and Walter (ein Kammerdiener des Fürsten), disappeared in the same change. "It was found necessary to omit the whole character of Augusta—a portion of the drama upon which the great talents of Schiller have been most laboriously employed" are the words in which this action is explained by Wood, for whose stage the adaptation was made and who is possibly the author, or who may have inspired this version. These omissions necessitate a different division of the acts and they undoubtedly disturb the balance of the play, but an American audience of the period would hardly care for more than the thrilling main plot.

Apart from this excision of whole sections of the drama, a great number of omissions, varying in length from a word to a page or more, helped to cut down the drama to about half its original size. All references to the Deity are avoided, except in a few situations where the intensity of feeling seemed to make such appeal allowable. Mad bursts of passion and the exclamations of a distracted mind, the wild despair that drives a tortured creature into urgent appeal to the Deity and links the fate of an individual with the economy of the world, all in fact that may be interpreted as undue familiarity with, or revolt against, Providence, or that was repulsive to American audiences by excess of emotion.

The realism of Schiller's youthful art was too strong for an audience that was accustomed to a more conventional treatment of the characters of the drama. Miller (here called Munster), blustering, verging on coarseness,—but nevertheless honest and honorable—is much toned down, and Elizabeth (Frau Miller) subjected to a similar treatment.

While the American audience submitted to the unlimited introduction of stage horrors and terrors, some of the concrete

¹ Act III, Sc. 4 is also cut.

examples of tyranny and oppression such as were conceivable (even though an exception) in the Germany of the eighteenth century had to be omitted, as unintelligible or repulsive. Declamations against distinctions of class were retained as being unchallengeable in republican America, while usually a conservative policy is brought to bear on anything savoring of radicalism. Of mere sentiment and sentimentality the inhabitants of the new world, as well as those of the old, could stand at that period an amount and a quality that would be nauseating to modern taste, so that the drama did not call for changes from this point of view. Add to these omissions the frequent curtailing of lengthy discussions, of rhetorical repetition, and of elaborate climax, and the statement will seem intelligible that the piece was reduced to one half its original size.

There is nothing added as offset to these many omissions, only a word or a phrase here and there, to establish the necessary connection where omissions or changes had been made. We may regard the adaptation as well suited for its purpose, and must praise the conservative spirit that avoided all attempts at improving Schiller's drama by original efforts. It bears a striking contrast to the Baltimore reprint of 1802, which represents a miserable perversion of the great master's work.

Before leaving the subject of the German drama in America, which, as we have seen, has presented some novel aspects as compared with the history of the German drama in England, I should like to call attention to the reprint of Walter Scott's translation of *Goetz von Berlichingen* (1814, No. 155). Two adaptations from the German by American authors deserve mention only as curiosities. Mordecai Noah adapted Sonnleithner's text to Beethoven's *Fidelio* under the title of the *Castle of Sorrento* (No. 126), without departing far from his original, and a crack-brained youth made a dramatic version of *Rinaldo Rinaldini* (No. 144), by the very simple process of copying out the dialogue from Hinckley's translation of Vulpius' prose romance *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, a curious proof how

the rage for extravagant literature affected America as well as Europe.¹

GERMAN FICTION.

German fiction, although probably not engrossing as large an amount of public attention as the German drama, was nevertheless represented by one of the most brilliant meteors among the literary constellations of the last century, long before the German drama became the admiration of the public. We refer to Goethe's *Sorrows of Werter*, which was reprinted in America at least six times in four different translations during our period.² Of these old prints of *Werter* it is true even more than of the average reprints of the period that they are difficult to trace. They have disappeared from the libraries, succumbing to long and frequent use, or were lost by neglect when the fashion in fiction changed. To many libraries this dangerous work was certainly never granted admittance. It is permissible to regard these prints as a proof that the "Wertherfeber" prevailed also in America, although probably only in a very light form. These American reprints must be regarded as the last ripples of a wave that swept the civilized world. It is of course out of the question that American readers should understand the significance of the work as we now interpret it in the light of Goethe's individual development and the general history of the times. It is to be regarded, even more than in England, as a representative specimen of the highly sentimental literature then in vogue. The popularity of *Werther* in America was sufficient to justify the well known Dr. Benjamin Rush in singling it out as a sample of pernicious novel, the reading of which deserves censure. In his *Thoughts upon the Female Education*³ he adverts to the case of "young ladies who weep away a whole forenoon over the

¹ This puerile effort cannot be from the pen of Dunlap. He mentions *Rinaldo Rinaldini* among his works, probably an acting drama constructed by him from the German original.

² Philadelphia, 1784 (No. 8), Litchfield, Conn., 1789 (10), New York, 1795 (27), Boston, 1798 (39), Boston, 1807 (118), Boston, 1807 (119).

³ Benjamin Rush, *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*, 1798.

criminal sorrows of a fictitious Charlotte or Werther," only to refuse a beggar in the afternoon. This is a criticism familiar to the English public and was probably borrowed by Dr. Rush from English sources, like so many opinions during the infancy of our national life.

Werther, like Gessner's *Death of Abel*, gave rise to imitations in England and elsewhere. Of the large number of these imitations and works founded on *Werther*, one at least, the *Letters of Charlotte during her Connexion with Werther*, was reprinted several times.¹ It is a vapid, inane work, utilizing suggestions from its German model to construct a *Werther* without objectionable features. Its only redeeming quality is that its style is not as outrageous as is the case with many imitations of sentimental literature. It was sometimes printed in America in the same volume with, and after, *Werther*, as if intended to act as a sedative after the soul-stirring lines that preceded it.

Schiller's brilliant work of fiction, the *Ghostseer*, was reprinted in two American editions representing two different translations.²

The mention of Schiller's *Ghostseer* suggests a few remarks about Charles Brockden Brown, the first American writer of fiction whose works possess more than ordinary merit. His *Wieland* (1798) is a powerful tale of terror, a species of literature in which the Germans easily carried off the palm, and for which they were supposed to furnish the best models.³ But we

¹ 1797 (No. 35), 1798 (No. 40), 1807 (120). The last two editions were printed in the same volume with the *Sorrows of Werther*. A German translation, which appeared in 1825, claims to have been made after the fifth American edition. About the character of this work, cf. J. W. Appell, *Werther und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1865, pp. 12-15, T. Süpffe, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, N. F., Vol. VI (1893), p. 312.

² Reprinted, New York, 1796 (No. 33), and Philadelphia [1800?-1803] (No. 71). The *Ghostseer* (version No. 33) was also printed as a serial in the *New York Weekly Magazine*, 1795, pp. 16 ff., under the title *The Apparitionist*. The same magazine published Tschink's *Victim of Magical Delusion*, a weak imitation of Schiller's *Ghostseer*.

³ I shall not enter here on the consideration of a possible influence of Schiller's *Ghostseer* on *Wieland*. Professor Learned informs me that he has devoted attention to this subject and I refer to some remarks on the same, which he intends to publish soon.

are interested in the novel from another point of view. Brown reveals in the same a sympathetic attitude towards German culture, which is astonishing with an American during this early period, and for which it will be difficult to find a parallel among those who, like Brown, had never lived in Germany.¹ The characters of the piece—the scene is laid in the neighborhood of Philadelphia—are of German extraction and cultivate the poetry of their ancestors at their new home. He makes Wieland, the central character of the novel, a connection of the well-known German poet of that name. It is possible that Brown had made the acquaintance of cultured Germans, either at Philadelphia, his home, or at New York, where he resided at this time.

From 1799–1800 Brown published at New York the *Monthly Magazine and American Review*. This magazine, which was published at the time when the influence of German literature had reached the high-water mark in England, devotes more attention to German literature than any other periodical of the period that falls within the scope of our investigation. It seems a petty affair, measured by our modern standards, but, in comparison with former American reviews, shows an advance that is most creditable to its editor. Brown's friend Dunlap, whose labors in introducing the German drama into America have been noticed at some length, and other literary characters of New York were contributors. We find there, among others, reviews of Dunlap's and Smith's translations from Kotzebue, a life of Bürger, anecdotes of Kotzebue and Schiller, an account

¹ It is this generally sympathetic point of view that foreigners lacked for a long time in their attitude toward Germany, even if they felt an interest in certain products of its literature. From this consideration the question where Brown got his information gains interest. His source was apparently Baron Riesbeck's *Travels through Germany*, translated by the Rev. Mr. Maty, 3 vols., London, 1787. This work by J. K. R. Riesbeck (the title of Baron is fictitious) was indeed sufficient to serve as a revelation to the average American or English reader. Brown's conceptions as well as misconceptions of German literature are satisfactorily explained from the assumption that he was impressed by this work.

of the state of the German stage, remarks on the literary labor of the Germans, and most interesting of all, an article on the study of German. These samples will show to what extent the attention of the literary men of New York was focused on German literature.

The works of fiction may generally be assigned to two different classes. We have on the one hand the extravagant fiction that followed in the wake of the *Robbers*, the *Ghostseer*, and *Goetz von Berlichingen*, on the other hand the sentimental and "family" novel ("Familienroman"). Of an older type of German fiction (if we except Gessner's *Death of Abel*) there seems to be only one example among American reprints. This is a translation from Wieland, *Socrates out of his Senses*, Newburgh, N. Y., 1797 (No. 36). To reprint one of Wieland's novels of Greek life was a bold undertaking, as one edition usually more than supplied the needs of the much larger British reading public. Of the original English translation of this work, in particular, the statement is made that it was "received with utter indifference by the public."¹

Of the extravagant works of German fiction, known variously under the name of tales of terror, of horror, or of wonder, a number were reprinted in this country. Such are Wächter's *Black Valley* (No. 82), in which thrilling adventures are introduced, and Spiess' *Mountain Cottager* (No. 69), for the character of which we must refer to the striking motto: "Ye visions that before me roll,—that freeze my blood,—that shake my soul,—are ye the phantoms of a dream?" Vulpius' *Rinaldo Rinaldini* (No. 144) was dramatized, as already stated, and Lewis' translation of Zschokke's prose romance *Abaellino* reprinted twice under the title of the German original, which Dunlap had made generally popular in America by his adaptation of the German drama (No. 138, 139). Add to these Lewis' collection, *Romantic Tales* (No. 135—the *Tales of Terror* are mentioned later under poetry—), and the *Tales of Wonder, of Humour and*

¹ W. Taylor, *Historic Survey of German Literature*, 1830, Vol. II, p. 314.

Sentiment of the Misses Plumtre, which possibly contribute some literature of the kind, and we have a fair collection of tales of wonder, etc., in which Schiller's *Ghostseer* should figure as the most prominent and most brilliant example. It may not be amiss to introduce into this company the venerable patriarch of the German tales of wonder, the history of Dr. Faustus. As in England, the story seems to have been popular and to have been spread in the form of chapbooks (No. 25, 83, 176).

It requires no particular effort at the present day to deride this grotesque and often almost nonsensical class of literature. What significance this type had for the development of German literature is irrelevant in this connection. But in England and America a rough disturbance was necessary to wake the drowsy muse. A rude plough was needed to break the hardened, barren soil for the coming of a new crop. The free and extravagant variation, by imitators, of the themes that had been more or less clearly enunciated by Goethe and Schiller in the works of their youth, was, from some points of view, better adapted to affect England and America, where the ideals of the genuine *Sturm und Drang* were not intelligible, from causes that are apparent to every student of the world's literature but need not here be repeated.

We will call to mind only one of these stories, that of Abaelino, who, disguised as a bandit, terrifies, without the help of an accomplice, the whole state of Venice, effecting its salvation, while apparently its greatest scourge. He is as quick in changing his disguises, as he is superhuman in his actions. The *Abaellino* may not be literature of a high grade; the author himself smiled when, in maturer years, after a career of lofty effort and well-deserved literary success, he looked back upon the child of his youthful fancy. But if we consider the effect which the prevalence and popularity of such literature must have had on a taste formed by the models of the classical, or, often more correctly, pseudo-classical authors of the last century, we will appreciate how they were helpful in introducing, both in America and England, a bolder and more romantic form of

literature. These authors, many of them a sort of talented literary vagabonds, take a rank in German literature even lower than they deserve, because they must stand comparison with the greatest heroes of lofty artistic endeavor. But they are nevertheless a robust race, often prodigal sons of a good house, bearing traces of having associated with good company. Monk Lewis' puerilities do not possess the childlike ingenuousness of the German products; lacking spontaneousness in the handling of his extravagant themes, his pieces seem like intentional caricatures of his German models. It is not the intention to follow out these suggestions in this connection, as it would lead us beyond the limits which have been set.

A second type of German fiction, although not as characteristic as the tale of terror, obtained considerable vogue in England and America. This was the sentimental and "family" novel ("Familienroman"). A number of Kotzebue's stories, which were carried along with his dramas on the wave of popularity that swept the world, were translated in England and America. Many of these appear to belong entirely, or by some of their characteristics, in this class of literature, others seem to have more the character of historical novels. It has not been found possible to examine them in detail and I simply give a list of American editions, referring to the index for further references: *The Beautiful Unknown* (translated by Charles Smith of New York), *The Constant Lover*, *Ildegerte*, *The Pigeon* (translated by a Philadelphian), *The Sufferings of the Family of Ortenberg*, *Zaida* (translated by Charles Smith).

August Lafontaine, the representative writer of the German family novel, found readers in England as well as Germany. Although he is justly regarded as a mere manufacturer of novels, without a spark of artistic individuality, he is sometimes honored by the name of the celebrated Lafontaine. In his successes and inherent weaknesses he is aptly compared to Kotzebue. In 1810 a New York publisher reprinted the *Village Pastor and His Children* (No. 142), and announced his intention to republish all the works of Lafontaine "if the public

encourage the sale of them." He would have found the resources of his printing office taxed if the public had kept him to his word and had forced him to print the 150, or more, German originals, or even the two or three dozen translations made in England. We have noticed only one other reprint of Lafontaine, *Romulus*, Baltimore, 1814 (No. 159).¹

Finally a reprint of an English translation of Pestalozzi's *Lienhard und Gertrud* (No. 80) is to be mentioned. The English original translation states that it was made "with the hope of its being useful to the 'lower orders of society,'" which remark reminds one of the worthy Hannah More and her circle.

This earlier type of German fiction (printed and reprinted in America about 1800) is, after the lapse of a decade or two, replaced by another class of fiction of a more modern type. The first example of this kind, which I am able to find, is Dr. Tobias Watkins' translation of Zschokke's *Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht* (No. 172). The translation has no particular merit and probably reached only a small circle of readers. But it is interesting as a proof of German studies in the circle of Baltimore literati, of which Watkins was a prominent member. It seems to be the earliest translation of this popular tale, of which half a dozen or more translations have appeared. It is, in fact, as far as I can see, the earliest translation of that type of stories which gained Zschokke a well-founded national and international reputation as a skillful narrator.² In 1822 appeared a reprint of La Motte Fouqué's *Minstrel Love* (*Sängerliebe*), in 1824 two editions of the same author's *Undine*, and Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*. The appearance of these products of the romantic or post-romantic period indicates a new phase in the appreciation of German literature, which, however interesting it may be, cannot be considered here.

¹Two novels whose authors are not mentioned, seem to belong here, to judge by their titles. They are: *Eliza, or the Pattern of Women* (No. 84), and *He Loves Me Better Than His Life* (No. 124).

²We will recall the fact that Dunlap was the first to introduce *Abaellino*, the principal work of Zschokke's youthful "Sturm und Drang" period, in an English garb.

GERMAN POETRY.

The appreciation of poetry written in a foreign language encounters obstacles not met with in the case of prose. By an imperfect knowledge of the language the subtle beauties of poetry are obscured, as the beauties of art and nature are hidden to an impaired vision. As German was practically little understood during our period, this aspect of German studies does not concern us greatly. But the same difficulties that embarrass the student of poetry are encountered, increased a hundredfold, by the translator, whose task it is to re-embodiment in his own language the conceptions of the original and the indefinable charm of poetic diction. It will not be astonishing, therefore, to find that the gems of German poetry, perhaps the highest consummation of modern poetic literature, were entirely unknown to the public of the English-speaking world. Two German poets nevertheless gained in their English version a popularity which made each of them *facile princeps* in his own species of literature. These two poets were Bürger and Wieland. The German drama, as far as it was known to the American public, was a prose drama and does not call for consideration in this connection.

The popularity, in England, of Bürger's ballad *Lenore* is well known.¹ The English translations of this ballad, "the best ballad of the century," were undoubtedly imported into America, like all the various products of the British press. Its moderate size also made it suitable for reprinting in the periodical press and it was, we may presume, reprinted in that way.²

¹Cf. A. Brandl in Erich Schmidt's *Charakteristiken*, Berlin, 1886, pp. 244-248.

²A version of Bürger's *Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhain, the Lass of Fair Wone*, was reprinted in the *American Universal Magazine*, Philadelphia, Vol. I, 1797, pp. 211-215 (47 stanzas).

Parodies of the German ballad style also found their way into the periodical press. The *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register* for 1800-1801, Vol. I, p. 328, reprints a burlesque of the German ballads (it "appeared in *The Dessert to the True American* two and a half years ago") beginning :

" Cold blows the blast ;—the night's obscure.
 The mansion's crazy wainscots crack :
 The sun had sunk : and all the moor,
 Like every other moor was black."

The opinion of many English lovers of poetry about Wieland's *Oberon* is aptly expressed in the words of Thomas Campbell: "I cannot conceive a more perfect poet than their favorite Wieland." It was Sotheby's excellent translation of the *Oberon* (1798) that made Wieland's poem accessible to the great mass of English readers. About the time when Sotheby translated the poem, John Quincy Adams, sixth president of the United States, at that time (1797-1801) Minister to Prussia, conceived the same plan. He gives an account of his translation of *Oberon* in a letter addressed to Charles Follen, dated October 24, 1831:¹

"Thirty years have passed away since a residence of four years at Berlin, and excursions into Saxony and Silesia, had given me an enthusiastic relish for German literature. At that time, Wieland was *there* I think decidedly the most popular of the German poets, and although there was in his genius neither the originality nor the deep pathos of Göthe, or Klopstock, or Schiller, there was something in the playfulness of his imagination, in the tenderness of his sensibility, in the sunny cheerfulness of his philosophy, and in the harmony of his versification, which, to me, were inexpressibly delightful." . . .
 "Among my exercises in learning the German language,² was a complete translation into English verse of his 'Oberon,' which I should have published, but that Mr. Sotheby got the start of me. When I saw his translation, I was content to keep mine in my *porte-feuille*. My German teacher sent a copy of the first canto of my translation to Wieland himself, and asked him his opinion of it, which he gave with frankness. He compared it with Sotheby's translation, then just published, and gave the palm of poetry to him, and of fidelity to me; a decision which my own judgment fully confirmed."

The poem then proceeds to tell, how Molly is visited by the ghost of Thomas, the gardener, her deceased lover. He had fallen into the well, was drowned, and is now a water spirit. He carries off Molly and plumps her in the well. That the parody is directed against Bürger's *Lenore* is clear.

¹ *The Works of Charles Follen*, Boston, 1842, Vol. I, pp. 306, 307.

² Adams speaks of his German studies in his diary. Cf. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Charles F. Adams, Vol. I, pp. 217, 225.

While it thus came about that the *Oberon* of Wieland was published in an English translation, not in the version that the American statesman had made, there was no reason why Sotheby's translation should not be republished in America. A reprint appeared at Newport, R. I., in 1810 (No. 145). It was not a simple reprint. An anonymous American editor¹ had added a lengthy preface, which contains the highest praise of the poem and poet. We will quote at some length from this preface, which is written in the elaborate style that characterizes the cultured American of the early part of our century. We will smile at the vast prospects of Wieland's future fame, which the editor unfolds to us with the fervor of the true visionary. And what American of the olden times did not become a visionary at the prospects of his country?

"In England where German literature is perhaps too highly appreciated, and excessively cultivated, it is unnecessary to declare who Wieland was." . . . "It is hardly, however, a matter of reproach, or regret, that we are authorized in presupposing such an unacquaintance with German literature, in this young country, as to conceive it indispensable that we should prefix to an American edition, something to attract attention, and interest curiosity in relation to the extraordinary character and transcendent merit of the German poet: enough merely to evince to the public, that we solicit their favor to an undertaking that deserves it." The editor then gives a glowing account of the court of Weimar, bestows the highest praise on Wieland's *Agathon* and *Oberon*, but not without censuring his attitude toward the French Revolution. He proceeds: "We have introduced an epic poet with proud pretensions in a country where he is, in a great degree, a stranger; and it is natural that on such

¹According to the *Providence Athenæum Library Catalogue*, 1853, p. 433, the Hon. William Hunter, the acknowledged leader of the Newport bar, was the anonymous editor. There seems no reason to doubt this assertion. (Cf. about Hunter Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, G. C. Channing, *Early Recollections of Newport, R. I.*, Boston, 1868, pp. 119-120, F. Moore, *American Eloquence*, Vol. II, pp. 335-336.)

an occasion curiosity should be busy in inquiry." The excellence of Sotheby's translation, he states, is recognized by Wieland in the *Annual Register* for 1798. "If a brother bard, on the first appearance of *Oberon*, had predicted its splendid fortunes and ventured to announce, that even in the life of its author it would be praised and admired, not only in every existing European nation but also in the embryo republic of the new world, it would have been regarded as an effusion too adulatory for friendship, and too extravagant for poetry. But all this is realized. The fame of Wieland is as widespread as that of Horace, and its permanence as finally identified with literature itself. Both of these poets, perhaps, have the best security for their future glory in the rapid progress and improvement of this, the freest, and such we hope destined to be, the most literate and enlightened country of the world."

This edition was reviewed in the *Monthly Anthology*.¹ I quote only a few remarks in regard to the work itself: "We should do an injustice to the author and translator, if we should select any passages from the *Oberon*, for its execution is so remarkably equal, that the reader finds no prominent beauties or blemishes." "In his *Oberon* he seems to have designed a poem in which he could concentrate all his mental energies, and unite the prominent beauties of the different kinds of writing in which he excels." "Its general character is rather seductive and fascinating than great or magnificent. It consists of a tissue of incidents, which Wieland has connected and arranged with such admirable skill as to form one of the most interesting stories in any language. He seldom attempts the sublime or terrible, and when he does he totally miscarries, for he immediately falls into an imposing and gigantick, rather than natural train of thought. He is more successful in description than in dialogue. Like the machinery of his poem, he seems to operate by enchantment." . . . "Yet amidst these occa-

¹ *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Boston, Vol. IX, 1810, pp. 191-194.

sional defects the spirit of poetry shines forth with surpassing splendour, and the *Oberon*, considered as a whole, exhibits an exuberance of imagination, unparalleled in modern poetry."

The publication of Wieland's *Oberon* at Newport is possibly responsible for the following unfavorable remarks by an anonymous critic in the *General Repository and Review*.¹ He praises, for its harmony of versification, Sotheby's translation of *Oberon*, "which, though beautiful, has been extravagantly overrated." "But we are not disposed to give very high applause to the writer [Sotheby], who has made accessible and grateful to the English reader a poem, discovering a taste egregiously faulty, and whose boasted excellence of moral is more than counterbalanced by the seducing wantonness of its descriptions."

We add one more opinion about Wieland,² expressed in a somewhat youthful and extravagant manner by Joseph Story, later eminent as a jurist :

"Wieland, the darling of the German muses, by turns sweet, affecting, magnificent, sublime, commanding, terrible: the favorite of fancy, to whom she unveiled her most beautiful forms, drest in the voluptuousness of the loves, and the translucent snow of the graces. His works nec Jovis ira, nec ignis, nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere retustas."

These opinions about Wieland's *Oberon* give us an idea what a charm he exerted over his contemporaries, nor is that charm quite lost even at the present day. But we have long ago learned to look on Wieland only as a promise of greater things to come, the poetic master works of Goethe and Schiller, which have replaced all earlier efforts in the esteem of the critical reader. These works were not absolutely unknown, but the standard by which they were to be measured had not yet been discovered. In 1805 there appeared in Richmond a reprint of Holcroft's translation of Goethe's *Hermann und*

¹ *The General Repository and Review*, Cambridge, Mass., Vol. I, 1812, p. 411. The article is attributed to C. Elliot.

² Joseph Story, *The Power of Solitude*, a poem, Salem, 1804. (Note IV.)

Dorothea (No. 108). The true appreciation of this one poem would have been equivalent to a full insight into the nature of Goethe's poetry. But we cannot assume anything of the kind. It was perhaps regarded somewhat on a level with Gessner's *Idylls*. Nevertheless it remains one of the most interesting reprints in our list. Some of Goethe's best known poems, the *Erlking* and *Fisherman*, and Bürger's *Lenora* and *Wild Huntsman*, were also published in Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*,¹ which is sufficient to show in what light they were viewed by Lewis.

GERMAN PHILOSOPHY, THEOLOGY, AND PEDAGOGY.

The title adopted for this chapter might lead to misunderstandings unless qualified by certain statements. A comprehensive consideration of German theology, philosophy, and pedagogy in America would lie entirely outside the limits of our investigation. But it seemed desirable to consider under this heading a number of authors whose works lie on the border line between literature and the disciplines mentioned, or whose works can be considered as having some relation, direct or indirect, with new developments in the literary culture of our country.

One of the most interesting traces of an early influence of German literature is the popularity evidently enjoyed by the small book known as Lavater's *Aphorisms*. It is curious to contemplate this collection of effusions, bearing so clearly the impress of the *Sturm und Drang*, create for itself in distant America a large circle of readers. At least four early American editions of this work were printed, three of them in 1790 (Philadelphia, Boston, New York), one in 1793.² Often such duplication of prints in various places was due to the disorganized condition of the American book trade, and the imperfect means of communication, which restricted prints to a local circulation to an extent that is unintelligible to us at the present day. But we may assume even for this earlier period the same peculiarity

¹ Reprinted, New York, 1801. (No. 79.)

² No. 14, 15, 16, 21.

that is so characteristic of American life in our century, namely, that public attention, once aroused in regard to any subject, concentrates itself, for a time, in that direction. This may not be proof of a deep and critical appreciation, but it shows an intelligent interest in whatever happens to engage general attention at the time. Thus much that is bad and indifferent, thus much, also, that is of the best has floated in on the current of present popularity, no matter what may first have given a start to the movement. How the *Aphorisms* continued in vogue, at least in New England, is shown by the Newburyport print of 1793, which would not have been issued if the Boston print had not sold well. That Lavater's *Aphorisms* were not forgotten is proved by the fact that they are used for two decades, to fill, here and there, an empty corner of the page in the periodicals of the time. They were stray grains of golden wisdom.

The unabridged editions of Lavater's *Physiognomy* were too large and expensive to tempt an American printer; they were imported from England when desired by American libraries or readers. But an abridgment of Holcroft's translation was reprinted at Boston (No. 106). Through his *Aphorisms* and his *Physiognomy*, Lavater became widely known in England and America, and not infrequently reference is found in American magazines to his physiognomical theories. This popularity gave weight to a pamphlet of a political nature more than a literary one, his *Remonstrances, addressed to the Executive Directory of the French Republic, against the Invasion of Switzerland*, which, originally printed in London, was reprinted at New York in 1799.¹

Soon after Lavater's *Aphorisms* the work of another Swiss author gained in the transatlantic republic such a foothold that the work may be said to have been in America, as in England, "one of the few foreign books that became really popular during the last century." Zimmermann's book on *Solitude* was

¹ London printed. New York: reprinted by John Tiebout (Homer's-head), No. 358 Pearl-street, 1799.

first reprinted in America in 1793 and only disappeared from the book market in comparatively recent times. We have counted ten editions (cf. index) during the period which we have under consideration. The version of Zimmermann's *Solitude* that was popular in America in reprints was not a direct translation from the German, but a translation from the French adaptation of Mercier, who had confined himself to the portion of the original treating of the advantages of solitude and made changes even there. The portion treating of the disadvantages of solitude, which had been published in England as a supplement to the part already published, was seldom, if ever, reprinted during our period.

In Zimmermann's book we have something like the reign of sensitiveness instead of the usual sensibility. The instinctive shrinking of a sensitive, perhaps somewhat conceited nature from contact with the external world is perceptible on every page, although we do not wish it to be inferred from these remarks that Zimmermann did not adequately express much of the best thought on the subject of which his work treated. In the popularity of his book in America we have another example how the sometimes shrinking, sometimes self-assertive individualism, which is so peculiar to Germany during the last century, found a certain response in a civilization where the attitude of society towards the individual, and the individual towards society, has developed a far more self dependent and less sensitive type of character. The popularity of Lavater's *Aphorisms* presents a parallel case, perhaps still more interesting.

Zimmermann had been introduced to the American public many years before by a Philadelphia reprint (1778, No. 7) of his *Strictures on National Pride (Vom Nationalstolze)*, a readable book on national prejudices and failings. It appears that the two Swiss authors Gessner and Zimmermann were the only representatives of German literature whose works were reprinted in America during revolutionary and colonial times. A more reliable translation appeared later (reprinted, New York, 1799), at a time when Zimmermann's name had become famous through his *Solitude*.

In this connection a reprint of Knigge's *Practical Philosophy of Social Life (Über den Umgang mit Menschen)* (No. 109) might be mentioned.

A number of translations from the German have received a place in the "List of Translations," although they belong rather to the field of pedagogy. There is some justification in considering them inasmuch as they are children's literature. They were, however, rather included on account of the humanitarian spirit of the German "Aufklärung," with which they glow, and as interesting predecessors of the more technical pedagogical literature which came from Germany at a later period.

The most interesting of these is Salzmann's *Elements of Morality (Moralisches Elementarbüchlein)*, translated by the well-known Mary Wollstonecraft. It was reprinted three or four times about 1795, and again about 1811 (cf. index). Incidents of child life are used as a vehicle for moral instruction. Campe's stories, *Columbus, Cortez, Pizarro*, and especially the *New Robinson Crusoe* were reprinted (cf. index). They contain history and fiction adapted so as to serve as moral and educational food for youthful minds. We also mention again in this connection Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude* (No. 80).¹

Among the theological works which we are justified in mentioning here those seem the most interesting which can be regarded as a connecting link between German rationalism and the Unitarian movement of New England. It is principally from this point of view that we have taken into our translations the works of the German divines Zollikofer and Sturm. Sturm's *Reflections on the Works of God* was a work which was extremely

¹ During this period a personal acquaintance with German pedagogues, and an intimate knowledge of German pedagogy, was probably extremely rare in America. Of J. C. Cabell, who co-operated with Jefferson in founding the University of Virginia, the statement is made: "While in Switzerland [between 1803 and 1806], he visited Yverdon, and on conference with the celebrated Pestalozzi, and examination of his system, he was so much struck with certain of his improvements in primary instruction, that long afterwards he sought to have them naturalized in Virginia" (Jefferson and Cabell, *Early History of the University of Virginia*, 1856, p. xxix).

popular in England, and also, although perhaps in a less degree, in America (cf. index). A New England divine, Thaddeus M. Harris, of some eminence in his day, rearranged the English translation, compressed it, added to it, and published it under the title *Beauties of Nature Delineated* (1801, cf. 70). The next year it went through a second edition. Of Harris' religious convictions the following statement is made: "In his theological opinions he belonged to the early liberal school. The spirit of the Gospel, its lessons for the heart rather than the speculative reason, its obligations, its comforts, its divine assurances, were to him the believer's great concern."¹ The nature of the book was such that it was acceptable to both liberal and orthodox thought.²

The popularity of the sermons of Zollikofer, a notable representative of the extremest type of rationalism, is more interesting. It is not astonishing that all of these (with the exception of a small pamphlet containing two sermons, No. 175) were published in the bailiwick of Unitarianism, in Massachusetts. T. M. Harris, whose name has just been mentioned, made an abridgement of one of the English translations, called *Exercises of Piety*, which had two editions (1803, No. 101). Zollikofer was the leading representative of German pulpit eloquence known in England and America, although his effusive style was not to everybody's taste, apart from the dissent which his theological views might excite. The *Monthly Anthology*, reviewing his *Seven Sermons on the Reformation*, says:³ "We have hitherto been accustomed to value Zollikofer chiefly for his simple and practical views of religion, and the gentle and insinuating eloquence with which he recommends them. These

¹ N. K. Frothingham, *Memoirs of T. M. Harris*, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4 S., Vol. II, p. 13.

² The Rev. Samuel Knox, *An Essay on the Best System of Education*, Baltimore, 1799, p. 107, proposes that a selection from the book be read every morning to impress the pupils with feelings of "reverence of the Deity, of his government of the world," etc.

³ *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Vol. VI, 1809, p. 181.

sermons on the Reformation are written with more vigour and compression of thought than we have thought him capable of."

A translation of Jung-Stilling's *Scenes in the World of Spirits* (No. 163) by Gottlieb Shober,¹ of Salem, N. C., is interesting as being probably the earliest translation into English of one of Jung-Stilling's works. The translation is a proof of the attraction which mysticism had for many of the Germans of America. Haller's *Letters to his Daughter on the Truths of the Christian Religion* was an orthodox defence of the Christian religion that derived weight from the eminence of its author. It was reprinted at New Haven (No. 92). We should not forget in this connection the Rev. J. C. Kunze, who, to make the German hymns accessible to American readers, published a collection of them translated into English.² As I have not seen a copy of the book I quote the words of Dr. Francis about the same: "With assistance Dr. Kunze prepared a collection of hymns, translated into English: they were the most singular specimens of couplets and triplets I ever perused, yet they possessed much of the intensity and spiritualism of German poetry. This was in the fall of 1795."

REVIEW.—NEW DEVELOPMENTS.

The *General Repository and Review*, Cambridge (Mass.), one of the early periodicals indicative of the growing intellectual culture of Boston, contains an anonymous review of Musæus' *Popular Tales*.³ After giving some specimens of these tales, and stating how these tales were collected the reviewer proceeds: "We have so few translations from the German, that a knowledge of it is the only medium of getting access to the immense stores of science and literature contained in it. Our politics

¹ Cf. about Shober the *Cyclopedia of American Biography*.

² J. W. Francis, *Old New York*, 1858, p. 45. The full title as made up from this source and M. D. Learned, *Opening of the Bechstein Library*, 1896, p. 46, would seem to be: *A Hymn and Prayer-book for the use of such Lutheran Churches as use the English Language*. Published by Hurtin & Commandinger. New York: John Tiebout, 1795. 12°.

³ In Vol. IV, 1812, pp. 91-105.

have led us to turn our eyes so exclusively on France and England, that we hardly realize the existence of any other nations in Europe. Yet, however absurd and heretical it may seem in an American to insinuate the possibility that any other people should ever pretend to a rivalry with those two great countries, on whose prejudices our parties are made to hinge, it is not to be disguised, that the Germans themselves entertain very different notions on the subject. They not only lay claim to a comparison with the other nations in Europe, but they actually think themselves entitled to assert the very first rank." The reviewer then recalls the ancient importance of the German Empire, glorifies the Reformation, asserts the pre-eminence of Germany in all the domain of philosophy in its most extended sense ("with the single exception, perhaps of the claims of France to pre-eminence in physics") and advises his countrymen to study German, which he hopes will exert a favorable influence on the English language. He next proceeds: "The German language is particularly rich in that department of literature, which generally holds out the greatest attractions to the student of foreign languages, viz—poetry and belles lettres. In theatrical writing, for instance, which in France and England seems to be among the lost arts, German literature is overflowing with excellent productions of living, or just deceased authors—'that rival all, but Shakespeare's name, below.' To prove this assertion it is sufficient to mention the names of Schiller, Goethe, Kotzebue, and Lessing. Garbled and miserable translations, and imitations, or rather caricatures of them, have been the stay and staff of the English stage for twenty years. Everything may be ridiculed, and party spirit has found it within the scope of its policy to ridicule the German theatre." He finally states that the difficulties of learning German are not as insurmountable as they are generally supposed to be.

These statements may seem commonplace to us, because not only the scholar's estimate of German culture, but also public opinion on this subject has long become fixed. It was a bold and unique statement for the times, and has therefore been

placed at the head of the chapter in which we are about to take leave of the subject of early influence of German literature in America. A manifesto like this marks indeed a new departure. Few even in England would have dared to weigh German culture on equal balance with French and English culture.

The anonymous writer of this article was Alexander Hill Everett,¹ a man of great merits, though not as well known as his brother, Edward Everett. He had probably studied German while he was associated with John Quincy Adams in St. Petersburg, where German influence was strong and the study of the language and literature could be pursued under the most favorable conditions.²

The review is interesting, however, from another point of view. It emphasizes the fact that impresses itself readily on any one who has engaged in a study of the period. French was at that time the only foreign language taught and studied in America, where French grammars, French texts, and bilingual texts in English and French were printed in not inconsiderable numbers. The history of French influence is well known. Dating back to the fellowship in arms during the Revolutionary War, becoming a powerful political factor during the French Revolution, it continued such for a long time, in the way hinted at by Hill. Even apart from these considerations, the established reputation of France as the home of good taste and the brilliancy of its intellectual life and literature would have given it a position that could not easily be assailed.

There was an earlier time when the great Frederick was the most popular person in this country, when the French were hated enemies, and native poets celebrated the glorious victory of Rossbach. Making due allowance for the overstrained and

¹ The article was republished in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Second Series, Boston, 1846, pp. 30-144.

² The *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, New York, Vol. X (N. S.), 1842, p. 461, states that he studied at St. Petersburg, among other things, the modern languages.

inflated language of the period, we cannot but feel that the poet's heart is in such effusions as these :¹

The Royal Comet.

Mistaken astronomers, gaze not so high;
 The comet foretold is not yet in the sky.
 It shines here on earth, though departed from Heaven,
 And remarkably flam'd last year—fifty-seven:
 In Woden's bold figure, three thousand years past,
 O'er ancient Germania its lustre it cast:
 Next wearing, Arminius, thy form, it returned:
 And fatal to Rome's blasted regions it burned.
 Now, attended with all the thunders of war,
 Our Prussia's great Frederick is that great Blazing Star.
 Heaven's proxy to nations oppressed, but a sign
 To tyrants he comes of the vengeance divine.

Another specimen from the same poem :

O'er ocean from Europe his influence hurled,
 Shall animate here, O George, thy New World.
 Our laws, our religion, our rights he befriends,
 And conquests o'er savage invaders portends.

These remarks may not seem very relevant to our subject, but they afford us an opportunity of pointing out the importance which Frederick's international reputation had in increasing the esteem in which the German nationality was held. During the whole eighteenth century Frederick the Great remains probably the best known and most celebrated person of foreign birth in the estimation of America, and if any American attempted, as sometimes happened, to eulogize the German nationality or praise their literature, he never neglected to refer

¹ *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*, Vol. I, 1757-58, p. 551. These lines are by the Rev. James Sterling of Kent County, Md. More such poetry may be found pp. 240, 280. F. Kapp, *Friedrich der Grosse und die Vereinigten Staaten*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 11, gives further proofs of Frederick's popularity in the American colonies.

his readers to the possibilities latent in a people that had produced such a hero as Frederick the Great.

One great obstacle to German studies and a true appreciation of German civilization was the remoteness of the country from America. Few American travelers visited Germany. England and France were usually the goal of their ambition. If an American touched German soil it was usually as a traveler along the course of the Rhine, on his way from the rich and important Netherlands to France.¹ It is needless to say that it was impossible to gain an impression of German life during such a short trip in one of the least progressive parts of Germany, the territory of the bishop electors. When Aaron Burr visited Weimar in 1810, he found that the only Americans known there were Poinsett [J. R. Poinsett] and a Mr. Smith, both from South Carolina.² A great contrast with the number of Americans who later visited Weimar!

John Quincy Adams, having enjoyed the privilege of a residence in Germany, besides being a man of high culture and literary tastes, may perhaps be regarded as the father of German studies in America, such as we have learned to identify with the highly respectable culture of New England. The account he gives of his journey in Silesia shows a most sympathetic attitude towards the German people. He says of them:³ "In the manners and conversations of these persons, upon the whole, we found a frankness, a cordiality and good nature truly republican, or which at least I love to consider as such. They speak with openness and freedom of their own government, which they praise and blame according as they think it deserves." Of course we do not wish to give the impression that John Quincy Adams was the only American who, while living abroad, considered it worth his while to study German. But there were certainly only few exceptions to our statement that German was

¹ Jefferson made this trip. (Cf. *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by H. A. Washington, New York, 1859, Vol. IX, pp. 378-395.)

² *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr*, New York, 1858, p. 389.

³ J. Q. Adams, *Journey to Silesia*, London, 1804, p. 22.

not studied by Americans during the end of the last and beginning of our century.¹

The difficulties that beset the student who was ambitious of acquiring the German language at Boston about the year 1813, are described by Ticknor in a most amusing fashion. He says, speaking of his own experience:² "The first intimation I ever had on the subject [excellence of German Universities] was from Mme. de Staël's work on Germany, just then published.³ My next came from a pamphlet, by Villers, to defend the University of Göttingen from the ill intentions of Jérôme Bonaparte, the King of Westphalia, in which he gave a sketch of the University and its courses of study. My astonishment at these revelations was increased by an account of its library, given, by an Englishman who had been at Göttingen, to my friend, the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher. I was sure that I should like to study at such a university, but it was in vain that I endeavored to get further knowledge upon the subject. I would have gladly prepared for it by learning the language I should

¹ Joel Barlow, the poet, seems to have known German (Cf. C. B. Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, 1886, p. 274.), and Gouverneur Morris tells us in his diary how he took up the study of the language.

² *Life and Letters of George Ticknor*, Boston, 1876, Vol. I, p. 11.

³ An American reprint of the English translation (1813) appeared: *Germany*, by the Baroness Staël Holstein, 3 vols. in 2, New York, Eastburn, Kirk & Co., 1814.

In speaking of this important source of information for the history of German literature, it would be unfair to pass in silence the older work of an American author, which devotes a large share of attention to German literature. I mean Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, New York, T. and J. Swords, 1803. I quote a sample: "So many interesting works in literature and science have been published in Germany . . . that the acquisition of the language seems now to be regarded by the literati of Europe as of equal importance with that of the French and English" (p. 113). It is not possible to quote the many sympathetic notices which he accords to German writers. I quote as a curiosity a remark about *Faust*: "The *Faust* of the celebrated Goethe of Germany occupies a high place in the list of modern satirical writings."

Dr. Samuel Miller belongs to the literary circle of Dunlap and C. B. Brown. About the beginning of our century New York, more than any other place seems to have shown an interest in German literature.

have to use there, but there was no one in Boston who could teach me. At Jamaica Plains there was a Dr. Brosius, a native of Strasburg, who gave instructions in mathematics. He was willing to do what he could for me in German, but he warned me that his pronunciation was very bad, as was that of all Alsace, which had become a part of France. Nor was it possible to get books. I borrowed a Meidinger's grammar, French and German, from my friend Mr. Everett, and sent to New Hampshire, where I knew there was a German Dictionary, and procured it. I also obtained a copy of Goethe's 'Werther' in German (through Mr. William S. Shaw's connivance) from amongst Mr. J. Q. Adams' books, deposited by him, on going to Europe, in the Athenæum, under Mr. Shaw's care, but without giving him permission to lend them. I got so far as to write a translation of 'Werther,' but no farther." The account which Ticknor gives of the difficulties under which German studies were pursued in Boston, about the year 1813, may be perfectly true. At the same time, we have good information that there existed a demand for German teaching even before this period.

Sydney Willard says, speaking of a period preceding by a few years the time when Ticknor learned German :¹ "A German Jew by name of Horwitz came to Cambridge and remained a year or more. He found some encouragement as a teacher of German. I studied German with his aid. He was somewhat arrogant in his pretensions, but could justly lay claim to considerable learning in the language of his religion and of the country from which he emigrated."

Professor Learned has given an account of the introduction of German during the last century, as a medium of instruction, into the curriculum of the University of Pennsylvania.² As these courses were intended principally for the Germans of Pennsylvania we merely refer to them here, as they lie outside

¹ Sydney Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, 1855, Vol. II, p. 145.

² *Addresses at the Opening of the Bechstein Library*, March 21, 1896, pp. 37-50.

the scope of our article. Apart from this there seems to have been no regularly appointed instructor of German in any American college until Follen was appointed teacher of the German language at Harvard in 1826. At Amherst College an attempt was made in 1826 to introduce courses in the modern languages, parallel to the courses in the classical languages.¹ German was taken into consideration as one of the languages of this course. The experiment proved a failure and in 1829 the parallel courses in modern languages were abolished. It also seems probable that Blaettermann, who was appointed professor of modern languages at the University of Virginia in 1825, gave instruction in German.

Considering the great similarity which exists between the Unitarian movement in America and German rationalism it is astonishing to notice that the latter seems to have had but slight influence on the former during the end of the latter and beginning of our century. It seems strange to us that Channing did not apparently know "that a great number of Lutherans thought with him," of which fact Follen apprised him;² nor can the claims of German philosophy for his attention have been very urgent, if it needed an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on German philosophy to arouse his desire to study German (1829).³ The Rev. Convers Francis is mentioned among the earliest students of German, and German theology, in this country.⁴ He became the teacher of Theodore Parker. While we are compelled to make these reservations, it is nevertheless true that German theology was best known in New England, especially Boston, about which fact one can easily inform oneself by comparing the early Boston periodicals of a serious character with those from other parts of the country. We have already referred to the popularity which Zollikofer's sermons enjoyed. With the

¹ W. S. Tyler, *History of Amherst College*, 1873, pp. 170-172.

² *The Works of Charles Follen*, Boston, 1842, Vol. I, p. 167.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴ William Newell, *Memoirs of the Rev. Convers Francis*. (*Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 1864-65, p. 242.)

divines of other sects the feeling that German was a most useful and desirable acquirement seems to have made itself felt still less. The Rev. S. H. Turner, a member of the Episcopal Church, who is mentioned among the earliest translators of theological works from the German, did not begin to acquire that language till about 1825.¹

The amount of attention that German philosophy received in America during the first quarter of our century is perhaps most aptly stated in the words of James Marsh, president of, and later professor in, the University of Vermont and apparently one of the earliest students in America of German philosophy. He studied German in 1821, and in the course of his studies "began to consult Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* then a perfect terra incognita to American scholars."²

In a letter addressed to S. T. Coleridge during the year 1829³ he states that the works of Locke were formerly much used in colleges, but that now the Scotch philosophers had taken his place. "The German philosophers, Kant and his followers, are very little known in this country; and our young men who have visited Germany, have paid little attention to that department of study while there." He then acknowledges that he owes to Coleridge the understanding of what little Kant he has read. "The same views are generally entertained in this country as in Great Britain, respecting German literature; and Stewart's *History of Philosophy* especially has had an extensive influence to deter students from the study of their philosophy. Whether any change in this respect is to take place remains to be seen."

The period between 1802 and 1825 is a transition period when viewed with respect to German literature. Works that have already become established in public favor like those of Gessner, Kotzebue, Zimmermann, Goethe (*Werter*), and others are

¹ *The Autobiography of the Rev. S. H. Turner*, New York, 1864, p. 124.

² *The Remains of the Rev. James Marsh*, Boston, 1843, p. 44.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

reprinted, but there are few accessions by new authors. The attitude of the general public also remains the same toward German literature.¹ The advent (about 1818) of a new class of romantic fiction has already been mentioned. If our presentation of the new movement toward a better understanding of German literature may seem meagre we must point again to the fact that this subject lies beyond the task set for this article, and we could only enter upon this subject, and confine ourselves within our self-imposed limits, by following the youthful studies and interests of men like Ticknor, Everett and Bancroft. Certainly a most sympathetic theme, but one that had best be left for treatment in another connection.

¹ An article of this type is to be found in *The Portico; a Repository of Science and Literature*, Baltimore, 1817, Vol. II, pp. 17-25, in which the reviewer comes to the usual conclusion that Gessner and Kotzebue are the most satisfactory German writers.

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF GERMAN LITERATURE
 THAT WERE PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES
 BEFORE 1826.

Abbreviations: adv. = advertisement; a. pref., etc. = author's preface; cont. = contents; ed. = edition; e. pref., etc. = editor's preface; introd. = introduction; pl. = plate; pref. = preface; t. pref., etc. = translator's preface, etc.

[NOTE.—An attempt has been made to obtain a fairly complete list of translations from German literature, of works suggested by German literature, and of important collections containing translations from German literature, as far as such were printed in the United States before 1826. Absolute completeness is impossible and indeed not requisite for the purposes of our investigation. From the fact that both collector and bibliographer take little interest in the reprints of the end of the last, and beginning of our century, the student is compelled to go over the ground himself, not the least laborious part of this study. Fully two-thirds of the books mentioned have been personally examined, of the remaining third many titles were furnished by the courtesy of librarians, or taken from equally reliable sources (*e. g.* the Catalogue of the Brinley Collection). In some cases, where titles could not be verified, sources are stated. C. R. Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing*, Philadelphia, 1885-86, and Isaiah Thomas' list of ante-revolutionary prints in his "History of Printing in America" (*American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, Vols. V-VI), are thus quoted.

Want of space prohibits us from acknowledging here the many favors received through the uniform courtesy of librarians. Special thanks are due Mr. A. R. Spofford and Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, of the Congressional Library, and Mr. W. Eames, of the Lenox Library, for their kind and ever ready advice, and to Mr. E. M. Barton, of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., Mr. J. Schwartz, of the New York Apprentices' Library, and my friend, Professor G. S. Collins, of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, for interesting information.

In the course of collecting these titles the desirability of furnishing the fullest information in regard to the character of prefaces, the numbering of pages, etc., impressed itself more and more. Considering the many sources from which this list has been compiled a uniform practice was not possible in these matters.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that a detailed examination of these prints was seldom possible, the three requisites of American reprint, English original translation, and German original being only rarely found at the same library, quite apart from the fact that limitations of time are an important factor in the case of material scattered along the whole length of our country. It would be a grave omission not to mention the help derived from the catalogue of the British Museum in many of the questions arising in this connection.]

1762.

1. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books. By Solomon Gessner. Philadelphia: William Bradford. 1762.

(Hildeburn.)

Probably reprint of: *The Death of Abel*, in five books, attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner by Mary Collyer. London. 1761. [Der Tod Abels. 1758.]

2. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*, in five books. Boston. Reprinted. 1762. 12°.

(Thomas.)

Probably Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

1765.

3. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel* in five books attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. The sixth edition London printed: New York reprinted by H. Gainé at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square 1765.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

1767.

4. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*, in five books, attempted from the German of Gessner. 7th edition. New York. 1767. 12°.

(Thomas.)

Evidently Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1. Reprint of the 7th English edition (1765)?

1770.

5. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. London, printed; Philadelphia, reprinted and sold by Joseph Crukshank, and Isaac Collins, in Third-street, opposite the Work-house, 1770. 12°. pp. iii-iv "To the Queen", v-viii a. pref., ix-x t. pref., 11-106.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

1770?

6. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. London, printed; Philadelphia, reprinted and sold by John Dunlap, at the Newest Printing-office, the south side of the Jersey-market, and three doors below Second-street. 12°. pp. iii-iv "To the Queen", v-viii a. pref., ix-x t. pref., 11-106.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1. The copy of the Pa. Historical Society bears on the binding the date 1770. That this is approximately correct is proved by the fact that the designation "the south side of the Jersey-market" occurs only from 1768-1770 in books printed by Dunlap. (Cf. Hildeburn.)

1778.

7. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Strictures on National Pride*. Translated from the German of Mr. Zimmermann. Physician in Ordinary to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. . . . Philadelphia, printed and sold by R. Bell, at the Circulating Library, next door to St. Paul's Church, in Third street. 1778. 8°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., v-viii [for vi] cont., 9-274, [pp. 5] index.

Reprint of: *An Essay on National Pride*, translated, &c. London. 1771. [Von dem Nationalstolze. 1758.]

1784.

8. [Goethe, J. W. von] *Sorrows and Sympathetic Attachments of Werther: a German story, in a series of letters*. By Mr. Goethe, Doctor of the Civil Law. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Robert Bell. 1784. (Hildeburn)

Possibly a reprint of: *The Sorrows of Werter; a German story founded on fact*. 2 vols. London. 1779. [Die Leiden des jungen Werthers. 1774.]

1788.

9. [Klopstock, F. G.] *The Messiah*, attempted from the German of Mr. Klopstock, by Joseph Collyer. In fifteen books. Eliza-

beth Town: printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, 1788. 16°. pp. ii-v t. pref., vii-xvi "On Divine Poetry", 383. (15 books.)

Reprint of: *The Messiah*, &c. 2 vols. London. 1763. Vol. 3 (book 11-15) was added later [1772?]. [*Der Messias*. 1751-1773.]

1789.

10. [Goethe, J. W. von] *The Sorrows of Werter*. A German story. *Taedet coeli convexa tueri*. To each his sufferings. Gray. (Ode to Adversity.). Vol. I. Litchfield, (Connecticut) Printed by Thomas Collier. 1789. 12°. Vol. I. pp. ii t. pref., 94. Vol. II. pp. 1-92 + [copy examined defective; letter 38-77 +].

Apparently Reprint of: *The Sorrows of Werter*, &c. London. 1779. Cf. 8. The beginning lines as in 39.

11. [Lessing, G. E.] *Lucy Sampson, or the Unhappy Heyress*, translated by a citizen of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. Charles Cist. 1789.

Translation (by David Rittenhouse, Philadelphia) of: *Miss Sara Sampson, ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel*. 1755. The title of the work is taken from Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*², Vol. iv, p. 142 (§221, 47), and W. Barton, *Memoirs of David Rittenhouse*, Philadelphia, 1813, p. 495. Goedeke gives the date 1790.

1790.

12. [Campe, J. H.] *The New Robinson Crusoe: an instructive and entertaining history for the use of children of both sexes*. Translated from the French. Printed at Boston, by Thomas and Andrews, at Faust's Statue. Sold at their bookstore. . . 1790. 8°. pp. viii e. pref., 270.

Apparently reprint of: *The New Robinson Crusoe*, &c. 4 vols. London. 1788. [*Robinson der jüngere*. 1779. 1780.]

13. [Gessner, S., suggested by G.'s Death of Abel] *The Death of Cain* &c. Cf. 17.

14. [Lavater, J. K.] *Aphorisms on Man*. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Casper Lavater, citizen of Zurich. Author of the *Essays in Phygnomy*. . . Philadelphia: printed by William Spotswood. 1790. 16°. pp. v-vi "To Henry Fuseli", vii-viii e. adv., pp. 100. (633 aphorisms.)

Reprint of: *Aphorisms on Man*, &c. [Translated by J. H. Fuseli.] London. 1788.

15. [Lavater, J. K.] Aphorisms on Man. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Caspar Lavater, citizen of Zurich. . . . Third edition. London: printed. New York: reprinted by T. and J. Swords, for Berry and Rogers, Hanover Square. 1790. 16° [p. 3] "To Henry Fuseli", [p. 4] e. adv., pp. 5-114. (633 aphorisms).

J. H. Fuseli's translation. London. 1788. Cf. 14.

16. [Lavater, J. K.] Aphorisms on Man. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Caspar Lavater, citizen of Zurich. . . . Fourth edition. Printed at Boston, by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews. At Faust's Statue, No. 45, Newbury Street. Sold by them at their bookstore, by D. West, in Marlborough Street, by E. Larkin, jun. in Cornhill, and by I. Thomas, in Worcester. 1790. 16°. [p. 3] "To Henry Fuseli", [p. 4] e. adv., pp. 5-112. (633 aphorisms.)

J. H. Fuseli's translation. London. 1788. Cf. 14.

1791.

17. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mary Collyer. To which is added. The Death of Cain. In five books. Philadelphia: printed by William Spotswood. 1791. 16°. pp. iii-vi a. pref., pp. vii-viii t. pref., 172.

The Death of Cain, in five books; after the manner of the Death of Abel. By a Lady. . . . Philadelphia: printed and sold by William Spotswood, 1790. 16°. pp. iii-iv pref., pp. 103.

Mary Collyer's translation of: The Death of Abel. London. 1761 (Cf. 1); and reprint of: The Death of Cain, &c. London. [1790?]

18. [Gessner, S., suggested by the G.'s Death of Abel.] The Death of Cain, in five books; after the manner of the Death of Abel. By a Lady. . . . Philadelphia: printed and sold by William Spotswood, 1791. 16°. [p. ii] a. adv., pp. iii-iv a. pref., pp. 68.

Reprint of: the Death of Cain, &c. London. [1790?]. Cf. 17. This print occurs bound with: the Death of Abel. Philadelphia. 1791 (Cf. 17) and may possibly be an abridged copy of print 13.

About 1791.

19. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. Newport (Rhode Island). Printed by Peter Edes. 16°. pp. x a. pref., 154.

Mary Collyer's translation. 1761. Cf. I. Peter Edes printed at Newport from about 1787-1796, in which year he left. I have fixed approximate date of print on the basis of this information.

1793.

20. [**Gessner, S.**, suggested by G.'s Death of Abel.] The Death of Cain; in five books; by a Lady. Newburyport, 1793. 16°.

Reprint of: The Death of Cain, &c. London. [1790?] Cf. 17.

21. [**Lavater, J. K.**] Aphorisms on Man. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Caspar Lavater, citizen of Zurich. 5th edition. Printed at Newburyport, by George Jerry Osborne, Guttenberg'shead. 1793. 16°. pp. iv, 110.

Evidently J. H. Fuseli's translation. London. 1788. Cf. 14.

22. [**Schiller, F. von.**] The Robbers. A tragedy. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. New-York: printed by Samuel Campbell. No 37, Hanover Square. 1793. 8°. pp. vii introd., 11-120.

Reprint of: The Robbers, translated from the German of F. Schiller [by A. F. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee]. London. 1792.

23. [**Zimmermann, J. G.**] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann. Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. . . . Philadelphia: printed for J. Cruikshank, W. Young, T. Dobson, M. Carey, H. & P. Rice, B. Johnson, and P. Hall. 1793. 12°. [p. i] Cont., pp. 328.

Reprint of: Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and Heart. Written originally in German by Mr. Zimmermann. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. London. 1791. [Über die Einsamkeit. 1784-85.]

1794?

24. [**Gessner, S.**] The Death of Abel. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mary Collyer. New-York. Printed and sold by S. Campbell, No. 37, Hanover Square. 1764. 16°.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. I. The date 1764 is found in the print (cf. also facsimile in C. R. Hildeburn, *Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York*. 1895. p. 70). Hildeburn was unable to ascertain anything concerning the printer, or that he printed anything else. 1764 seems to be a printer's error, perhaps for 1794. In 1793 Samuel Campbell printed at the same address Schiller's Robbers. Cf. 22.

1795.

25. The Surprising Life and Death of Dr. John Faustus, D. D. commonly called the History of the the [sic] Devil and Dr. Faustus. To which is now added the Necromancer, or, Harlequin Dr. Faustus; as performed at the Theatres. Truly translated from the original copies. Printed at Worcester. 1795. 24°. pp. 5-144 [misprint for 143].

Reprint of an English print. The Brit. Mus. has English editions of a similar title. [Historia von Dr. Johann Fausten. Frankfurt a. M. 1587.]

26. [Dr. Faustus, suggested by the story of Dr. Faustus.] The Necromancer or Harlequin Dr. Faustus. Cf. 25.

27. [Goethe, J. W. von] The Sorrows of Werter, an affecting story. Translated from the original German. Forever Fortune wilt thou prove, An unrelenting Foe to Love; And when we meet, a mutual Heart, Come in between and bid us part? Bid us sigh on, from Day to Day, And wish, and wish the Soul away, Till youth and passion both are flown, And all the Life of Life is gone. New York: printed by Wayland & Davis, Water-street, for L. Wayland. 1795. 18°. pp. 142.

Probably reprint of one of the English translations. Letter 1. You ask me how I fell in love? What a question! Why I've seen such a woman! So much sweetness, such affable behaviour; &c. . . . Emilia Galotti was lying open upon his bureau. I will say nothing of Albert's great distress, nor of the situation of Charlotte. Finis.

28. [Klopstock, F. G.] The Messiah, attempted from the German of Mr. Klopstock, by Joseph Collyer. In fifteen books. New-York. G. Forman, No. 156, Front Street, for Evert Duyckinck & Co. booksellers and stationers, No 110, Pearl Street. 1795. 12°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., vii-xvi "On Divine Poetry," 17-403. J. Collyer's translation. London. 1763, [1772?]. Cf. 9.

29. [Salzmann, C. G.] Elements of Morality, for the Use of Children; with an Introductory Address to Parents. Translated from the German of the Rev. C. G. Salzmann. The first American edition. Printed at Providence (R. Island) by Carter and Wilkinson, and sold at their book and stationary store, opposite the Market. 1795. 12°. pp. iii-v adv., vii-xix "Introductory Address to Parents," pp. 21-306. 1 pl.

Reprint of: Elements of Morality, &c. [Translated by Mary Wollstonecraft.] London. 1790. [Moralisches Elementarbuch. 1782-83.]

1795 or before.

30. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. New York. Evert Duyckinck & Co.

Possibly a reprint of Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. This ed. is mentioned in an adv. in Duyckinck's ed. of the *Messiah*. Cf. 28.

1796.

31. [Salzmann, C. G.] *Elements of Morality for the Use of Children; with an Introductory Address to Parents*. Translated from the German of the Rev. C. G. Salzmann. Illustrated with twenty copper plates. In two volumes. Vol. II. Philadelphia: printed for J. Hoff & H. Kaemmerer, jun. 1796. 12°. Vol. I.—; Vol. II. pp. 5-259. 20 plates.

Reprint of Mary Wollstonecraft's translation. London. 1790. Cf. 29.

32. [Salzmann, C. G.] *Elements of Morality for the Use of Children; with an Introductory Address to Parents*. Translated from the German of the Rev. C. G. Salzmann. The third American edition. Wilmington: printed by Joseph Johnson. Market Street opposite the Bank. 1796. 12°. pp. iii-iv adv., v-xiv "Introductory Address to Parents," 15-232.

Reprint of Mary Wollstonecraft's translation. London. 1790. Cf. 29.

33. [Schiller, F. von.] *The Ghost-Seer; or, Apparitionist: an interesting fragment, found among the papers of Count O*****. From the German of Schiller. New-York: printed by T. & J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl street. 1796. 12°. pp. 5-120.

Reprint of: *The Ghost-Seer; or Apparitionist, &c.* [Translated by D. Boileau.] London. 1795. [Der Geisterseher. 1789.]

34. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart*. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. . . . Albany: printed by Barber & Southwick, Faust's Statue, State-street—1796. 8°. pp. viii, 280.

Apparently reprint of: *Solitude considered &c.* London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1797.

35. [Goethe, J. W. von, suggested by G.'s Werther.] *The Letters of Charlotte, during her Connexion with Werther*. . . . Vol. I. New-York: printed by William H. Davis, for E. Duyckinck

& Co. T. Allen, T. & J. Swords, T. Greenleaf, and J. Tiebout. 1797. 12°. Vol. I. pp. v-xii e. pref., 13-117. frontispiece. Vol. II. pp. 121-240.

Reprint of: The Letters of Charlotte, &c. 2 vols. London. 1786.

36. [Wieland, C. M.] Socrates out of his Senses: or Dialogues of Diogenes of Sinope. . . . Translated from the German of Wieland, by Mr. Wintersted. Vol. I. Newburgh: printed by D. Denniston, for self and J. Fellows. 1797. Vol. I. pp. xvi, 119.

Reprint of: Socrates out of his Senses, &c. 2 vols. London. 1771. (Was more than one vol. ever reprinted?) [*Σωκράτης μαινομενος, oder die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope.* 1770.]

37. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. . . . Wilmington: printed by Johnson & Preston, No. 73 Market-street. 1797. 16°. [p. i] Cont., pp. i-v French t. pref., 298. 2 pl.

Reprint of: Solitude considered &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1797?

38. [Sturm, C. C.] Moral and Natural Philosophy familiarized, in Reflections suitable for every Day in the Year. From the German of C. C. Sturm.

“Preparing for the press” according to advertisement in the American Universal Magazine, Vol. I, No. 1 (Jan. 2d, 1797), in which number also began a serial publication (of the same?) entitled: Natural and Moral Philosophy familiarized in a Series of Reflections from the German of C. C. Sturm. Probably reprint or adaptation of one of the English translations. [*Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes im Reiche der Natur.* 1785.]

1798.

39. [Goethe, J. W. von.] Werter and Charlotte. The Sorrows of Werter. A German story. To which is annexed, the Letters of Charlotte to a female Friend, during her Connection with Werter. The whole of both works complete in one volume. Boston: for Thomas and Andrews. Sold at their bookstore, No. 45, Newbury-street; by I. Thomas, Worcester; by Thomas Andrews, and Penniman, Albany; and by Thomas Andrews, and Butler, Baltimore. October, 1798. Printing-office, No. 20, Union-street. 12°. pp. 284.

Apparently reprint of: *The Sorrows of Werter*. London. 1779. Cf. 10; and, apparently, of: *The Letters of Charlotte &c.* London. 1786. Cf. 35.

Letter I. May 4. I am glad that I went away. Could I leave you, my companion, my friend, that I might be more at ease? The heart of man is inexplicable. . . . If, O heaven, it is not presumption, let my last prayer be heard for Werter: may thy mercy equal Charlotte's pity! Finis.

40. [Goethe, J. W. von, suggested by G.'s Werther.] *The Letters of Charlotte*. Cf. 39.

1799.

41. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Constant Lover; or, William and Jeannette: a tale*. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, author of the *Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, *Self Immolation*, *Virgin of the Sun*, &c. To which is prefixed, an account of the literary life of the author. Two volumes in one. Boston: printed for Joseph Bumstead. Sold by him at No. 20, Union Street; by Thomas and Andrews, Newbury-Street; by E. Larkin, and Wm. P. and L. Blake, Cornhill. 1799. 12°. [p. iii] a. dedication, pp. v-xiv "My Literary Life," 15-295, [pp. 2] cont.

Apparently a reprint of: *The Constant Lover; &c.* 2 vols. London. 1799. ["Gepriüfte Liebe" in "Die jüngsten Kiuder meiner Laune, 1793-97." Vol. 4, 6.]

42. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Constant Lover; or, William & Jeanette: a tale*. From the German of A. von Kotzebue, author of the *Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, *Count Benyowsky &c &c.* In two vols. Vol. II. New York: printed for Naphthali Judah; No. 47, Water Street, by M. L. & W. A. Davis. 1799. 12°. Vol. I.—. Vol. II. pp. 180.

Apparently a reprint of: *The Constant Lover, &c.* London. 1799. Cf. 41.¹

43. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Self Immolation, or, the Sacrifice of Love*. A play — in three acts. By Augustus von Kotzebue. Faithfully translated from the German. By Henry Neuman, Esq. Boston: printed for W. P. and L. Blake, at the Boston Book-store, Cornhill. 1799. 12°. pp. 57.

Reprint of: *Self Immolation, &c.* London. 1799. [Der Opfertod. 1798.]

¹ Note: In the edition of Kotzebue's *Pizarro* published by Naphthali Judah, he advertises the following works of Kotzebue as for sale by him: *Constant Lovers* (No. 42), *Lovers' Vows*, *Count Benyowsky*, the *Stranger* (No. 44?). They all seem to be his own publications.

44. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Stranger*: translated from Kotzebue (by A. S—k). New York. 1799.

Reprint of: *The Stranger*: a comedy. Freely translated from Kotzebue's German comedy of *Misanthropy and Repentance* [by A. S****k, i. e. A. Schlink]. London. 1798. [*Menschenhass und Reue*. 1789.]

45. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Pizarro*; a tragedy; from the German of Kotzebue, &c. Adapted to the English stage. By Sheridan. Philadelphia. 1799. 12°. (Phila. Libr. Co. Catalogue. 1835)

Reprint of: *Pizarro*. A tragedy in five acts, taken from the German drama of Kotzebue, and adapted to the English stage by R. B. Sheridan. London. 1799. [*Die Spanier in Peru, oder Rollas Tod*. 1796.]

46. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Essay on National Pride*. To which are prefixed: *Memoirs of the Author's Life and Writings*. Translated from the original German of the late celebrated Dr. J. G. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. By Samuel H. Wilcocke. New-York: printed by M. L. & W. A. Davis, for A. Caritat, bookseller and librarian. 1799. 8°. pp. vii-x1 "*Life and Writings of Z.*", 41-300, [pp. 24] *index*.

Reprint of: *Essay on National Pride*, &c. London. 1797. [*Von dem Nationalstolze*. 1758.]

1800.

47. *The German Theatre*. [Translated and edited by William Dunlap.]

No. I. *The Wildgoose Chace*. Cf. 67.

No. II. *The Virgin of the Sun*. Being the First of *Pizarro* in Peru; or, the Death of Rolla. Cf. 64.

No. III. *Pizarro* in Peru; or, the Death of Rolla. Cf. 59.

Dunlap published under the general title "*The German Theatre*" the three pieces whose titles are given in full under the separate publications.

48. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Adelaide of Wulfingen*. A tragedy in four acts. (Exemplifying the barbarity which prevailed during the thirteenth century.) From the German of Kotzebue. New-York; printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 3-67.

Reprint of: *Adelaide of Wulfingen*, &c. Translated by Benjamin Thompson. London. 1798. [*Adelheid von Wulfingen*. 1788.]

49. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Count Benyowsky; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka. A tragi-comedy, in five acts, by Baron Kozebue [sic], author of 'The Stranger', performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Translated from the German, by the Rev. W. Render, Teacher of the German language in the University of Cambridge. First American from the second London edition. Boston: printed by Manning & Loring. 1800. [p. 4] adv., pp. 5-98.

Reprint of: Count Benyowsky, &c. London. 1798. 2d ed. 1798. [Graf Benyowsky. 1795.]

50. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Count of Burgundy: a comedy of Kotzebue. In four acts. Translated from the German, by Charles Smith. New York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. [M. M'Farlane, printer, 29 Gold-Street.]

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: Der Graf von Burgund. 1798.

51. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Dramatic Works of Baron Kotzebue. Translated from the German, by Charles Smith. Vol. I. Containing. Count of Burgundy, Wild Youth, Indigence, and Nobleness of Mind, La Peyrouse, The Virgin of the Sun, Adelaide of Wulffingen. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 52 Maiden Lane, and Stephen Stephens, No. 165 Pearl Street. 1800. 8°.

Vol. II. Containing. Self Immolation, Happy Family, Force of Calumny, Widow and the Riding Horse, Pizarro, East-Indian. 8°.

Vol. III. Containing. Fraternal Discord, Writing Desk, Abbe de l'Epee, False Shame, East Indian, Speed the Plough. 8°.

This is a collection of the translations from Kotzebue published also singly by Charles Smith (Cf. *passim* sub 1800 and 1801). Only "Count of Burgundy," "Wild Youth," and "La Peyrouse" seem to be translations by Smith. Each vol. of the collection is provided with a general title. As the title-page of vol. 1 was wanting in the copy examined, the style of the same was taken from vol. 2. "East Indian," and "Speed the Plough" in vol. 3. are not by Kotzebue.

52. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The East Indian: a comedy, in three acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 88.

Possibly a reprint of: The East Indian, &c. Translated . . . by A. Thomson. London. 1799. (Appeared first as "The Indians in England" in the German Miscellany, Perth, 1796:) [Die Indianer in England. 1790.]

53. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *False Shame: or the American Orphan in Germany: a comedy.* From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. Charleston, W. P. Young. 1800. 12°. pp. 76.
Possibly a reprint of: *False Shame, a comedy &c.* London. 1799. [Falsche Scham. 1798.]

54. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Force of Calumny: a play, in five acts.* Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for C. Smith and S. Stephens, by John Furman. 1800. 8°. pp. 3-124.
Reprint of: *The Force of Calumny, &c.* Translated by Anne Plumtre. London. 1799. [Die Verläumder. 1796.]

55. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Happy Family; a drama, in five acts.* Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for C. Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 3-84.
Reprint of: *The Happy Family.* Translated by Benjamin Thompson. London. 1799. [Die Silberne Hochzeit. 1799.]

56. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Ildegerte, Queen of Norway.* In two volumes. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, author of the *Stranger*. By Benjamin Thompson, jun. translator of the *Stranger*, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane. Vol. I. Philadelphia: printed for Robert Campbell, No. 30, Chesnut-street. 1800. 16°. Vol. I. pp. 5-103 (99-103 notes). Vol. II. pp. 2-91 (p. 91 notes).
Reprint of: *Ildegerte, Queen of Norway, &c.* London. 1798. [Ildegerte, Königin von Norwegen. 1788.]

57. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Indigence, and Nobleness of Mind.* A comedy in five acts, from the German of Kotzebue. New York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 64.
Apparently a reprint of: *Sighs; or, the Daughter, a comedy, in five acts.* Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue, with alterations, by Prince Hoare. London. 1799. [Armut und Edelsinn. 1795.]

58. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *La Peyrouse: a comedy, in two acts.* Translated from the German of Kotzebue, by Charles Smith. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. iii-iv. t. pref., 40.
A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *La Peyrouse, Schauspiel in 2 Akten.* Leipzig. 1798.

59. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro in Peru; or, the Death of Rolla. A play, in five acts. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original. New-York. Printed by G. F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, No. 136 Pearl-street; T. and J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl-street; Gaine and Ten-Eyck, No. 148 Pearl-street; John Black, No. 5 Cedar-street; Alex. Somerville, No. 114 Maiden-lane; and most other booksellers in the U. States. 1800. 8°. pp. iii-iv a. pref., 9-92 (81-92 notes). frontispiece [Mrs. Mel-mouth]. [No. 3 of a series entitled 'German Theatre.' Cf 47.]

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: Die Spanier in Peru, oder Rollas Tod. Leipzig. 1796.

60. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro; or the Spaniards in Peru. A tragedy in five acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, and Stephen Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 62.

Sheridans adaptation. London. 1799. Cf. 45. Act 5 of the reprint, however, contains a fuller version following the German original.

61. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Self Immolation: or, the Sacrifice of Love. A play in three acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York; printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 4-54.

Possibly a reprint of: Self Immolation, &c. Faithfully translated . . . by Henry Neuman. London. 1799. Cf. 43.

62. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Sighs; or, the Daughter; a comedy, in five acts; as it is performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; with alterations. By Prince Hoare. . . . Charlestown: Printed by Samuel Etheridge, for E. Larkin, No. 47, Cornhill, Boston. 1800. 12°. pp. iii-iv prologue, 7-71.

Reprint of: Sighs; &c. London. 1799. Cf. 57.

63. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Sufferings of the Family of Ortenberg. A novel. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by P. Will, Minister of the Reformed Congregation in the Savoy. Two volumes in one. Philadelphia: printed by John Bioren, for Henry and Patrick Rice, No 16, South 2d St. and James Rice, & Co. Baltimore. 1800. 16°. Vo. I. pp. 154. Vol. II. pp. 160.

Reprint of: The Sufferings &c. London. 1799. [Die Leiden der Ortenbergischen Familie. 1787, 1788.]

64. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Virgin of the Sun*: a play, in five acts. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original. New-York: printed by G. F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, No. 84 Maiden-lane; T. and J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl-street; Gaine and Ten-Eyck, No. 148 Pearl-street; John Black, No. 5 Cedar-street; Alex Somerville, No. 114 Maiden-lane; and most other booksellers in the U. States. 1800. 8°. pp. iii-iv a. dedication, 7-80. (75-80 notes). 1 frontispiece. [Mrs. Hodgkinson.] [No. 2 of a collection entitled "German Theatre." Cf. 47.]

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Die Sonnenjungfrau*. Leipzig. 1791.

65. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Virgin of the Sun*, a play in five acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York; printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. III-V a. dedication, 7-96.

Possibly a reprint of: *The Virgin of the Sun*. Translated . . . by James Lawrence. London. 1799.

66. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Widow, and the Riding Horse*. A dramatic trifle, in one act. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. [p. I] adv., pp. 26.

Apparently a reprint of: *The Widow and the Riding Horse*. &c. Translated . . . by Anne Plumptre. London. 1799. [Die Wittve und das Reitpferd. 1796.]

67. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Wild-geese Chace*: a play, in four acts. With songs. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original. New York: printed by J. F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, No. 84 Maiden-lane; T. & J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl-street; Gaine and Ten-Eyck, No. 148 Pearl-street; John Black, No. 5 Cedar-street; Alex. Somerville, No. 114 Maiden-lane; and most other booksellers in the U. States. 1800. [No. 1 of a collection "The German Theatre." Cf. 47.] 8° [p. ii] t. adv., pp. iii-x "Life of Kotzebue by himself," pp. 9-104. 2 frontispieces [Kotzebue, Hodgkinson.]

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Der Wildfang*. Leipzig. 1798.

68. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Wild Youth*: a comedy for digestion. In three acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue, by Charles Smith. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 74.

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *Der Wildfang, Lustspiel in 3 Akten.* Leipzig. 1798.

69. [Spiess, C. H.] *The Mountain Cottager*; or, *Wonder upon Wonder*. A tale. Translated from the German of C. H. Spiess. "Ye visions that before me roll,—that freeze my blood,—that shake my soul,—are ye the phantoms of a dream?"—H. M. Williams. Philadelphia: printed by W. W. Woodward, No. 17 Chesnut Street, for Samuel Hyndman. 1800. 16°. pp. 217 (pp. 219-225, subscribers' names).

Reprint of: *The Mountain Cottager, &c.* [Translated by Annabelle Plump-tree?] London (Minerva Press). 1798. [Probably: *Der Mausefallen und Hechelkrämer.* Prag. 1795?]

70. [Sturm, C. C.] *Beauties of Nature delineated*: or, *Philosophical and Pious Contemplations, on the Works of Nature, and the Seasons of the Year*. Selected from Sturm's *Reflections*, by . . . T. M. Harris. Charlestown. 1800. 8°.

This is an adaptation (by Thaddeus Mason Harris, Dorchester, Mass.) of: *Reflections on the Work of God and of His Providence, throughout all Nature, for every Day in the Year*. Translated first from the German of C. C. Sturm into French; and now from the French into English. By a Lady [Mrs. S. M. Holroyd?]. 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1788. (Rearranged, compressed, and added to, by Thaddeus M. Harris.) [*Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes im Reiche der Natur.* 1785.]

1800?—1803.

71. [Schiller, F. von.] *The Armenian, or the Ghost Seer*. Philadelphia. 2 vols. 12mo.

Probably a reprint of: *The Armenian; or, the Ghost Seer. A history founded on fact.* Translated from the German of F. Schiller by the Rev. W. Rander. 4 vols. London. 1800.

1801.

72. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Abbe de l'Epee, or, the Orphan*; an historical drama, in four acts, translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 56 Maiden Lane. 1801. 8°. pp. 3-42.

Reprint of: *Deaf and Dumb, or, the Orphan, &c.* Translated . . . by B. Thompson. London. 1801. [*Der Taubstumme oder der Abbé de l'Epee. Aus dem Französischen von Bouilly übersetzt.* 1800.]

73. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Constant Lover*; or, William & Jeanette: a tale. From the German of A. von Kotzebue, author of the *Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, *Count Benyowsky* &c. &c. In two vols. Vol. I. New-York, printed for and sold by T. B. Jansen and Co. No 248 Pearl Street and C. Jansen, and Co. No 196 Water-Street. 1801. 12°. Vol. I. p. iii dedication, pp. 177, cont. [p. 1]. Vol. II. —.

Reprint of: *The Constant Lover*, &c. 1799. Cf. 41.

74. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *False Shame*; a comedy, in four acts, translated from the German of Kotzebue. Newark—Printed by John Wallis, for Charles Smith, No. 56 Maiden-Lane, New-York. 1801. 8°. pp. 3-63.

Reprint of: *False Shame*, a comedy &c. London. 1799. Cf. 53.

75. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Fraternal Discord*; a comedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 52 Maiden-Lane. 1801. 8°, pp. 3-74.

Apparently a reprint of: *The Reconciliation*: a comedy in five acts. Translated . . . [by C. Ludger]. London. 1799. [Die Versöhnung. 1798.]

76. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Sketch of the Life and Literary Career of Augustus von Kotzebue*; with the *Journal of his Tour to Paris*, at the Close of the Year 1790. Written by himself. Translated from the German by Anne Plumptre. New-York. Printed and published by M. Ward & Co. opposite the City-hall. 1801. 12mo. pp. 276.

Reprint of: *Sketch of the Life* &c. London. 1800. [Mein literarischer Lebenslauf, in: *Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune*, 1793-1797, Bd. 5; *Meine Flucht nach Paris im Winter 1790*. Leipzig. 1791.]

77. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Stranger*, a drama. By A. von Kotzebue. Philadelphia. 1801. (Phila. Library Co. Catalogue. 1836.)

Probably reprint of an English translation of Kotzebue's *Menschenhass u. Reue*.

78. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Writing Desk*; or *Youth in Danger*. A play, in four acts, from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 56 Maiden Lane. 1801. 8°. pp. 3-72 [misprinted 27].

Probably a reprint of: *The Writing Desk*, &c. London. 1799. [Das Schreibpult. 1800.]

79. [Lewis, M. G.] *Tales of Wonder*; written and collected by M. G. Lewis, Esq. . . . In two vols. New York: printed by L. Nichols & Co. for Samuel Campbell, bookseller, No 124 Pearl-street. 12°. 1801. Vol. I. pp. 236, Vol. II, pp. 246.

Reprint of: *Tales of Wonder, &c.* 2 vols. London. 1800. This collection contains Erlking, Fisherman (Goethe), Frederick and Alice (Walter Scott, from the German), The Wild Huntsman (Bürger, tr. by Scott), Lenora (Bürger).

80. [Pestalozzi, J. H. ?] *Leonard and Gertrude*; from the German. Philadelphia. 1801.

Apparently a reprint of: *Leonard and Gertrude*; a popular story; written originally in German, translated into French, and now attempted in English, with the hope of its being useful to the lower orders of society. London. 1801. (Bath, 1800?) [Probably Pestalozzi's "Lienhard und Gertrud." 1781-87.]

81. [Sturm, C. C.] *Beauties of Nature delineated; or, Philosophical and Pious Contemplations on the Works of Nature, and the Seasons of the Year.* Selected from Sturm's *Reflections*, by the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris. . . . Second edition. Published agreeably to act of Congress. Charlestown: printed and sold by Samuel Etheridge. 1801. 16°. pp. iii-v. pref. [by T. M. H.], p. vi adv. "to this second edition" [by T. M. H.], pp. vii-x cont., 11-237. *culs-de-lampe*.

An adaptation of: *Reflections on the Work of God &c.* Cf. 70.

82. [Wächter, G. P. L. L; pseud. Veit Weber.] *The Black Valley*; a tale, from the German of Viet [sic] Weber, author of the *Sorcerer*. Alexandria: printed by S. Snowden & Co. for J. V. Thomas. 1801. 16°. pp. 3-172.

Probably a reprint of: *The Black Valley*; a tale, from the German of Veit Weber. London. 1796. [From: *Sagen der Vorzeit.* 1787-99.]

1801?

83. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Life*, written by himself. Philadelphia. [1801?]

Probably reprint of: *Sketch of the Life and Literary Career &c.* London. 1800. Cf. 76.

1802

84. *Eliza*; or, *the Pattern of Women.* A moral romance. Translated from the German of Maria Regina Roche, authoress of the "Children of the Abbey, Nocturnal Visit, Maid of the Hamlet,"

&c . . . Lancaster, printed by Henry Grimler, for Chr. Jac. Hutter. 1802. 12°. pp. 3-178.

There seems to be no work of this name by M. R. Roche.

85. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books, from the German of Gessner, [engraving] with *New Idyls*. Philadelphia: Printed by Thos. L. Plowman. 1802. [engraved title.] 8°. pp. vii a. pref., ix-xi t. pref., 275. frontispiece [portrait of Gessner]. culs-de-lampe. (*The Death of Abel*, pp. 1-150.)

[Separate title, p. 151.] *New Idyls*, by S. Gessner. With a Letter to M. Fuslin, on *Landscape Painting*; and the *Two Friends of Bourbon*. By M. Diderot. [p. 153] t. adv. [pp. 155-156] cont., pp 157-275.

Mary Collyer's translation of the *Death of Abel*. London. 1761 Cf. 1; and reprint of: *New Idyls*. Translated by William Hooper. 1776. Cf. 86.

86. [Gessner, S.] *New Idylls: or Pastoral Poems*. By S. Gessner. Author of the *Death of Abel*. To which is added, a *Letter on Landscape Painting*, and the *Two Friends of Bourbon*. Philadelphia: printed for William Duane, and published at the Aurora Book-stores, No 106, Market Street, Philadelphia; and Square 460 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City. [John Bioren, printer.] 1802. 12°. pp. 177.

Reprint of: *New Idyls*, by S. Gessner. With a Letter &c. Translated by W. Hooper. M. D. London. 1776. [*Neue Idyllen*. 1772.]

87. [Gessner, S.] *New Idyls*. Cf. 85.

88. Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Lovers' Vows: or, the Natural Son*; a comedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by Benjamin Thompson, Esq. Baltimore: printed for Thomas, Andrews & Butler. By John W. Butler, corner of Gay & Water Streets. 1802. 8°. pp. 3-66.

Reprint of: *Lovers' Vows*, &c. In: Benjamin Thompson, *The German Theatre*. Vol. 2. 1801. [*Das Kind der Liebe*. 1791].

89. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von] *The most Remarkable Year in the Life of Augustus von Kotzebue*; containing an Account of his Exile into Siberia and of the other extraordinary Events which happened to him in Russia. Written by himself. Translated from the German by the Rev. Benjamin Beresford, English Lecturer to the Queen of Prussia. New York: printed for H. Caritat, bookseller and

librarian, No. 1 Tontine Building, Broad-way. By G. F. Hopkins. 1802. 16°. pp. vii, 309.

Reprint of: The most Remarkable Year &c. 3 vols. London. 1802. [Das merkwürdigste Jahr meines Lebens. 1801.]

90. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Pigeon, a tale. Translated from the German by a Philadelphian. Philadelphia. 1802. 8°

Apparently a translation of: Die Taube. In: "Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune. 1793-97. Vol. 3.

91. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Stranger, a drama, by Augustus von Kotzebue. 12°. pp. 3-70. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 1. (1802.) Cf. 95.]

Reprint of: The Stranger: a drama in five acts. Translated from the German by Benjamin Thompson. In Benjamin Thompson: German Theatre. Vol. 1. 1801. [Menschenhass und Reue. 1789.]^a

92. [Schiller, F. von.] Cabal and Love, a tragedy, by Frederick Schiller. 12°. pp. 3-103. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 2. (1802.) Cf. 915.]

Reprint of: Cabal and Love. A tragedy. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. [By J. H. Timaeus?] London. 1795. [Kabale und Liebe. 1784.]

93. [Schiller, F. von.] Fiesco, a tragedy, by Frederick Schiller. 12°. pp. 3-120. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 2. (1802) Cf. 95.]

Reprint of: Fiesco; or the Genoese Conspiracy: A tragedy. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. By J. H. N[oe]hden and J. S[toddart]. London. 1796. [Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua. 1783.]

94. [Schiller, F. von.] The Robbers. A tragedy, by Frederick Schiller. 16°. pp. 5-108. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 2 (1802). Cf. 95.]

Reprint of: The Robbers. A tragedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. By Benjamin Thompson. London. 1800. In: Benjamin Thompson. German Theatre. London. 1801. Vol. 5. [Die Räuber. 1781.]

95. Select Plays, from Celebrated Authors; performed at the principal Theatres in the United States of America. Baltimore:

^a) Note. In a list at the end of "John Tobin. The Curfew. Baltimore. Warner & Hanna [date?]" the publishers advertise for sale: Cabal and Love (Cf. 92), Count of Burgundy, Fiesco (Cf. 93), False Shame, Fraternal Discord. These are possibly all their own publications.

printed and sold, by Warner & Hanna. 1802-1804. 6 vols. 16°. Vol. I. (1802,) contains: Kotzebue, A. F. F. von. *The Stranger*. (Cf. 91.) Vol. II (1802) contains: Schiller, F. von. *The Robbers*. (Cf. 94.) *Fiesco*. (Cf. 93.) *Cabal and Love*. (Cf. 92.)

The plays in this collection seem also to have been sold singly.

96. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] *Abaellino, the Great Bandit*. Translated from the German, and adapted to the New-York Theatre. By William Dunlap, Esq. Copyright secured. New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Shakspeare Gallery, near the Theatre. L. Nichols, Printer. 1802. 16°. pp. 3-82.

A translation and adaptation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Abällino, der grosse Bandit. Ein Trauerspiel*. 1795.

1803.

97. [Haller, A. von.] *Letters from Baron Haller to his Daughter, on the Truths of the Christian Religion*. Translated from the German. First American from fourth London edition. Printed for and sold by Increase Cooke & Co. New-Haven. Sold also by the principal booksellers. Sidney's Press, 1803. 16°. pp. iii-xv t. pref., xvii-xxi cont., 23-279. frontispiece.

Apparently reprint of: *The Letters of Baron Haller &c. London. 1780.* [Briefe (eines Vaters an seine Tochter) über die wichtigsten Wahrheiten der Offenbarung. Bern. 1772.]

98. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Beautiful Unknown, a dramatic history*. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. By Charles Smith. New-York: published by Burnton and Darling, 116, Broad-way. Deare and Andrews, printers. 1803. 16°. pp. 3-50.

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *Die schöne Unbekannte. Kleine gesammelte Schriften. Vol. I. 1787.* Some if not all copies are bound with Smith's translation of the same author's *Zaide*. Cf. 100.

99. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Count Benyowsky; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka: A tragi-comedy, in five acts*. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by the Rev. W. Render, Teacher of the German language in the University of Cambridge. Baltimore: printed for Thomas, Andrews & Butler by John W. Butler, corner Gay & Water Streets. 1803. 8°. pp. 3-76.

Reprint of: *Count Benyowsky, &c. London. 1798.* [Graf Benyowsky. 1795.]

100. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Zaida*; or, the Dethronement of Muhamed IV. A novel, founded on historic facts. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. By Charles Smith. Copyright secured. New York: published by Burnton and Darling, 116, Broad-way. Dean and Andrews, printers. 1803. 16°. [p. 3.] t. pref., pp. 5-213.

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *Zaide, oder die Entthronung Muhameds IV., historische Novelle.* Leipzig. 1786. Some, possibly all, copies have bound after "*Zaida*" "*The Beautiful Unknown*," of same author and translator. Cf. 98.

101. [Zollikofer, G. J.] *Exercises of Piety* . . . Abridged . . . by T. M. Harris, etc. Worcester, Mass. 1803. 12°

Probably an abridgment of: *Exercises of Piety; for the Use of Enlightened and Virtuous Christians.* Translated from the French edition by J. Manning. London. 1796. [*Andachtsübungen und Gebete zum Privatgebrauch für nachdenkende und gut gesinnte Christen.* 1785.]

1803 or before ^a

102. [Campe, J. H.] *The New Robinson Crusoe.* Philadelphia. 12°.

Probably reprint of: *The New Robinson Crusoe; &c.* London. 1788. Cf. 12.

103. (Gessner, S.) *The Death of Abel and Caine.* Newburyport. 18°.

Possibly Mary Collyer's translation of the *Death of Abel*, London, 1761. Cf. 1. *The Death of Cain* possibly identical with print 20.

104. [Salzmann, C. G.] *Elements of Morality*, from the German. New York. 12°.

Probably a reprint of: *Elements of Morality, &c.* London. 1790. Cf. 29.

105. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *On Solitude*, with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and Heart. New York. 8°.

Apparently reprint of: *Solitude, &c.* London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1803 or before?

106. [Lavater, J. K.] *Essays on Physiognomy; for the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind; written in the German language by J. C. Lavater, abridged from Mr. Holcroft's*

^a) Note. The titles of prints 102-105 were taken from the "Catalogue of all the Books printed in the United States. Published by the Booksellers in Boston. Jan. 1804." (Also republished, in "A. Growoll, Book-Trade Bibliography. New York. 1898.")

translation. [Engraving. "Lavater contemplating a bust."]. Boston, printed for William Spotswood, & David West. 16°. pp. 272. 7 plates [each with 6 heads.]

Possibly identical with: Lavater's Physiognomy, abridged, plates. Boston. 12°. (American Catalogue of 1804, cf. 102, note.) Reprint of an abridgment [1793?] of: Essays on Physiognomy. Translated from the German by Thomas Holcroft. 3 vols. London. 1789-93. [Physiognomische Fragmente. 1775-1778.]

1804.

107. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German, by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. To which is prefixed the Life of Zimmerman. Boston: printed for Joseph Bumstead, (printer and bookseller). Sold by him at No. 20, Union-street and by booksellers in various parts of the United States. 1804. 16°. pp. xxviii, 307.

Apparently reprint of: Solitude considered &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1805.

108. [Goethe, J. W. von] Herman and Dorothea. A poem, from the German of Goethe, by Thomas Holcroft. Richmond: printed at the Enquirer Press. 1805. 16°. pp. xiv t. pref., 133 (113-133, notes). 1 pl.

Reprint of: Herman and Dorothea. &c. London. 1801. [Hermann und Dorothea. 1798.]

109. [Knigge, A. F. F. L. von.] Practical Philosophy of Social Life; or, the Art of conversing with Men: after the German of Baron Knigge. By P. Will, Minister of the Reformed German Congregation in the Savoy. First American edition. Lansingburgh: published by Penniman & Bliss, and sold by them at the Lansingburgh Bookstore. O. Penniman & Co. Printers Troy, 1805. 8°. pp. III-vii t. pref. [May 18, 1799.], vii-xvi introd., xvii-xxxii cont., 368.

Reprint of: Practical Philosophy &c. London. 1799. [Über den Umgang mit Menschen. 1788.]

110. [Schiller, F. von.] Wallenstein. A drama in two parts. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller by S. T. Coleridge. New York: published by David Longworth, Dramatic Repository, No. 11. Park. 1805. 16°. [p. 7] t. pref., pp. 9-173. (The Piccolomini.)

Reprint of : The Piccolomini; or the First Part of Wallenstein. A drama in five acts. Translated &c. London. 1800. [Wallenstein, ein dramatisches Gedicht. 1800. Die Piccolomini.] "The Death of Wallenstein" was apparently not reprinted.

1806.

111. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. Translated by Mrs. Collyer. Philadelphia. 1806.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

112. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel, in five books, translated from the German of Mr. Gesner by Mrs. Collyer. New York, J. & T. Ronalds. [1806.] [No. 3 of a series "Sacred Classics" in imitation of Cooke's Classics.]

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

113. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Abellino. The Venetian Outlaw. A drama. Translated and adapted to the English stage by R. W. Elliston. New York. 1806.

Reprint of : Abellino, &c. London. 1805. [From the French translation of : Abaellino, der grosse Bandit. Ein Trauerspiel. 1795.]

1806?

113^b. [Kotzebue, adapted from K.'s Wildfang.] Of Age tomorrow. By Thomas Dibdin. New York. David Longworth. [1806?]

Reprint of : Of Age tomorrow, &c. London. 1806. [Der Wildfang. 1798.]

1806—1816.

114. [Dunlap, William] The Dramatic Works of William Dunlap. 3 vols. Philadelphia and New York. 1806—1816. 16°.

Do vols 2, 3 contain translations from the German? Vol. 1 does not. Thomas J. McKee in his edition of Dunlap's "Father of American Shandyism" (Publications of the Dunlap Society, Vol. 2, p. xi) says: "Projected publication in 10 volumes, only four appear to have been published."

1807.

115. The Devil and Dr. Faustus, containing the History of the wicked Life and horrid Death of Dr. John Faustus, etc. Montpelier, Vt. 1807. 12° pp. 12.

Presumably a reprint or adaptation of one of the English chap-books on the subject.

116. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books, attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. First Baltimore edition. [cut.]

Baltimore: printed and sold by Warner & Hanna, at the Bible and Heart Printing Office. 1807. 16°. pp. v-vii "To the Queen," viii-xii a. pref., xiii-xiv t. pref., 15-188.

S. Gessner's New Idylls [title on p. 189]. pp. 191-252.

Reprint of Mary Collyer's translation, London, 1761, cf. 1; and reprint of: New Idyls, &c. London. 1776. Cf. 86.

117. [Gessner, S.] New Idylls. Cf. 116.

118. [Goethe, J. W. von.] The Sorrows of Werter. From the German of Baron Goëthe. A new translation, revised and compared with all the former editions. By Dr. Pratt. [pl.] New-York: published by Richard Scott, No. 243 Pearl-street. M'Farlane and Long, printers. 1807. 16°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., 100. 1 pl.

Reprint of: The Sorrows of Werter, &c. London? [n. d.]

119. [Goethe, J. W. von.] The Sorrows of Werter. Translated from the German of Baron Goëthe. By William Render, D. D. You weep,—you love the youth,—revere his name, | And wish from censure to defend his fame: | But hark! "Be man" his spirit seems to say, | "Nor let my weakness tempt thy feet astray!" | To which is annexed, the Letters of Charlotte to a female Friend, during her Connection with Werter. Boston: published by Andrews and Cummings, No. 1, Cornhill, Greenough & Stebbins, printers. 1807. 16°. [pp. 3-4] adv., 5-180 (173-180 appendix).

The Letters of Charlotte, during her Connexion with Werter. pp. clxxxiv-clxxxvi, 187-319.

Reprint of: The Sorrows of Werter, &c. London. 1801. [Die Leiden des jungen Werthers. 1774.]; and reprint of: The Letters of Charlotte &c. London. 1786. Cf. 35.

120. [Goethe, J. W. von, suggested by G.'s Werther.] The Letters of Charlotte &c. Cf. 119.

121. [Zollikofer, G. J.] Exercises of Piety: or, Meditations on the principal Doctrines and Duties of Religion. Abridged by Thaddeus M. Harris. Second edition. Worcester. I. Thomas, jun. 1807. 12° pp. 191.

Probably an abridgement of: Exercises of Piety. Translated by J. Manning. London. 1796. Cf. 101.

122. [Zollikofer, G. J.] Sermons on the Dignity of Man, and the Value of the Objects principally relating to Human Happiness. From the German of the late Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer, Min-

ister of the Reformed Congregation at Leipsick. By the Reverend William Tooke, F. R. S. In two volumes. Volume I. First American edition. Worcester: printed by Thomas & Sturtevant, for Isaiah Thomas, jun. Sold by him in Worcester, by Thomas & Whipple, Newburyport, and by Thomas & Tappan, Portsmouth. 1807. Vol. I. pp. iii-iv cont., vii-ix a. pref., xi-xxii "Some Account of the Author," 424. Vol II. —

Reprint of: Sermons on the Dignity of Man, &c. London. 1802. [Predigten über die Würde des Menschen und den Werth der vornehmsten Dinge die zur menschlichen Glückseligkeit gehören oder dazu gerechnet werden. Leipzig. 1784.]

1808.

123. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Translated from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mrs. Collyer. To which is prefixed, the Life of the Author. Philadelphia: published by B. and T. Kite, No. 20 N. Third-street. 1808. 12°. pp. v-lviii "Life of Author," lix-lxii a. pref., lxx-lxxvi t. pref., 67-204. frontispiece [portrait of Gessner].

Mary Collyer's translation of the Death of Abel. London. 1761. Cf. 1. "An Account of the Life and Writings of Solomon Gessner, taken from the German of M. Hottinguer, by James Agar," pp. v-lviii, is contained also in Cooke's edition of the Death of Abel, London, [1796], from which the American edition may be a reprint.

124. He loves me more than his Life; or Ludwig, Clara and Randolph. A tale from the German. [The Minor Novelist. No. 2. Published and sold by Wright, Goodenow & Stockwell. Boston, and Troy, N. Y. 1808.]

125. [Kotzebue, A. F. F von, adapted from K.'s Wildfang.] Of Age to morrow. By Thomas Dibdin. New York. David Longworth. 1808.

Reprint of: Of Age to morrow. &c. London. 1806. Cf. 113^b.

126. [Sonnleithner, J., adapted from S.'s Leonore.] The Fortress of Sorrento: a petit historical drama, in two acts. . . . New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare—Gallery. 1808. 16°. [p. 2] copy-right, [p. 3] a. statement, pp. 5-28.

"The leading features of the following drama are taken from the French opera of Leonora" (author's statement). An adaptation (with very slight changes) of Sonnleithner's opera text Leonore [i. e. Fidelio, music by Beethoven]. Sonnleithner's text is founded on Jean-Nicolas Bouilly's comic opera "Leonore ou l'Amour Conjugal."

127. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Councillor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. New London. Printed by Cady & Eells, for Thomas & Whipple. Newburyport. [1808.]

Apparently reprint of: Solitude &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23.

128. [Zollikofer, G. J.] Caution against the Sins of Unchastity. Earnestly recommended to the attention of the young men of this town and other places; by one who feels a deep interest in their present and eternal welfare. Boston: printed by Greenough and Stebbins, Suffolk Buildings, Congress Street. 1808. 12°. [p. 2] adv. [of American editor], pp. 48.

“Two discourses of one of the most pious and amiable divines that ever lived, the German Zollikofer” (adv.) Possibly from Sermons on the Great Festivals and Fasts of the Church &c. From the German of Rev. G. J. Zollikofer. By the Rev. William Tooke. 2 vols. London. 1807. [“Warnung vor den Sünden der Unkeuschheit” in “Einige Betrachtungen über das Übel in der Welt, und andere Predigten.” 1777.] (Are these the “Sermons to Young Men” published at Rev. Joseph Buckminster’s expense? Cf. Eliza Buckminster Lee, *Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Buckminster*. 2d ed. Boston. 1851. p. 489.)

1808? ^{a)}

129. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von] The Rights of Hospitality. By Kotzebue. New York. David Longworth. [1808?]

Probably a reprint of: *The Wanderer; or, the Rights of Hospitality*. Altered by C. Kemble. London. 1808 [Eduard in Schottland. 1804.]

130. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von] The Stranger. By Kotzebue. Translated by Benjamin Thompson. New York. David Longworth. [1808?]

Reprint of: *The Stranger &c.* London. 1801. Cf. 91.

131. [Schiller, F. von] The Robbers. By Frederick Schiller. New York. David Longworth. [1808?]

Probably a reprint of one of the English translations of Schiller’s *Robbers*. Cf. 22, 94.

^{a)} No. 129-131 are mentioned as “published by David Longworth” in his lists of his publications. The date can be determined from their position in these lists. They may be regarded as distinct from the other prints mentioned in our enumeration.

1809.

132. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Fraternal Discord*: a drama in five acts. Altered from the German of A. von Kotzebue. By W. Dunlap. New York. D. Longworth. 1809. 16°. pp. 69.

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Die Versöhnung. Schauspiel in 5 Akten.* Leipzig. 1798.

133. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Lovers' Vows*; a play, in five acts. Altered from the translations of Mrs. Inchbald and Benjamin Thompson. By J. H. Payne. Baltimore: printed by Geo. Dobbin and Murphy, No. 10, Baltimore Street. 1809. 16°. pp. iii-vii. adv. (by J. H. Payne), 9-90.

An adaptation from Mrs. Inchbald's version of *Lovers' Vows* (London, 1798.) and B. Thompson's translation (cf. 88). [*Das Kind der Liebe.* 1798.] "The present copy of *Lovers' Vows* is . . . made up of Thompson's Frederick and Agatha; Mrs. Inchbald's Verdun, Anhalt, and Amelia; while in forming Count Cassel and the Baron, sometimes the former and sometimes the latter version has been adopted. In many instances, however the compiler has taken the liberty to differ from both." (Preface by J. H. Payne).

134. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Pizarro*; a tragedy in five acts. Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; and adapted to the English stage. By Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Boston. 1809.

Reprint of: *Pizarro*; &c. London. 1799. Cf. 45.

135. [Lewis, M. G.] *Romantic Tales*, by M. G. Lewis, author of the *Monk*, *Adelgitha* &c. In two volumes. . . . Volume the first, containing *Mistrust*; or, *Blanche and Osbright*. The *Admiral Guarino*. *King Rodrigo's Fall*. *Bertrand and Mary-Belle*. *The Lord of Falkenstein*. *Sir Guy, the Seeker*. *The Anaconda*. *The Dying Bride*. *The four Facardins*, part I. New-York: printed for M. & W. Ward, 149 Pearl-street. 1809.

Volume the second, containing the *Four Facardians*, part II. *Oberon's Henchman*, or the *Legend of the Three Sisters*. *My Uncle's Garret-window*. *Bill Jones*. *Amorassan*, or the *Spirit of the Frozen Ocean*. 12°. Vol. I. pp. 5-11 pref., 347. Vol. II pp. —.

Reprint of: *Romantic Tales*. 4 vols. London. 1808. *Mistrust*, *The Anaconda*, *My Uncle's Garret-window*, *Amorassan*, *Bertrand and Mary-Belle*, *The Lord of Falkenstein* are taken from the German or partly suggested by German works (M. G. Lewis in preface).

136. [Zollikofer, G. J.] *Sermons on Education*. From the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer. Boston: printed by

Thomas B. Wait & Co. Court-street. 1809. 8°. pp. 123. [The Christian Monitor. Boston. 1806-10. Vol. ix.]

Reprint of: Sermons on Education, from: Sermons on Education, on Reflection, on the Greatness of God in the Works of Nature, and in the Government of the World, on Charity, and various other Topics; from the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer. By the Rev. William Tooke. 2 Vols. London. 1805. [These sermons also occur with: Prefixed, a Sermon on Parental Example, by G. Warker.]

137. [Zollikofer, J. G.] Seven Sermons on the Reformation, by George J. Zollikofer. Translated from the German by Rev. W. Tooke. With some Account of the Author. From the second London edition. Published by W. Wells, No. 6, Court Street, Boston. Printed by Hilliard & Metcalf, Cambridge. Jan. 1809. 8°. pp. vii-xvi "Some Account of the Author," 93.

[Theological Tracts. No. 1. Containing Zollikofer's Seven Sermons on the Reformation.]

Apparently reprint of seven sermons from: Sermons on the Great Festivals and Fasts of the Church, on other solemn Occasions, and on various Topics. From the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer. By the Rev. William Tooke. 2 vols. London. 1807. This collection contains eight Sermons on Reformation Anniversaries.

138. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice; a romance: translated from the German by M. G. Lewis. . . . The first American, from the fifth London edition. Baltimore: printed and sold by Warner & Hanna, and John Vance & Co. 1809. 12°. [p. iii] dedication, v-vi adv., vii-viii Cont., 299.

Reprint of: The Bravo of Venice; a romance, translated from the German by M. G. Lewis. London. 1805. (Fifth edition, 1807.) [Abaellino, der grosse Bandit. 1794.]

139. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice; a romance, translated from the German. By M. G. Lewis. Boston; O. C. Greenleaf. [1809.] 18°. pp. 299.

Reprint of: The Bravo of Venice, &c. London. 1805. Cf. 138. The English original (2 ed.), like 138 and 139, has 299 pages.

1810.

140. [Klopstock, F. G., and Margaret K.] Memoirs of Frederick and Margaret Klopstock. Translated from the German. Philadelphia: published by Philip H. Nicklin & Co., Baltimore; Farrand, Mallory and Co. Boston; Jacob Green, Albany; Edward

Earle, and B. B. Hopkins and Co. Philadelphia. Fry and Kammerer, printers. 1810. 12°. [p. iii] adv., pp. v-xii pref., 13-252.

Reprint of: *Memoirs of Frederick and Margaret Klopstock*. Translated from the German [by Miss Elizabeth Smith]. Bath. 1808. Contains letters and writings of Klopstock and his wife, besides a memoir.

141. [Klopstock, F. G.] *The Messiah*, a poem; attempted in English blank verse; from the German of the celebrated Mr. Klopstock. By Solomon Halling, A. M. Rector of Prince George's Parish, Winyaw. . . . Georgetown; printed by Francis M. Baxter. 1810. 8°. pp. 37.

A versification of the first book of Klopstock's *Messiah* made, apparently, from Collyer's prose translation. Cf. 9.

142. [Lafontaine, A. H. J.] *The Village Pastor and his Children*. A novel. Four volumes in two. From the German of Augustus La Fontaine. . . . Vol. I. (From the London edition of 1803.) New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare-gallery. 1810. 12°. Vol. I. pp. 246, [1 p.] cont. Vol. II. pp. 238, [1 p.] cont.

Reprint of: *The Village Pastor &c.* London. 1803. [Possibly: *Aus dem Leben eines armen Landpredigers.* 1800.]

143. [Lessing, G. E.] *Emilia Galotti*: a tragedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of G. E. Lessing, by Miss Fanny Holcroft. Published by Bradford and Inskeep, Philadelphia; Inskeep and Bradford, New-York; Wm. McIlhenry, Boston; Edward J. Coale, Baltimore; and Morfood, Willington and Co. Charleston, South-Carolina. J. Matwell, printer. 1810. 8°. [2 columns per page.] pp. 3-18.

Emilia Galotti, &c. In: *The Theatrical Recorder*. Vol. I. London. 1805. [Emilia Galotti. 1772.]

144. [Vulpius, C. A., dramatized from V.'s *Rinaldo Rinaldini*] *Rinaldo Rinaldini*; or, *the Great Banditti*. A tragedy, in five acts. By an American, and citizen of New York. . . . First edition. New-York, printed for the author. 1810. 12°. pp. iii-v address, pp. 7-82.

A servile adaptation from: *The History of Rinaldo Rinaldini, Captain of Banditti*. Translated from the German of Vulpius. By J. Hinckley, Esq. London. 1800. [Rinaldo Rinaldini. 1797.]

145. [Wieland, C. M.] *Oberon*; a poem. From the German of Wieland. By William Sotheby, Esq. In two volumes. First

American from the third London edition. With a preface, containing biographical notices of the author and translator, and a review of the work. Vol. I. Published by L. Rousmaniere, Newport, R. I; and J. Belcher, Boston. 1810. 12°. Vol. I. [copyright]. p. i dedication of 1st English ed., pp. iii-xlviii pref. of American editor, list of W.'s works. pp. 203. (canto 1-6). Vol. II. pp. 231. (canto 7-12.)

Reprint of: Oberon, &c. London. 1798. [Oberon. 1780.] The Hon. William Hunter of Newport (1774-1849) was the American editor, and author of the preface, according to the Providence Atheneum Catalogue, 1855, p. 433.

146. [Zschokke, J. H. D., dramatized from Z.'s Abaellino.] Rugantino; or, the Bravo of Venice: a grand romantic melo-drama, in two acts. By M. G. Lewis. First performed at Covent Garden Theatre, October 18th, 1809. . . . New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery, March —1810. 12°. pp. 3-36.

Reprint of: Rugantino, &c. London. 1805. [A dramatization of: Abaellino, der grosse Bandit. 1794.]

1811.

147. [Campe, J. H.] An Abridgment of the New Robinson Crusoe. Translated from the French. New York. 1811. (Philadelphia Library Catalogue. 1835.)

Evidently an abridgment of: The New Robinson Crusoe, &c. London. 1788. Cf. 12.

148. [Klopstock, F. G.] The Messiah: attempted from the German of Mr. Klopstock. By Joseph Collyer. In fifteen books. Two vols. Boston, published by John West and Co. No 75 Cornhill. 1811. 16°. Vol. I. pp. vi, 299. Vol. II. pp. 272.

Reprint of Joseph Collyer's translation, London, 1763, [1772?] Cf. 9.

149. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Beautiful Unknown, &c. Cf. 150.

150. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Zaida; or, the Dethronement of Muhammed IV. A novel, founded on historic facts. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. To which is added, the Beautiful Unknown, a dramatic history, by the same author. By Charles Smith. Copy-right secured. The last London edition. New-York: published by Burnton and Darling, 116 Broadway.

1811. 16°. Zaida, &c. pp. 5-213. The Beautiful Unknown, &c. [Separate title, identical with 98.] pp. 50.

Possibly prints 98 and 100 provided with a new general title.

151. [Salzmann, C. G.] Elements of Morality for the Use of Children. Translated from the German [by M. Wollstonecraft.] With an Introductory Address to Parents. First Baltimore edition, revised and corrected. Baltimore. 1811. 12°.

Mary Wollstonecraft's translation. London. 1790. Cf. 29.

1813.

152. [Schiller, F. von.] The Harper's Daughter: or, Love and Ambition. A tragedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Schiller, author of the Robbers, Don Carlos, &c. By M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. Author of the Monk. And now published with considerable alterations, as performed at the Philadelphia and Baltimore theatres. Philadelphia: published by M. Carey, No. 121, Chesnut Street. Printed by R. & W. Carr. 1813. 16°. pp. 5-76.

Adapted from: The Minister. A tragedy. In five acts. Translated from the German of Schiller. By M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. London. 1797. [Kabale und Liebe. 1784.]

153. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German, by M. Zimmerman, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. To which is prefixed the Life of Zimmerman. Brooklyn. Printed by Alden Spooner. 1813. 16°. pp. viii, 296.

Apparently reprint of: Solitude considered &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23.

154. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude: written originally by J. G. Zimmermann. To which is added the Life of the Author. New-York: published by David Huntington. C. S. Van Winkle, printer. 1813. [Preceded by a shorter engraved title dated 1814.] 24°. pp. v-viii t. pref., 9-15 Life of Zimmermann, 17-402.

Reprint of: Solitude; or, the Effects of occasional Retirement on the Mind, the Heart, General Society, in Exile, in Old Age, and on the Bed of Death. London. 1797. [A different English version from those mentioned before.]

1814.

155. [Goethe, J. W. von.] Goetz of Berlichingen, with the Iron Hand. Translated from the German of Goethe. By Walter

Scott, Esq. New-York: published by A. H. Inskeep. Van Winkle and Wiley, printers. 1814. 24°. pp. 5-13 t. pref., 17-206.

Reprint of: Goetz of Berlichingen &c. London. 1799. [Goetz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand. 1773.]

156. [Iffland, A. W.] The Good Neighbor; an interlude; in one act. Altered from a scene of Iffland's by William Dunlap. New York. D. Longworth. 1814. 12°. pp. 12.

A translation from Iffland by William Dunlap of New York. [Possibly: Die Nachbarschaft. 1807.]

157. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Corsicans; a drama, in four acts. Translated from the German of Augustus Kotzebue. [From the second London edition, of 1799] New-York: published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery. April — 1814. 16°. pp. 79.

Reprint of: The Corsicans, &c. Second edition. London. 1799. [Die Corsen. 1799.]

158. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Lovers' Vows; A play, in five acts. From the German of Kotzebue. By William Dunlap. As performed at the New-York Theatre. New-York: published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery. Feb. — 1814. 16°. pp. 5-74.

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: Das Kind der Liebe. Leipzig. 1791.

159. [Lafontaine, A. H. J.] Romulus; a tale of ancient times. From the German of A. La Fontaine. Baltimore. 1814.

Probably a reprint of: Romulus &c. Translated by the Rev. P. Will. London. 1799. [Romulus. 1798.]

160. Peter the Great; or, the Russian Mother: a play, in five acts. Altered from the German, by Wm. Dunlap. As performed at the New-York Theatre. New York: published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository. Shakspeare Gallery. March — 1814. 12°. pp. 56.

A translation and alteration from the German by William Dunlap of New York.

1815.

161. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mary Collyer. To which is added, the Death of Cain. In five books. Brattleborough, (Vt.) Published by John Holbrook. 1815. 24°. pp. 179.

The Death of Cain. In five books; after the manner of the Death of Abel. By a Lady. . . . Brattleborough, Vt. Published by John Holbrook. 1815. 24°. pp. 82.

Mary Collyer's translation of the Death of Abel, London, 1761, (Cf. 1); and reprint of: The Death of Cain, London, [1790?] Cf. 13.

162. [Gessner, S., suggested by G.'s Death of Abel] The Death of Cain. Cf. 161.

163. [Jung-Stilling, J. H.] Scenes in the World of Spirits, of Henry Stilling, Professor of the University at Marburg, (Germany.) Translated from the third original edition. "In my Father's House there are many mansions." New-Market: printed by Ambrose Henkel & Co. [1815.] 16°. [p. ii] copyright, pp. iii-iv t. pref., pp. v-xii a. prefaces, 282. (1 sheet of errata pasted in).

A translation (by Gottlieb Shober, Salem, N. C.) of: Scenen aus dem Geisterreiche. 1797-1801. (Copyright, N. C. District, Jan. 13th, A. D. 1815, by Gottlieb Shober. The t. pref. is signed G. S.)

1818.

164. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro, a tragedy, in 5 acts; taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; and adapted to the English stage. By R. B. Sheridan. Boston. West & Richardson. 1818. 16°. pp. 69.

Reprint of: Pizarro, &c. London. 1799. Cf. 60.

165. [Plumptre, Anne and Annabella.] Tales of Wonder, of Humour, and of Sentiment; original and translated. By Anne and Annabella Plumptre. In two volumes. Vol. I. Containing Zelis; the Weather-cock; the Magic Dollar; the Spectre of Presburg. New-York: published by James Eastburn & Co., at the Literary Rooms, corner of Broadway and Pine Streets. A. Paul, printer. 1818.

Vol. II. Containing The Fair of Beaucaire; Tsching-Quang; the Family of Valencia; Fanny; Omar and Zemida; Philosophy and Love.

12°. Vol. I. pp. 3-255. Vol. II. pp. 234.

Reprint of: Tales of Wonder, &c. 3 vols. London. 1818. It seems to contain some tales from the German.

166. [Schlegel, C. W. F.] Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern. From the German of Frederick Schlegel. In two volumes. Vol. I. Philadelphia: published by Thomas Dobson and Son, at the Stone House, No. 41, South Second Street.

William Fry, printer. 1818. 8°. Vol. I pp. v-vi cont., [p. vii] t. statement, pp. 346. Vol. II. pp. v-vii cont., 130.

Reprint of: Lectures on the History of Literature, &c. Edinburgh. 1818. [Friedrich Schlegel's *Geschichte der alten und neuen Litteratur*. 2 Teile. 1815.]

1819.

167. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro: a tragedy, in five acts; taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; and adapted to the English stage. By Richard Brinsley Sheridan. New-York: published by Thomas Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery. November, 1819. 16°. pp. 5-68.

Reprint of: Pizarro, etc. London. 1799. Cf. 60.

168. [Zimmermann, J. G.] On Solitude. New York. 1819. 24°.

1820.

169. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Confession. In verse. A comedy, in one act. Translated from Kotzebue. Philadelphia. 1820. 12°

A translation of: Die Beichte. In: Almanach für 1806. Leipzig. 1805.

170. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Abaellino, the Great Bandit. A grand dramatic romance, in five acts. Translated from the German, and adapted to the New-York Theatre, by William Dunlap, Esq. Fourth edition—copyright secured. New-York: published by Thomas Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery, Jan. — 1820. 12°. pp. 66.

William Dunlap's translation of Zschokke's Abaellino. Cf. 96.

1821.

171. [Sturm, C. C.] Reflections on the Works of God; by C. C. Sturm. Translated from the German by Rev. Dr. Balfour. 2 vols. Philadelphia: printed and published by Hickman & Hazzard, No. 121 Chestnut Street; and Hazzard & Hickman, Petersburg, Va. 1821. Vol. I. pp. iii, 328. Vol. II. pp. 364.

Reprint of: Reflections on the Works of God. London. [1800?] [Beachtungen über die Werke Gottes in Reiche der Natur. 1785.]

172. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Sylvester Eve, or the Adventures of a Watchman.

In: Tales of the Tripod; or a Delphian Evening. By Pertinax Particular. Baltimore: published by Fielding Lucas, jr. J.

Robinson, printer. 1821. 16°. pp. v-xii t. pref., 162. [Sylvester Eve, pp. 13-136.]

A translation (by Tobias Watkins [pseud. *Pertinax Particular.*], Baltimore) of: *Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht*. [First publ. in: *Erheiterungen. Eine Monatsschrift für gebildete Leser.* 1818, 1, 5 ff.] "The first tale entitled "Adventures of a Watchman" is taken from an anonymous German correspondent of the *Leeseifruchte*. It pleased me, and *I did it into English* expressly to amuse the Delphian Club". (t. pref.).

1822.

173. [La Motte Fouqué, Baron F. H. C. de.] *Minstrel Love*, from the German, by George Soane. New York. 1822.

Reprint of: *Minstrel Love*, &c. London. 1821. [*Sängerliebe.* 1816.]

1823

174. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Pizarro*. A tragedy in five acts. Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue, and adapted to the English stage by R. B. Sheridan. Philadelphia: Turner & Son. 1823. 24°. pp. 56 (3).

Sheridan's adaptation. London. 1799. Cf. 60.

175. [Zollikofer, G. J.] *Examination of some Principles and Rules of Conduct in Religious Matters*, partly false, and partly misunderstood; in two sermons. [On Matt. xv. 13.] By the Rev. G. J. Zollikofer. Printed for the "Tract and Book Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John." Joseph Rakestraw, printer. Philadelphia. 1823. 12°. pp. 56 +. [copy imperfect].

1823-24?

176. *Life of Dr. Faustus . . . his horrible Death*, &c. 12°. frontispiece. [In a collection of New-York chap-books, published by W. Borradaile, 150 Fulton St. (1823-24) and Solo. King, 150 William Street. (1821-1830).] (Brinley Catalogue.)

Possibly reprint or adaptation of an English chap-book.

1824.

177. [Chamisso, A. von.] *Peter Schlemihl*: from the German of Lamotte Fouqué. With plates by George Cruikshank. . . . Boston: Wells and Lilly—Court-street. 1824. 16°. pp. vii-viii introd., [p. ix] notice, [p. xi] a. dedication, pp. 139. 5 pl.

Reprint of: *Peter Schlemihl*, &c. [Translated by Sir J. Bowring.] London. 1824. LaMotte Fouqué was only editor, not author, of the work. [Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte. Herausgegeben von Fr. Baron de la Motte Fouqué. Nürnberg. 1814.]

178. [Goethe, J. W. von.] *Memoirs of Goëthe*: written by himself. New-York: published by Collins & Hannay, 230 Pearl-street, and Collins & Co. 117 Maiden-Lane. J & J. Harper, printers. 1824. 8°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., v-viii cont., 9-360 (pp. 292-298 post script, 299-360 biographical notices).

Reprint of: *Memoirs of Goethe, &c.* London. 1824. [Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit. 1811-14.]

179. [La Motte Fouqué, Baron F. H. C. de.] *Undine*, a tale from the German. Boston. 1824.

Possibly reprint of: *Undine*, a romance. Translated from the German by G. Soane. London. 1818. [Undine. 1811.]

180. [La Motte Fouqué, Baron F. H. C. de.] *Undine*. A tale. From the German of Frederick, Baron de Motte Fouqué. Philadelphia: published by E. Littell. 1824.

Possibly reprint of: *Undine &c.* Translated by G. Soane. Cf. 179.

1825 or before.

181. [Schiller, F. von.] *The Robbers*. Baltimore. Joseph Robinson.

Mentioned at back of: *Poems by Edward C. Pinkney*. Baltimore. Joseph Robinson. 1825. Apparently published by Robinson.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN BEARING NO DATE, BUT
APPARENTLY PRINTED BEFORE 1826.

182. [Campe, J. H.] *Columbus, or the Discovery of America*; as related by a father to his children and designed for the instruction of youth. Translated from the German, by Elizabeth Helme. Boston, Munroe & Francis. New York, Charles S. Francis. 24°, pp. 270.

Reprint of: *Columbus, &c.* 2 vols. London. 1799. [Part of: *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. 1781-82.] The firm Munroe & Francis dates from about 1810.

183. [Campe, J. H.] *Cortez; or, the Conquest of Mexico*. Translated from the German of J. H. Campe by Elizabeth Helme. Boston: Munroe and Francis, and Charles S. Francis, New York. 12°. pp. 255.

Reprint of: *Cortez &c.* 2 vols. London. 1799. [Part of: *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. 1781-82.]

184. [**Campe, J. H.**] Pizarro; or, the Conquest of Peru. Translated from the German by Elizabeth Helme. Boston: Munroe and Francis. New York: Charles S. Francis. 24°. pp. 228. pl.

Reprint of: Pizarro, &c. London. 1799. [Part of: Die Entdeckung von Amerika. 1781-82.]

185. [**Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.**] Pizarro. Adapted by R. B. Sheridan. New York. Naphthali Judah. 16°. [p. 3] dedication, [p. 4] t. adv., [p. 5] prologue, pp. 7-74. [Title page wanting in copy examined.]

Sheridan's adaptation. London. 1799. Cf. 60. The probable date of the reprint is 1799.

186. [**Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.**] The Stranger, or, Misanthropy and Repentance. A drama. Translated from the German by G. Papendick. Boston. Printed by John Russell at his Office in Quaker Lane. 12°.

Reprint of: The Stranger, &c. London. 1798. [Menschenhass und Reue. 1789.]

187. [**Zimmermann, J. G.**] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German, by M. Zimmerman, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. First New-York edition. Printed by Mott & Lyon: for Evert Duyckinck & Co., C. Davis, J. Harrison, J. Fellows, J. Lyon, N. Judah, and P. Mesier. 12°. pp. v, 328.

Apparently a reprint of: Solitude considered &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23. Probably printed about 1793-1800. This edition, which is a 12° by signatures and A. L. A. standard, is evidently distinct from 105, an octavo.

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FREDERICK H. WILKENS.

WORDSWORTH AND WILHELM MÜLLER.

In a recent, somewhat careful, study of the legend of the Wandering Jew, and the literature embodying it, the writer has been greatly impressed by the close resemblance between the conceptions of the subject by Wordsworth and Wilhelm Müller; and the attention is here called to a literary fact which seems, hitherto, to have escaped the notice of the critics.

Wordsworth's *Song for the Wandering Jew* was first published in 1800 in the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, and there included under *Poems of the Fancy*. It consisted originally of five stanzas, and received no material alteration in the subsequent editions until 1827, when, according to Knight and Dowden, two stanzas were added.

The poem as it first appeared (a form which it still retained, with no essential variations till after 1822, the date of the first appearance of Müller's poem) is as follows:

1. Though the torrents from their fountains,
 Roar down many a craggy steep,
Yet they find among the mountains
 Resting-places calm and deep.
2. Though almost with eagle pinion
 O'er the rocks the Chamois roam,
Yet he has some small dominion
 Which no doubt he calls his home.
3. If on windy days the Raven
 Gambol like a dancing skiff,
Not the less he loves his haven
 On the bosom of the cliff.

4. Though the Sea-horse in the ocean
Own no dear domestic cave;
Yet he slumbers without motion
On the calm and silent wave.
5. Day and night my toils redouble,
Never nearer to the goal;
Night and day I feel the trouble
Of the Wanderer in my soul.

Wilhelm Müller's *Der ewige Jude*, made its first appearance on page 10 of the *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen auf das Jahr 1823*, (Leipzig, 1822, bei Joh. Friedrich Gleditsch) where it occurs along with his poem *Die Schärpe*, under the general title *Romanzen*. Of the eleven stanzas, five only, the sixth to the tenth inclusive, are to our purpose in this discussion; but, in order that the two-fold character of the poem appear, it may be admissible to quote the whole:

1. Ich wandre sonder Rast und Ruh',
Mein Weg führt keinem Ziele zu;
Fremd bin ich in jedwedem Land
Und überall doch wohlbekannt.
2. Tief in dem Herzen klingt ein Wort,
Das treibt mich fort von Ort zu Ort;
Ich spräch's nicht aus, nicht laut, nicht leis',
Sollt ew'ge Ruh' auch sein der Preis.
3. Es wärmt mich nicht der Sonne Licht,
Des Abends Thau, der kühlt mich nicht;
Ein lauer Nebel hüllt mich ein
In ewig gleichen Dämmerchein.
4. Kein Mensch sich je zu mir gesellt,
Es lacht kein Blick mir in der Welt,
Kein Vogel singt auf meinem Pfad,
Ob meinem Haupte rauscht kein Blatt.

5. So zieh' ich Tag und Nacht einher,
Das Herz so voll, die Welt so leer;
Ich habe alles schon geseh'n,
Und darf doch nicht zur Ruhe geh'n.
6. Vom Felsen stürzt der Wasserfall,
Fort schäumt der Flusz im tiefen Thal,
Es eilt so froh der ew'gen Ruh',
Dem stillen Oceane zu.
7. Der Adler schwingt sich durch die Luft,
Verschwebend in des Aether's Duft,
Hoch in den Wolken steht sein Haus;
Auf Alpenspitzen ruht er aus.
8. Der Delphin durch die Fluthen schweift,
Wenn in die Bucht der Schiffer läuft,
Und nach dem Sturm im Sonnenschein
Schläft er auf Wellenspiegeln ein.
9. Die Wolken treiben hin und her,
Sie sind so matt, sie sind so schwer;
Da stürzen rauschend sie herab,
Der Schos der Erde wird ihr Grab.
10. Der müde Wanderer dieser Welt,
Ein sicher Ziel ist ihm gestellt,
Was klagt er ob des Tages Noth?
Vor Nacht noch holt ihn heim der Tod.
11. O Mensch, der du den Lauf vollbracht
Und gehest ein zur kühlen Nacht,
Bet', eh' du thust die Augen zu,
Für mich um eine Stunde Ruh' !

It will be seen that the poem consists of two distinct parts. The first to the fifth stanzas inclusive present the weary wanderer of the old legend from the standpoint of the romanticist,—a familiar figure in the German literature of the latter part of the

eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries, and one that had no doubt long appealed to the imagination of the young poet, Müller. As early as 1816, in a poem, entitled, *Der Verbannte*,* which appeared in the volume called *Bundesblüthen*, published by the literary circle to which Müller belonged while a student in Berlin, he has embodied the same conception.

Nun irr' ich in der Welt umher,
 Hab's Irren mir erkoren,
 Doch Heimweh drückt mein Herz so schwer:
 Es hat sein Land verloren,
 O zeigt kein Wanderer ihm die Bahn,
 Auf der es Ruhe finden kann?

With the sixth stanza the thought changes completely; and here begins the striking likeness to the English poet's unique conception of the subject-matter. The deep melancholy of the aged man is here painted in a series of pictures, which show the glaring contrast between nature's changes from activity to rest, and his own wretched fate of neverending unrest.

The resemblance may be traced still farther, and we shall find the counterpart for the first stanza of Wordsworth's poem,

Though the torrents from their fountains, etc.,

in the sixth of Müller's:

Vom Felsen stürzt der Wasserfall, etc.;

as also for the fourth of Wordsworth's in the eighth of Müller's, where the Sea-horse corresponds to the *Delphin*.

The subjects of Wordsworth's third and fourth stanzas, the Chamois, likened to the eagle, and the Raven, each represented as finding rest in his own home-nook, seem to have been blended together by Müller's seventh stanza in the form of the *Adler*.

The ninth and tenth stanzas of the German poem present two more similar pictures, that of the *Wolken*, and the ordinary

* See *The Earliest Poems of Wilhelm Müller*, by James Taft Hatfield. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Vol. XIII.

Wanderer, who looks forward to death as a release from his toil. For these there is no exact counterpart in Wordsworth's poem as originally published; but curiously enough, as it now stands, the poem contains as a second stanza, the following:

Clouds that love through air to hasten
 Ere the storm its fury stills,
 Helmet-like themselves will fasten
 On the heads of towering hills.

According to William Knight and Dowden this stanza was not added till 1827, five years after the German poem was published, which would seem to preclude the possibility of its having suggested Müller's ninth stanza. Was there, perchance, some collection of popular English poems, published before 1822, in which Wordsworth's *Song for the Wandering Jew*, already supplied with this new second stanza, was included?

The facts of the case then are these: In 1822 a German poet publishes a poem upon the Wandering Jew, of which the first half embodies the popular idea of the familiar story, while the second half reproduces with wonderful fidelity the peculiar tone of an English poem on the same subject, which had already been before the English public a score of years. Add to this that the author of the latter poem was Wordsworth, and that he has here written in a most characteristic vein, and what must be our conclusion?

It is true Wordsworth was little known in Germany and is even to-day but little read there; but that Müller knew the English poets to some extent, at least, is shown by the fact of his translation of Marlowe's *Faustus*.

It is true Müller has been characterized as pre-eminently "the poet of wandering,"* a statement which even a casual glance at his poems corroborates; and the more we study the *Wanderlieder*, the more we recognize in them the restlessness to which

* Cf. Philip S. Allen's article *Wilhelm Müller and the German Volkslied*, *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 288-290.

this legend has given voice—the more impossible it becomes to conceive of the songs of Müller without the figure of the wandering Jew. But this accounts only for the first half of *Der ewige Jude*, in which Müller, the romanticist, is plainly to be recognized. A correspondence so striking as that which undeniably exists between the second half of this poem and Wordsworth's *Song*, certainly points very strongly to the supposition that Müller borrowed the idea for this latter part from Wordsworth.

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ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE EVOLUTION OF
THE CLASSICAL WALPURGIS-NIGHT
AND THE SCENE IN HADES.

Since the publication of my article on the "Evolution of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the Scene in Hades," in Volume III, No. 1 of this periodical, I have had the opportunity of consulting some literature not accessible to me before, and the privilege of inspecting the manuscript material of *Faust* and the diaries in the Goethe and Schiller Archives at Weimar. Some of the fruits of this study are offered on the following pages. I shall first give an extract from a letter of Goethe to Zelter showing the intensity of the poet's indignation toward the Plutonists on the very eve of his composition of the poetical form of the Classical Walpurgis-Night. Then I shall treat of the earliest stages of the composition, of the various "Munda" and the state of the work when it came to a sudden halt about March 28, 1830, and finally of the "Neue Resolution wegen Faust," June 15 of the same year.

The passage from the letter, dated November 9, 1829, is as follows:

"Die Pariser Akademie sanctionirt die Vorstellung: der Montblanc sey ganz zuletzt, nach völlig gebildeter Erdrinde, aus dem Abgrund hervorgestiegen. So steigert sich nach und nach der Unsinn und wird ein allgemeiner Volks- und Gelehrten-glaube, gerade wie im dunkelsten Zeitalter man Hexen, Teufel und ihre Werke so sicher glaubte, dass man sogar mit den grässlichsten Peinen gegen sie vorschritt. Hier habe ich immer den grossen König Matthias von Ungarn bewundert, welcher bei Strafe verbot von Hexen zu reden, weil es keine gäbe. Ohne König zu sein, verhalte ich mich im Stillen ebenso gegen jene Strudler, Sprudler und Quetscher, indem ich der Natur in ihrem grossen Thun einfachere und grandiosere Mittel zutraue." . . .

“Je älter ich werde, je mehr vertrau’ ich auf das Gesetz, wonach die Ros’ und Lilie blüht.”

I pass on to the earliest stages of the poetical composition of the Classical Walpurgis-Night. On page 6 of my former article I had added a question mark to August 29, 1829. This was done because the statement in the “Lesarten” of the Weimar edition did not show whether some of the lines of the Classical Walpurgis-Night appeared on I. H., 56 folio 5, which contains part of a draft of a letter sent to King Ludwig, or whether all of these lines were written on the following folio. As a matter of fact, I found that not only the lines of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, but also lines 6560 ff of the Helena scene of the first act are found on folio 6. Nevertheless, folio 6 was evidently used for the lines of the Helena scene simultaneously with folio 5, because the lines on the former are a direct continuation of the last lines on the latter, and are written in the same ink and in the same hand. Moreover, since a slightly different version of lines 6549-6559 is found on a draft of the diary for August 28-30¹ (I. H., 60) it seems certain that those lines of the Helena scene on folio 6 were written soon after August 29, perhaps September 8 when, according to the diary, Goethe did do some work on *Faust*. In the same manner it may be assumed that lines found on playbills were, as a rule, composed soon after the dates of the bills. For how natural was it for Goethe to scribble a line on the playbill of the day which was placed on his desk, and how rarely must he have felt inclined to keep any of them very long after the performance was over and the interest gone. Thus I believe that the “Scenar” of the same Helena scene on the playbill of January 21, 1829 (II. H., 14) was actually written soon after that date.

The case becomes wholly different, however, as soon as something important is placed on a playbill or any other sheet or

¹ Compare also I H 57 with lines 6427-6438 on another draft of the letter to the king.

scrap of paper. From that moment on they are documents and there is ample reason to preserve them. Thus the lines of the Classical Walpurgis-Night on folio 6 of August 29 and the playbill of January 21, which evidently were added at some other time, may be much later than those dates, and in view of the circumstance that they are supplemented by the lines on the playbill of November 28 (II. H., 9)² I am inclined to assign them to about the latter time. As we know from the diaries, Goethe was adjusting scenes of *Faust* early in December and, since he did not read the Helena scene to Eckermann till some time towards the close of that month, it seems that it also required his attention. On one of the occasions when he had this scene and its drafts on his desk, he may have noticed the empty space on the folio and the bill and utilized it for the Walpurgis-Night. The playbill of November 28, originally contained line 7181 and the second half of 7182 also. Afterwards these two lines were cut off and placed elsewhere. The strip which contains them has been preserved, but it does not seem to have been recorded in the Weimar edition.

The next document is a playbill of December 26, with the lines 7152-7155, 7559-7565 and 7843-46. This would seem to indicate that during the last days of the month, while still engaged in completing the scene with the Mothers, Goethe allowed his thoughts to go far out into the Classical Walpurgis-Night. That this is more than a doubtful supposition of mine is proved again by a clipping from another playbill of those very same days (II. H., 63) which contains lines 8285-8288, and hence is reaching still farther ahead. As the possibility of dating this clipping was overlooked in the Weimar edition, it may be remarked that it presents this part of a playbill: "Hofmeister in tausend Aengsten. Fest der Handwerker. Erste Vorstellung im fünften Abonnement." This, in connection with the full

² Fol. 6 of August 29 offers 7080-7089 and a full sketch of 7117-7139, in which 7132-7139 appear almost in their final form and the playbill of January 21: 7140-7148. The bill of November 28 fills a gap by furnishing 7090-7096 and 7100-7111 and adds 7181-7182.

set of the playbills kept on file in the Grand Ducal Library, sufficed to establish the date. It was December 29, 1829.

In the year 1829, Goethe, therefore, apparently did the following work on the Classical Walpurgis-Night. At the close of November, or the beginning of December, he penned some of the lines which deal with Mephistopheles and the Sphinxes, Mephistopheles and the Griffins, and the impression of the ancient world on Faust. At the close of December he sketched a few lines concerning the arrival of the Sirens, Seismos, Homunculus and the Philosophers and the Telchines; other traces of work may have been lost. The continuous work was probably not begun until after the completion of the scene with the Mothers; that is, about January 11, a supposition in which I am glad to agree with Pniower.³ If Goethe's statements of time were always accurate, the item in a letter to Zelter, of March 7, 1830, that he had been engaged for eight weeks in a labor which gave him joy (that is in the Classical Walpurgis-Night) might be quoted in support of this assumption.

Space forbids me to enter in detail upon the question as to whether the "Hauptmundum" mentioned in the diary under March 5, is identical with the "Erstes Mundum" as Pniower assumes, or with the "Zweytes Mundum" as I now believe. My arguments are: First, that that which John *continues* must be identical with that which is specially mentioned on the preceding days; March 3: "Das zweyte reinere Mundum gefördert." March 4: "Das zweyte Mundum gefördert;" and, second, that if the "Hauptmundum" were not identical with the second Mundum, but with the first, it would have been mentioned more frequently, because the latter was not written in a few days but only very gradually. I therefore assume that the second Mundum which, with Pniower, I consider identical with H, is referred to March 4-6 and 22 and probably also 14.

³ *Goethe's Faust Zeugnisse und Excuse zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte* von Otto Pniower, Berlin, 1899. Through the kindness of Professor Learned I have had this book long enough to make a cursory examination of it. It will be indispensable to every student of *Faust*.

Pniower's notice that Goethe had borrowed Schelling's book on the Cabiri from February 22 to March 8, 1830, harmonizes well with the time to which the work on the sea scene has been assigned in my former article. I must entirely disagree with Pniower, however, when he assumes that the "Erstes Mundum" represents the state of the Walpurgis-Night when Goethe stopped work on it between March 6 and 13 or 15. That short interruption of at most eight days could never have led to the complete discontinuation of the Mundum, which took place. Only a lapse of months and a change of plan such as occurred later between March 28 and June 12 can account for that.

As to the number of separate groups of lines which existed March 28 besides the "Erstes Mundum," or were composed afterwards without being chronicled in the diary I cannot offer much more definite suggestions now than before. The wording of the entry of March 28, "Geheftet die nächstdurchzuführenden Concepte" points to the existence of a considerable amount of more or less finished material and the same conclusion is reached from the fact that there is very little definite evidence of work on *Faust* between June 12 and 25, but all the more proof of other occupation, not to mention a trip to Jena and an indisposition which confined the poet to his bed for two days without, however, incapacitating him for work.

Between March 28 and June 12 Goethe devoted himself principally to the introduction to the German translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*, which he had promised a good while before, to a review of Zahn's *Pompejanische Hefte* and to botanical studies of various kinds. Besides he enjoyed a prolonged visit from Felix Mendelssohn towards the close of this period. The work for Carlyle was very urgent and was taken up under the impression of the impending arrival of a little box from Carlyle and his wife; also his archæological and botanical interests and much unanswered correspondence were interfering with the work on *Faust*. Nevertheless there does not seem to be any doubt that Goethe might have completed the Classical Walpurgis-Night in a few days or at most a little over a week in the

month of April just as well as he did complete it in a few days or at most a little over a week in the month of June, provided that he had been able to make the great resolve of June 15, at that time.

This leads us to the entries in the diary for June among which that of the fifteenth in spite of its surpassing importance is omitted from the extracts published by Erich Schmidt in his *Urfaust*. It reads: "*Neue Resolution wegen Faust*" and is placed at the head of the entries for that day. June 8 Goethe says to Kanzler Müller that the first and second acts of *Faust* are almost done. June 12 the diary has: "Beachtung von *Faust* wieder vorgenommen," a sure proof that the work had actually been interrupted, and on the same day or the next the poet is engaged on the sea scene (II H 71, playbill of June 12). June 14 follows "*Faust*. Hauptmotive abgeschlossen," June 15: "*Neue Resolution wegen Faust*,"⁴ June 18 finally the scheme in which the scene in Hades appears for the first and only time as a prologue to the third act, not "noch" as Pniower puts it. It may remain doubtful how Goethe had planned the "Hauptmotive" June 14, but the "*Neue Resolution*" June 15, is explained by the scheme of the eighteenth,⁵ which contains the great and new resolution of transferring the scene in Hades to the third act. Thus the entry in the diary for June 15, furnishes, as it were, the documentary proof for the conclusion which in my former article was reached by a chain of circumstantial evidence.

At what time the prologue was abandoned must unfortunately remain undecided, because the records are silent on the subject. The diary says only that July 13 Goethe and Riemer make

⁴Some other entries *may* refer to *Faust*. E. g., June 16, "Manches bedacht und vorbereitet; 18, "Fortsetzungen aller Art besorgt;" 19, "besorgte viel nach allen Seiten, etc."

⁵Pniower cites this scheme (p. ix.) in order to show that in some cases Goethe did work on *Faust* without there being any indication of it in the diaries. But, as was remarked in Note 4, the entry: "Fortsetzungen aller Art besorgt" may include *Faust*.

some necessary corrections in the Classical Walpurgis-Night, and that December 13 and 14 and perhaps also 15 and 16 Goethe and Eckermann are discussing it. January 4, 1831, Goethe declares in a letter to Zelter that the first two acts are done, but on the following day he qualifies his statement by saying to Kanzler Müller that the second is *almost* done. Hence occasional filing seems to have continued for over half a year.

A. GERBER.

EARLHAM COLLEGE, OCTOBER, 1899.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ALLISON HENCH.

In Memoriam.

The untimely death of Professor George A. Hench has left a wide breach in our editorial staff.

George Allison Hench was born at Centre, Perry County, Pa., October 4, 1866. He attended the public school as far as the grammar grade and prepared for college at the Dickinson Preparatory School, Carlisle, Pa., matriculating as Freshman in the Arts Course of Dickinson College in the autumn of 1881. The next year he entered the Sophomore Class of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., and graduated with the degree of A. B. in June, 1885. The following October he entered the Johns Hopkins University as graduate student. During the summer semester of 1887 he attended courses at the University of Berlin. The following summer he spent at Vienna, examining O. H. G. manuscripts in the Imperial Library. During the academic year 1888-89 he was Fellow in German at Johns Hopkins University, receiving the degree of Ph. D. in June 1889.

The year 1889-90 he spent in Europe, whence he was called in the summer of 1890, to the Instructorship of German in the University of Michigan. Here he was one year Instructor, five years Assistant Professor, and followed Professor Calvin Thomas (who succeeded Professor Boyesen at Columbia University) first as Acting Professor for one year, and then as Professor and head of the department. After the death of his colleague, Professor Walter of the Romance Department, who was lost on the "Burgoyne," he assumed the direction also

of the Department of the Romance Languages of the University of Michigan, until a new professor should be appointed to fill Professor Walter's place.

Professor Hench's early youth was spent under the tender care of his well-regulated home and he gave evidence as a child of those qualities which were to distinguish him in later years. His attention was early directed toward good books. One incident may illustrate the eagerness with which he sought knowledge at the age of eight. At this time his father took him to see *Pilgrim's Progress* on moving canvas. To his great delight he learned, on returning home, that the book containing the story was in the library. He at once began to read it and did not rest till he had read and re-read it. A year or two later, Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* were put into his hands by his sister and were devoured in like manner. This reading led the way to Scott and the better romances, thus enabling him to escape the mass of injurious literature which was then tempting the American youth. The year at Dickinson College laid the foundation for his wider interest in literature. A new collection of valuable books procured by one of the college societies at this time furnished him with abundant literary stimulus.

Upon entering Lafayette College he came into close relations with Professor Francis A. March, who gave him his first and lasting impulse toward scientific research. "He never ceased to honor him as a scholar and love him as a father," and as a token of this respect, he dedicated to his honored instructor the most important of his scientific works, *Der althochdeutsche Isidor*.

His first year at Johns Hopkins University was fraught with the "storm and stress" which is usually incident to the life of a student in the period of transition from college to university work. His ideas finally clarified and he settled down in the second year to enthusiastic and thorough scientific study, choosing German as his major subject. Through the direction of Professor Henry Wood, his interest was attracted to the *Fragmenta Theotisca* in the old edition of Endlicher and Hoffmann

von Fallersleben, which he subsequently made the subject of his dissertation. In addition to the courses of Professor Wood, he followed courses in English with Dr. J. W. Bright, in Sanskrit and Comparative Philology with Dr. Maurice Bloomfield, and in Rhine Frankish with Dr. M. D. Learned.

In his scientific work he possessed the German instinct of concentration and thoroughness, choosing as his field Philology, and within this field the special period of the early comparative Germanic Philology and made most of his contributions in this field. His first work was the *Monsee Fragments: Newly Collected Text, with Introduction, Notes, Grammatical Treatise and Exhaustive Glossary* and a *Photo-lithographic Facsimile* (Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1891, XXV-212 p., 8°). In this work, which was an extension and completion of his dissertation, he passed the text of the *Fragments* under a new revision, re-collecting the manuscripts and correcting earlier misreadings. In the introduction he gave an accurate and concise history of the manuscript and the editions, a description of the manuscript itself, a discussion of the Latin text of St. Matthew, the homily "De vocatione gentium," and the age and origin of the codex. He followed the text with notes, a grammatical treatise (Phonology, Inflection), and a glossary. The accuracy of his work appears especially in his careful collation of the text and in the detailed treatment of the phonology and inflection of the *Fragments*. Every form with the occurrences is included in his lists, and this material thus carefully classified is turned into service in determining, in accordance with the best philological method, the age and the dialect of the original.

His next work was a natural outgrowth of the study of the *Monsee Fragments* and entitled *Der althochdeutsche Isidor. Facsimile-Ausgabe des Pariser Codex nebst kritischem Texte der Pariser und Monseer Bruchstücke. Mit Einleitung, grammatischer Darstellung und einem ausführlichen Glossar mit 22 Tafeln.* (Strassburg. Karl J. Trübner, 1893).* The method and general plan followed in this work were much the same as in the case of the *Monsee Fragments*. The MS. was re-read,

the paleography was carefully re-studied for determining the date of the original. The Paris Codex of the Isidor (Latin and Old High German) was reprinted with photographic facsimile on opposite pages, and the Monsee Fragments were added. The phonology and inflection were worked out in exhaustive detail and employed as material for determining the age of the monument. The whole was furnished with a glossary giving each form with the reference to the passage in which it occurs in the text. It was this tireless patience and even devotion to minute detail, which gave to this work of Professor Hench its peculiar value. To him, as to every true philologist, the "jot or tittle" was a sacred heritage of the past, and as deserving of scientific research as the content of the book itself. It was this truly philological instinct which led him to choose philology as his life-work, and his love for completeness that limited his choice to comparative Germanic philology in the restricted sense. Having rounded out his work in the O. H. G. territory with the *Monsee Fragments* and *Der althochdeutsche Isidor*, he began to prepare himself for work in the larger field. He studied Old Prussian and other languages to widen his horizon and began to make special contributions. Of these, two appeared, one entitled *Gotisch Gup* in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (xxi, 562-568, 1896); the other, *The Voiced Spirants in Gothic* in *The Journal of Germanic Philology* (I, No. I, 1897). These articles were the first of a series which he intended to write, treating specific questions relating to the history of the Germanic dialects.

In addition to these works, Professor Hench wrote the following reviews: *Goethe's Tasso*, von Kuno Fischer, (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, VI, 116-119, 1891.) *Bruchstücke der alteächsischen Bibeldichtung, aus der Bibliotheca Palatina*, von Karl Zangemeister und Wilhelm Braune. (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, IX, 244-248, 1894.)

The pedagogical side of Professor Hench's work received a new importance when he assumed the direction of the German Department at Michigan. He was a member of the Committee

of Twelve, and went abroad to collect data for the deliberations of the Committee. No sacrifice was too great for him to make in order to attend the meetings of this Committee. He frequently remarked in the midst of his special investigations that the foundations of philological science in America must be laid in the early college instruction, and to this end he devoted much valuable time, during the last few years of his life, to undergraduate teaching.

As a teacher he was highly successful and the testimony of those who were influenced by him is expressed in such words as "His ideals were so high." "His vision so broad." He brought to his teaching that peculiar stimulus which comes from early distinction. At the age of thirty he had won international recognition and esteem. He was a member of the Modern Language Association of America, had served the organization in various capacities, was active in the interests of the Central Association of Modern Languages, but without any schismatic tendencies.

His co-operative spirit was also manifest in his editorial participation in the work of the two new American journals, *AMERICANA GERMANICA* and *Journal of Germanic Philology*. He belonged to the staff of Contributing Editors of the former and was one of the Co-editors of the latter. In these positions he has left a vacancy difficult to fill.

The labors of Professor Hench, during the last two years of his life, were seriously interrupted by illness, brought on, as it seems, by overexertion. Notwithstanding the serious condition of his health he continued his labors at the University and kept up his interest in the associations to which he belonged, notably the Modern Language Association. So intense was his interest in his University work, that he sacrificed the first part of this year's vacation to the organization of the courses of the summer school. His health had so far returned by midsummer that he felt able to venture on a bicycle tour through New England, with one of his colleagues. While cycling in the White Mountains he met with the accident which resulted in his

death. His colleague and traveling companion, a doctor of medicine, supposes that he was seized with an attack of vertigo while riding, and thus lost his balance. Every effort was made to save his life, but he succumbed a few days later in a Boston hospital, and now rests in the cemetery in Carlisle.

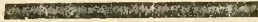
As a man, Professor Hench was frank, open-hearted, with a minute interest in all the questions of life, looking all the problems of life squarely in the face, and accepting the conclusions to which his best reasoning led him. He had been, from boyhood, a member of the Presbyterian church. He won the hearty friendship of his fellow-students, the confidence of his instructors, the love and admiration of his students, and the high esteem of his colleagues.

As a scholar he possessed an inspiring enthusiasm, an untiring devotion to scientific truth, a love of accuracy and detail, a power of concentration such as is seldom found in one so young. It was these qualities which enabled him in his brief span of life, to give such completeness to his work as to leave a well-rounded record of his scientific activity. He was one of the best examples of the new philological scholarship in America, and his scientific development was one of the most interesting both to his instructors and fellow-students. The scientific impulse came to him like a revelation, which, once seen, never vanished from sight. Once settled in his course he continued to seek out new truth with that genuine delight which is a characteristic of the scientific mind. He never wavered and never wearied, even in the most irksome details of an arduous task, but took as much delight in examining the slips upon which he had copied his glossary as a child finds in viewing its treasures.

His German library was valuable to have been collected in so short a time. He had often said it should go to the University at which he was working at the time of his death, and by a strange premonition, it almost seems, he had told one of his friends in Ann Arbor, shortly before he left, all the details of the bequest, and how he would like it arranged.

In the death of Professor Hench the University of Michigan has lost one of its best professors, American science a most promising scholar, and his fellow Germanists a beloved colleague. His work and memory will remain an unfailing stimulus to those who survive him, the best monument to his brief but useful life.†

M. D. LEARNED.



*This appeared as number 72 of *Guellen und Forschungen*.

†The family of Professor Hench have kindly furnished important data for this memorial, and the writer gratefully acknowledges this assistance.

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AMERICANA GERMANICA.

SYNTAX DER RIESER MUNDART.

Bei der Behandlung dieses Themas bin ich mir der Schwierigkeit meiner Aufgabe wohlbewusst. Die Syntax einer Mundart bietet ungleich grössere Schwierigkeiten als die der Schriftsprache. Es ist darum wichtig für jeden Sprachforscher niemals aus den Augen zu verlieren, dass das Geschriebene nicht die Sprache selbst ist, dass die in Schrift umgesetzte Sprache immer erst einer Rückumsetzung bedarf, ehe man mit ihr rechnen kann. Diese Rückumsetzung ist nur in unvollkommener Weise möglich; soweit sie aber möglich ist, ist sie eine Kunst, die gelernt sein will. Schwierig vor allem ist es, eine Scheidung dessen vorzunehmen, was in syntactischer Beziehung einer Mundart rein angehört oder nicht.

In einer Mundart gestalten sich natürlicher Weise die syntactischen Verhältnisse viel freier und ungezwungener, weil ein Dialect nur in seltenen Fällen durch den Einfluss der Schriftsprache gehemmt wird. Vgl. Behaghel, *Entstehung der abhängigen Rede und Ausbildung der Zeitfolge im Aldeutschen* p. 10.

Bei der Behandlung der Syntax einer lebenden Mundart scheint es unumgänglich notwendig zu sein, Beobachtungen am lebenden Individuum anzustellen. Nur dann kann man Resultate gewinnen, die von jedem Verdachte der Fälschung frei sind, nur dann kann man seine Beobachtungen beliebig vervollständigen und methodische Experimente machen. Dabei soll natürlich nicht in Abrede gestellt werden, dass die unbefangene Beobachtung des Verhältnisses von Schrift und Sprache grosse Dienste leistet. Ich habe das Neuhochdeutsche vergleichs-

weise dem Dialect oft zur Seite gestellt. Zwischen der einfachen Ausdrucksweise beim Rieser Dialect sowohl als bei andern süd-deutschen Mundarten und zwischen dem einfachen Schriftdeutsch—ich rede hier nur vom einfachen Satz—besteht genau genommen wenig Unterschied. Der Einfluss der deutschen Schriftsprache auf die Dialecte ist insofern vielleicht doch ein grösserer als man im allgemeinen annimmt, oder wie könnte man sonst von einer allmählichen Annäherung der Mundarten an die Schriftsprache reden?

Eine solche Annäherung scheint unabwendbar, seit die Dialectdichtung Mode geworden ist. Dialectische Erzählungen und Gedichte von Gebildeten sind für die Beurteilung einer mundartlichen Syntax von geringem Werte, denn Gebildete, die ihren Dialect kennen, übertragen gewöhnlich unbewusst das syntactisch-stilistische Gerüst der hochdeutschen Schriftsprache auf den Dialect. Das ist der Fall bei Fritz Reuter, Klaus Groth, Sailer, Meyr und allen andern Dialectdichtern. Das getreueste Bild der syntactischen und lexicalischen Eigenart des Volkes gewinnt man nur durch Beobachtung am lebenden Individuum. Ich habe daher das mir zu Gebote stehende Material der Rieser Mundart Literatur: Meyr, Wild, Kähn, Jakob, etc., nur selten benützt und mich hauptsächlich an die gesprochene Sprache der Rieser gehalten und zu diesem Zwecke auch während meines Aufenthaltes in der alten Heimat ungezwungene Gespräche, Erzählungen und Liedchen aufgezeichnet, genau wie ich sie aus dem Munde der Leute erfuhr.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es nicht meine Absicht eine vergleichende syntactische Darstellung zu geben. Bin ich auch bis zu einem gewissen Grade mit bayrischen, schwäbischen und fränkischen Mundarten bekannt, so sehe ich mich doch gezwungen von einem derartigen Unternehmen abzusehen schon allein wegen der Unmöglichkeit des Aufenthalts auf den betreffenden Sprachgebieten, und ein Aufenthalt auf bayrischem, schwäbischem oder schweizerischem Gebiet wäre doch unbedingt nötig, um ein getreues Bild der Redearten in vergleichender Weise darzustellen.

Ich ziehe daher den Kreis enger und beschränke mich blos auf das Gebiet des kleinen Landstriches Ries, dessen Sprachgebrauch und Redeweise mir bekannt ist.

Vergleichen wir übrigens die verschiedenen süddeutschen Dialecte miteinander, so finden wir eine erstaunliche Ähnlichkeit, die die Ausdrucksweisen mit einander haben.

Der bayrische Bauer unterscheidet sich in seiner Ausdrucksweise und Wortstellung von dem schwäbischen nach meiner Beobachtung im einzelnen doch hauptsächlich nur dadurch, dass der letztere etwas unbeholfener, schwerfälliger und umständlicher ist in seiner Rede. Dieser Umstand lässt uns mit einiger Sicherheit auf seinen Character schliessen. Der Schwabe ist von Natur etwas langsam und dem entsprechend ist seine Ausdrucksweise. Der Bayer hingegen ist etwas gewandter, kürzer und bündiger. Die schwäbischen und bayrischen Mundarten weichen natürlich von der Syntax der Schriftsprache des Neuhochdeutschen ab, sie sind freier und ungezwungener, die schwäbische vielleicht noch mehr als die bayrische. Der Schwabe verrät in seiner Redart Verwandtschaft mit dem Schweizer, der Bayer mit dem Österreicher und Franken.

Hilfsquellen, die ich bei diesser Arbeit hauptsächlich zu Rate gezogen, sind: Behaehl, *Die deutsche Sprache*, 1886; und: *Über die Zeitfolge der abhängigen Rede*, 1878; G. Binz, *Zur Syntax der baselstädtischen Mundart*, 1888; Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, 1886; Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, Bd. I–IV.; Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, Bd. 4, 1883; Paul, *Principien der deutschen Sprache*; Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*; Sanders, *Hauptschwierigkeiten der deutschen Sprache*; Schmeller, *Grammatik und Wörterbuch der bayrischen Mundart*.

Miklosich definiert die Syntax als jenen Teil der Grammatik, welcher die Bedeutung der Wortklassen und der Wortformen darzulegen hat.

Ich behandle die Lehre von der Bedeutung der Wortklassen, die in folgende Teile zerfällt: I. Verbum; II. Substantiv; III. Adjectiv; IV. Adverb; V. Präposition; VI. Interjection; VII. Pronomen; VIII. Conjunction.

Bei der Behandlung des einfachen Satzes glaube ich mit dem *Verbum* beginnen zu müssen. Es dient dazu, etwas mitzuteilen, eine Thätigkeit, eine Lebensäußerung oder einen Zustand. Es ist der eigentliche Mittelpunkt der Sprache und der Quell des Sprachreichtums im Neuhochdeutschen sowohl wie in den Mundarten, denn aus ihm werden die meisten Substantiva gebildet. Es ist auch die Hauptsache im Satze.

I.

DAS VERBUM.

Im vierten Band seiner vergleichenden Syntax auf Seite 261 sagt Miklosich: Die Verba lassen sich nach ihrer syntactischen Function einteilen zum ersten in verba concreta oder Vollverba und zum zweiten in verba abstracta oder Hilfsverba.

A.

Betrachten wir zunächst den Gebrauch der verba concreta in der Rieser Mundart.

Von der Vermischung zwischen beiden Klassen der starken und schwachen Conjugation, die schon in historischer Zeit stattgefunden, ist hier nicht der Platz zu reden. Ich verweise hier auf die Erörterung von Behaghel in Paul's *Grundriss*, Bd. I, p. 605, und bemerke hier nur soviel, dass der Rieser Dialect häufig die starke Form bewahrt hat, wo die Schriftsprache die schwache besitzt: z. B. *er hod grenḁ* = er hat gegreint; *khonkḁ* = gehinkt.

Auch ein Übertritt schwacher Formen in die starke Conjugation findet statt: z. B. *gwonschḁ* = gewünscht; *bedīdḁ* = bedeutet; *gschombfḁ* = geschimpft.

In einer Anzahl von Fällen hat Vermischung schwacher und starker Verba stattgefunden: z. B. *gschombfḁ*, *gschembfd*, *gwonschḁ*, *gwenshd*, etc.

Bei den concreten Verben unterscheide ich wieder wie folgt:

1. *Subjective Verba* (vgl. Sanders, p. 127) d. h. Zeitwörter, die mit dem Subject einen vollständigen Satz bilden, der keiner weitem Ergänzung bedürftig ist. In dieser Beziehung stimmt

die Mundart mit der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache überein. Denn einfache Sätze wie: Das Kind weint, der Hund bellt, kann auch der Rieser nicht anders ausdrücken. In seine Sprache umgesetzt heisst es: *ds khēd græd*; *dr hōd bild*, will er den Satz besonders betonen, so gebraucht er allerdings das im Schriftdeutschen nicht statthafte Verbum "thun," z. B.: *ds khēd duəd grænō*.

2. Den Gegensatz zu den subjectiven Verben bilden solche, die einer Ergänzung bedürfen d. h. also *objective*. Die zu diesen Zeitwörtern gehörigen Ergänzungen können von Präpositionen abhängen. Die Präpositionen vermeidet jedoch die Mundart in solchen Fällen. Sätze wie: wir verlangen nach Ruhe, sind dem Rieser fremd. Er sagt statt dessen; *ōs wellō ruə*. Sogar das Verbum klingt ihm zu modern; er vermeidet dasselbe, wo immer er nur kann, und wählt sich eins, das seinem syntactischen Geschmack besser passt.

3. Die zu solchen Zeitwörtern gehörigen Ergänzungen können im nhd. auch durch den blossen Casus bezeichnet werden; z. B. durch den Genetiv, Dativ oder Accusativ. Mit dem Genetiv scheinen die meisten Dialecte auf dem Kriegsfusse zu stehen, so auch der Rieser. Anstatt zu sagen; Wir bedürfen des Rates weiser Leute, zieht er vor zu sagen: *Ōs braochō rōd von gschæde laed*. Der gewählteren Ausdrucksweise wird ausgewichen, sie ist eine Last für ihn. Nur mit dem Dativ und Accusativ wird die Mundart leichter fertig. Ich komme im nächsten Kapitel des näheren darauf zu reden. Der Satz: Einer hilft dem andern ist auch dem Dialect geläufig. Beispiel für den Acc: *dr fadr hōd dō buəbō*.

4. Verba, welche ihre Ergänzung nicht im Accusativ zu sich nehmen, d. h. also *intransitive*—und Verba, welche die Ergänzung im Accusativ zu sich nehmen und darum also die transitiven und factitiven Verba heissen. Diese Verba, resp. deren Übergänge und Wechsel stellen sich in folgender Weise dar:

a. Intransitive Verba werden transitiv. Vgl. Grimm, Bd. IV., 51. Hiher gehören eine Masse von Compositen von Verben. Die einfachen Verba sind intransitiv, die zusammengesetzten

transitiv. Beispiele, schdraedê, âschraedâ: lüægê, âlüægê; haerichê, vrhaerichê;

β. Transitive Verba werden intransitiv:

1. âziê { trans.—abziehen (Kleider, etc.).
 { intrans.—weggehen.
2. âschiebê = dasselbe.
3. grōdê { trans.—vermissen.
 { intrans.—fehlen.

Im allgemeinen gelten für die Mundart dieselben Regeln in Bezug auf die transitiven und intransitiven Verba wie im Nhd. Der alte Unterschied, wonach transitive und intransitive Verba von demselben Stamm dadurch gekennzeichnet sind, dass letztere gewöhnlich stark, erstere gewöhnlich schwach sind mit ungelautetem Stammvokal ist freilich nicht mehr rein erhalten in unserm Dialect, vielleicht aber noch ein wenig mehr als im Nhd. z. B. : hangê—hängê—dorrê—dōrrê = intrans.—trans.

5. Reflexive Verba. Vgl Grimm IV., 33 ff.

(a) Im Neuhochdeutschen hat der Gebrauch des Reflexives sehr abgenommen im Vergleich mit dem Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen. Der Dativ steht z. B. noch überall im Althochdeutschen bei forhtan. Der Genetiv und Dativ kommen im Nhd. gar nicht mehr oder doch nur sehr selten vor; bei fürchten steht jetzt auch der Accusativ, z. B. ich fürchte mich, du fürchtest dich, etc. Im Dialect ist dies anders. Der alte Dativ ist erhalten. z. B. ī firchd mr; du firchscht dr, etc.

(b) Intransitive Reflexiva sind in der Mundart häufig; z. B. er vrschrikd se = er erschrickt; er hoesst se = er nennt sich.

Merkwürdig ist auch noch ein anderer Zug der Rieser Mundart, den er mit der Volkssprache gemein hat. Sie pflegt nämlich gerne das Reflexiv auf die erste und zweite Person des plur. zu erstrecken, d. h. für uns und euch zu brauchen; z. B. ôs bedankê se = wir bedanken uns; ôs hond se gfrêd = wir haben uns gefreut; ui hond se gwondrd = ihr habt euch gewundert.

(c) Transitive Verba, die im Nhd. nur reflexiv vorkommen, wie: sich verreden, sich vernarren, sich tummeln, etc., können

in der Mundart auch intransitiv gebraucht werden, z. B. *er vrnarrd* = er wird ein Narr; *er vrred* = er schwätzt aus der Schule; vgl. Nhd. verbauern.

(d) *Folgende Verba*, die im Nhd. in demselben Wortlaut nicht reflexiv vorkommen, werden in der Mundart reflexiv gebraucht: *se ādoō* = sich abthun, d. h. es hat die Bedeutung von: sich entkleiden; *se ādoō* = sich anthun d. h. sich ankleiden; *se aofdoō* = prahlen; *se dreō* = tanzen; *se doō* = angehen, erlauben, etc.

(e) Während im Nhd. die Abschwächung des Reflexives zu passiver Bedeutung gar nicht selten ist, wird dieselbe in der Mundart fast gar nicht gebraucht. Sätze wie: hier tanzt es sich leicht, vgl. Paul, Principien p. 234, also Sätze, in denen jede active Wirkung des Subjects ausgeschlossen ist (wie bei: sich befinden, finden, etc.) ist der Mundart fremd. Doch gibt es Ausnahmen, z. B. *des losd se hearō*, *des vrschod se*, *des frogd se*, etc.

(f) Was die verba impersonalia betrifft, d. h. also die Zeitwörter, denen das Subject etwas unbekanntes ist, etwas, was nur aus der Wirkung erkennbar ist, und das man mit unbestimmtem *es* bezeichnet, so ist nichts zu erwähnen, was vom Nhd. abweicht. Der einzige kaum nennenswerte Unterschied ist der, dass häufig ein vom Nhd. verschiedenes Verbum gebraucht wird, z. B. anstatt: es gibt auch solche Leute, würde der Rieser sagen: *es hod o sode laed*; anstatt: wir bekommen bald Schnee, *es gid bal schnea*, etc.

(g) Was die Abweichungen des Dialectes in der Conjugation betrifft, so erwähne ich nur, dass das Präteritum (Imperfect) so gut wie nicht gebraucht wird. Ebenso wird auch das Participium praesentis vermieden, was man überhaupt in der Volkssprache selten hört. Der Coniunctiv wird nur in seltenen Fällen gebraucht und wenn, dann fast immer nur mit Hilfe des Verbuns *thun*; z. B. *des dāde doō* = das würde ich thun; *des brīchd r ned doō* = das würde er nicht zu thun brauchen.

Und nun noch einige Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch des Infinitives. Während wir im Nhd. nach den Verben hören und

sehen, den Infinitiv activi zugleich passivisch gebrauchen (vgl. darüber Grimm IV. 61 ff.), z. B. ich höre erzählen (audio narrari) oder ich kann kein Tier schlachten sehen—ungeht die Mundart diese Ausdrucksweise. Der Rieser würde sagen: *i kan ned seḍ wiḍ mā ā dier schlachd.*

Zuweilen wird der doppelte Infinitiv gebraucht, aber auch dann nur in einer von der Schriftsprache abweichenden Form. Anstatt: ich habe ihn singen hören—sagt der Rieser: *i habn hearē sengḍ.*

B.

Ich gehe nun über zu den Hilfsverben oder verba abstracta. Sie enthalten das Prädicat. In der Mundart werden dieselben verwendet wie folgt:

1. Die Verba *sē* (= sein) und *habē* (= haben):

(a) *Saḍ* dient als copula zur Verbindung eines Subjects mit einem Prädicatsnomen; in einzelnen Fällen, wo das Prädicat durch ein Adverb oder einen ganzen Satz ausgedrückt oder ganz ausgelassen ist, kommt so die Copula zu der Bedeutung vor-kommen, scheinen z. B.: *es isch mr doch so gwesd* = es kam mir doch so vor; oder: *es isch mr i dädn seḍ*; *es isch mr i sod gangḍ*, etc.

(b) Das Verbum *sē* dient ferner zur Umschreibung des Participium perfecti (pret.) da der Mundart das Imperfect, wie schon erwähnt, verloren gegangen ist. Im Rieser Dialect sagt man nie: er giug, sondern: *er isch gangḍ*.

(c) Mit Hilfe von *sē* bilden ihr Participium perfecti alle diejenigen intransitiva, welche das Übergehen in eine neue Existenz oder in einen Zustand bezeichnen, z. B. *er isch kniḍgld* = er hat gekniet. Die Mundart gebraucht oft Doppel-formen und sagt sowohl *er isch aos dr ard gschlagḍ*, als auch *er hod aos dr ard gschlagḍ*, welch letztere Wendung im Neu-hochdeutschen nicht statthaft ist.

(d) Das Hilfszeitwort *saē* wird ferner gebraucht bei Intransi-tiven, die eine Ortsveränderung bezeichnen, z. B. *es isch mr guḍd gangḍ*; häufiger *es hod mr guḍd gangḍ*, was natürlich nicht

statthaft ist in der Schriftsprache. Letztgenanntes Beispiel finden wir häufig in der Volkssprache.

Verba mit doppeltem Gebrauch von *isch* und *hod* und vom Nhd. abweichend sind folgende: *fuwslā* = schnell gehen, *burdzlā*, *dramblā*, *schdolziarā*, *krablā*, *lofā*, *bakā*, etc.

(e) Von den intransitiven, die teils mit *sein*, teils mit *haben* abgewandelt werden, sehe ich hier ab, da ich dieselben schon teilweise berührte. Sätze wie: *er hod galderd* oder: *isch galderd* (fliehen, begegnen, folgen, glücken, etc., gestatten alle doppelten Gebrauch von *isch* und *hod*) kommen in der Mundart häufig vor und zeigen keine Abweichungen von der Schriftsprache.

(f) Im Nhd. können manche Intransitiva in eigentümlicher Weise zu Reflexiven werden, indem die Wirkung, der Erfolg der Thätigkeit ausgegeben wird. Dann gilt natürlich nur *haben* als Hilfszeitwort, z. B., Ich bin gegangen—ich habe mich warm gegangen. In dieser Beziehung stimmt der Dialect mit dem Nhd. überein. *Habā* wird jedoch in der Mundart häufiger als in der Schriftsprache als Vollverbum gebraucht, z. B., *iāds hodsn* = das Schicksal hat ihn erreicht; *iāds homrs* = nun sind wir fertig; oder: *mid deām habes* = mit dem habe ich etwas auszustehen.

Als Hilfszeitwort wird es fast überall auch da gebraucht, wo wir es in der Schriftsprache finden. *Habā* als Hilfszeitwort in Verbindung mit Infinitiv von gewissen Verben ist im Dialect sehr ungewöhnlich. Auf diesen Infinitiv habe ich schon in den vorhergehenden Paragraphen hingewiesen. Der Rieser zieht die Umschreibung gewöhnlich vor. Anstatt ich habe ihn singen hören, sagt er lieber: *i ha kheard wiā nr gsongā hod*. Vgl. Grimm, IV. 168.

In der Schriftsprache wird in Nebensätzen das Hilfszeitwort *haben* oder *seid* hinter dem Participium häufig unterdrückt. In der Mundart geschieht das nie, z. B. es, wurde mir mitgeteilt, dass er dort gewesen—oder: dass er Streit gehabt. Der Rieser muss das Hilfsverbum in solchen Fällen gebrauchen, wenn er von seines gleichen richtig verstanden werden will. Er würde

darum sagen: *es isch mr gsakd woarẽ, dass r dannẽ gwesd isch*, etc.

2. *megẽ* = mögen, kommt vor als Vollverb und zwar:

(a) Wenn es soviel heisst als lieb haben, z. B., *mägschd me* = hast du mich lieb?

(b) Wenn es soviel ist als vermögen oder können oder auch verlangen, z. B. *dear mäg vil* = er verlangt viel.

(c) Schliesslich ist es wie im Neuhochdeutschen auch als Hilfszeitwort sehr gebräuchlich und hat stets die Bedeutung: etwas gerne thun.

3. *Sollẽ* wird als Vollverbum gebraucht in Sätzen wie z. B. *des sode* = dass muss ich thun. Als Hilfszeitwort ist es ganz dem Neuhochdeutschen entsprechend.

4. *Defẽ* = dürfen. Als Vollverbum wird es gebraucht hauptsächlich in Compositis, z. B.: *er hod ned nãdefd* = er hat keinen Besuch machen dürfen. Als Hilfszeitwort entspricht es dem Nhd.

5. *Wearẽ* = werden; p. p. *woarẽ* = worden (geworden) wird gebraucht als Vollverbum; z. B. *dr bom isch ned woarẽ* = der Baum ist nicht gediehen, nicht gewachsen; *aos deẽm isch nix woarẽ* = aus dem ist nichts geworden.

6. *Wellẽ* = wollen; häufig gebraucht als Vollverbum mit der Bedeutung verlangen, wünschen, fordern; z. B. *õs wend* (= wollen) *des ned*. Als Hilfszeitwort entspricht es dem Nhd.

7. *Miãssẽ* = müssen, entspricht gewöhnlich dem Nhd. Anstatt des Nhd. "sollen" wird es gebraucht, wenn von dem Willen des Schicksals geredet wird; z. B. *des hod ned saẽ miãssẽ*. Auch bei einem Versprechen wird *miãssẽ* gebraucht: z. B. *jõ, jõ, khendle dẽs muãsch habẽ* = ja, ja, liebes Kindlein, das sollst du haben.

8. *Doẽ* = thun, dient häufig dazu dem Verbalbegriff einen besondern Nachdruck zu geben; z. B. *was draebisch Michl; arbãdẽ doãne* = was thust (treibst) du, Michel; ich arbeite; *dear doãd koẽ blad firs maol nemmẽ* = er hat Mut genug, ihm die Wahrheit zu sagen.

Häufig wird es im Coniunctiv an Stelle von würde gebraucht ; z. B. *des dāde doō* = das würde ich thun.

Zum Schluss erwähne ich noch eine Anzahl von Zeitwörtern, die im Nhd. selten oder gar nicht vorkommen, während sie in der Mundart zahlreich sind, z. B. *waebrō*; *fuōslō*; *haestō*; *kizlō* = Junge werfen; *romdroglō* = langsam sein; *nudlō* = herumkneten; *hoesō* = schimpfen; *leschdrō* = zanken, schelten.

II.

DAS SUBSTANTIVUM.

Die syntactischen Verhältnisse des Substantives sind in der Mundart fast die gleichen wie in der Schriftsprache. Die Ausführung dürfte deshalb weniger interessant erscheinen, wenn wir blos das Ganze betrachten. Ich werde gelegentlich auf Einzelheiten kommen, die vom Nhd. abweichen.

(a) Unabhängige oder absolute Substantiva werden Verhältnisbestimmungen.

Wenn der Rieser von *buō*, *medle*, *mā*, *waeβ*, *frō*, etc. spricht, so meint er damit seinen Sohn, Tochter, Gatte, Gattin. Wenn es also heisst: *maō buō isch ned drhoem*, so will damit gesagt sein: mein Sohn ist nicht zu Haus. Andere Beispiele sind: *maē medle isch furd* = meine Tochter ist ausgegangen; *dr mā isch of n* (acc.) *mārkd* = der (mein) Gatte ist auf den Markt gegangen; *ds waeβ oder: d frō isch ibr feld* = die Gattin oder Frau ist nach einem benachbarten Dorf gegangen, um Freunde zu besuchen.

Das sind ja nun freilich Übergänge, die sich teilweise auch in der Schriftsprache finden.

(b) Verhältnisbestimmungen werden absolut oder unabhängig. Spricht der Rieser Bauer von einem *miōdrle* (= Mütterchen), so meint er damit eine alte Frau; erzählt er uns: *baem moerbaor honds an prenzō kriōgd*, so will das heissen: Der Familie Meierbauer wurde ein Sohn geboren; spricht er von einem *sō*, so meint er damit einen Jüngling, spricht er von einer *dochdr*, dann meint er ein erwachsenes Mädchen; *waeβ* = tüchtige Frau, etc.

Eine Ergänzung der Substantiva findet statt wie im Neu-hochdeutschen :

1. Durch Adjectiva : (a) als Attribut ; (b) als Prädicat ; (c) als prädicatives Attribut. Vgl. dazu Erdmann, § 52. Was das letztere (c) betrifft, so ist zu bemerken, dass das prädicative Adjectiv mit dem Substantiv häufig nicht durch die Copula *sae* verbunden wird, sondern durch ein Verbum der Bewegung oder auch der Ruhe an einem Ort, z. B. *dr kirchhof schwemd vol wassr*; *dr khes lofd vol mādō*; *d bem hangəd vol birō*; *dr märkd schdod vol laed*; die Thätigkeit, die im Verbum ausgedrückt ist, kommt eigentlich nicht dem Subject zu, sondern dem von vol abhängigen Substantiv.

Wir haben auch im Nhd. Wendungen wie: Die Bank sitzt voller Menschen, oder: Ihm hängt der Himmel voller Bassgeigen; Der Eimer läuft voll Wasser; viel freier ist jedoch die Anwendung solcher Verbindungen mit vol im Dialect und besonders im Mhd.; vgl. z. B. Erec. 2038: das hūs sas edeler frouwen voll, auch gieng der wald wildes voll, etc. Noch bei Hans Sachs finden wir: den wald sach er springen voll der wilden tiere, all specerey voll würme loffen. Vgl. dazu: Paul, *Principien*, p. 129 ff.

Eine Ergänzung der Substantiva kann auch stattfinden

2. Durch Casus von Substantiven. Wenn der von einem Hauptwort abhängige Genetiv vor dasselbe tritt, so büsst dies bekanntlich den bestimmten Artikel ein. Dass dieser sogenannte sächsische Genetiv in der Rieser Mundart soviel als möglich vermieden wird, bedarf kaum der Erwähnung. Man hört wohl hie und da: *s'millers haos*, *burgōmoestr's hof*, *m'miller sē haos*, etc. Ein Satz wie der folgende: mein Freund, dessen ältester Sohn bei mir ist, etc., ist dem Rieser viel zu *hoach-daetsch*, wie er sich ausdrücken würde. Er sagt lieber: *mē frēd, vō deəm dr eldschd sō do isch*, etc.

Gegen die Regeln des Dativs und Accusativs verstösst der Rieser nicht und unterscheidet sich dadurch von seinen Grenz-nachbarn, den Franken, die diese Casus häufig miteinander verwechseln.

3. Eine Ergänzung der Substantiva durch Adverbien ist in der Mundart viel häufiger als in der Schriftsprache, besonders dienen dazu die Adverbien des Orts: z. B. *dear mǎ do, dr ræch baor nebædrǎ; dear haofǎ do dannǎ*.

Natürlich sind Substantiva auch durch andre Adverbien ergänzungsfähig, z. B. *so ā lomb; gar an ōfuog*, etc.

Häufig nimmt das Adverb adjectivische Form an, wenn es ein Substantiv ergänzt; z. B. *bae zuənəm fǎ schdr* (= das Fenster, das zu ist, geschlossen ist; *ā hē nēǎ gās* = eine Gans, die hin ist, d. h. tot. Die Schriftsprache verhält sich natürlich ablehnend zu solchen Neubildungen.

4. Ein Substantiv kann als Ergänzung zu einem andern Substantiv hinzutreten. Vgl. Erdmann, § 198 ff.

(a) Als Apposition.

(b) Als Prädicat.

Für letzteres Beispiele anzuführen halte ich für überflüssig, da sich die Mundart hier nicht im geringsten von der Schriftsprache unterscheidet. Die Apposition ist im Dialect nicht so häufig wie in der Schriftsprache; z. B. *maē michl, maē buǎ; maē derfle, maē hoemǎd*, etc. Gewöhnlich verwendet die Mundart die Form eines abhängigen Satzes, also gewissermassen die Form eines Prädicats. Nur in der Verwendung des Sprichwortes, das man häufig aus dem Munde älterer Bauern hört, ist die Apposition mehr im Gebrauch, z. B. *kloene khendr, kloenǎ plög; groase khendr, groasǎ plög*.

Was nun die Substantivierung betrifft, so kann zunächst jedes Adjectivum auch substantivisch gebraucht werden wie im Nhd., teils indem die Eigenschaft selbst als gegenständlich dargestellt wird, z. B. *guod, beas*, etc., teils indem ein Träger derselben nach ihr benannt wird; z. B. *ā guodr, dr groas, dr scheǎ*; vgl. Erdmann, § 9.

Substantivierter Infinitiv ist ganz allgemein; z. B. *des essǎ doeled ondr ui* = diese Mahlzeit (Essen) teilt unter euch. Interessant ist es, dass häufig auch ein Infinitiv sammt einer dabeistehenden Ergänzung substantiviert wird; z. B. *ds romgugǎ*

onds kirwelofō homr gmuөг; oder: ds nuijōr āwenschō ond lefl lofō wurd awl ergr, etc.

Nach einer beschränkten Anzahl von Verben, wie *scē, habō*, etc., finden wir einen von der Präposition abhängigen Infinitiv mit dem bestimmten Artikel, einem nhd. Infinitiv mit zu entsprechend; z. B. *des isch zom an dward naofkrablō; es isch zom graenō; zom biөгädlachō*, etc.

Auch der Genetiv von Infinitiven wird manchesmal gebraucht; z. B. *des deānōs isch r bald ibr woarō* = des Dienens ist er bald überdrüssig geworden; *des graenes ben e sād*, etc. Die soeben genannten Formen werden noch deutlich als Infinitiv erkannt. Schwierigkeiten bieten folgende Beispiele, die gar nicht selten sind, *ōs deānd vrschdekerles; diā hond fangrles dō*, etc.

Die Substantivierung dieser ursprünglichen Verba dürfte vielleicht so zu erklären sein, dass die Verba auf ähnliche Weise wie das Wort Spielerei von dem Infinitiv spielen gebildet wurden. In obengenannten Fällen wurde das Suffix *ei* weggelassen, und nach schwäbischem Sprachgebrauch zu Diminutiven umgeändert, indem das Suffix *le* angehängt wurde.

Eine Anzahl von *Verbalformen* werden substantiviert, resp. ganze Sätze, besonders Anrufesätze; z. B. *schwaeg mr mit daem helfdrgod; dr kanixl* (= Nichtskönnner); *dr schualblaebr; ā neddrädenkr*, etc.

Adverbia werden substantiviert, z. B., *en dr feardne* = in der früheren (fern zurück) Zeit, oder: *des eweng fraele sag mr neme; des dribō god me nix ā*, etc.

Conjunctionen werden substantiviert, besonders: wenn, aber. Zahlwörter werden als Substantiva gebraucht; von eins und zwei wird sogar der plur. gebraucht, was nach Erdmann, § 12, in der Schriftsprache nicht statthaft ist; z. B. *d simnr sind nea of dr rechdō daz* = die sieben sind nicht auf der rechten Stelle.

Personal pronomina werden substantiviert, z. B., *do hosch ā dipfōle ofs ī; er hod mr sdu ābodō*.

Interjectionen werden substantiviert, z. B., *en oem hui; ibr deān isch ā weō komō*, etc.

III.

DAS ADJECTIV.

Die Rieser Mundart hat mit dem Neuhochdeutschen zur Bezeichnung des höheren Grades unter zweien den Comparativ, des höchsten unter mehreren den Superlativ gemeinsam. In der Anwendung zeigt der Dialect kleine Unterschiede.

Ich unterscheide hier wie beim Substantiv *ergänzungsbedürftige und absolute oder unabhängige Adjectiva*. Vgl. Binz, § 16 ff.

1. Ergänzungsbedürftig sind: Comparative und Superlative von Adjectiven.

Beim Vergleich von nur zweierlei genügt im Neuhochdeutschen für den höheren Grad der Comparativ, doch findet sich dafür zuweilen der Superlativ. Der Dialect zieht den Superlativ vor, z. B., *ōs welō seō wear dr schderkschd isch von ōs zwuā*. Genauer wäre natürlich: der stärkere.

Statt *als* nach einem Comparativ wird in der Mundart häufig *denn* gebraucht oder auch der in der Schriftsprache nicht sehr seltene Pleonasmus: *als wiō*, z. B., *ī ben greasr denn du*; oder: *ds vooreng jōr hod nr meānr schādō dō als wiō ds huiireng*.

Eine Anzahl von Adjectiven wird ergänzungsbedürftig; z. B. *ursässō*, *begiōreng*. (In Sätzen, z. B., *dear isch vrsässō of des mädle*.)

2. Nicht ergänzungsbedürftig sind:

(a) *Negative Ausdrücke* wie: *ōneadeng*, *ōseneng* (ausnahmsweise findet man, dass negative Ausdrücke ergänzungsbedürftig sind).

(b) *Stoffbezeichnungen*: *aese*, *glesre*, *schdoene*, *hilze*, etc.

(c) *Formbezeichnungen*: *ekōd*, *glād*, etc.

Übergänge von einer Klasse zur andern sind im Dialect nicht selten. (a) *Abhängige Adjectiva können unabhängig werden*.

1. In einigen Fällen wird der Superlativ absolut gebraucht, um einen sehr hohen Grad zu bezeichnen. *I hā d'lengdschd zaed of 'n gward*; oder: *ōs hond d'wengschd hofneng khed*. Häufig wird natürlich das Adjectiv substantiviert und dann bedeutet *dr liōbschd*, *die liōbschd* so viel als—der Geliebte, die Geliebte.

2. Die absolute Verwendung des Comparativs im Sinne von *ziemlich* ist in der Rieser Mundart selten. Das angrenzende Franken in der Richtung nach Ansbach (N. W.) zeigt vereinzelte Fälle von *ziemlich*. Der Rieser sagt anstatt: er ist schon *ziemlich* alt; *er isch scho wackr äld*; und meint damit: er ist schon ein älterer Mensch.

(b) Unabhängige Adjectiva werden abhängige. Hieher gehört die Comparison. Es sind jedoch nicht alle Adjectiva steigerungsfähig. Das Gebiet, welches die Comparison umfasst, ist in der Mundart grösser als in der Schriftsprache. Und doch unterlässt die Mundart vielfach die geschraubte Steigerungsweise im Gegensatz zu unsern modernen Schriftstellern, die in der Bildung von Superlativen häufig übertreiben. Von Sätzen wie: Der ich selbst einer der ewigsten Menschen bin;—und: Wir werden das nicht thun, unso weniger als wir in der nächsten Zeit die gebotenste Gelegenheit haben werden—weiss die Einfachheit des Dialectes nichts.

Auch die im Neuhochdeutschen nicht ungewöhnliche, aber durchaus nicht nachahmenswerte doppelte Steigerung ist unserer Mundart fremd; z. B. es wäre allerliebste—doch nein es wäre noch allerliebster, wenn ihr Freund vorher zu uns käme. Vgl. Sanders unter Steigerung. Der Rieser Bauer würde anstatt dessen sagen: *es wär mr rechd arg lieb, wan*, etc. Das könnte als doppelte Steigerung natürlich nicht gelten, würde aber an Nachdruck und kerniger Sprache nichts zu wünschen übrig lassen.

Nicht gesteigert werden im Rieser Dialect gewöhnlich solche Adjectiva:

(a) die eine Verneinung oder eine Möglichkeit bezeichnen: *ōneade*; *ōmegle*.

(b) Farbeigenschaftswörter wie *blō*, *grō*, *gēlab* werden gewöhnlich nicht gesteigert. Zu den Farbeigenschaftswörtern treten als Bestimmungswörter gewöhnlich Adverbien. Doch scheut sich die Mundart nicht, auch von dieser Gruppe von Adjectiven eine Steigerung vorzunehmen, wenn sie nicht ihre strengsinnliche Bedeutung haben; z. B. *rondr*, d. h. mehr der Kreisform

sich nähernd. Um einen höheren Grad von Farbenbezeichnung anzuzeigen, sagt der Rieser viel lieber: *meənr blō*; *meənr grō*, Ausdrücke, die, wenn aus dem Zusammenhang herausgerissen, ebensogut als Quantitätsbestimmungen gelten könnten.

(c) Stoffbezeichnungen: *schdoene, aese, silbre*. Auch hier ist eine Comparation bei diesen Adjectiven möglich, sobald sie nicht mehr in der ganz ursprünglichen Bedeutung stehen; z. B. *diə schdross isch no vil schdoeneər als wiə die sellə* (schdoene heisst hier so viel als voll Steine, nicht steinern, nicht von Stein).

(d) Eine Anzahl von Adjectiven wie: *doad, ganz, hālōb, viərdl, dob*, etc., weisen keine Steigerung auf.

Genauere Regeln lassen sich in Bezug auf die Comparation für den Rieser Dialect nicht aufstellen. Von vielen Adjectiven und Adverben, die im eigentlichen Sinn durch ihren Begriff die Steigerung ausschliessen, ist sie doch in einem andern (uneigentlichen oder verallgemeinerten Sinn) statthaft. Das gilt im allgemeinen für die Mundarten sowohl als für die Schriftsprache. Siehe darüber Sanders, *Lehrbuch d. d. Sprache*, § 82.

Erwähnungswert dürfte vielleicht noch sein, dass die Rieser Mundart häufig nicht flectiert, wo es im Neuhochdeutschen notwendig ist. Am auffallendsten ist dies beim Superlativ; z. B. *dr greaschd apfl kheard mē*.

Ich gehe nun über zu den Einzelverwendungen des Adjectives. Die erste und älteste Verwendung des Adjectives ist die prädicative. Vgl. Grimm III, 117.

Im Nhd. stehen praedicative Adjectiva flexionslos. Das lässt auch der Rieser unverändert, z. B., *er isch kloē*. Anstatt: *er isch kloē*, hört man auch häufig: *er isch ā kloēnr*, in welchem Falle wir eine Substantivierung des Adjectives nach dem unbestimmten Artikel vor uns haben.

Adjectiva in unflectierter Form allein für sich ausgerufen geben eine Eigenschaft an, die prädicativ auf ein ungenanntes Subject bezogen werden soll. Beispiele aus der älteren Zeit kenne ich nicht; jetzt sind Ausrufe dieser Art allgemein möglich, in der Schriftsprache sowohl als in der Volkssprache, z. B., schön, herrlich, gesiegt, geschlagen. Unsere Mundart

weicht hier von der Schrift- und Volkssprache ab, indem sie fast nie Ausrufe dieser Art gebraucht. Nur in der Kindersprache hört man zuweilen Ausrufe: *gfangō*, *drofō*, *liob*, etc.

Viele Adjectiva sind ganz oder vorzugsweise auf die flexionslose Form und den prädicativen Gebrauch beschränkt. Ich unterscheide hier verschiedene Gruppen. Vgl. Erdmann, § 54.

(a) Frühere Substantiva: *hoel angschd*; *loed*. In Sätzen: *des isch m hoel*, d. h. das ist ihm gesund.

(b) Frühere Participia: *zuədō*, *droaschd*.

(c) Zusammengesetzte: *hädgmoē*, *aosfendeng*, *schbenafōēd*, *kerzablo*, etc.

(d) Einfache oder nicht ergänzungsbedürftige Adjectiva: *brōch*, *ir*, *quid*, *quer*.

Aus der prädicativen Verwendung des Adjectives ist die *attributive* hervorgegangen.

Im Neuhochdeutschen wird die attributive Verwendung des vorangestellten flexionslosen Adjectives wieder eingeschränkt. Der Rieser Dialect schliesst sich hier dem Neuhochdeutschen enger an als die meisten der süddeutschen Dialecte, die die flexionslose Form des vorangestellten Adjectives häufig verwenden. Nur beim Superlativ, wie schon oben erwähnt, unterlässt die Rieser Mundart häufiger die Flexion. Vgl. Schmeller, *Bayr. Mundarten*. Im poetischen Stil des Neuhochdeutschen bleibt die flexionslose Form vielfach erhalten.

In Sprichwörtern und gewöhnlichen Redensarten und Gedichten des Rieser Dialects ist die flexionslose Form stets statt- haft, z. B., *a kürz hör isch bald birschded*; oder *ds Schmirō machd lend haed bae biddl on a amdlaed*. (Vgl. Kähli.)

Nachgestellt muss das attributive Adjectiv jetzt im Neuhochdeutschen immer flexionslos bleiben. Im Ries hört man zuweilen auch flectierte Formen. Oft wird die Nachstellung des attributiven Adjectives vermieden. Anstatt: *Khendr kloē ond groas*, sagt der Bauer lieber: *groase ond kloē ne*.

Die Einzelverwendung des Adjectives als *prädicatives Attribut*, die namentlich stattfindet, wenn Vollverba nahezu wie Hilfsverba gebraucht werden, verdient hier keiner weiteren Beach-

tung mehr, da dieselbe schon unter der Ergänzung der Substantiva erwähnt worden ist.

So viel über die Einzelverwendung der Adjectiva.

Wenden wir uns nun zu den *Übergängen von andern Wortklassen zu Adjectiven*.

Was zunächst den Übergang vom Substantiv zum Adjectiv betrifft, so verweise ich auf Erdmann, § 46 ff. Im Rieser Dialect ergibt sich wie im Schriftdeutschen aus dem prädicativen Gebrauch von Substantiven leicht der Übergang zu adjectivischer Verwendung derartiger Substantiva. Vgl. *schuld, schad, earnschd, loed*. Ob die adjectivische oder die substantivische Geltung die ältere ist, wird wohl kaum mit Bestimmtheit anzugeben sein.

Eine adjectivische Auffassung im Nhd. ist besonders nahe liegend bei Wörtern, die eine Farbe bezeichnen; *lila, rosa*, etc. Im Dialect wird das vermieden. Man umschreibt das und sagt lieber: *ds gukd aos wiä d lila farb, roas, veigäle*, etc. Die Mundart sucht zweifelhafte Formen zu vermeiden und doch muss dieser Conservatismus das Substantiv in solchen Fällen nicht adjectivisieren zu wollen als eine Schwerfälligkeit und Umständlichkeit ausgelegt werden, die nur bei Rieser Bauern zu finden sein dürfte. Beispiele ähnlicher Art von andern Dialecten sind mir wenigstens nicht bekannt.

Häufiger treffen wir dagegen auch die in der Schriftsprache adjectivisch verwendeten, *freund, feind*, etc., z. B., *i ben m foēd; iāds wurds mr liēhd* (hell im Kopf.)

Nicht selten sind Ausdrücke wie: *wan er mā gmuōg gwesd wār*, was ohne Zweifel eine Annäherung an adjectivischen Gebrauch bezeichnet.

Übergang von Adverbien in Adjectiva entsteht dadurch, dass ein zu *sein* oder *werden* gesetztes Adverb als prädicatives Adjectivum aufgefasst und dann auch attributiv gebraucht und sogar mit Flexionsendung versehen wird. Statt die Gans ist hin (d. h. tot), sagt der Rieser häufig auch: *d' heneō gās*. Die Schriftsprache geht nicht soweit, hat aber doch auch neue Adjective gebildet aus adverbialen Dat. plur., z. B., fern (ahd. *ferran*); aus fernem Landen.

Als eine Art Adjectivierung dürfen wir es betrachten, wenn zu einem Substantiv, welches eine Menge- oder Ortsbezeichnung enthält, ein andres Substantiv, statt einem zu erwartenden Genetiv oder Accusativ, in demselben Casus als Ergänzung hinzutritt, indem die Quantitätsbezeichnung steht, so dass diese also adjectivisch erscheint, z. B., *an ãm doel cardr hods huir wãnꝝ obschd gēbō* = an einer Anzahl von Orten hat es dieses Jahr wenig Obst gegeben. Oder; *ōs hond no haofe gmueg hä of ôsrn bōdō dob* = wir haben noch genug Heu auf unserm Boden.

Die Adjectiva werden auf verschiedene Weise ergänzt :

1. (a) Durch den Dativ eines Substantives oder Pronomens, z. B., *desch mr lieb.*; *ãgwend*; *desch mr ôgwēnd*.

(b) Durch einen Accusativ, namentlich bei Massbestimmungen, *broed, diaf, ald, hoach*, etc. und bei einigen nur prädicativ gebrauchten Adjectiven: *sad, schuldeng, loas, sichr*. Das Nhd. gebraucht in manchen Fällen den Gen.; die Mundart vermeidet ihn; wir dürfen also in dem dialectischen Ausdruck, "*dēs ben e loas*" keine abgekürzte Form des Gen. sehen. Vgl. Schmeller und Weinhold.

2. Adjectiva werden auch im Dialect sehr häufig durch präpositionale Ausdrücke ergänzt. Auf den besondern Gebrauch der Präpositionen komme ich in dem dafür bestimmten Kapitel zu reden und erwähne darum nur einige Beispiele: *gluschde noch bier* = lüstern nach Bier; *er isch vernarrd in ebr* = verliebt in jemand.

3. Adjectiva werden ergänzt durch Adverbien wie *gär rechd*, etc. Die nähere Bestimmung eines Adjectives durch das Adverb anderschd dient als Ersatz der organischen Steigerungsform; z. B., *dear isch anderschd wiaschd*. Hieher gehört auch das an Stelle von *ziemlich* stehende *wackr*, das ich schon erwähnte.

Dass der Comparativ eines Adjectives durch ein ebenfalls im Comparativ stehendes Adverb ergänzt wird, kommt selten vor in der Mundart, z. B., *meanr ond meanr gods gmoenr ond lombōdr hear* = mehr und mehr geht es gemeiner und lumpiger her.

In Sätzen wie: *ã gar ã liabs mädle, ã gar ã liabr buo*, hat man wohl eine Doppelsetzung des unbestimmten Artikels vor sich. In Verbindung mit andern Adverbien kommt eine Doppelsetzung des unbestimmten Artikels nicht vor. Wenigstens sind mir keine Beispiele bekannt.

Das Adjectiv legt im Allgemeinen einem Nomen eine Ergänzung bei. Auch hier erlaubt sich der Dialect grössre Freiheit als die Schriftsprache. Man sagt: *ds fäderleng^f haos; und maem fadr sã haos*. Die Ergänzung des Substantives durch einen Casus mit oder ohne Präposition ist das häufigere.

IV.

DAS ADVERB.

Adverbia nennt man alle die Aussage bestimmenden Worte, die, obwohl von Nominal oder Prominalstämmen abgeleitet, nicht oder nicht mehr als Casus gelten. Vgl. Grimm III. 88 ff. Erdm. § 110 ff.

Adverbien, welche die Ruhe an einem Orte ausdrücken, sind gewöhnlich mit dem Verbum *sã* prädicativ verbunden; z. B., *do sã; denã, drobã, drondã*, etc.

Die Beziehung solcher Adverbia auf einen Accusativ übertragen findet sich im Dialect nicht häufig, besonders selten aber in Verbindung mit Verben wie *lossã, weissã*, etc. Sätze wie im Neuhochdeutschen: Ich lasse ihn dort, etc., verwendet auch der Rieser gerne.

Auch die *attributive Verbindung* eines localen Adverbs mit einem Substantiv, die schon im Althochdeutschen zu belegen ist und dessen Gebrauch im Nhd. sehr ausgedehnt ist, findet im Dialect Einschränkung. Das locale Adverb darf nicht nur hinter, sondern auch vor dem Substantiv stehen, z. B. *dõ dr mã*; und, *dr mã dõ*, eine Wendung, die auch in der Schriftsprache statthaft ist, aber vielleicht doch mehr oder weniger der Volkssprache angehört. Vgl. hierüber Erdmann § 111 ff.

Adverbien, welche die Richtung nach oder von einem Orte angeben, können in gleicher Weise mit *sã* verbunden werden,

indem die Bewegung als abgeschlossen gedacht wird, z. B. *dr wendr isch om; dr schneə isch furd; sen se scho dob̃?* etc.

Aber nicht nur zu dem Verbum *sẽ*, sondern auch zu andern Verben, welche an und für sich keine Bewegung ausdrücken, werden Adverbia in dieser Weise gesetzt. Es ist nicht nötig, eine Ellipse eines Verbuns der Bewegung anzunehmen. Vgl. Sanders. p. 345 ff.

Bei den Verben *def̃, well̃, keñ, soll̃, mies̃, meg̃, loss̃*, finden wir Adverbien in dieser Verbindung sehr oft. Natürlich sind solche Wendungen in der Schriftsprache weniger statthaft, z. B., *def̃ naof; kane mid; os well̃ gschwend guk̃*. Vgl. dazu Paul, *mhd Gr.*, § 322, 1889.

Bei den zusammengesetzten Ortsadverbien unterscheidet die Mundart gewöhnlich auch wie die Schriftsprache das thut, zwischen solchen, die eine Bewegung nach einem Orte, und solchen, die eine Bewegung von einem Orte her ausdrücken. Für beide Beziehungen dasselbe gesetzt wird bloß bei dem mir einzig bekannten Beispiel: *aos̃* für heraus und hinaus.

Ohne Verbum für sich allein ausgerufen werden solche Adverbia und Präpositionsverbindungen, namentlich in wünschendem oder befehlendem Sinne, z. B., *ned von dr daz; weg drmid, furd, hufzruck, firsche*, etc.

Dabei hängt dann oft ein obliquus Casus von diesen Adverbien ab, nach Analogie einer Verbalconstruction; ganz besonders häufig ist der Gebrauch mit der Präposition *mid*, der wahrscheinlich durch Analogie der Construction von *hõ, schlag̃, werf̃*, etc. veranlasst ist. Vgl. Erdmann § 116 *furd mid deãm glomb; naos mid m*, etc.

Die *qualitativ bestimmenden* Adverbia werden häufig in der Mundart mit *sẽ* verbunden; auch eine adnominative Verwendung derselben wie bei den localen Adverbien ist ausgebildet im Unterschied von der Schriftsprache, welche eine adnominative Verwendung von qualitativ bestimmenden Adverbien nicht gestattet. Vgl. Erdmann § 118. Im übrigen verweise ich auch auf den Abschnitt von der Ergänzung der Substantiva durch Adverbia. Vgl. *ds haos do danñ; zunes fẽ schdr*, etc.

Das hier gehörige Adverb *recht* verdient noch einige besondere Beachtung. Begegnet uns dies Wort im Dialect, so gilt es, besonders darauf zu achten, ob das vor einem flectierten attributiven Adjectivum stehende Wort ebenfalls *ein* (zu flectierendes) *attributives* Adjectiv oder ein (flexionsloses) Adverb ist, z. B., der Satz: *er fiörd ã rëchds schlechds lëbê* könnte auch dialectisch so ausgedrückt werden: *er fiörd ã rechd schlechds lëbê*. Im ersten Fall ist das Substantiv *Leben* durch zwei Adjectiva bestimmt, im zweiten Fall gehört zu dem Substantiv *Leben* nur das eine Adjectiv *schlecht*. *Rechd* einmal flectiert, das andre mal nicht, vertritt in beiden Fällen das Adverb *sehr* mit Superlativbedeutung. Der ganze Satz, in einfaches und unmisverständliches Deutsch umgesetzt, heisst: er führt ein sehr schlechtes Leben.

Adnominativ vorangestellt in der Rieser Mundart haben wir Sätze wie: *worum gosch mid so buobê*; *des isch nex fir so kerls* (d. h. Kerls, Buben, die so sind).

Was die Adverbia betrifft, die mit Adjectiven verbunden sind, kann dahin zusammengefasst werden, dass die meisten auch in der Mundart gebrauchten Ergänzungen von Adjectiven durch Adverbien mit dem Nhd. übereinstimmen.

Temporale Bestimmungen beim attributiven oder substantivierten Adjectiv sind modern und darum in der Mundart selten; z. B., Sätze wie: die einst so schöne Stadt—oder ähnliche—sind im Dialect unmöglich. Umschrieben würde der ebengenannte Satz lauten: *d'schdad, die ã mōl so scheã gwesd isch*.

Nachdem wir also die Adverbia, die zur localen, temporalen oder qualitativen Bestimmung dienen, ihrer Hauptsache nach betrachtet haben, wenden wir uns zur Entstehung derselben.

Die *Entstehung der Adverbia* ist eine *verschiedene*.

Die meisten Adverbien stammen aus Adjectiven und Substantiven ab, theils indem oblique Casus, für sich oder mit Zuziehung von Präpositionen, adverbial gebraucht werden, theils durch Ableitung und Zusammensetzung. Einige sind pronominellen Ursprungs, sehr wenige aus Verbis gebildet. Ausserdem kommen noch besondere Derivationen in Erwägung, die wir gelegentlich besprechen werden.

Ich behandle zunächst die casuellen Adverbien. Dieselben können ausgehen von Substantiven, Adjectiven und Pronomina der verschiedensten Casus.

1. (a) Genetiv von Substantiven: *āfangs, oēsdoels, haedengsdāgs, alsmols, rengs*, etc. Wir finden diese Adverbien zum Teil auch in der Volks- und Schriftsprache. Es dürfte schwer halten zu bestimmen, welche von diesen Adverbien mehr der Umgangssprache des Volks und welche mehr dem Rieser Dialect eigen sind.

(b) Dativ: *morgē, nachd* (natürlich finden wir auch Gen. *morgēds, nachds*).

(c) Instrumental: *hēd, heind* = heute.

(d) Accusativ: *hēm*; (Substantiv + Adjectiv: *albōd, amōl, alwael, hufzruck*).

(e) Präpositionale Ausdrücke: *zwōr, hendrriks, ondrwēgs*, etc.

2. (a) Genetiv von Adjectiven: *schdraks, bsonders, anderschd*; betreff dieses letzten Wortes bemerkt Grimm III. 92: gemeiner Volkssprache ist *andrst* für *anders*. Andre sind: *vergebēds*, etc.

(b) Accusativ: *gmuæg, geschderd*; *langs* ond *broeds*, was ich auf keinen Fall für einen Genetiv halte. Siehe darüber Grimm III. 101.

(c) In den alten Adverbien: *schier, bal, ofd, kaom*, etc., liegt unbekannter Casus vor. Das Adjectiv ist dem Adverb formell gleich.

Interessant dürfte das in unserem Dialect gebrauchte *halb* sein. Ich halte es unbedenklich für eine adverbiale Form. Im abgeschwächten Sinn bedeutet es fast, beinahe, z. B., *s wurd mr halbr schwuol*; *ōs honds halbr em sen khed*. Vielleicht haben wir an eine erstarrte Nominativform zu denken (*ōs sen halbr ferdeng*.)

Die nhd. Adverbien: *erstens* und *zweitens*, etc., sind dem Dialect fremd, statt dessen sagt der Rieser: *zom earschdē*, etc.

Adjectiva mit Präpositionen sind zahlreich. Vgl. *iberāl, dshenderschd, dsoberschd, nebē* etc.

Participial Adverbien, Vgl. Grimm I. 1020, wie durchgehends, schweigends, zusehends hört man im Ries nie.

3. Genetiv von Pronomina ist mir nur in einem Wort bekannt: *æschd* (mhd. eines; nhd. einst) was selten in der Umgangssprache der Rieser zu hören ist: häufiger findets sich in den Gedichten von Kähm, Wild, Jacob. (“*æst ond jatzt.*”)

Sehr wenige Adverbien oder adverbiale Wendungen stammen von Verben oder aus verstümmelten Sätzen, bei denen ein Verbum angewendet wird oder gedacht werden muss; z. B. *globe, denke, etc.*

Das adverbial gebrauchte *āfangē* hat man sich wohl auch aus einer Verbalform zu erklären. (Vgl. dazu Binz, § 37.) In Sätzen wie: *i hab, āfangē gnuog, er wurd āfangē gschaedr, ðs miæsed āfangē essē, er isch āfangē āld, etc.*, hat das Wort *āfangē* immer die Bedeutung allmählich, wenn etwas bereits beginnt. Zweifellos haben wir das *āfangē* als einen ursprünglichen Infinitiv aufzufassen, der nach einem modalen Hilfszeitwort stehend und selbst wieder durch einen blossen Infinitiv ergänzt, ganz leicht den Eindruck eines Adverbs machen konnte und so den Anlass gab zur weiteren Verwendung, auch in Fällen, wo kein Infinitiv möglish ist, z. B., *es wurd āfangē nachd* = es fängt an Naclit zu werden.

Ganze Sätze sind im Rieser Dialect als Adverbien nicht selten: *Sia send furd ibr hals ond kōpf glofē.*

Im Mhd. diente zur Verneinung eines Satzes die Partikel *ne* (*en, n*), welche stets unmittelbar vor dem Verbum steht. Diese Verwendung ist in der Mundart verschwunden, an ihre Stelle ist die ursprüngliche accusative Ergänzung *ned* getreten. Vgl. hierüber Paul Mhd. Gram., § 309.

Die Negationspartikel *ne* (Paul, 304) findet sich noch in den Zusammensetzungen *nið, niðne, neardə, nirgəd, etc.*

Die Negation kann verstärkt werden durch den Accusativ eines Substantives (Vgl. Grimm III, p. 728 ff.), welches etwas sehr unbedeutendes ausdrückt. Haben wir im Mhd. Ausdrücke wie: *niht ein blat, ein brôt, eine bōne, ein ei, ein strô* und dergleichen, so heisst das: gar nichts oder gar nicht.

In der nhd. Schriftsprache und auch in der feineren Umgangssprache sind diese Wendungen nicht statthaft. Im Dialect leben

sie fort. Man spricht in der Mundart von: *ned a boderle* = Perle, *boã* = Bohne, *oe*, *schdroa*, etc.

Es kommt häufig vor, dass der Rieser bei solchen Wörtern manchmal gar keine Negationspartikel gebraucht und doch wirken diese dann auch negierend, z. B., *du krisgsch ãn držk*; oder; *ãn pfif hod r dõ*; d. h. er hat nicht gearbeitet.

Im Nhd. können in ein und demselben Satze mehrere Negativ-Pronomina oder Adverbia neben einander stehen, ohne dass die Negationen sich gegenseitig aufheben. Hier stimmt die Mundart mit dem Mhd. überein und unterscheidet sich auf diese Weise sehr scharf von der nhd. Schriftsprache. Man vergleiche folgende Sätze. Im Rieser Dialect: *i hab no niã ned so ebãs sägã hearã*; im Mhd.: *ichn gehõrte nie solhes niht gesagen*; oder: *õs hod neãmã nix gsagd*; Mhd. *uns hãt daz nieman niht geseit*. Andre Beispiele: *I hã niã koen gsea*, sind massenhaft.

Der Mundart liegt es natürlich fern durch doppelte Negation einen affirmativen Sinn zu bezwecken. Das ist zu sehr eine Sache reiner Abstraction. Die Mundarten in ihrer Einfachheit sind aber bekanntlich zum Ausdruck von Abstractem nicht besonderes geeignet.

Es kommt natürlich vor, dass die negative Form in Ausrufesätzen gefunden wird, die gleichbedeutend sind mit affirmativen Aussagesätzen; z. B., *isch des ned ã luag*; d. h. das ist eine grosse Lüge. Die Negation hätte also füglich wegbleiben können.

Zu den Partikeln gehören auch die Pronominaladverbien. Vgl. Franer, *Nhd. Gram.*, p. 158.

Ich erwähne hier nur, dass statt der Negationspartikel *ned* auch das Pronomen *kõe* oppositiv gebraucht werden kann, d. h. sie kann nach einem Substantiv, das ohne Artikel als Subject oder Object fungiert, stehen, z. B., *heãr sen koõ dõ*; *milãch wurd bae õs ned* (oder = *koõ nã*) *urschid*.

V.

DIE PRÄPOSITION.

Die Präposition dient dazu, die Verhältnisbeziehung des einen Satztheils zum andern zu bezeichnen unter Mitwirkung des Prä-

dicats. Sie steht also nie allein, sondern stets mit einem von ihr regierten Casus. Ich unterscheide eigentliche und uneigentliche Präpositionen.

1. Die eigentlichen und ursprünglichen Präpositionen sind rein adverbiale inhaltlose Partikeln des Raumes und der Richtung, welche meist zugleich als Adverbia und als Präpositionen gebraucht werden. Es sind meist einfache Stammwörter, z. B., *ān, of* (aof), *aos, bae, duræch, fir* (fr), *en, mid, noch, om, foar, zuə, a, ob, saed*. Wenige haben eine Ableitungssilbe, z. B., *ibr, ondr, aosr, widr*. Zusammengesetzt sind: *binnen* (bi-innen), das in der Rieser Mundart nicht gehört wird.

2. Es werden auch viele Nennwörter, besonders Substantiva, Adjectiva, Participia, allein oder in Zusammensetzungen als Präpositionen verwendet, *i. e.*, Uneigentliche oder Nominalpräpositionen. Die älteren sind: *haləb, halbə, halbr, aosrhaləb, enrhaləb, obrhalb, andrhalb*, etc., *weg, gegə, engegə, nebə, zwischə, wärəd, nekschd*. Von diesen älteren Präpositionen sind die meisten im Rieser Dialect gebräuchlich. Nur solche wie *nebst* (die unorganische Erweiterung von neben) dann auch: *gemäss, zunächst, ungeachtet, unweit, unfern*, werden fast nie gehört. Ich werde darauf später zurückkommen.

Neuere Präpositionen wie: *zufolge, kraft, vermöge, laut, mittels, diesseit, jenseit*, etc., sind der Mundart sämtlich fremd. Anstatt *diesseit, jenseit*, sagt der Rieser: *of dearə saed, of dr andr saed*, etc.

Ich behandle zunächst die, welche mit verschiedenen Casus verbunden werden können.

(a) Nur mit dem Dativ werden verbunden: *aos, bae, mid, vo* (voə) *zuə, z, gegənibr, noch*, etc.

Hier habe ich nur die gebräuchlichen genannt. Andre im Nhd. sehr häufig vorkommende Präpositionen wie *trotz, laut*, etc., vermeidet der Rieser.

(b) Nur mit dem Accusativ: *durch, ð, om, fir*, etc.

(c) Mit Dativ und Accusativ: *an, en, of, foar, ibr, hendr, ondr, nebə, zwischə, gegə*, etc.

Im Vergleich mit der Schriftsprache weist der Dialect keine

Unregelmässigkeiten auf, gewiss eine für einen Dialect seltene Erscheinung. Man findet in den Gedichten der Rieser Mundart keine Präpositionen, die einen vom Neuhochdeutschen abweichenden Casus regierten. Auch aus der Umgangssprache sind mir nur wenige vom Neuhochdeutschen abweichende Beispiele bekannt. Scheinbar nämlich steht manchmal ein Nominativ oder Accusativ bei *anschdad*; z. B., *er hod maə broad gessə anschdad sãəs*; *do isch dr kloeschd dannə anschdad dr greaschd*. Wahrscheinlich liegt hier eine Constructions Mischung vor; aus *anschdad maəm*, und *ned sãəs*, oder *anschdad m greaschd*, und *ned dr greaschd*, so dass die zwei Objecte und Subjecte nicht von der Präposition abhängen, sondern direct dem ersten Object oder Subject gleich stehen.

In manchen Fällen bleibt auch im Nhd. die Entscheidung über den Casus und danach auch über die Auffassung von *statt* als Präposition oder als Conjunction fraglich; z. B., für die Praxis ergriff ich die Theorie, nahm Tinte für Blut, Pergament statt Brot. Das letzte Wort ist hier nicht der Genitiv, kann aber der von der Präposition *statt* abhängige Dativ sein (entsprechend den von der Präposition *für* abhängenden Accusativen), oder wie Pergament der Objects-Accusativ, angeknüpft durch das Bindewort *statt*. Vgl. Sanders, p. 259, unter: *statt*.

Diejenigen Präpositionen, welche zwei Casus bei sich haben können, nehmen im Allgemeinen den Dativ, wenn es sich um die Ruhe an einem Ort, oder die Entfernung von einem Ort handelt; den Accusativ, wenn der Zielpunkt einer Bewegung angegeben werden soll. Zur Erklärung der Beschränkung auf gewisse Casus. Vgl. Erdmann, § 123.

Im Rieser Dialect ist es möglich zwei, ja drei Präpositionen nebeneinander zu stellen, wo das Nhd. blos eine Präposition gestattet, z. B., *von wegənahm*; *für z'ibr nachd*; *ī hebə aof bis of Aogschbürg*.

Aber es kommt auch vor, dass der Rieser nur eine Präposition gebraucht, wo der Deutlichkeit wegen im Nhd. zwei stehen müssen, z. B., *i gang mid bis Hedlde* = Heroldingen; *bis nach* müsste es eigentlich heissen.

Manchesmal tritt hinter die Präpositionsverbindung ein gleichartiges Adverb, um die Art des präpositionalen Verhältnisses recht deutlich zu bezeichnen, z. B., *õs hond n durchs ganz haos durchkheard* (= gehört); oder, *diõ sen ins loch naẽ komõ*; (d. h., Sie sind in's Gefängnis gekommen).

In Sätzen wie in den folgenden haben wir natürlich keine Präpositionen, sondern Adverbien vor uns, z. B., *d' schtoeg na*; *dr wæg hendre*; *dõ rankõ nof*. Sie alle stehen zur näheren Bestimmung hinter dem Substantiv.

Interessant ist die Verbindung durch von in Beispielen wie: *des isch ã leml von m buwbõ*; *dẽ am galgẽnos von m Michl wille komõ*.

Den von Substantiven abhängenden Gen. umschreibt in der nhd. Sprache die Präposition *von* lange nicht so häufig als ihn der Dialect oder auch das französische *de*, oder das englische *of* vertreten hilft.

Es ist natürlich unrichtig, wenn die Mundart Sätze gebraucht wie: *dr fãdr von deãm khẽd*; *d' schpõtzt von deãm berg*; *d' heachne von deãm dũrẽ*, etc.

Einzelne Redensarten lassen dieses *von* auch in der gebildeten Rede zu, z. B., das Ende vom Liede; oder, der ganze Vorteil von der Sache ist, etc. Vgl. Grimm, II, 871.

VI.

DIE INTERJECTION.

Erdmann, § 129, unterscheidet zwischen primären und secundären Interjectionen. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gram.*, II, 2, p. 660 ff., unterscheidet zwischen eigentlichen und uneigentlichen Interjectionen.

Zu den *primären* oder eigentlichen Interjectionen rechne ich:

(a) *Hetz-, Scheuch-, Lockrufe*: *sch, bst, wischd* (= links), *hod* (= rechts), *hi, schlikschlik* = Lockruf für Enten; *zibzib* = Lockruf für Hühner; *gussalã* = Lockruf für Gänse; *oha, gsch, ksd*, etc., *suck* = Lockruf für Schweine.

(b) *Schallnachahmende*: *boms, badschdich, radsch*, etc. Hie-

her gehören auch onomatopoetische Interjectionen, welche Tierlaute nachahmen: *miau, waowao, mä, mu, kikeriki*, etc. Ausserdem ist noch eine ganze Reihe von Lauten vorhanden, für welche unsere Schrift keine Mittel hat, z. B., der Schnalzlaut, mit dem man Hunde lockt. Töne, die man beim Weinen, Lachen, Räuspern, beim Ausblasen eines Lichtes hören lässt, sind nicht als Interjectionen zu betrachten. Vgl. Wilmanns, II, 2, 658.

(c) *Reflexlaute*: *ō, ao, öle, üle* (= Schmerzensruf), *ae, bfui*, in Zusammensetzungen: *bfuidaeft, bfuischendrhamnəs*, etc.

Zu den *uneigentlichen Interjectionen* rechne ich:

(a) Partikeln und pronominale Wörter: *nosō, nojā, uidō, soebəs, wiəsə*, etc.

(b) *Adjectiva*: *loedr, hoel*.

(c) *Substantiva*. Besonders wird der Namen Gottes gedankentlich als Interjection gebraucht: *du liäbs Hergödle! hemlkraod-salod, kraezdaeflelement*, etc.

Schliesslich werden ganze Sätze als Interjectionen gebraucht. In den meisten Fällen liegen Ellipsen vor. Dahin gehört vor allem der *Imperativ*. Der *Infinitiv* wird im imperativen Sinn verwendet (vgl. dazu Grimm, IV, 86), um einen Befehl oder Bitte, Wunsch auszudrücken: *blaebō lossō; schandō lossō; gangō lossō*, etc. Diese Formen hat man sich auf alle Fälle aus, du sollst das bleiben lassen, etc., zu erklären, wenn man einen Befehl, Auftrag, darunter versteht. Ists Wunsch oder Bitte, so erklärt sich dieser Gebrauch ohne Zweifel aus einem Fragesatz: *wilsch habō ligō, blaebō zlossō?* etc. Das Participium praet. wird im imperativen Sinn verwendet: *aofgsässō, aofgschandō*, etc. Würde der Rieser solche Imperative wiederholen, um eines grösseren Nachdruckes willen, so würde er sagen: *aofgsässō wurd* (= *i. e.*, ich will haben, dass aufgesessen wird). Vgl. Grimm, IV, 175. Hieher gehört auch *gäll*, das auch in andern süddeutschen und schweizerischen Mundarten gefunden wird. Die plur. Form heisst in der Rieser Mundart *gälləs*. Die Form ist analog zu dem ebenso häufig gebrauchten: nicht wahr. Ich erkläre mir daher *gäll, gälləs* als Formen, die aus einem Fragesatz mit *gelten* abgeleitet sind. *Gäll* entspräche

also etwa einer im Gespräch häufig vorkommenden Frage: Gilt es dir (oder: Ihnen) nicht auch so? Ich würde also *gäll* als dritte Pers. Sing. Indic. auffassen, und nicht wie es gewöhnlich geschieht als zweite Pers. Sing. Ind. Vgl. Binz, § 7, p. 8.

VII.

DAS PRONOMEN.

1. *Das Personalpronomen.*

Nach ihrer syntactischen Stellung weichen die Pronomina, soweit sie überhaupt in der Mundart gebraucht werden, von der Schriftsprache nicht sehr ab.

In einer Reihe von Verbalformen wird das Pronomen gar nicht gebraucht. Das Pronomen kann fehlen in Beiordnung zu einem invertierten Satz: *gomr jās weg on komō ens wēdr, noch gods krōm*. Ferner bei einem Imperativ wie im Nhd.: *gang mr, du lomb, kom raē, gond naos* (= geht hinaus). In Redensarten wie: *dank dr schcā*, ist die erste Person Sing. überflüssig; in *gelds god* (= Gott vergelte es dir), ist die zweite Person weggelassen. Eine scheinbare Auslassung des Pronomens in der zweiten Person liegt vor in Sätzen mit Inversion: *worom graēsch, was hosch? des defsch* (= das darfst du) *ned doō*, etc. Hier liegt Assimilation vor und ist also weniger eine syntactische Erscheinung als vielmehr eine lautliche.

Interessant ist das Pronomen der Anrede. Vgl. dazu Grimm, IV, 300; Binz, § 83. Kinder, Freunde, Verwandte, etc., werden gewöhnlich mit *du* angeredet. Grosseltern redet der Rieser mit *ir* an. Steht er ganz fremden Personen gegenüber, Leuten aus der Stadt, Pfarrer, Lehrer, etc., so gebraucht er *Sie* mit dem Verbum im Plural. Niedrig gestellten Personen gegenüber gebraucht er häufig das Pronomen der dritten Person: *hod r* (= er) *d'arwōd dō?* = hat er die Arbeit gethan? In sehr bescheidener Sprache wird die directe Rede oft ganz vermieden, indem *mā* (= man) gebraucht wird: *Wil mā ned ā weng raē-komō?* (= will man nicht ein wenig hereinkommen?).

2. Das Possessivpronomen.

Die prädicative Verwendung desselben ist in der Schriftsprache selten geworden, so auch in der Mundart. Anstatt zu sagen: Das Pferd ist mein, würde er sagen: *dr gaol kheard maē* oder *mīr*. Was die substantivische Verwendung des Possessivpronomen betrifft, so ist zu betonen, dass die Mundart nie den Artikel davor setzt, z. B., *maē haos isch greasr als wiā daēs* (nie: das deinige).

Einem possessiven Dativ in der Mundart entspricht ein schriftdeutscher possessiver Genetiv, z. B., *em baor saē sō*; *m fadr sae schād̄l isch ābrend*. Vgl. Grimm, IV, 351.

In ähnlicher Weise wird das Pronomen *ir* (als dritte Person Sing. Fem. oder Neutr., oder Masc., oder Neutr. Plur.) gebraucht; *dr Greadl ir fadr*; *de laed ir hā*; *schulkhendr ir lerer* etc.

3. Das Reflexivpronomen.

Das Reflexivpronomen kann auch in Bezug auf eine erste oder zweite Person gesetzt werden, besonders nach Präpositionen. Vgl. Grimm, IV, 139. *Er isch hendersche* (= hinter sich) *nāgschlagō*; eine pleonastische Form ist *hendersche gefirsche* (= hinter sich für sich), die häufig in derselben Redensart vorkommt (*er isch hendersche-gefirsche nāgschlagō*).

Anstatt: er hat sich selbst geschadet, würde der Rieser sagen: *er hod se* (oder: *em*) *selbr gschad*. Doch ist diese emphatische Form nicht so häufig wie im Schriftdeutschen.

Häufig wird das reflexive Pronomen an Stelle des reciproken gebraucht; *ōs hond se guōld* (= geult: genarrt). Das eigentliche Reciprokum wechselt häufig mit dem Reflexiv in ein und demselben Satz: *ōs hond ānand* (= einander) *grofd and se gschombfō* = wir haben mit einander gerauft und einander (sich) geschimpft.

4. Das Demonstrativpronomen.

Anstatt des Schriftdeutschen *dieser* gebraucht der Rieser *dear*, fem. *diā*; neutr. *dēs*; plur. *diā*; statt jener *sellr* fem. *sellā*; neut. *sell*; plur. *selle*. In Wirklichkeit ist also das Pronomen

dieser verloren gegangen. *Sellr* entspricht in seiner Verwendung ganz dem Nhd. *jener*; wird es adjectivisch oder substantivisch gebraucht, so hat es gewöhnlich einen Artikel bei sich. In solchen Fällen wird es häufig lautlich mit dem nhd. *derselbe* vermischt und missverstanden; z. B., *dr sell* entspricht sowohl einem Nhd. *derselbe* als auch einem: *jener* (dort). Das correlative *solcher* wird in der Mundart durch *sodr*, fem. *sodə*, neutr. *sods*, ausgedrückt. Als eigentliches Demonstrativ ist es sehr selten und genau genommen auch im Nhd. unrichtig: *do sen ā haofə buəbə khommə ond ondr sode o bease*.

Derjenige als Antecedent eines Relatives wird in der Mundart nicht gebraucht.

Wie in der Volkssprache wird auch in der Rieser Mundart häufig das demonstrative *do* (= *da*) verwendet, auch wenn es sich gar nicht darum handelt, eine lokale Bestimmung wieder aufzunehmen: *mid deām do isch o ned vil loas; von dr bas do habe guəds kheard*, etc.

5. Das Relativpronomen.

Die relative Verbindung zweier Sätze geschieht in der Mundart gewöhnlich mittelst der Relativpartikel *wo*. Das hat der Rieser Dialect gemein mit der Volkssprache und andern süd-deutschen Dialecten; *buəbə, wo gschdolə hond, kriəgə brīgl; bem, wo ned wachsə wellə, hakə mr ōm*, etc.

In äusserst seltenen Fällen findet sich diese Partikel *wo* zur Bezeichnung des relativen Verhältnisses auch im Schriftdeutschen. Vgl. Schillers *Räuber*, 2, 3. 2.: „Das ist dir ein Corps Kerles, Bruder, deliciose Bursche, sag' ich dir, *wo* als einer dem andern die Knöpfe von den Hosen stiehlt," etc.

Um ein allgemeines relatives Verhältniss auszudrücken, werden die Pronomina *wear* and *was*, manchesmal auch *welə* (*welr*) gebraucht; z. B., *Wele des doə wellə, miəsəd se meldə* = diejenigen, welche das thun wollen, müssen sich melden, etc.

6. Das Interrogativpronomen.

Hier weicht die Mundart von der Schriftsprache nicht ab. Wenigstens sind mir keine Beispiele bekannt.

7. Zählende Pronomina.

(a) Was zunächst die eigentlichen Zahlwörter betrifft, so ist auch hier von einer syntactischen Abweichung der Schriftsprache kaum zu reden. Bei den Ordinalzahlen kommt die auch in andern schwäbischen und schweizerischen Dialecten merkwürdige Verbindung mit *selb* vor; *selbzwod*, *selbdrid*, *selbviard*, etc. Bekannt ist die Verbindung *selbandr*; z. B., *selbandr sends hæm*. In Redensarten wie: *er schembfd en oe loch nã*; oder: *er sauft en oe loch nã*, etc., entspricht das *oe* dem Nhd. ein und dasselbe. Ähnliche Beispiele sind: *desch mr oe's*; *oe deng*.

(b) Der indefinitive Gebrauch von *wer*, *was*, *welcher*, etc., wie wir ihn in Hauptsätzen finden, ist in der Rieser Mundart nicht vorhanden. Nur in den Compositis dieser Wörter mit *ete* (*wer*, *was*, etc.) ist er noch erhalten; z. B., *hodr ebø ebr ebø's dō?* = hat dir etwa jemand (etewër) etwas gethan? Das oft im Nhd. allein stehende *welcher*, wenn es nämlich in Beziehung auf ein vorangehendes Substantiv verwendet wird, lässt die Mundart oft ganz unwiederholt; zuweilen wird es durch *æ* ersetzt; z. B., *hosch ebfl? i hã* (oder, *i hab oe*) = hast du Äpfel? ich habe welche. Das unbestimmte Pronomen *es* wird nur in einigen Fällen abweichend vom Schriftdeutschen gebraucht; z. B., *i gang gearð nã*, *wos laed hod*, was man sich jedenfalls aus einer Contamination von *wo es Leute gibt* (hat) und *Leute sind*, zu erklären hat, ähnlich: *i hock me nã*, *wos blãz isch*. (Contamination aus: *ist und gibt*.)

Häufig wird *es* als unbestimmtes Object gebraucht: *es hodn romdribø*; *es zdoø habø*, etc. Vgl. Grimm, IV, 333 ff.

VIII.

Die Conjunction.

Conjunctionen und Partikeln, welche ganze Sätze mit Bezeichnung ihres Gedankenverhältnisses an einander knüpfen oder ineinander fügen. Ohne sie würde der Zusammenhang und die feinere Beziehung der Gedanken auf einander oft unbe-

stimmt und oft undeutlich bleiben. In der Schriftsprache finden wir eine grosse Menge. In der Volkssprache und in der Mundart ist die Zahl eine bedeutend beschränktere. Nach ihrer Einwirkung auf die Bildungsweise und Wortfolge der Sätze, sind die Conjunctionen theils beordnende Bindewörter, theils unterordnende Fügewörter. Ich behandle zuerst:

I. *Die beordnenden Conjunctionen.*—Das Bindewort *ond* hat in der Mundart dieselbe Function wie in der Schriftsprache. Die Mundart wendet es noch häufiger an. Von *kopulativen Conjunctionen* werden im Rieser Dialect die folgenden selten oder gar nicht gebraucht: sowohl, als auch; nicht nur, sondern auch; weder, noch. Statt dessen gebraucht der Rieser gewöhnlich *ond* und *ned*.

Von den *continuativen Bindewörtern*, dann, ferner, endlich, erstens, zweitens, etc., macht die Mundart ebenfalls keinen Gebrauch; einem nhd. dann, hernach, entspricht gewöhnlich *nochd*, *nochr*; statt *endlich* sagt der Rieser *schliesle*; statt erstens, *zöm earschdō*, etc.

Auch partitive Bindewörter, solche wie: einerseits, andererseits; theils, theils, werden selten oder gar nicht gehört. Einem *teils*, *teils* entspricht mundartliches: *doels ond nochr widr*; z. B., *doels hods mr gfallō—ond nochrwidr ned*.

Das Verhältnis der Entgegensetzung wird gewöhnlich durch *ābr*, *alloē*, *doch* ausgedrückt. Andre Adversativa wie: dennoch, gleichwohl, vielmehr, etc., sind der Mundart fremd. Auch das disjunctive entweder-oder wird kaum einmal gehört. Häufig ist das disjunctive *odr*. Bei Orts- und Zeitverhältnissen, ebenso bei Qualitäts-, Quantitäts- und Intensitäts-Verhältnissen sind mir keine syntactischen Unebenheiten bekannt. Auch der Gebrauch der causalen und modalen Bindewörter weist keine Unregelmässigkeiten auf; nur ist natürlich der Gebrauch dieser Conjunctionen im Vergleich mit der Schriftsprache ein bedeutend beschränkterer. Von einer Aufzählung sehe ich ab.

II. *Unterordnende Conjunctionen oder Fügewörter.*—Die in der Mundart am meisten vorkommende Conjunction, durch welche ein Satz als unselbständiger Redesatz einem andern

untergeordnet wird, ist *dass*. Beispiele anzuführen ist überflüssig.

Besonders beliebt ist die andere Vergleichungspartikel *wis*. Einem nhd. *wenn* entspricht dialectisch *wann*, *wo*. Letzteres entspricht wiederum einem nhd. *als*, *da*. Beispiele: *wann* (= nhd. *wenn*) *e ferde wär, geänge mid*; *wis käsch des doē, wo* (= *wenn*) *doch woesch dass ã send isch? wõnr ägfangē hod zredē, isch r glae beas woarē* = *als er zu reden anfang, wurde er böse*, etc.

Im übrigen gilt von den unterordnenden Conjunctionen dasselbe, was ich bei den beordnenden Bindewörtern hervorhob. Der Gebrauch derselben ist in der Mundart ein bedeutend beschränkterer als in der Schriftsprache.

F. G. G. SCHMIDT.

NOTE.—The sign \tilde indicates nasality. Vowels are to be pronounced as written. Example, *ao* is two sounds *a+o*, a falling diphthong.

THE GRAMMATICAL GENDER OF ENGLISH WORDS IN GERMAN.

[Read before the Central Division of the Modern Language
Association of America, Nashville, Tennessee,
December 28, 1899.]

By way of introduction I shall examine the three principal theories of the origin of grammatical gender and state the salient points in the arguments urged against them. I shall then show how far these theories may be applied to the gender assumed by English words in German, and present the results of my own investigation.

Grammarians of classical antiquity did little with the troublesome question of grammatical gender; they simply asserted¹ that man had "the right to assign arbitrarily a sex to any object which had in this particular been neglected by nature." Adelung in the eighteenth century studied the subject and came to the conclusion² that primitive man considered everything as a soul-endowed substance, as a living being, and that grammatical gender was the result of the tendency of primitive man to individualize and personify. He tried to determine why some nouns assumed one gender and others a different one, and finally expressed the belief that everything possessing, to a marked degree, animation, activity, strength, greatness, the terrible, the horrible, became masculine; while things that were susceptible, fertile, gentle, passive, pleasant, became feminine. Objects that possessed a combination of these two classes of qualities, or neither class, became neuter.

¹ Cf. Victor Michels, *Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen*. I. Strassburg, 1889, p. 1.

² Cf. Karl Brugmann, *The Nature and Origin of the Noun Genders in the Indo-European Languages*. A lecture delivered on the occasion of the Sesqui-centennial Celebration of Princeton University. Translated by Edmund Y. Robbins. New York, 1897, p. 7.

Grimm devotes about two hundred and fifty pages of the third volume of his Grammar³ to a consideration of gender, and argues with Adelung and others that grammatical gender had its origin in the creative imagination⁴ of the primitive folk, claiming that at a time when imagination, not reason, was the predominant faculty, man individualized and personified every lifeless object and assigned to it masculine or feminine traits.

In illustration of the Adelung-Grimm theory I may say, for instance, that the names of sweet and soft musical instruments⁵ are feminine, as *Harfe, Leier, Geige, Pflife*, but the loud and harsh are masculine or neuter, as *Zinken, Horn*; that in the case of names of the larger mammals,⁶ when the natural gender is not expressed, an epicene masculine is the rule, *i. e.*, there is only one language expression for both physical genders, and in this case it is masculine; that among birds⁷ there are more epicene feminines than among mammals, evidently on account of the smallness and daintiness of many birds, for the large, clawing, rapacious birds are nearly all masculine, as *Adler, Falke, Kauz, Geier*; that insects⁸ by reason of their smallness and weakness, are mostly feminine; that the largest and strongest trees, such as *Eiche, Linde, Fichte*, are feminine. Among the Greeks and the Romans most trees were likewise feminine. According to what has been said we should expect to find that the strongest and largest trees are masculine. Grimm looks⁹ for an explanation of the feminine gender in one of these two facts, that trees, owing to their stationary life, had only a limited activity,

³ Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*. Neuer vermehrter Abdruck besorgt durch Gustav Roethe und Edward Schröder. III. Gütersloh, 1890, pp. 307-551.

⁴ Grimm, l. c., p. 343. See also Humboldt, *Sur la nature des formes grammaticales et sur le génie de la langue chinoise*. Paris, 1827, pp. 12-13. Referred to by Grimm.

⁵ Cf. Grimm, l. c., p. 464.

Cf. *ibidem*, p. 358.

⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 359.

⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 363.

⁹ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 366. See also Weise, *Unsere Muttersprache, ihr Werden und ihr Wesen*. Dritte Auflage. Leipzig, 1897, p. 215.

or that the Greeks populated them with nymphs; hence from being so closely identified with Dryads trees came to be thought of as feminine.

Brugmann, in his book on *The Nature and Origin of the Noun Genders in the Indo-European Languages*, gives three reasons why he considers the Adelung-Grimm theory incorrect. He states first¹⁰ that masculine and feminine as grammatical genders mean nothing as to sex, that is, by the grammatical gender no idea of anything masculine or feminine is suggested, any more than there is, I suppose, when we speak of masculine and feminine rhymes. Thus the endings *-chen* and *-lein* suggest to a German what *-let* and *-kin* suggest to an English-speaking person, namely, the idea of smallness, and they bear no relation to the idea of sex, for German words with these terminations are neuter whatever may be the sex of the object designated. Another proof that formal gender in the Indo-European languages was not connected with the idea of masculine or feminine is the use of epicene nouns. For example, the German says *der Adler* and *die Maus* for both male and female. Brugmann's second¹¹ point against the Adelung-Grimm hypothesis is that it makes the primitive people take a fanciful view of the whole universe and think of the great majority of noun concepts as male or female. To suppose that a tendency to sexualize words necessarily accompanies the habit of thought, is contrary to the known facts concerning languages. In the third¹² place Brugmann claims that the theory is psychologically improbable because it presupposes that noun concepts were always individualized, personified, and sexualized. That which is individualized is not necessarily thought of as animated and personal. Further than this, each particular thing, even if it is animalized, is not at the same time sexualized. Animalization and personification, like poetry, have their origin in fantastic exalted feeling, and

¹⁰ Brugmann l. c., pp. 10-12.

¹¹ Ibidem, pp. 12-14.

¹² Ibidem, pp. 14 ff.

there never has been a time when man stood continually on such a height. Why should one think, too, he asks, that man overloaded language with personal metaphors instead of impersonal? Victor Michels states, in his *Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen*,¹³ that the fact that in different parts of Germany the same word may occasionally have different genders is another argument against the Adelung-Grimm view.

Brugmann's own theory¹⁴ is about as follows: When a lifeless concept was personified into a living being, it was the grammatical form of the noun that, through the psychological impulse of analogy, decided the definite direction of the gender. Because the Greek word ὕπνος, 'sleep,' for example, had the same inflectional form as the numerous masculine nouns in -ος like ἀδελφός, 'brother,' θεός, 'god,' and was, in consequence, most closely associated¹⁵ in the consciousness with these, the Greeks made Sleep a god and not a goddess. To the Germans, on the contrary, *die Liebe* was a goddess, since the appellative was feminine. To the nature¹⁶ of the appellatives is due, then, the different conceptions, among the different peoples, of the sun and the moon, as male or female. And so Brugmann argues that the grammatical gender was present at first, and that this decided the choice of sex, while according to the Grimm theory sex-gender is the earlier, grammatical gender the later. The circumstance that the primitive suffix *-ā*¹⁷ denotes the feminine animal in some of the substantives found with it, has brought about the result that we speak of the 'feminine' suffix in words like the Latin *anima*. This suffix did not, however, originally have a feminine meaning, but acquired such a meaning by asso-

¹³ Michels, l. c., p. 2.

¹⁴ Brugmann, l. c., pp. 17 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. also Franz Nikolaus Finck, *Der Deutsche Sprachbau als Ausdruck deutscher Weltanschauung*. Marburg, 1899, p. 57.

¹⁶ For a different opinion see Weise, l. c., pp. 213 ff. Cf. also Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, l. c., p. 348.

¹⁷ For a fuller statement concerning the suffixes *-ā* and *-iē* (*-iā*), see Brugmann, l. c., pp. 27 ff.

ciation with certain nouns with that ending which denote feminine persons.

In a paper on *The Origin of Grammatical Gender*, read at the last meeting of the American Philological Association and printed in Volume II of *The Journal of Germanic Philology*,¹⁸ Benjamin Ide Wheeler takes issue with Brugmann and presents a new theory. His principal arguments¹⁹ against Brugmann's ideas are: (a) Provision is made for explaining the adaptation to sex-denotation of only two classes of nouns, the *-ā*-class and the *-iā*-class. (b) No provision is made for the isolated words, not members of any well-defined suffix-class. (c) There is lacking any account of the psychological motive through which words of different ending should have been grouped into a psychologically determined class involving denotation of sex.

Wheeler believes²⁰ that it is on general principles improbable that the categories of sex-gender originated from within the nouns themselves, and as early as 1889, in an article on *Grammatical Gender* in the *Classical Review*,²¹ suggested that the development of grammatical gender in the noun had been determined by the inflections of the pronouns. I find also the following passage in Paul's *Principles of the History of Language*: "The linguistic instruments whereby we now recognise the grammatical gender of a substantive are the *concord* in which, on the one hand, attribute and predicate, on the other hand, a substitutory (*sic*) pronoun stands therewith. Thus the rise of grammatical gender stands in the closest correspondence with the rise of a variable adjective and pronoun. The variability with regard to gender of the adjective presupposes that the difference in gender has become attached to a special stem-ending. This phenomenon might be explained by supposing that the stem-ending in question was originally an independent word, a pronoun which, while still independent, had acquired a reference

¹⁸ *The Journal of Germanic Philology*. Vol. II, pp. 528-545.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 532.

²⁰ *The Journal of Germanic Philology*. Vol. II, p. 535.

²¹ *The Classical Review*. Vol. III, pp. 390-392.

to a male or female individual. Still, this assumption is not absolutely necessary. It might conceivably happen that, by pure accident, an overwhelming majority had pronounced for the masculine in the case of one stem-ending, and an equal majority for the feminine in the case of the other. In the pronoun, as in the adjective, the distinction of gender may appear in the stem-ending; it may, however, also be expressed by specific roots. It seems probable that grammatical gender developed earlier in the case of the substitutory (*sic*) pronoun, just as it is there that it has maintained itself longest in languages, such as English, where it has partially disappeared."²²

The view suggested by Wheeler in 1889 has since been presented by other writers, but he now develops it and shows how it seems to point the way to the solution of the problem. The English language, which has lost the grammatical gender, offers, he says, an almost perfect illustration of the dependence upon the pronoun to indicate sex. Epicene nouns like *person* and *parent*, and epicene pronouns like *everybody* and *somebody*, are frequently forced to a betrayal of sex by the personal pronoun; thus, in *Everybody can do as he pleases*, or *Everybody can do as she pleases*. This tendency is so strong that there is often an inclination to evade it by saying *Everybody can do as they please*. In closing his article Wheeler says Indo-European gender is an imperfect blending of two systems²³ of classification—the one based on meaning, the other on form, while according to Brugmann's theory the idea of sex-gender was spontaneously developed out of the old form-classes.

In what follows I shall make a simple statement of the facts that I have gathered from my study of the grammatical gender of English words in German and shall show that the gender follows, in many cases, certain more or less regular tendencies, but I shall not attempt to present any new theory as to the

²² Hermann Paul, *Principles of the History of Language*. Translated from the second edition by H. A. Strong. New York, 1889, pp. 289-290.

²³ Cf. also Weise, l. c., p. 223.

origin of grammatical gender. I shall accomplish my purpose, then, if I succeed in deducing a few tangible principles.

In collecting the English words I have made use of the following sources: Heyse's *Fremdwörterbuch*, tenth and seventeenth editions, Leipzig, 1891 and 1896; Sanders's *Fremdwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1871; Sarrazin's *Verdeutschungs-Wörterbuch*, second edition, Berlin, 1889; Duden's *Orthographisches Wörterbuch*, fifth edition, Leipzig and Vienna, 1898; Fuchs's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Stuttgart, 1898; Ditscheiner-Wessely's *Deutscher Wortschatz*, third edition, Leipzig, 1892; *Deutsche Rundschau*; Leipzig *Illustrierte Zeitung*; New York *Staats-Zeitung*; and *Anglia*.

Besides searching these works, some of them page by page and line by line, I have gathered and verified many words by general reading. Words used only by uneducated Germans have been generally disregarded, and nouns with a natural gender have not, of course, been included in the list. The words appear in unchanged English orthography. I have collected nearly four hundred, but the list pretends to be neither exhaustive nor infallible; it will be found at the end of this article. Not all of these are "loan-words," in the ordinary sense of the expression, in regular and common use. The fact, however, that they have been used, or are now used, in German and have thereby received a gender suffices for our present purpose. Many of them belong to the vocabulary of sport,²⁴ such as *Handicap*, *Steeple-chase*, *Cricket*, *Lawn-tennis*, of political and social affairs, such as *Bill*, *Strike*, *Boycott*, *Lockout*, of articles of food and drink, as *Beefsteak*, *Pudding*, *Pie*, *Porter*, *Rum*, of railway terms²⁵ as *Cow-catcher*, *Tender*, *Tunnel*, *Tramway*, *Trestle-work*.

In connection with the assignment of a grammatical gender to borrowed words, inanimate things are at present evidently not considered soul-endowed substances, nor does the giving of

²⁴ See Weise, l. c., p. 189.

²⁵ Cf. Rud. Kleinpaul, *Das Fremdwort im Deutschen*. Leipzig, 1896, pp. 137 ff.

gender to such words seem always to be the result of a tendency to individualize and personify. This part of the Grimm theory can not, then, be applied, to any great extent, to the study of the grammatical gender of English words in German. It will, however, be shown later that such gender is in some cases determined by the character or meaning of the object. A hasty examination of the grammatical gender of Old English led me at once to the natural conclusion that the gender assumed by English words in German is not always, not even generally, the same as that possessed before the English language lost its grammatical gender,—for example, in German the English word *Barn* has assumed the feminine gender, while the O.E. equivalent *bern* was neuter; so *Home* becomes neuter, while O.E. *hām* was masculine; *Road* becomes masculine except in the compound *Railroad*, which may be either feminine or neuter, and O.E. *rād* was feminine; *Doom* becomes neuter, while O.E. *dōm* was masculine; *Back* becomes masculine, while O.E. *baec* was neuter. Universal agreement in this particular could hardly be expected. Grimm has shown²⁶ that, with loan-words in general, agreement is far more rare than disagreement, one reason being the change in inflection that takes place. What has, then, determined the gender of English words in German? One scholar²⁷ states that words borrowed from English are given a gender from real or fancied analogies. I shall show that it has been determined (1) by the influence of the gender of German cognates or synonyms, (2) by endings, (3) by class or character of objects, and (4) occasionally by fancy; it will be seen that the influence of German synonyms has played an effective rôle in various ways, and that the matter of endings is an important one. If it should appear that the gender has been fixed, in a large number of cases, by terminations through association, then it must be admitted that the Brugmann theory is worthy of careful consideration.

²⁶ *Deutsche Grammatik*, I. c., pp. 545 ff. Cf. also Klienpaul, I. c., pp. 104 ff.

²⁷ Calvin Thomas, *A Practical German Grammar*. New York (1895), p. 190.

One hundred and thirty-six of the words in the list are masculine, fifty-three feminine, one hundred and twenty-nine neuter, and seventy-four are unsettled or variable in gender. About thirty-five per cent, then, are masculine, thirteen per cent feminine, thirty-three per cent neuter, and nineteen per cent unsettled or changeable. In the case of the grammatical gender of German words, the proportions are not the same, as I have found, after careful investigation, that there are very many more feminines than masculines, there being about three feminines to two masculines. In M. H. G. the ratio between masculines and neuters is about fifty-three to forty-seven, while in N. H. G. it is about fifty-eight to forty-two. These considerations, therefore, bring out the interesting facts that there are among the English words in German, with respect to grammatical gender, nearly three times as many masculines as feminines, and that there are nearly as many neuters as masculines, while among German words the feminines are in the majority and there are fewer neuters than masculines. I can offer no suitable explanation of this tendency to favor the masculine gender in the case of loan-words, except that N. H. G. seems to have a decided preference for the masculine gender as against the neuter. It was shown a moment ago that there is, in this respect, a slight difference between M. H. G. and N. H. G. This same tendency will be seen again in the examination of words of unsettled or changeable gender. Deviations and changes in gender in the history of the German language give early evidence of this preference²⁸ for the masculine. To Gothic, and especially to Old Norse neuters, correspond High German masculines, and where the masculine and the neuter stood side by side in the earlier High German, the former has crowded out the latter, as is attested by many examples, for instance, Gothic, *dragk*, n. O. H. G. *tranc*, n., M. H. G., *tranc*, n., m., N. H. G., *Trank*, m., O. H. G., *lib*, m., n., M. H. G., *lib*, m., n.; N. H. G., *Leib*, m. This fact does not,

²⁸ W. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*. Zweite Auflage. Strassburg, 1899. II, pp. 206, 270, 283.

however, explain the relative numbers of masculines and feminines.

Of the total number of words in the list about nineteen per cent, as already stated, are uncertain, unsettled, or changeable in grammatical gender. Of these forty-six waver between masculine and neuter, twenty between feminine and neuter, five—*Dock, Farm, Gig, Store, Strike*—may assume any of the genders, while only three—*Coal, Diaper, Tricycle*—may be either masculine or feminine. *Coal* owes its double gender possibly to the fact that its German equivalent *Kohle*, although now feminine, was, earlier in its history, generally masculine.²⁹ Adelung shows³⁰ that it is masculine in some *Oberdeutsch* provinces. Grimm quotes, in his *Dictionary*, many passages in which it is also neuter. In Old English the word is neuter. It is more probable that the German gender of this English word has been influenced, on the one hand, by the form, and, on the other, by the feminine *Kohle*. As the uncertainty, in the great majority of cases, is between the masculine and the neuter or the feminine and the neuter, it is simply a matter of assigning a gender to the words or putting them in the genderless class, and in this connection it is significant that there is so little uncertainty between the masculine and the feminine, there being, as stated, only three words in this category. That certain words are used in different senses may sometimes explain the variability in gender. *Room* is masculine or neuter; it is used for *room* and *space*, and has undoubtedly been influenced by the masculine *Raum* and the neuter *Zimmer*; *Meeting* is generally neuter, but occurs also as feminine, probably on account of the feminine *Versammlung*; *Bench* is both feminine and neuter,—it is feminine because the German word *Bank* is feminine, but in the expression the *Queen's Bench* it may be neuter, because in this connection it suggests the German *Gericht* which is

²⁹ K. G. Andresen, *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen*. Achte Auflage. Leipzig, 1898, p. 39.

³⁰ Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*. Wien, 1811. Vol. II, p. 1684.

neuter. The gender of many of these uncertain words could be accounted for in a similar way. The determination of gender seems often to be a contest between the German cognate and the German synonym. The gender has evidently been fixed many times entirely by the German synonyms³¹ regardless of form. Most conspicuous among the examples of this are the masculines *Clay* (*Thon*), *Mirror* (*Spiegel*), *Road* (*Weg*); the feminines *Crown* (*Krone*), nearly all other names of coins being masculine, *Barn* (*Scheune Scheuer*), *Coach* (*Kutsche*), and *Turtle* (*Turteltaube*); and the neuters, *Baby* (*Kind*), *Inn* (*Gasthaus*), *Pillow* (*Kopfkissen*), and *Roof* (*Dach*).

Gender determined by endings: It may be affirmed that words are likely to adopt a grammatical gender habitually associated with the inflections³² or derivative endings³³ attached to them. Of the fifty-three feminines twelve terminate in *-ry* which may be considered a feminine ending, being the equivalent of the German *-rei*; twenty-five have probably been influenced by German synonyms; *Commission* follows the regular practice of nouns in *-ion*; all the others have the feminine ending *-e*, except *Backing*, *Bill*, *Brig*, *Currency*, and *Railing*, and the gender of these is not accounted for. We should expect to find *Backing* and *Railing* as masculines or neuters, for all the English loan-words with the termination *-ing* belong in those classes, except these two and *Meeting* which is, as stated, sometimes feminine though it is more often neuter. As is well known, most German words ending in *-ing* are masculine,³⁴ but that some of these foreign words are always neuter is explained by their origin as verbal nouns. It is worthy of remark that there are many monosyllabic feminines among these loan-words; the disproportionately large number of monosyllabic masculines in German may be attributed to the fact that many such masculines are

³¹ Cf. Weise, l. c., p. 220.

³² Cf. Paul, l. c., pp. 289, 294.

³³ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, l. c., pp. 343, 551.

³⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, l. c., p. 518.

derived by *Ablaut* from strong verbal roots. Of the twenty-seven words with the ending *-er*, twenty-three are masculine, one wavers between this gender and the feminine, while only three, *Charter*, *Monster*, and *Legal-tender*, are neuter. In N. H. G. nouns ending in *-er* that do not denote agency³⁵ or station are of all genders, but when the letters *-er* are a true suffix, the words are very likely to be masculine.³⁶ The forty-five or fifty nouns that end in *-e* are about equally divided among the three genders. We should naturally expect a majority of feminines, for the feeling that *-e* is a feminine ending is so strong that the French masculines³⁷ with this final short vowel regularly become feminine when taken into German, as *die Etage*, *die Bagage*, *die Courage*, or when an *-e* is added to a French loan-word, it likewise becomes feminine, as *die Rosine*, *die Matratze*, and still further, if the *-e* is dropped from a French feminine the loan-word often becomes neuter, as *das Kotelett* and *das Kompott*. But in the case of English loan-words with this termination, German synonyms and the meaning of the words themselves have played a stronger part than the ending in fixing the gender. Eleven end in *-et*; they are neuter without exception, but *Inlet* is sometimes found as a masculine. Terminations have played, then, a very important rôle in fixing the gender of English words in German, and so the Brugmann theory holds good in this particular. Gender is sometimes similar to the coloration³⁸ of animals; just as nature gives to certain animals the color of the objects upon which or among which they live, so the human mind, acting half consciously, gives to certain words the gender of the group with which they are most closely allied in form.

Gender determined by class or character: It often happens that the gender of a word is decided by the class³⁹ in which it

³⁵ Cf. Thomas, l. c., p. 188.

³⁶ Cf. Wilmanns, l. c., pp. 283 ff.

³⁷ See Kleinpaul, l. c., p. 105.

³⁸ Weise, l. c., p. 221.

³⁹ Cf. Paul, l. c., p. 291.

belongs; the gender of the common designation of the species fixes the gender of the more special designation, and so words connected in idea, frequently have the same gender whatever may be their form or ending. Under this head we have cases of analogy. Thus the German word *Mittwoch*, earlier *mitte woche*,⁴⁰ used in some of the dialects even at the present day as a feminine, has come to be used as a masculine after the model of the other names of the days of the week. So in French, *été* (*aetas*) has become masculine because the other seasons have that gender. Since the word *Zahl* is feminine, we say, *die Zwei*, *die Drei*, *die Vier*, etc.

To return to English words in German: I have found the names of fifteen beverages; they are *Ale*, *Brandy*, *Flip*, *Gin*, *Grog*, *Hock*, *Mountain-dew*, *Porter*, *Punch*, *Rum*, *Sherry*, *Shrub*, *Small-beer*, *Whisky*, and *Whist*. Now, all these, with two exceptions, are, or may be, used as masculines in German, and I conjecture that this is the case because they suggest *der Schnaps* or *der Wein* and its compounds, as *Brauntwein*, *Rheinwein*, etc. The exceptions are *Ale* and *Small-beer*; they are neuter; they certainly suggest *das Bier*. *Flip* and *Porter* vacillate between masculine and neuter. This is what might be expected, for *Porter* suggests *das Bier*, but its form is masculine, while *Flip*, with regard to its ingredients, may suggest both *das Bier* and *der Wein*. Thus the gender of the common designation fixes the gender of the more special designation. The strongest of these beverages are masculine; this gender would naturally follow from an application of the Adelung-Grimm theory. It is significant that not one of these words has been found used as feminine. Strange to say, however, the word *Wein* is neuter in O. E., Old Norse, Gothic, and Latin, but throughout the history of German, in O. H. G., M. H. G., and N. H. G., it has been consistently masculine. In accordance with German usage, the names of coins are masculine, except *Cent* which is masculine or neuter, *Crown* which is feminine

⁴⁰ Cf. Weise, l. c., pp. 219-220.

through the influence of *die Krone*, as already explained, and the neuter *Bit*. The words connected with horse-racing are mostly neuter regardless of form, as *Betting*, *Derby*, *Handicap*, *Match*, and *Training*. There are seven games in the list, *Boss-puzzle*, *Boston*, *Cribbage*, *Cricket*, *Lawn-tennis*, *Pall-Mall*, and *Whist*; they are uniformly neuter, though *Whist*, owing to the influence of the gender of the beverage with the same name, occurs also as masculine. The names of cloth and dress material waver between masculine and neuter; I have found no feminines.

Gender determined occasionally by fancy: The feeling for gender has so thoroughly permeated⁴¹ the language and the adjective declension is so complex that it is in most cases impossible to leave the gender of loan-words undetermined. Under these circumstances the question is sometimes settled by mere chance. For instance, the word *Strike* may have any one of the three genders, the choice depending upon the fancy of the speaker or writer; it is generally masculine, though, in analogy to the German *der Streich*.⁴² Postage is neuter like *Porto*, the word commonly used in Germany, but a leading German periodical of New York recently printed the compound *Penny-postage* as neuter in the nominative and as feminine in the genitive in the same paragraph. Other examples could be given to show that mere chance or caprice not infrequently temporarily fixes the gender of foreign words in German.

In the German-American press the names of most ships are feminine, as *die Brooklyn*, *die Iowa*, *die Grant*, *die Yorktown*, but *der Fürst Bismarck*, *der Kaiser Wilhelm*. The practice of making the names of ships, and the pronouns referring to them, feminine is a result of English influence. In English, ships are sometimes masculine, as *man-of-war*, *merchantman*, but in spite of these masculine words, the pronouns referring to them are not uncommonly feminine. Jacob Grimm was much inter-

⁴¹ Paul, l. c., pp. 293 ff.

⁴² Cf. Kleinpaul, l. c., p. 62.

ested in this English usage and wrote: "I should like to know the reason for this personification and how old it is."⁴³

My results may be summed up in brief as follows: With English words in German there is a decided tendency in favor of the masculine; there is much uncertainty between the masculine and the neuter, and between the feminine and the neuter; practically no uncertainty exists between the masculine and the feminine. It has been shown further that the gender assumed by English words is determined (1) by the influence of the gender of German cognates or synonyms, (2) by terminations, (3) by meaning, *i. e.*, by class or character of objects, and (4) occasionally by fancy or chance. Of these causes the first and second are the most important. In conclusion, then, the principles of the Adelung-Grimm theory have had more or less influence in determining the gender of English loan-words, while Brugmann's idea of sex gender as a spontaneous development out of form-classes has had some effect. But Wheeler is undoubtedly nearest to the truth in his claim that grammatical gender is an imperfect blending of two systems of classification, the one based on meaning, the other on form. In the case of English words in German, I incline to the belief that form and German synonyms have had most to do in fixing gender.

⁴³ *Deutsche Grammatik*, 1. c., p. 433. For an explanation, see *Weise*, 1. c., p. 216, foot-note. Cf. also Wheeler's article in *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, 1. c., p. 537.

LIST OF ENGLISH NOUNS FOUND IN GERMAN.

Ale, n.	Buggy, m.	Cottage, n.
Antelope, f.	Bulk-head, m.	County, n.
Arrowroot, f.	Bull, m.	Court, m.
	Bull-finch, m.	Cow-catcher, m.
Baby, n.	Bullion, n.	Cracker, m.
Back, m.	Bumper, m.	Crag, m.
Backing, f.	Bunk, f.	Crawfish, m.
Bag, m.	Burner, m.	Cribbage, n.
Bargain, m.	Bush, m.	Cricketer, n.
Barge, f.		Crown, f.
Barn, f.	Cab, n.	Cup, m.
Barrel, n.	Calico, m.	Currency, f.
Beef, m., n.	Cambric, m.	Curry, n.
Beefsteak, n.	Camp, n.	Custom, n.
Bench, f., n.	Camp-meeting, n.	Cut, m.
Betting, n.	Carol, m.	
Bicycle, m.	Catgut, m.	Dainty, m.
Bill, f.	Cent, m., n.	Dairy, f.
Bit, n.	Charity, n.	Deed, n.
Blackband, m.	Charter, n.	Derby, n.
Black-drop, m.	Check, m., n.	Diaper, m., f.
Black-lead, n.	Cheer, m.	Dime, m.
Blizzard, m.	Chestnut, f.	Dimity, m.
Blood-stone, m.	City, f.	Dining-room, m., n.
Bloom, n.	Clay, m.	Dirk, m.
Blubber, m.	Clearance, f.	Dock (m.), f., n.
Bluff, m.	Clearing-house, n.	Docket, n.
Blunder, m.	Cliff, n.	Dollar, m.
Board, m., n.	Closet, n.	Doom, n.
Bog, n.	Cloth, n.	Drawback, n.
Bond, m.	Club, m.	Drawing-room, m.
Book, n.	Coach, f.	Dredge, n.
Book-making, n.	Coal, m., f.	Dressing-room, n.
Boss-puzzle, n.	Coating, m., n.	Dumpling, m.
Boston, n.	Cocket, n.	
Bottle, f.	Cold-cream, n.	Eagle, m.
Boundary, f.	Colliery, f.	East, m.
Bowery, f.	Comfort, m., n.	Essay, m., n.
Boycott, m.	Commission, f.	Exchange, f.
Box, f.	Committee, f., n.	Exchequer, m.
Brandy, m.	Company, f.	
Brick, m.	Congress, m.	Factory, f.
Brig, f.	Cooler, m.	Fairy, f.
Buckskin, m., n.	Copyright, n.	Fancy, f., n.
Budget, n.	Corduroy, m.	Farm, m., f., n.
Buffalo, m.	Corner, m.	Farthing, m.

- Fashion, f.
 Fathom, n.
 Fee, n.
 Fence, f.
 Fish, m.
 Flint, n.
 Flip, m., n.
 Floor, m.
 Fly, (f.), n.
 Foreign Office, n.
 Fort, n.
 Fox-terrier, m.
 Full-dress, n.
 Furlong, n.

Gallon, m., n.
 Garnet, n.
 Gig, m., (f.), n.
 Gill, n.
 Gin, m.
 Ginger, m.
 Gingham, m.
 Grog, m.
 Gum, m., n.

Hall, f., n.
 Handicap, n.
 Handle, n.
 Hansom, m.
 Hardware, f.
 Headright, m., n.
 Highway, m.
 Hickory, m.
 Hide, n.
 Hoax, m.
 Hock, m.
 Hocktide, f.
 Hoist, m.
 Hollyhock, n.
 Home, n.
 Horse-guard, f.
 Hot-sne, m.
 Hotspur, m.
 Humbug, m.
 Humpback, n.
 Hundred, n.
 Hurly-burly, m., n.
- I**mpeachment, n.
 Inch, m., n.
 Indemnity, f.
 India-rubber, m.
 Ingot, m.
 Ingrain, n.
 Inlet, m., n.
 Inn, n.
 Interview, f., n.
 Ism, m.

Jacket, n.
 Jig, m.
 Joint, m.
 Joint-stock, m.
 Jury, f.

Kersey, m.
 Kettle-drum, n.

Lace, n.
 Lawn, n.
 Lawn-tennis, n.
 Lee, f., n.
 League, f.
 Legal Tender, n.
 Livery, f.
 Load, n.
 Locket, n.
 Lockout, m.
 Locomotive, f.
 Loss, n.
 Lowry, f.

Mail, n.
 Make-shift, n.
 Manchester, m.
 Manor, n.
 Mansion, n.
 Match, n.
 Meeting, (f.), n.
 Mile, f.
 Mirror, m.
 Mob, m., n.
 Mohair, n.
 Monster, n.
 Morning, m. n.
- Mount, m., n.
 Mountain-dew, m.
 Mustang, n.

Navy, f.

Oakum, n.
 Office, f.

Pace, f., n.
 Padding, n.
 Paddock, m.
 Pall-mall, n.
 Pamphlet, n.
 Park, m.
 Parlor-heater, m.
 Peak, m., n.
 Peck, n.
 Penny, m.
 People, m., n.
 Pew, m., n.
 Pie, n.
 Pier, m.
 Pier-head, n.
 Pigeon English, n.
 Pillory, n.
 Pillow, n.
 Pincher, m.
 Pint, (f.), n.
 Pit, m. n.
 Plaid, m., n.
 Plaiding, n.
 Plea, n.
 Pleasure-ground, m.
 Pointer, m.
 Poll, m., n.
 Poll-tax, n.
 Pony, m., n.
 Pool, n.
 Porter, m., n.
 Postage, f., n.
 Postage-stamp, m.
 Principle, n.
 Privy-council, n.
 Prize-fight, f., n.
 Pudding, m.

Puff, m.	Share, f., n.	Tapestry, f.
Punch, m.	Shawl, m.	Tax, f.
Quibble, n.	Shelf, n.	Team, n.
Race, f.	Sherry, m.	Tender, m.
Rail, n.	Shilling, m.	Ticket, n.
Railing, f.	Shirting, m., n.	Timothy, m.
Railroad, f., n.	Shock, m.	Toast, m.
Railway, m., n.	Shoddy, m., n.	Ton, f., n.
Reader, m.	Shop, m., n.	Tow, m.
Record, m., n.	Shout, n.	Tower, m.
Recovery, f.	Show, f.	Township, n.
Release, m., n.	Shrub, m.	Trade, m.
Relief, n.	Shrubbery, n.	Training, n.
Repeal, n.	Silk, n.	Tramway, f.
Reply-letter, m.	Silkeen, n.	Trestle-work, n.
Reprieve, m.	Skating-rink, m.	Trial, n.
Retail, m.	Slam, m.	Trick, m.
Review, f., n.	Slang, m., n.	Tricycle, m., f.
Revival, n.	Sloop, f., n.	Trip, m.
Revolver, m.	Small-beer, n.	Tumbler, m.
Rifle, m.	Sneer, m.	Tun, n.
River, m.	Spaniel, m.	Tunnel, m.
Road, m.	Speech, m.	Turnip, f., n.
Rod, n.	Spleen, m.	Turnout, n.
Roof, n.	Sport, m., n.	Turtle, m.
Room, (m.), n.	Spray, m.	Turtle, f. (dove)
Rope, n.	Square, m., n.	Turtle-soup, f.
Rope-grass, n.	Stake, m., n.	Twist, m., n.
Rout, m., n.	Stamp, n.	Veal steak, n.
Rum, m.	Standard, m., n.	Verdict, n.
Rump-steak, n.	Star, m.	Vice, m.
Sandwich, n.	Start, m.	View, n.
Scale, f.	Steamboat, n.	Warfare, n.
Scalp, m.	Steamer, m.	Warp, n.
Schooner, m.	Steam-pot, n.	Whim, m.
Score, n.	Steam-press, f.	Whisky, m.
Screen, m.	Steeple-chase, f., n.	Whist, (m.), n.
Settec, f., n.	Stock, n.	Writ, m., n.
Setter, m.	Stock-jobbery, f.	Yard, m., n.
Settlement, n.	Stone, m.	Yard, f. (measure)
Sewer, m.	Store, m., (f.), n.	Yoke, n.
Shanty, m., n.	Strait, f.	
	Strike, m., f., n.	
	Swamp, m., n.	
	Sweep, m.	

SUMMARY.

Masculine	136	Feminine or Neuter	20
Feminine	53	Masculine or Feminine	3
Neuter	129	Masculine, Feminine or Neuter	5
Masculine or Neuter	46		—
		Total	392

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EGESTORFF'S TRANSLATION OF KLOPSTOCK'S
MESSIAS COMPARED WITH OTHER EARLY
ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS.

It will be remembered that after some hesitation Klopstock consented to have the first three cantos of his *Messias* published in the *Bremer Beiträgen* in the year 1748. Their appearance made a decided sensation, and they became at once the centre of literary interest in Germany. Around them the war between the antagonistic schools of Bodmer and Gottsched waged more furiously than ever. The enthusiasm and the great impression they at first produced was, according to Muncker, only second to that produced by the appearance of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*. It was but natural, therefore, that this enthusiasm should soon spread beyond the national boundaries, and that other nations should evince a desire to appropriate the beauties of the new *Messiad* by translating it into their native idiom. To the French belongs the honor of having been the first nation to translate the poem. Scarcely had the first three cantos appeared, when Bodmer, concerned for the literary fame of his protégé, induced the Bernese patrician, Vincenz Bernhard von Tscherner, who had already cleverly translated the poems of Haller into French, to undertake the same task for Klopstock. This he consented to do, and by 1750 had completed the task of translating the three cantos, which alone had appeared up to that time, into French prose in a manner, which won the approval of nearly every one, except that of the poet, whom it seemed impossible to please in the way of translation. This is proved by the ode entitled *Klage eines Gedichtes*, which appeared in 1796. In this Klopstock complains bitterly of the treatment of his poem at the hands of translators. He speaks here of "desecration" and exclaims, "Ye goddesses, the muses

preserve me from translations." Towards the French translation he is especially severe:

Gallier haben noch jüngst mich übersetzt; doch sie wäñnen's
Nur; sie haben mich dort über den Lethe gesetzt.
O, wie grub mir der Wunden so viel' ihr triefender Dolch ein,
Und wie röthete sich mir die getroffene Brust !

The translation into French was soon followed by various attempts in Latin, Lessing and his younger brother, Johann Gottlieb, being among those who tried their hand at it. Klopstock himself, in order to show the various translators how wretchedly they had reproduced the thoughts of the original, tried to induce his friends to undertake a translation into Latin, and to encourage them to make the attempt, himself translated several passages into Latin prose.

One by one the various nations gave testimony to the world-wide interest in the young poet, until there was scarcely a language of Europe which did not possess a translation of this German Milton.¹

As was to be expected, the English from whose land Klopstock so largely obtained his inspiration, were early curious to learn to what extent Klopstock's admirers were justified in placing him at the side of, or in some cases, as for example that of the youthful Wieland, even above Milton. In the early sixties Collyer and his wife began a translation, which appeared from time to time, from 1763 to 1769, embracing finally fifteen cantos, which were all which Klopstock had written, or at least published, up to that time. Finally, in 1811 nineteen cantos were published, the last three having been translated by a Mrs. Meeke. The twentieth canto was not translated. A new translation, as it entitled itself, the last five books prepared for the press by T. Raffles, was published in 1814.

Although these translations into prose gave but a faint idea of

¹ A full account of these various translations is to be found in the *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart* under the rubric Klopstock. Shorter accounts taken from this are given in the introductions to Muncker's and Hamel's editions of the poem.

the beauties of the original and have earned for themselves the name of the worst of all the translations of the *Messias*,² they completely satisfied the London publishers, who were more concerned in filling their own pockets than in providing the public with the best possible translation of the German poem. It was, therefore, no wonder that when a German schoolmaster, who during a residence of several years in England, had completed a translation of the whole of the *Messias* into English blank verse, knocked at their doors, he was everywhere received with coldness and dismissed with the remark that no further translation of the *Messiah* was needed. Disheartened with his ill-success, the author returned to his native land after an absence of seventeen years. Fearing that the labor of years would be lost to the world for lack of a publisher, he determined to present it to the library of Göttingen. This he did in 1820. Subsequently he succeeded in interesting a number of wealthy citizens of Hamburg in his poem, and it finally appeared in that city in 1821-22.³

The name of this schoolmaster, the translator of Klopstock's poem, was George Heinrich Christian Egestorff, who, according to a few autobiographical notes added to the MS. of his translation, was born May 28, 1783, at Osterwald (three hours' journey from Hanover). In early childhood he came to the capital city, and was confirmed there in the Kreuzkirche, April 30, 1797. He started for England December 23, 1800, reaching London, February 1, 1801. On returning he left London, April 7, 1817, and arrived in Hamburg, April 16, nine days later. At the close of a letter prefixed to his translation he signs himself as "Lehrer auf dem Institute zu Goldensee bei Ratzeburg im Lauenburgischen."

Apart from these scanty notices, which, as already indicated, he seems to have given himself, as the entry is in the same hand as the dedication signed by him, I have been able to find

¹ Cf Hamel's introduction to the *Messias*, CLXXXVII in D. N. L.

² See the review of the translation in the *Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung* of December 6, 1826.

but very little about him. From Lübker und Schröder's *Lexikon der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen und Eutinischen Schriftsteller von 1796 bis 1828* and Schröder's *Lexikon der Hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart* (Hamburg, 1854), we learn further that on his return from England in 1818, Egestorff became teacher of music and English at the institute of Goldensee. While here he published a translation of Kleist's *Frühling* under the title: *Kleist's Vernal Season*, in 1818. Further, an English manual, *Hand oder Lesebuch der Englischen Sprache, nebst einer kurzen gründlichen Einleitung zu einer richtigen, gebildeten Aussprache des Englischen*. Hamburg, 1823, and a *Denkschrift auf Klopstocks hundertjährigen Geburtstag*, 1824.

In 1825 he accepted the chair of English at the famous Hamburg *Johanneum*, which he held for three years. During this period, he continued his literary activity, publishing a *Monodie an der Bahre des verewigten K. M. von Weber*, 1826; *English Usher. Einleitungsbuch der englischen Sprache*, 1827; and *Colloquial exercises, english and german*, No. 1, Hamburg, 1828. Both during his stay at Goldensee and while at Hamburg he wrote quite a number of articles for the *Lauenburgischer Anzeiger*, the most important of which are the following: *Etwas über Madame Catalani als Künstlerin; Fürst Blücher von Wahlstadt; Ein Orkan, Windstille und Erdbeben in Westindien; Musik; M. Luther's Standbild; M. Luther's Tod und Charakter*. All these appeared according to Schröder's *Lexikon* in 1819. An article *Menschen und Thiere* appeared in 1827. In addition to these, Schröder states, that he contributed several shorter articles and poems to the same paper. The *Lexikon* confesses ignorance as to the further events of Egestorff's life, stating merely that he had left Hamburg in 1828, upon resigning his position at the *Johanneum*. We have seen that he taught music as well as English at Goldensee, and without a doubt he abandoned teaching to devote himself wholly to music. This seems evident from the fact, that two years later, in 1830, we find him giving a concert in Hamburg. The now celebrated *Hamburger Nachrichten*, then a small weekly journal under the

title: *Privilegirte, wöchentliche, gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg*, gives him quite a puff in the number dated April 19, 1830, promising its readers a rare musical treat from the performance of this "vielseitig gebildeten Mannes." Here we learn that he is a performer upon the French horn (Waldhorn) and before returning to Germany had been for a period of ten years first Waldhornist in the royal orchestra at London. Further we are told that during the preceding year (1829) he had made a trip as virtuoso through Hannover, the Rhein provinces, and Holland, giving concerts at which his "glorious musical talent" found due recognition.

How long he enjoyed popularity as a concert performer I have been unable to discover. His interest in literature, however, reasserted itself, for we find the recorded publication of a translation of Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* from his pen, which appeared under the title: *The Maid of Orleans*, in 1836. In the forties we find him once more in London, evidently supporting himself in part by teaching German, as the books published by him at this time would seem to show. *The Catalogue of the British Museum* contains the following titles of works written by him: *A Lecture on Music, with Special Reference to the German Opera as Introduced into this Country*. London, 1840. *Guide to Speaking German*, 1842. *Exercises of German Conversation, with English Translations. With some Remarks on Riding*, 1844. *A Selection of German Poetry, with Elucidations, Translations and Notes for Self-Tuition*. Vol. I, 1844. *Concise Grammar of the German Language on the Principles Adopted in the Schools of Germany*, 1846. Surely, Egestorff must have been hard put to it, to have combined in one book two such heterogeneous subjects as "German Conversation" and "Remarks on Riding." This list of books comprises everything that I have been able to discover concerning Egestorff after his leaving Germany for the second time.

His translation of the *Messias* is mentioned by Goedeke,⁴ who

⁴ Grundriss.

doubtless came across the copy in the Göttingen library. There exists also a copy in the British Museum, which accounts for its mention in Lowndes's *Bibliographers' Manual*. Curiously enough, America is so fortunate as to possess a copy in the Astor library at New York. As far as I know no other copy exists in this country, and while others may still be extant in Germany, their number must be very few. Published as we know by subscription, the edition of Egestorff's translation must have been quite limited, and could not have obtained wide circulation. This was due partly to the fact that the English book market was already supplied with a translation, and partly to the remoteness of its place of publication from the English reading public. Had Egestorff been able to bring his book out in London instead of in Hamburg, its fate would in all probability have been a far different one. As it was, it could hope to appeal only to the few English residing in Germany, for even the Germans, who were capable of reading it, would naturally prefer the original to a translation. It was therefore condemned by the very nature of the circumstances to remain a mere literary curiosity.

The MS. translation of the Messiah preserved in the library at Göttingen consists of four large folio volumes, bound in leather. The handwriting is clear and legible, and shows evidences of great care and painstaking. At the close, upon p. 136 b., of Vol. IV, we find the following remarks with reference to his translation. As will be seen the English is excellent, and if the author extols himself and his translation while speaking disparagingly of the work of his predecessors, it is not so much pure conceit as the justifiable pride of a man who is conscious of having produced something superior :

MSS. Bd. 4, s. 136 b.

I deem it incumbent on myself here briefly to state, that I do not give scope to the idle vanity of supposing that this my translation of Klopstock's Messiah be a faultless production. Yet having begun and completed the work, not only without the aid of man, but under difficulties and obstacles—various and great; I never could and never

shall prevail on myself to submit it to the revision of any one. I appear therefore with my production as it is: "With all my imperfections on my head." And so to do, I am the more firmly resolved, in so much as I am convinced, that another's revision of the manuscript would only prove to be in the main detrimental. Nor do I deem such necessary, because I hesitate not to affirm, that I may offer my work, as it is, as a translation of Klopstock's Messiah,—a title that cannot with any degree of propriety be applied to the wretched prose-production, published as such in England, a production in which Klopstock's great poem has been mangled and maimed [sic], in a manner, that it does not convey even the remotest idea of the excellencies that characterize the original. Klopstock saw the production in question, and said respecting it, that the author had crucified his Messiah a second time.

G. H. EGESTORFF.

Goldensee, 21, August, 1819.

Prefixed to the translation and bound with it are two letters written by the author. The first one directed to the rector of the university begs to be allowed to present his translation to the library of the university. The second expresses his gratitude at the gracious acceptance of the MS., and evidently accompanied it on its way to Göttingen. These letters, which contain additional information concerning the history of the translation, are as follows:

Briefe des Verfassers betreffs Schenkung:

Ich nehme mir die Freiheit Ew. Magnificenz unterthänigst vorzustellen, dass ich vor ungefähr vier Jahren in England eine englische Uebersetzung in reimlose Verse der Messiah von Klopstock vollendete. Ich ward zu solchem schwierigen Unternehmen veranlasst, weil dieses grosse deutsche Gedicht, die Messiade, so grundschlecht in die englische Sprache in Prosa übersetzt ist, dass auch nicht die geringste Spur der Eigenthümlichkeiten des Originals in der Uebersetzung zu entdecken ist. Und ohngeachtet mannigfaltigen und besonderen Schwierigkeiten vollendete ich meine Uebersetzung, konnte selbige aber nicht zum Druck befördern, weil die erwähnte schlechte Uebersetzung schon so oft in London verlegt worden, dass

das Erscheinen meiner neuen und besseren, dem Interesse der englischen Buchhändler zuwider steht. Da ich aber glaubte, dass mein Werk des Aufbewahrens werth sey, und ich selbiges darum vor Verlorengehen zu hüten wünsche, und da ich diesen Zweck nicht leichter als durch die Universität meines unmittelbaren Vaterlandes erreichen kann; bin ich so frei mich an Ew. Magnificenz zu wenden, und ersuche Sie, das Manuscript in die Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Göttingen aufzunehmen. Auf dero gütige Genehmigung werde ich selbiges alsdann sogleich übersenden.

Dero Magnificenz

Hörfurchtsvoll

Unterthänigster

G. H. EGESTORFF,

Lehrer auf dem Institute zu Goldensee
bei Ratzeburg im Lauenburgischen.

Goldensee, d. 4ten Jan., 1820.

Sr. Wohlgeboren

Dem Herrn Hofrath Reusz.

Auf Dero Wohlgeboren gütige Genehmigung meines Ersuchens habe ich die Ehre Ihnen das Manuscript meiner englischen Uebersetzung der *Messiade* von Klopstock hierbei zu übersenden. Für die achtungsvolle Aufnahme meines Werkes in die königliche Universitäts-Bibliothek meines Vaterlandes, seyn Sie meines herzlichsten Dankes versichert. In der Ueberzeugung dass das Manuscript in Dero Wohlgeboren Obhut so gut auf bewahrt seyn wird als ich es nur wünschen kann,

Habe ich die Ehre zu seyn

Hochachtungsvoll

Dero Wohlgeboren

Unterthänigster Diener

G. H. EGESTORFF,

Lehrer auf dem Institute zu Goldensee
bei Ratzeburg.

Goldensee, d. 4ten Febr., 1820.

(On the other side of page the following:)

Dürfte ich bitten um eine Zeile über den Empfang?

In addition to these letters Egestorff prefixed a special dedication of his poem to the University, which runs as follows :

Dieses Manuscript meiner Uebersetzung der Messiade von Klopstock in vier Theilen ist der königlichen Universität meines Vaterlandes (zu Göttingen) ehrerbietigst zugeeignet am 4ten Februar, 1820.

G. H. EGESTORFF,
Ehrenmitglied der Hamburgischen Gesellschaft
zur Beförderung der Künste und nützlichen
Gewerbe.

Goldensee, d. 4ten Febr., 1820.

As already mentioned Egestorff was finally successful in interesting a number of prominent residents of Hamburg, both German and English, in his poem, and so published it in 1821. Prefixed to this edition is a preface which again gives the story of his disappointments, and explains how he finally came to publish it in Germany. As it may not be without interest, I will give it here. It reads as follows :

Some explanation may be requisite to account for my publishing an English translation of Klopstock's poem in a country that has the honour of claiming the original, because the first idea that naturally suggests itself, is, that my translation, it being an English production, ought to be published in England. And certainly, if I had never made any effort to that effect, my proceeding would be altogether odd and singular indeed. But I resolved on publishing it here, after I was sufficiently convinced that I should never have an opportunity of doing so in England.

The first three volumes or fifteen Cantos of the Messiah, were translated into English prose, soon after the publication of the original in Germany. That translation, however, is so very unsuccessful an attempt that it is utterly below criticism, though Mr. Lessing has honoured it with some remarks soon after its publication.⁵ Yet these fifteen Cantos were reprinted at Bungay in Norfolk, and, after the death of Klopstock, when a Miss Smith published an account of his

⁵ Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend, No. 267. The review in question is not, however, by Lessing, but by Resewitz.

funeral, together with a translation of some letters and some few odes, by means of which the name of our great poet came to be more generally known in England than it had been; several of the most distinguished publishers at London, in conjunction, published a pocket-edition of these volumes, to which four more Cantos were added, in like manner translated into English prose. And, at the end of the nineteenth Canto, the translator adds the sapient remark, that the twentieth Canto not properly belonging to the poem, and the action of the poem ending with the Ascension,—this twentieth Canto might, with propriety, be omitted. This statement, however, is futile and absurd. The action of the poem terminates not with the Ascension, but with the ultimate glorification of the divine Messiah, viz., with His sitting down at the Right Hand of God. And this takes place, not at the end of the nineteenth Canto, but in the last verse of the last Canto of the poem.⁶

Besides this, another edition of it (though, I believe, with some alterations and with another name) appeared soon after, and I have seen a third one,—elegantly printed with plates. The consequence was, when I offered my translation to a publisher, I was told by one and all: “We are satisfied with what we have got.”⁷

Perhaps they may be doubly satisfied with what they have got, for it may be justly said, that in their translation Klopstock’s Messiah has been crucified a second time.

Having no other alternative, therefore, I took my Manuscript on board with me and arrived with it, safely, at Hamburg, April 16, 1817. Since then it has rested in my trunk. But, five years having now elapsed since its completion, I at last resolved carefully to revise the whole and give publicity to it here. And I am happy to have it in my power to say, that so many distinguished individuals of Hamburg, both German and English, have already countenanced my

⁶ Commenting upon Collyer’s translation, in the review of Egestorff’s work in the *Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung*, the reviewer dryly remarks: Der zwanzigste Gesang ist vom Uebersetzer deszwegen weggelassen worden, weil er, wie derselbe auf eine sehr *weise* Art bemerkt, unnöthig sey, indem die Handlung am Schlusse des neunzehnten Gesanges sehr passend mit der Himmelfahrt des Erlösers ende.

⁷ Egestorff had published as early as 1810 in Brighton some specimens of his translation under the title: *Elegant Extracts from the Messiah*, translated into English Verse, by G. H. C. Egestorff.

undertaking, that I do not doubt but I shall be able, ultimately, to calculate on indemnity and, thus, have the satisfaction, at least, of seeing my work preserved, which though merely a translation, is nevertheless dear to me, because it has been so arduous a task that I should not be prevailed on to undertake another of the kind on any consideration whatever.

Nor can it be otherwise than particularly grateful to my feelings that I am enabled, now, to publish my translation of Klopstock's poem, where the great poet himself was, during half a century, a citizen, and where he still lives in the recollection of some who were personally intimate with him and enjoyed the singular felicity of his conversation.

In respect to my work itself, I do not give scope to the idle vanity of supposing that it will prove to be a production of perfection; but, having begun and completed it, not only without the aid of man, but under difficulties and obstructions, various and peculiar, I never could prevail on myself after its completion to submit it to the revision of any other person, but chose rather to appear without it before the public, such as it is:

“With all my imperfections on my head.”

EGESTORFF.

Hamburgh, August, 1821.

It is certainly something unusual for a foreigner to undertake the task of translating a work of this kind into another tongue, but Egestorff has not only undertaken it, but has succeeded admirably. The excellence of his English is certainly surprising, but finds a partial explanation in the fact that he went to England when but a lad of seventeen years, and resided there for seventeen years before setting foot once more on his native shore. Still, Egestorff must have had linguistic talent of no mean order to have assimilated so thoroughly the genius of the English tongue. In his translation he has at his command a large poetic vocabulary, and in very few cases does he make the impression of not being to the manner born.⁸ The

⁸ Commenting upon the translation Lowndes says in his *Bibliographers' Manual*: “In justice to the translator this version, though containing some Germanisms, is in very good Miltonic blank verse and a very readable book.”

revision which Egestorff mentions in his preface as having made, is not one merely in name, but in reality. With a painstaking and carefulness which reminds us of Klopstock's own method, and which speaks volumes for the love he bore his work, and for his conscientiousness and ambition as a translator, he has gone over the whole poem, correcting and changing expressions, substituting for them others, which he considered more poetical or accurate, or which rendered the metre more perfect. In some cases he expanded passages quite considerably. For example, the second paragraph, containing in this MS. the same number of lines as in the original, viz., twelve; he expanded in the revision to seventeen. In the first draft he seems to have endeavored to retain, as far as possible, the same number of lines as the original. This is an almost impossible task, because of the greater length of the hexameter over the iambic pentameter which he chose. The result was that he was compelled to omit many words or to choose shorter expressions which were not always translations. So for example in the passage already mentioned, he translates Klopstock's expression, "*der Allbarmherzige*," in the first instance, by the simple word *Deity*, in the second instance much more accurately by "th' all compassionate Jehovah," an expression which is, however, unnecessarily long, as the phrase th' all compassionate would have been sufficient. Similarly in the next line he translates :

Darf aus dunkler Ferne sich auch dir nahen die Dichtkunst
at first with the words :

may poesy
Presume to venture on thy theme profound?

in which the words "aus dunkler Ferne" are not reproduced. In the revision he felt the necessity of introducing them and translates :

May Poesy presume from her remote
Obscurity to venture on thy theme?

In many cases the revision is by no means an improvement on the first revision, as the expansion due to this over con-

scientificness destroys the poetical brevity of the expression and makes the passage appear labored.

The book contains quite a number of misspelled words, which are evidently misprints. Occasionally, however, one comes across phrases or words which are not in accord with English usage. Thus he uses the word *prostrate* frequently in the sense of *to lie*, as an intransitive verb. For example, he renders the passage :

Hier lieg' ich, göttlicher Vater,
Noch nach deinem Bilde geschmückt mit den Zügen der Menschheit,

as follows :

I *prostrate*, Gracious Father, here to Thee,
Adorned still with the dignity of man. (V. 176.)

Again :

To Thee I *prostrate*, Father, in the dust.

Further he writes: I *represent* this my petition, for *present*, and translates the command: "Hülle dich ein," by the words, *involve thyself*. The verb *writhe* is used transitively, *writhing my body at thy feet*. The expression: thus brothers joy, used to translate "so zittern Brüder," although found in Milton, whom Egestorff evidently took as a model, strikes one to-day as unusual. The German: "Segnend schaut' ich den Seligen nach," is reproduced by: With *blessing* looks I saw the blessed rise, thus forcing the meaning of the English *blessing*. The beauty of the German words: "mit inniger Huld," is here feebly reproduced by the words, *with benevolence*, used in one instance. Trivial also are the words, *soon, ah, very soon*, used to translate, *bald aber, ach bald*.

But soon, ah very soon, Thy judgment will
Afflict me and inter me with the dead. (V. 178.)

in the original :

Bald aber, ach bald wird dein tötend Gericht mich
Blutig entstellen, und unter dem Staube der Toten begraben.

The expression, *sequestered groves*, while poetical in itself, is hardly a translation of, *die rauschenden Haine*.

In contrast to these, however, many passages might be given, which reproduce remarkably well the beauty of the original. Thus the passage :

Die himmlische Zeder
Rauschte nicht, der Ozean schwieg an dem hohen Gestade.
Gottes lebender Wind hielt zwischen den ehernen Bergen
Unbeweglich und wartete mit verbreiteten Flügeln
Auf der Stimme Gottes Herabkunft.

is admirably rendered :

Heaven's cedar rustleth not, and silent lay
The crystal ocean in her lofty shores.
God's living winds among the brazen hills
Immovable hovered on expanded wing
Awaiting all the voice of the Most High.

Again :

Und schon stand des Unsterblichen Fuss an der heiligen Pforte,
Welche vor ihm, wie rauschender Cherubim Flügel, sich aufthat

is rendered :

And soon his foot the sacred gate attained
Which opened softly like the rustling wing
Of Cherubim.

Quite effective is the translation of lines 22-41 of the second Canto, where the penitent Eve, looking down upon the earth, dwells with loving gaze upon the town of Bethlehem, where Christ was born, and wishes that the privilege of bringing forth the Son of Man might have been granted her as atonement for her sin :

Down to th' earth
With roving eye affectionate I gaze,
But cannot now my paradise discern.
Oh, Blissful Garden, the relentless floods
Have with the dreadful judgment swept thee hence !
Thy lofty cedars, planted by the hand
Divine; thy peaceful arbours, the abode

Of juvenile virtues; none of you escap'd
 The desolation dire of thundering tempests,
 And the destroying Angel's awful sword!—
 But thou, O Bethlehem, where Mary brought him forth;
 Where with maternal ecstasy she first
 Embracèd him; thou my Eden art henceforth.
 And thou, O Well of David, thou shalt be
 To me the lake, where coming from the hands
 Of my Creator, I first saw myself.
 Thou humble Cot, where first he wept, be thou
 To me th' umbrageous bower of innocence
 Primeval!—Oh, if I had brought Thee forth,
 In Eden, Thou Divine Messiah, after
 The hideous deed of sin; Behold I would
 Have borne Thee in mine arms before my Judge,
 E'en where he stood, where Eden under him
 Became a yawning grave; there, where the tree
 Of knowledge shook terrific; where the Judge
 Spake out of tempests and pronounced my fate;
 Where I was lost in terror and affright,
 And trembling sunk to faint and die away;
 E'en there I would have looked up to my Judge,
 And weeping would have clasp'd Thee in mine arms,
 And pressed Thee closer to my throbbing heart,
 And would with ecstasy have cried aloud:
 O Father, cease to frown, from anger cease!
 Behold, I have brought forth the dear Messiah.

The climax here is very well brought out, but at the last moment spoiled by the weak phrase "the dear Messiah," by which Egestorff has translated the magnificent expression "den Mann Jehovah," which so grandly ends the climax in the original.

The passage, Canto XIX, lines 215–260, where Abbadona in ecstatic rapture extols the Redeemer for the mercy vouchsafed him, as also the death scene on the cross, Canto X, lines 1041–1052, are likewise well rendered, but space will hardly allow of citing them here.

As to how Egestorff's translation was received by his contemporaries I have been able to obtain but little evidence. A careful search in the files of the prominent English periodicals of the day did not reveal a single notice concerning it. In Germany, the only review which has come under my notice is the one in the *Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung*, mentioned in a footnote above. The unknown reviewer, after giving a short sketch of the previous attempts to translate the *Messias* into English, in which he deploras the wretched character of the work done, adds that Egestorff was certainly deserving of commendation for making a new, better and metrical translation of Klopstock's poem, and thus introducing the immortal German bard once more to the English public in a more worthy form. The undertaking, however, was a difficult one, and demanded a great expenditure of force and persevering zeal and industry. Both of these were apparent in the translation, and it therefore deserved, on the whole, high praise; but, he continues, not all parts are equally good. The most serious fault in the eyes of the reviewer is that Egestorff does not attempt to keep his translation down to the same number of lines which the original has, but expands so greatly, in many cases almost doubling the number. This, as we have already seen, is due largely to the use of pentameter instead of the hexameter of the original, but there is no doubt that Egestorff might in many cases have condensed more, had he, as the reviewer remarks, avoided many useless additions.

Whatever may be the faults of Egestorff's translation, the author was, nevertheless, justified in considering it far superior to its predecessors. The prose translation of Collyer not only fails to reproduce the poetry of the original, but fails in the point where a prose translation should be especially strong, namely, in being an accurate reproduction. The author either does not understand the German which he is supposed to translate, or prefers his own words and thoughts to those of Klopstock, so that his production but faintly reminds one of the original.

In this connection it is interesting to recall an expression of opinion which Klopstock gave with reference to this prose translation of his *Messias*. While in Germany, Samuel Taylor Coleridge paid a visit to the aged author of the *Messias* and in his Satyrane letters has preserved for us his impressions and many of Klopstock's remarks. Among other things he tells us: "He (Klopstock) spoke with great indignation of the English prose translation of his MESSIAS. All the translations had been bad, very bad—but the English, was *no* translation—there were pages on pages not in the original: and half of the original was not to be found in the translation. W—— told him that I intended to translate a few of his odes as specimens of German lyrics—he then said to me in English, 'I wish you would render into English some select passages of THE MESSIAH and *revenge* me of your countrymen!' It was the liveliest thing which he produced in the whole conversation."

Klopstock did not stand alone in thus condemning Collyer's translation. In contemporary periodicals we find expressions of censure couched in terms much more unsparing. For instance, in the "*Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*," Leipzig, 1764 Bd. XI, S. 196, in a review of Collyer's book we find the critic saying: "So sehr wir uns erfreuen, wenn unsre guten Dichter zur Ehre unsers Vaterlands in auswärtige Sprachen übersetzt werden, so unangenehm ist es uns, wenn sich poetische Pfüscher einfallen lassen, uns bey den Ausländern entweder durch elende oder ungetreue Uebersetzungen von unsern Originalwerken zu Schande zu machen. Diesz ist der Fall bey dieser Uebersetzung des Herrn Collyer. Sie weicht so sehr von der Urschrift ab, dass man hin und wieder ganz fremde Gedanken, Ausdrücke und Einkleidungen findet. Wir wünschten dasz ein anderer guter Uebersetzer uns bey einer Nation rechtfertigte, die in ihren Urtheilen gegen die Ausländer so strenge ist." This last sentence makes it apparent that the Germans felt most keenly the fact, that their great poet had been presented in such a garbled edition to the *English* the people whose literature they most admired, whose censure they most feared.

Still more unsparing is the condemnation uttered by Resewitz.⁹ After speaking of the growing interest in England in German literature, as evinced by the translation of Gessner's *Death of Abel*, and Klopstock's *Death of Adam* into blank verse, he comes to speak of Collyer's translation of the *Messiah* and adds, "however much pleasure it may give to a true patriot to see the most sublime work of German poetry made accessible by a translation to a nation, which can justly claim the right of judging what is sublime, yet the pleasure is destroyed by the first glance at Collyer's translation."

"To be sure," he continues, "one cannot demand perfection of a translation of such a work, aber wenn fast alles schlecht ist; wenn ein Uebersetzer aus seinem Original, und aus den erhabenen Personen seines Gedichtes andächtigt Schwätzer macht; wenn er die Simplicität durch Zusätze von leeren Worten vernichtet, das Pathos nicht fühlt und erstickt, und die Gemälde durch eigengewählte buntscheckige Farben verunstaltet; wenn er nicht so viel Geschmack hat einzusehen, warum dieser Ton hier herrscht und herrschen muss, und dort ein anderer; wenn er fast alle Personen des Gedichts einerley Sprache führen lässt, als ob sie alle des Uebersetzers Charakter hätten, soll man da wohl vergeben? soll man nicht unzufrieden seyn? Und muss man sich nicht ärgern, dass ein solches Gedicht, als der *Messias* ist, auswärtigen und noch dazu Engländern in solchem Aufzuge vorgelegt wird?"

After further characterizing Collyer's manner, Resewitz continues: "Er scheint die Eitelkeit gehabt zu haben, sein Original noch zu bereichern und zu verschönern . . . Gott drückt sich bey ihm aus, als ein Professor der Theologie, der diese Materie auf dem Katheder dogmatisch vorträge; und der stärkste Affect wird bey ihm ein wortreiches und gedankenleeres Gewäsche. Wie sehr das Original also in dieser Uebersetzung verstellt sey, wie geschmacklos es aussehe, das lässt sich schwer beschreiben. Es wäre kein Wunder, wenn sich Hr. Klopstock

⁹"Briefe die neueste Literatur, betreffend." Th. 17, pp. 17-60. Briefe 267, 268.

in diesem Engländer nicht wiederfände. . . . Wirklich die Misshandlung ist so arg, dass sie die strengste Züchtigung verdient." In closing, he terms it, "ein seltsamer Mischmasch von guten und schlechten, grotesken und richtigen Zügen, von erhabener Poesie und unüberlegtem Geschwätz des gewöhnlichen Andachtsbuches." Surely, if one-half of this censure is deserved, and an examination of the English translation will soon convince one that it is, Klopstock had a right to be indignant at the treatment he received at the hands of the English.

In the above letter describing his interview with Klopstock, Coleridge speaks of finding in a bookstore some specimens of an English translation of the *Messiah* in blank verse. On mentioning this fact to Klopstock, the latter manifested a desire to see them, and Coleridge on his next visit presented the poet with a copy of the book. By whom this translation was made I have been unable to discover. It certainly was not that of Egestorff, as he was then but a boy of fifteen, and the only recorded translation up to that time was the already mentioned prose translation by Mr. and Mrs. Collyer.

Just how Egestorff's translation compares with the later ones I cannot in all cases say, as some of the more recent were not accessible to me. In some instances I have, however, been able to make a comparison. In the same year in which Egestorff published his translation there appeared in the London *Christian Instructor or Congregational Magazine*, beginning May, 1821, and ending April, 1822, a translation of the whole of the first canto, sixty-one lines of the second and one hundred and thirty-five lines of the third into English verse.

It is without name, the translator's preface being signed with a *A*. The author states that three years before he had passed some time at a German university, chiefly from a desire better to understand and appreciate the writings of Klopstock. Upon his return he translated the first canto of the *Messiah*, induced, as he states, not only by the religious and poetical value of the work, but also by a wish, which had arisen while reading it, to

attempt the composition of English hexameters. Although urged by his friends, he hesitated at the time to prepare it for publication, believing that such an innovation, in order to be tolerated by the critics, should be made by a writer of established fame. Finally, encouraged by the fact that Sonthey had led the way in his "Vision of Judgment," he concluded also to launch his little venture. In closing, he corroborates Egestorff's opinion of Collyer's translation, and reveals to us the fact that the English public had failed to see the beauties of Klopstock's work through the cloudy glass of a prose translation by remarking: "that those who are prejudiced against Klopstock's poem by the existing prose translation, should consider what effect would be produced on the 'Paradise Lost,' by a version even into *English* prose."

This partial translation is by far the best of those I have been able to compare. The hexameters are excellent, and the length of the line enabled the author to reproduce the original almost line for line just as it stands, a task which Egestorff found practically impossible in blank verse. Furthermore, the translation is not only accurate, but preserves remarkably well the poetic spirit of the original. Compare for example one instance in the opening lines of the poem. The original reads :

Aber, o That, die allein der Allbarmherzige kennet,
Darf aus dunkler Ferne sich auch dir nahen die Dichtkunst?
Weihe sie, Geist Schöpfer, vor dem ich hier still anbete,
Führe sie mir, als deine Nachahmerin, voller Entzückung
Voll unsterblicher Kraft, in verklärter Schönheit, entgegen.

This the translator reproduces :

But, oh work, which only the Great All-merciful knoweth,
Darkling here from afar, may Poesy dare to approach thee?
Hallow her Sacred Spirit, whom here I worship in silence?
Lead her to me, as thine imitatress, breathing of rapture,
Full of unperishing strength, in veiless majesty hither !

It will be seen that the translation is just as literal as the natural differences between the two languages will permit. The

perusal of the passages which the unknown admirer of Klopstock has done into English, makes one regret that the author for some reason or other, did not continue, the translation thus begun.

As indicative of the interest taken in Klopstock on this side of the Atlantic even in communities, where the German element was scarcely represented, there remains to be mentioned an attempt made in South Carolina as early as 1810. It is entitled: *The Messiah, a Poem attempted in English Blank Verse from the German of the celebrated Mr. Klopstock.* By Solomon Halling, A. M., Rector of Prince George's Parish, Winyaw, Georgetown (S. C.). Printed by Francis M. Baxter, 1810.¹⁰

Considered merely as a poem the Halling translation is in many respects better than that of Egestorff. The author seems to have been more of a poet than the painstaking German. His verses are less labored and there is a manly vigor and swing to them, which makes them quite readable. The most curious fact about the translation, however, is that it is not what it purports to be, namely, a translation from the German of the celebrated Mr. Klopstock, but a working over of the prose translation of Collyer into blank verse. The author evidently felt the defects of the prose version and determined to try his hand at rendering it into more readable form. It is not likely that he understood German to any extent or that he even possessed a copy of the original. A comparison with Collyer's translation will dispel all doubt of this, for as already remarked the translation deviated greatly from the original, and all these deviations are faithfully reproduced by Halling. Collyer's translation begins, for example, as follows:

Inspired by thy immortality, rise my soul and sing the honours of my great Redeemer: honours obtained in adversity's rough school—obtained by suffering for the sins and woes of others, himself sinless.

In the original we have simply the words:

Sing, unsterbliche Seele, der sündigen Menschen Erlösung

¹⁰ A copy of this is to be found in the Rush Library, in Philadelphia.

no mention of the fact that the soul is *inspired* by its own immortality and is to *rise* and sing. In Klopstock it is the *redemption* of sinful man which is to be sung, in Collyer the *honours* of the great Redeemer. Further the only foundation for the longwinded phrase, "honours obtained in adversity's rough school—obtained by suffering for the sins and woes of others, himself sinless," are the words; "leidend, getötet und verherrlicht" of the original.

All these additions of Collyer we find carefully reproduced by Halling:

RISE then my soul! and all enraptured sing
By thine own immortality inspired,
The honors great of the REDEEMER CHRIST
Obtained in hard adversity's rough school,
Obtained by suff'ring for the sins and woes
Of ingrates base and vile—sinless HIMSELF.

Again Collyer:

Recount with humble gratitude those guiltless sufferings, the bitter consequences of love to man's degenerate race.

In spite of all these words the translation has not moved one step forward. The idea already expressed is merely given again in other words—except that here *the guiltless sufferings* of Christ are to be recounted instead of the *honours sung*. And while the soul should certainly show "humble gratitude," we look in vain for those words in the German.

Halling has them, however, literally:

Recount with humble, heartfelt gratitude,
Those guiltless sufferings which bitter flow'd
From love to rebel man's degenerate race.

Further down Collyer translates the two lines:

Aber, o That, die allein der Allbarmherzige kennet,
Darf aus dunkler Ferne sich auch dir nahen die Dichtkunst

with needless verbosity:

O work divine, compleatly known only to the Omnipresent God!

may the muse presume with awful distance to penetrate the sacred veil that surrounds thee, and feeble man attempt thy praise?

It will be noticed that Collyer renders *Allbarmherzig* by *omnipotent* and just what he meant by *penetrating the veil with awful distance*, it is hard to say. Again we find Halling reproducing the passage almost word for word:

O work divine ! only compleatly known
 To him, who is the omnipresent God,
 At awful distance may the Muse presume
 To penetrate that secret veil
 With which surrounded Thou inshroud'st Thyself,
 And feeble man attempt to hymn thy praise.

Collyer's *sacred* veil has now become *secret* veil, which to be sure is of minor importance since neither word is to be found in the original, and the word *dir* of the German, which evidently Klopstock meant to refer to *That* (deed) and which might still be thus construed in Collyer, is made by Halling to refer to God. It is useless to add further examples, which might be extended indefinitely since the whole of the canto is translated in the same fashion. Those adduced will, I think, amply suffice to prove that Halling has done nothing but turn Collyer's prose into verse, and to increase the unnecessary verbiage and errors of which it is full.

Except for the slight rearrangement of the words, the author might with justice have the ugly name of plagiarist applied to him. No doubt, as the result of this supposed translation, he posed as the brightest star in the literary firmament of Georgetown.

Four other attempts to translate portions of the *Messias* remain to be mentioned. The first is by F. W. Cronhelm and consists of a translation or imitation, as the title puts it, of the latter part of the second book in hexameters. The date of publication is not given, but the catalogue of the British Museum suggests 1820 as the probable time. The second attempt is a poem by a Mrs. Montolieu entitled *Gethsemane*, and is an

abridgment of Klopstock's poem. It was published in London, 1823. How much of the *Messias* is here translated, I do not know. A third, and much longer translation, is one made by a Miss Head, and published in London, 1826. The first seven cantos have here been done into English. The fourth attempt consists of the translation of merely the first canto into English Heroic metre. The date is 1866. No name is given. These four books are quoted by the *Catalogue of the British Museum*, from which I have copied them. I have not had the opportunity of seeing them, and can not therefore speak as to their character. These with the other translations already discussed, are as far as I know the only attempts made to translate Klopstock's poem.

It will be seen from the brief account of the various attempts to translate Klopstock's *Messias* into the English, that Egestorff's is the only complete one, since Collyer's prose translation contained but nineteen cantos. For that, if for no other reason, it deserves a better fate than has befallen it. In addition, it is also an accurate translation, for its author brought to it what his predecessors, and perhaps some of his successors, did not possess, namely, an accurate knowledge of German. It is safe to say that at this late day no one could be found possessed of such indomitable energy as to attempt the thankless task of translating the whole of the *Messiah* into English verse. Klopstock belongs to a bygone age. This was felt in Germany even during the lifetime of the poet. The enthusiasm which greeted the appearance of the first three cantos in 1748, waned considerably during the years that followed. A full quarter of a century elapsed between the publication of the first and last cantos. During all this period Klopstock remained the same. Not so the literary world around him. The canons of esthetic criticism were undergoing great changes. The strife between the schools of Gottsched and Bodmer gradually subsided, and owing to the works and criticisms of Herder and Lessing, the influence of Milton, Young and Richardson was giving way before the ever-growing admiration for Shakespeare. The ideas of the storm and stress period were already fermenting in the hearts

of the younger generation. The year 1773, which witnessed the completion of the *Messiah*, is rendered famous by the appearance of Goethe's *Götz*, and marks the final triumph of the drama over the epic which, in Klopstock's youth, was considered the highest form of poetry.¹¹ It is therefore no wonder that not even the most strenuous efforts of Klopstock's admirers, one of the most zealous of whom, Schubart, delivered lectures upon the *Messias* and recited passages of it in the principal cities of South Germany, were able to stem the tide of popular favor. If that was true a hundred years ago, how much more so to-day. The people of this age, whose thirst for excitement is hardly stilled by the most startling productions of the so-called natural school, can no longer find pleasure in the stately cadences and long, at times even prosy, descriptions of Klopstock's poem. The few students of German literature who, because of its historical interest, or from a sense of duty attempt to read it, prefer naturally the original to a translation. Egestorff's translation will, therefore, probably remain unique—the only complete metrical translation into English.

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY.

¹¹ Cf. The introduction to Klopstock's edition of the first three cantos of the *Messias*. Seuffert's *Neudrucke*, No. 11, p. XI.

GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.

1. Goth. *aiwiski* 'shame', *un-aiwisks* 'not ashamed', *aiwiskōn* 'behave shamefully', O. E. *ǣwisc* 'disgraced, abashed, indecent', and as noun 'disgrace, offence', L. G. *aisk* 'hateful, ugly' have been compared with Gk. *αἰσχος* 'shame'. This explanation takes no account of other O. E. words that are plainly related. The Germ. adj. *aiwiska-* is formed from a noun stem **aiwis-*, which appears in O. E. *ǣwis-firina* 'notorious sinner'. Cf. Sweet, *Dict. of Ags.* This *ǣwis-* is further related with O. E. *ǣwan* 'contemn, scorn', from **aiwjan* from pre-Germ. **aiq^uiō-*. From the same stem are Gk. *αἴτιος* 'guilty', *αἴτια* 'fault, guilt, accusation'. It is even possible that *αἰσχος* < **aiq^uσχος* is related.

2. O. H. G. *emmix*, *emiz*, *emmixig*, *amazig*, *emazzig*, *emezzig* 'continual' show by the variety of spellings that the word was probably corrupted from a no longer understood compound. For such words change more rapidly for two reasons: First, the simple words of which they are composed do not hold them in check, and besides there is an unconscious effort to assimilate them to like-sounding or synonymous words. The same is true of foreign words. For example, O. H. G. *ambaht* appears in M. H. G. as *ammeht*, *ammet*, *amt*. But if it had been composed of well understood words, it would have remained practically the same to the present day. Again O. H. G. *ant-lutti* confused with *ant-litze* became *antluzzi*, *anluzzi*, *annuzzi*.

This is the probable explanation of the various forms of *emmix*, *emmixig*. Now this word is used in the Pater-noster, as, *prooth unseer emezihic*, Braune, *Ahd. Lesebuch*, 8, 3; *pilipi unsez emizzigaz*, *Ahd. Lb.* 32, 5 (Freis. Paternoster); *broot unsez emetzīgaz* (Weiss. Cat.), translating *panem nostrum cotidianum*. This is otherwise translated *brōt tagalīhhaz* ('Tatian'); *unser tagelicha brōt* (Notker); and, in the second of

the Ambr. Hymns, as given in *Ahd. Lb.*, *prōt unseraz taga-wuizzi = panem nostrum cottidie*. This furnishes the clue to *emmiz*. For *taga-wizzi* contains in its last element an adj. *wizzi* 'going, coming'. Compare O. S. *gi-wītan* 'go', O. E. *ge-wītan* 'go away', Hild. 18 *giweit* 'went'. Hence *tagawizzi* meant 'coming daily'.

The same element *-wiz*, *-wizzig* is in *emmiz*, *emmizzig* < **am-wiz*, **am-wizzig*. Compare *frammert*, *frammort*, *framort* < **fram-wert*. Here we see the gemination arising from *-mw-* simplified in *framort* as in *emiz*, and the vowel darkened as in *emazzig*. **Am-wiz*, **am-wizzig* is not, of course, the original form. This is for an older **an(t)-wiz*, in which the *t* was dropped with consequent assimilation as in *ant-luzzi*, *annuzzi* or in *amphang*: *ant-fang*. Compare also the assimilation in *im-biz* beside *in-biz*. Assimilation would probably have taken place wherever *-n-b-*, *-n-p-*, *-n-w-* came together had it not been prevented by the occurrence of the prefix in other compounds and alone. But in **ant-wiz* the derivation was lost sight of, since the verb **wīzan* 'go' was no longer used in O. H. G.

Moreover the adj. **ant-wiz* translated the Gk. ἐπιωσιος, and was probably modeled after that word. The form with *-īg* is doubtless later and finally supplanted the earlier *emmiz*, as that lost the appearance of an adjective. We may conclude then that **antwiz* was coined by the monks and became current among the people through the Paternoster, and was afterward corrupted by them when its component parts were no longer understood.

3. For Germ. *īsa* 'ice' no connection has been found. There seems to be no root *eīs-*, *īs-* or *aīs-*, *īs-* to which it may be referred with any certainty. To the possibilities that have been suggested I add another. Germ. *īsa* 'ice' may be from **īssa-* < **īt-to-* < **īdh-to-*, and in that case would belong to the root *aīdh-*, *īdh-* 'glitter, burn'. The primary meaning may have been 'glittering' or 'stinging'. For a similar difference in meaning compare Alban. *pruš* 'burning coals', Skt. *plōṣati* 'burns', Lat. *prūriō* 'itch', Goth. *frius* 'frost'.

4. For Germ. *auda-* in Goth. *auda-hafts* 'happy', O. N. *auðr*, O. E. *ēad*, O. S. *ōd*, O. H. G. *ōt* 'possession, riches', Goth. *audags*, etc., no connection has been found outside of Germ. This I connect with the Germ. stem *wadjä-* in Goth. *wadi* 'pledge', O. H. G. *wetti*, etc. These are compared with Lat. *vas* (gen. *vadis*), Gk. *ἄεθλον* 'prize, gift', Lith. *vaduti* 'redeem'. The ablaut—*ayǣdh-* : *aydh-* : *yedh-* : *yǣdh-*—is the same as in Gk. *ἀέζω* : *ἄβζω* Lat. *auxilium* : Goth. *wahsjan*.

The primary meaning of Germ. *auda-*, like that of Gk. *ἄεθλον*, was 'something obtained or given'. This survives in O. N. *auðenn*, O. S. *ōdan*, O. E. *ēaden* 'given, granted'. The original meaning of the root *ayǣdh-*, however, was 'move, sway', either 'push' or 'pull'. 'Push', from which 'strike, slay', is the development in Gk. *ὠθέω*, Skt. *vadhayati*; while 'pull, draw, lead', etc., is that of Lith. *vedù* 'lead, marry' ('uxorem duco'), Skt. *vadhū* 'bride'. From 'pull, draw' develops also 'struggle', in Gk. *ἄεθλος* 'contest, combat'; 'draw to oneself, win', in Gk. *ἄεθλον* 'prize', Lith. *vadūti* 'redeem'; 'draw together, bind', in Goth. *ga-widan*, O. H. G. *wetan* 'bind', Skt. *vivadhā-* 'yoke'; 'bind up, clothe', in Av. *vad-* 'clothe', O. S. *wād*, O. E. *wēd*, O. N. *vāð*, O. H. G. *wāt* 'dress'. Similarly in the root *deyk-* we find 'draw, lead, take to oneself, receive, marry', etc., in Lat. *dūco*, and 'bind' in Eng. *tie*.

5. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁵ s. v. *Wetter*, gives two possibilities for Germ. *wedra-* 'weather': from pre-Germ. **yēdhro-*, O. Sl. *vedro* 'clear weather'; or from **yetro-*, O. Sl. *větrū* 'air, wind', from the root *yē-* 'blow'. The latter I believe is the correct derivation, though it is possible that the two stems have fallen together. From the Germ. stem *wedra-* come O. E. *weder* 'sky, air, breeze, weather, season, time of day', O. S. *wedar* 'weather, storm', O. N. *veðr*, O. H. G. *wetar* 'wetter'.

These meanings come better from 'blow' than from 'clear', although it might be possible for such a development as 'fair weather' : 'weather' : 'bad weather'. However, there are other reasons for deriving *weather* from pre-Germ. **yētró*. M. H. G. *witeren*, O. N. *viðra* 'wittern, get wind of' come from

this same stem *widra-* 'wind, weather', and are not directly connected with *wind* as Kluge supposes. Moreover the alliterative expression 'wind and weather' speaks for a pre-Germ. **uētró-* 'wind, storm'. Of course *wind* from **uēntó-* is another formation from the root *uē-* 'blow'.

The root *uēt-* in Germ. *wed-ra-*, O. Sl. *vět-rŭ* is also in Gk. *ἔτος* 'year', Lat. *vetus* 'old', Skt. *vatsás* 'yearling', *vatsalas* 'calf', Goth. *wiprus* 'wether', etc. This is the simple development: 'wind', 'weather', 'season', 'year', 'yearling'. O. E. *weder* 'wind, weather, season' has three stages of this development, and the further change to 'year' is but slight. Compare Gk. *ῥοα* 'season, time of day, hour': Goth. *jēr* 'year'.

The same root *uēt* is recognized by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, in Gk. *ἄσσιος* 'vain, empty', which contains the low grade of *ἀήτης*, *ἀετμόν*. The development, as Prellwitz indicates, is the same as in *ἄνεμος* 'wind': *ἀνεμόλιος* 'vain, fruitless'. With Gk. *ἄσσιος* Froehde, *BB*, 20, 195 f., compares Goth. *aups*, *aupeis*, O. H. G. *ōdi*, etc., 'empty, vain, desert'. This is the correct explanation beyond a doubt, for it enables us to connect Germ. *aupja-* 'vain' and *aupja* 'light, easy'. From the common meaning 'windy, airy' come 'light, easy' and 'light, vain, empty, foolish', etc.

This also explains the Gk. adv. *ἐτός* 'without reason, in vain, for nothing', and the adj. *ἐτώσιος* 'fruitless, idle, vain'. Gk. *ἐτός* < **uetós*, is the acc. sing. neut. of the adj. stem **uet-és-*, *uet-ós-* 'windy', to which corresponds the subst. **uétos* 'windiness, weather, season'.

6. O. H. G. *wabar-siuni* 'spectacle' contains in its first part a Germ. root *waþ-*, *wēþ-*, which is further represented in O. E. *wāfer-hūs* 'theater', *wāfer-nes* 'pomp, pageant', *wāfer-sien* 'spectacle, display', etc., and in *wāfþ* 'show, spectacle', *wāfung*, *wāfung* 'amazement, pageantry', *wāfian* 'gaze in wonder, be astonished, wonder at'. These may be referred to an I. E. root *uēþ-*, *uōþ-*, and compared with Skt. *vāpus* 'wonderful, admirable'; 'wonder, wonderful appearance, beauty', and perhaps also with Lith. *vepsaú* 'gaze'.

7. O. H. G. *wal*, M. H. G. *wal-stat* 'battlefield', O. E. *wæl*

'slaughter, battlefield, the slain', O. N. *valr* 'the slain', O. E. *wōl* 'pestilence', O. H. G. *wuol* 'destruction, slaughter', to which should be added O. E. *wælan* 'torment, afflict', are compared by Mikkola (quoted in I. F. Anz. 7, 14) with Lith. *velys* 'dead person'.

These belong to the I. E. root *uēl-*, *uōl-*, to which are also to be referred Gk. *ὀλή* 'wound', Lat. *volnus*, Skt. *vraṇas* 'wound', etc. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ὀλή*. This, I believe, is the root *uēl-* 'turn'. The probable development is 'turn, twist, torment, wound', or 'turn, whirl, throw, strike'.

8. Of O. H. G. *līsta*, O. E. *līst* 'strip, hem, list', O. N. *līsta* Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁵ s. v. *Leiste* says: "Ausserhalb des Germ. fehlen alle Anknüpfungspunkte".

Graff 2, 251 connects with O. H. G. *leisa* 'track', *leist* 'track, last'. Cf. also Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *līsta*. This comparison is phonetically exact and semasiologically unimpeachable. It is not at all probable that the root *leis-* meant primarily 'go' but rather 'trace'. From this develops 'furrow' in Lat. *lira*, and 'go' in Germ. **lisan*. O. H. G. *līsta* may therefore be regarded as a fem. abstract from an adj. **līsta-*, pre-Germ. **līs-to-*: 'traced': 'tracing, tracery'.

9. For O. E. *blæc* 'black' I assumed a pre-Germ. **mlogo-* (*Jour. Germ. Phil.* I, 297), and this I regarded as an extension of the root *mel-* in Gk. *μέλας* 'black'. I did not at the time know of any equivalent, but now find it in Gk. *ἀμολγός* 'darkness', *ἀμολγῶ* ζόφω (Hesych.), O. Ir. *melg* 'death'. For further connections compare Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ἀμολγῶ*, Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *milhma*.

10. A Germ. root *bars-*, *bors-* 'pointed, sharp' is recognized by Kluge in *Barsch*, *barsch*, *Borste*, *Bürste*. The same root I claim as the base of the following. O. N. *barr* 'grain', O. E. *bere* 'barley', Goth. *barizeins* 'of barley', Lat. *far*, etc. This word meant primarily 'pointed, bearded'.—From pre-Germ. **bhraz-dho-*: *bh̥z-dho-* are O. E. *breard*, *brord* 'brim, border, point', O. H. G. *brart*, *brort* 'prow, margin', O. N. *broddr* 'point', O. Sw. *brædder* 'edge', O. N. *brydda*, O. E. *bryrdæn*

'stimulate', O. H. G. *brorten* 'border'. Closely connected with these, from pre-Germ. **bharz-dhā-*, are O. H. G. *barta*, O. S. *barda*, O. N. *barða* 'battle-ax'. Here also *-bort* in *staim-bort* 'stone-ax', Hild. 65, from **bhrzdho-*. Cf. Schade, *Wb.* These two groups go back to older **brazd-*, **brozd-* and **barzd-*, **borzd-*, which last became **barrd-*, **borrd-* with later simplification of *-rr-*. In like manner, to an older **borzd-* may be referred O. H. G. *borto* 'hem, border', O. E. *borda* 'fringe' (not mentioned by Kluge either under *Bord* or *Borte*), *bord* 'side of ship', *byrdan* 'fringe, embroider'. Compare above O. H. G. *brorten*. Here also Lith. *barzdà*, Prus. *bardus*, O. Ch. Sl. *brada* < **barda* or **borda*, O. E. *beard*, O. H. G. *bart*, Lat. *barba* 'beard'.

The meanings that occur in the different groups did not develop one from the other, but from a common center: 'stick out, be pointed, be sharp, have an edge'. These are all reducible to a simpler root *bher-*, on which cf. author, *Jour. Germ. Phil.* I, 442 f.

Goth. *-baurd* O. N. *borð*, O. E., O. S. *bord*, O. H. G. *bort*, *bret*, O. E. *bred* 'board' are, of course, not directly connected with the above. They are, however, related through the root *bher-* 'cut, split': pre-Germ. **bhr-tó-* **bhre-tó-*.

11. O. H. G. *flagarôn* 'flutter', M. H. G. *vlackern* 'flicker', O. E. *flacor* 'flying', *flicerian* 'flutter', Eng. *flicker*, Du. *flickern* 'gleam, flicker', (Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *flackern*) are evidently from a root that meant 'waver, flutter', and secondarily 'flicker as a flame, shine with an unsteady light'. A similar meaning and phonetic form occur in Skt. *phalgús* 'gleaming red', Lett. *spu'lgans* 'shining, changing color', Arm. *ph'ail* 'gleam, brightness', Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 510. To this group probably belong N. H. G. *flink*, with its older meanings 'shining, bright' and 'elegans, mundus, agilis'. Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* The variety here points back to same primary signification as in the words given above.

12. O. H. G. *fliz* 'zeal, strife', O. H. G. *flizzan* 'be zealous, active', O. E. *flitan* 'contend, struggle, quarrel, (*ge-*)*flit* 'strife,

dispute' are probably from a Germ. root **plūt-* from pre-Germ. **tlūd-* or **tlūtn'-*, which we may compare with Lat. *stlīs*, *stlūt-is* 'strife, dispute, quarrel'.

The same Germ. root *plūt-* is also in O. H. G. *flitarazjan* 'caress', M. H. G. *flittern* 'laugh softly, whisper', N. H. G. *flitter*, etc., and in O. H. G. *flistran* < **pliss(t)r-* < **tlit-tr-* 'stroke, caress', N. H. G. *flüstern*. These are all from the simpler root (s)*tlī-*, whose primary meaning was perhaps 'stroke, rub', from which the double development 'stroke, strike, quarrel' and 'stroke, caress', etc. To the root (s)*tlī* belong also Goth. *plaihan* 'caress, comfort', O. H. G. *flēhan*, etc., and, with different development of meaning, O. E. *flāh*, O. N. *flār* 'deceitful'. Germ. *plaih-* may be compared with O. Ch. Sl. *tlěš-ti* 'strike' (< **tlejĭk-*?).

13. Germ. *darni* 'secret', in O. E. *dierne*, O. H. G. *tarni*, O. S. *derni*, contains the various ideas 'hidden, dark, treacherous, malicious'. Cf. Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *tarni*, *tarnjan*. These are evidently from the Germ. root *dar-*, which occurs in M. E., M. Du. *daren* 'be hidden' (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁵ s. v. *Tarnkappe*), O. E. *darian* 'lurk, be hidden'. To the same root probably belong O. E. *daru*, O. H. G. *tara* 'damage, injury', from which O. E. *derian*, O. H. G. *terran*, etc. The primary meaning of the group is 'secret, secrecy', and hence 'treachery, secret injury'. Compare the similar development in O. E. *deorc* 'dark, terrible, evil, wicked'. This, together with the related O. H. G. *tarchanjan* 'conceal, hide, suppress', M. H. G. *terken* 'darken, soil', probably belongs to the same root. This may be the I. E. root *dher-* 'hold', which in this group has developed the meaning 'hold back, conceal'.

14. Eng. *doze* from O. N. *dūsa* 'doze', denominative from *dūs* 'quiet', is supposed to contain the same root as O. E. *dysig*, *dwæs*, etc. Cf. Noreen, U. L. 80, 83. It is rather from **dūssa-* < pre-Germ. **dhut-to-* and should be compared with O. H. G. *tūzen* < **dūtjan*, M. H. G. *tiuzen* 'to silence', *tūzen* 'keep still', *getotzen* 'sleep', from pre-Germ. **dhūdo-*. Compare further O. E. *dyttan* < **dutjan* 'shut (ears), stop (mouth)' and O. H. G. *tuschen* 'hide one self' from pre-Germ. **dhud-sk-*.

A related root *dhudh-* or *dhut-* occurs in O. E. *dydrian*, 'delude', *dydrung* 'illusion, delusion, deceit', O. H. G. *tüsch* 'mockery, deceit', pre-Germ. **dhūt-sko-*, M. H. G. *tiuschen* 'make sport of, deceive', N. H. G. *täuschen*.

15. O. H. G. *tougan*, *tougal*, *tougali*, O. E. *dēagol*, *dīegle* 'secret' are, I believe, compounds of the Germ. word for 'eye' and the prefix *eā-* 'back, again', O. E., O. S. *ed-*, O. N. *ið-*, Goth. *id-*, O. H. G. *it-*, *ita-*. The Germ. form was therefore **(e)ā-augla-*, **(e)ā-auglja-*, **(e)ā-augana-* 'back or away from the eyes, out of sight, hidden'. From this comes the verb, O. E. *dīeglian*, O. H. G. *tougalen* 'hide'.

This group is the counterpart of the compounds with *at*: Goth. *at-augjan*, O. E. *æt-īewan*, O. S. *tōgian*, O. H. G. *zougen*, M. Du. *tōnen*, M. Fr. *zōnen* 'show'. Cf. Noreen, U. L. 29.

16. For Germ. *goda-* 'God' two passable etymologies have been proposed: (1) from I. E. **ghu-tó* 'called upon', Skt. *hváyati* 'calls'; (2) *ghu-tó* 'poured out', Skt. *ju-hō-ti* 'pours'. On the second etymology, proposed by Aufrecht, *Bezz. Beitr.* 20, 256, cf. author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, 84 f.

I have another to propose, which, to say the least, is as good as any explanation given yet. I derive *goda-* from I. E. **g^hhu-tó-*, the perf. part. of **g^hhey-* 'fear, revere, worship, regard'. To this root belong O. Ch. Sl. *gověti* 'religiose vereri, εὐλαβεῖσθαι; venerari, αἰδεῖσθαι', Lat. *faveō*, cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 600. The Germ. word for the divinity would therefore mean 'feared, revered, worshiped'. This tallies well with Tacitus' account: "deorum nominibus appellat secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident". Germ. IX.

From this root is derived the Germ. stem *gauma-* < **g^hhou-mo-* 'respect, regard, attention, observance' in O. N. *gaumr* 'attention', O. H. G. *gouma*, M. H. G. *goume*, *goum* 'close attention', and then 'attendance upon, serving as host, entertainment, feast', M. L. G. *gōm* 'care, carefulness'. From this comes the denominative O. H. G. *goumōn*, *goumen*, M. H. G. *goumen* 'pay attention to, observe, strive after, keep watch, guard, serve a meal', O. S. *gōmian* 'pay attention to, take care of, entertain',

M. L. G. *gomen* 'give heed to, strive after', Goth. *gaumjan* 'observe, see, perceive', O. E. *gīeme* 'care', *gīeman* 'take care of, take notice of', *gīemen(n)* 'taking care of, guardianship, government', etc. (Cf. Schade, *Wb.*), O. S. *far-gūmon*, O. E. *for-gīeman* 'neglect'.

The above words, it will be seen, have preserved remarkably well the original meaning of the root. In many significations they correspond to Lat. *faveō*. Compare also the meanings of the enlarged root *g^hoy-s-*, which appears in Lat. *faustus* 'fortunate, auspicious', Lith. *gausus* 'abundant', with O. H. G. *gouma* 'opulentia, fortuna'. No objection can be made to this connection on account of the meaning even by those who think it necessary to discard an etymology for such a reason; and phonetically the forms could not have been otherwise, since the labialization here regularly disappears.

The derivation given by Johansson, *P. B. B.*, 15, 228, prefix *ga-* + O. Ch. Sl. *umū* 'understanding', Skt. *omyā* 'favor', *ūma-* 'helping' is improbable for this reason: A Germ. stem *ūma-* or *auma-* appears nowhere else, and in so large a group of words as this, the simple stem would certainly occur. In the next place his explanation takes no account of the noun stem in O. H. G. *gouma*, etc., and these certainly cannot be separated from the verb.

17. In Goth. *hlaifs*, O. N. *hleifr*, O. E. *hlāf*, O. H. G. *hleib* 'loaf, bread', we have the old Germ. designation for 'bread'. Aside from probable loanwords, no certain connection has been made for Germ. *hlaiða-*. For explanations hitherto given, cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *hlaifs*.

Another possibility, which I consider a probability, is to connect Germ. *hlaiða-* < pre-Germ. **kloi-bho-* or **kloi-pó-* with Gk. *κλιβανος* 'a covered earthen vessel in which bread was baked by putting hot embers round it', *κλιβάνη* 'bread or cake' baked in such a vessel. The Attic *κλιβανος*, *κλιβάνη*, etc., are for original *κλι-*. The Gk. and Germ. words are probably from *klei-* 'cover', and represent related stems from that root. In that case Goth. *hleibjan*, O. N. *hlīfa*, O. H. G. *līban* 'protect, spare' may be con-

nected, as has been supposed, but not in the manner indicated in Uhlenbeck's *Et. Wb.* 'Loaf' meant rather 'baked in a covered vessel'.

18. The younger Germ. *brauða-* 'bread' is supposed to be from the root of 'brew'. This, I believe, is wrong. The word does not mean primarily something brewed or cooked or baked, but 'fragment, slice'. This is plain from O. E. *brēad* 'morsel, crumb', and from the compounds, O. E. *bēo-brēad*, M. H. G. *bie-brōt* 'honeycomb, beebread'. Compare the similarly formed N. H. G. *honig-scheibe*.

Germ. *brauða-* 'bread' was in origin an adj. meaning 'broken, cut', and we may compare O. H. G. *brōdi* 'frail, weak', O. E. *brēad* 'brittle', *ā-brēoðan* 'fail, perish; destroy'.

19. N. H. G. *holpern*, Alem. *hülpen*, M. H. G. *holpeln* are probably from the same root as Goth. *-hlaupan*, O. N. *hlaupa*, O. E. *hlēapan*, O. H. G. *hlaufan*, etc. This root, *quelb-*, *quelp-* and *qlub-*, *qlup-*, is found, in the first form, in Gk. *χάλπη* 'trot', Pruss. *po-quelbton* 'kneeling', and, in the second, in Lith. *klūpti* 'stumble', *klūpoti* 'kneel', Goth. *hlaupan*, etc. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 572. It will be seen that *holpern*, in which *holp-* is Alem. from Germ. **holb-*, belongs to the first form, being from pre-Germ. **qulp-*.

20. Eng. *hough*, *hock*, O. E. *hōh* 'heel', O. N. *hā* 'hock' are compared by Skeat, *Et. Dict.*, with Lat. *coxa* 'hip', Skt. *kákṣa* 'arm-pit'. This comparison seems not to have found favor with Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et.*, but it is certainly a correct one. O. E. *hōh* 'heel, projecting ridge of land, promontory', from which the diminutive *hēla* < **hōhila* 'heel', akin to O. N. *hæll*, may be referred to a root *qĕk-*, *qōk-* 'project, bend'; while Lat. *coxa*, Skt. *kákṣa-s*, O. Ir. *coss* 'foot', Av. *kašō* 'shoulder', O. H. G. *hahsa* 'hock' are from the enlarged root *qōks-*, cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 555. The same root *qĕk-*, *qōk-* is in O. H. G. *hāgo*, *hāggo*, *hāko*, *hācko*, O. E. *hōc* 'hook'. The forms with *-k-*, *-kk-* are probably from pre-Germ. *-kn-*. In that case O. E. *haca*, O. N. *hake* 'hook' may owe their single *-k-* to analogy. In the word for 'heel' the *k-* form also occurs in O. H. G. *hacchun*

'calces', where *-cch-* < *-kk-* is undoubtedly from pre-Germ. *-kn-*, and the word is related, as Kluge supposes, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Hacke*, to O. E. *hēta*.

To the same root we may refer O. E. *haccian*, M. H. G. *hacken* 'hack', primarily 'strike with a hook'. Here also Germ. *hakk-* is from pre-Germ. **qokn-*. This shows the connection which Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Haken*, assumes between 'hook' and Goth. *hōha* 'plough', O. H. G. *huohili*.

21. The unexplained Goth. *us-haista* 'poor', pre-Germ. **kois-* *to-* is a *to-* part. or adj. of a root *kois-*. The same root with a similar meaning occurs in Lat. *cūra*, *coirā-*, Paelign. *coisa-tens* 'curaverunt', Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 185.

22. For Goth. *hugs* 'mind' three possible etymologies have been suggested. (1) Skt. *ṣōcati* 'beam'; (2) Lith. *kaūkas* 'gnome', Prus. *carwx* 'devil', Mikkola, B. B. 22; (3) Gk. *κωζω* 'mix', Uhlenbeck, P. B. B., 541.

In proposing this etymology, Uhlenbeck, with the greatest inconsistency, objects to the connection with the Skt. root *ṣuc-* on the ground of meaning. The meanings cited are *ṣōcati* 'shines, glows, burns, mourns', *ṣōka-* 'heat, pain, grief'; whereas Germ. *hugi* signifies 'excitement, desire, joy'. These, however, are only the double development from a common center. This is 'beam, glow', which may give either 'glow, burn, suffer', or 'glow, shine, be bright, joyful'. And this double development is in Skt. Compare *ṣūci-* 'flaming, beaming (fig. of a smile), light, bright, clear, pure, holy'; *ṣuk-rā-* 'clear, bright'; *ṣuk-lā-* 'clear, bright, white'. These significations are exactly in line with those of Germ. *hugi-*, and moreover *hugi-* corresponds in its stem to Skt. *ṣūci-*. But Germ. *huga-*, *hugi-* do not mean simply 'excitement, desire, joy'. Here also we find 'care, grief'. Compare O. E. *hoga* 'thoughtful, careful', *hogu* 'solicitude, care', *hog-full* 'solicitous, anxious, sad, attended with anxiety', *hogian* 'think about, consider, be intent on, intend, wish'. Notice also these meanings: O. E. *hyge* 'mind, heart, mood, courage, pride', *hygdig* 'thoughtful; modest, chaste' (cf.

Skt. *çuci-* 'clear, pure'), ¹*hyht* 'hope, joy, pleasure'. It is evident, therefore, that Germ. *hoga-*, *hogō-*, *hugi-* are easily connected with Skt. *çuc-*. Even if Skt. and Germ. did not show a double parallel development, there would be no objection to combining them. It is no unusual thing to find the same word with opposite or quite different meanings in different languages. This is the natural development, not the exceptional; and when etymologists recognize this fact, they will have less difficulty in finding etymological equivalents and in showing the semasiological development. A good training for any etymologist would be to read the dictionary of his own language to see in how many different senses a particular word may be used. He will not be so ready then to separate words simply because their meanings do not correspond. But in Germ. *hug-* and Skt. *çuc-* the meanings do correspond, and that too with the greatest exactness. This would be impossible if 'glow, be hot' were the primary meaning. But such is not the case. Originally the root *kuq-* or *ku-go-* meant 'spring up, beam'; and from this developed the various significations as indicated above. It is easily possible that this root is a derivative of *ku-* 'swell'. From that primitive meaning all the derived meanings easily come.

The connection of Germ. *hoga-*, *hugi-* with Gk. *κινῶ* has little in its favor. It is a possibility, and that is the best that can be said of it. Semasiologically it is inferior to the old etymology. Starting with the meanings of *κινῶ* and its derivatives we should expect to find in related words such ideas as 'agitation, confusion, strife', etc. And such ideas we find expressed by this group of words. E. g. *κινῶ* 'stir up, confuse, disorder, disquiet, terrify', *κινῆ* 'confusion', *κινῆτης* 'agitator'. These are certainly no nearer to the ideas expressed by Germ. *hoga-*, *hugi-* than are the meanings of Skt. *çuc-*. Of course, the senses in which *κινῶ*, etc., are used are not necessarily original, but as they are, they do not furnish a good etymon for *hoga-*, *hugi-*.

¹ O. E. *hyht* belongs here, not to *hope*, as Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁵, s. v. *hoffen*, supposes.

The connection with Lith. *kaūkas* 'gnome', Prus. *carv* 'devil' is improbable, since the Germ. word did not mean primarily 'spirit', nor is that idea at all present. If we admit the comparison, then we must assume that Lith. *kaūkas* and Goth. *hugs* have branched off from some common idea, not that *hugs* ever meant the same as *kaūkas*. This may rather be connected with Goth. *skōhsl* for **skūhsl*, M. H. G. *schüsel* < **skūhsla*, the N. H. G. *scheusal* being popularly referred to *scheu*, O. E. *scucca* 'demon, devil', from **squqnó*. Cf. Balg. *Cp. Gl. of Goth.*

23. O. E. *hrēol*, O. N. *hræll* < **hranhil*- 'weaver's rod' (cf. Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et. s. v. reel*), are probably from a pre-Germ. root *kre(n)k-* 'strike'. Compare the similar development of Eng. *sley*, *slay* 'weaver's rod', from the Germ. root *slah-* 'strike'. Such a root occurs in Gk. *πέχω* 'strike, beat; strike the web, weave; strike a stringed instrument, play'; *κρηίς* 'weaver's comb, radius, plectrum'; *πέχη* 'woof, weft', cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb. s. v. πέχω*.

We see in the Gk. group the following development: (1) 'strike : weave, web; (2) 'strike : cause to resound'. In Germ. we find corresponding to development (1) the word given above, Eng. *reel*, etc., and furthermore O. E. *hrægl*, O. H. G. *hregil*, Eng. *rail* 'garment'. The last word is most nearly related in form and meaning to Gk. *πέχη*. To development (2) of the Gk. correspond O. E. *hringan*, O. N. *hringja* 'ring, resound', *hrang* 'din'. Cf. Fick, *V. Wb.*⁴ I, 30.

To the root *kek-* of this group is further related the pre-Germ. root *skrek-*. This appears in O. H. G. *skurgen* 'shove, thrust', from pre-Germ. **skrkjō-*, and *screckōn* 'spring up, be startled'. The latter, from **skreknā-*, is the medio-passive in meaning to the former.

Both the roots *kek-* and *skrek-* are probably outgrowths of the I. E. root *s-qer-* in Gk. *σάϊρω* 'spring, hop', O. H. G. *scern* 'jest', M. H. G. *scherzen* 'spring merrily', Skt. *kūrdati* 'spring, hop', Brugmann, *Grd. I*², 575. Here again we have the medio-passive of *s-qer-* 'strike, shove', in Gotli. *-skairō*, O. H. G. *scora* 'shovel', M. H. G. *schürn* 'stir, incite', *schorn* 'shove, scrape

together'. This is beyond doubt the wide-spread root *sger-* 'cut, thrust'.

24. Goth. *ga-whatjan* 'sharpen, incite', O. N. *hvetja*, etc., denom. to O. N. *hvatr* 'quick', O. E. *hwæt* 'sharp, bold', with which are related Goth. *hwōta* 'threat', etc., have been connected with Skt. *cōdati* 'drive, incite, excite'. This is undoubtedly correct.

To the same root I should refer Gk. *ᾤδάζω* 'revile, abuse', which Prellwitz joins with O. Ch. Sl. *kuditi* 'blame, revile', (compare Goth. *hwōta* 'threat'); and O. E. *hunta* 'hunter', *huntian* 'hunt'. This word is generally combined with Goth. *-hinþan* 'catch', from which it is better to separate it. It is rather from pre-Germ. *qu(n)d-*, to which belongs also N. H. G. *huntzen* 'abuse, revile'. This has the same developed meaning as in Gk. *ᾤδάζω*, Goth. *hwōta*.

A related root *s-qu(n)d-* occurs in Skt. *skund-* 'spring forth', to which, perhaps, with Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁵, we may refer O. H. G. *sciozan* 'shoot', O. E. *scēotan*², etc. To this root may belong O. N. *skūta* 'mockery, derision' (cf. Gk. *ᾤδάζω*, etc., above) with Gk. *σὺζομαι*, *σὺδαίνω* 'be angry', Lith. *skaudūs* 'violent, painful', *skundū* 'become weary', and others given by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* To a byform *squ(n)dh-* belong Gk. *σὺδρός* 'angry, sullen', Lith. *skudrus* 'sharp', with which compare O. E. *scūdan* 'hasten', O. H. G. *scutisōn*, *scutilōn*, *scutten*, O. S. *scuddjan*, etc. (cf. Schade, *Wb.*) and O. E. *scyndan* 'hasten, incite', O. N. *skynda* 'hasten', O. H. G. *scunten* 'incite'. Here also O. E. *hūdenian* 'shake', pre-Germ. **qūdh-*. Compare also M. H. G. *hotzen* 'rock, sway', *hotze* 'cradle', from *qud-*.

Germ. *skundjan*, it is true, is doubtful, since it could as well go back to a pre-Germ. **sqndh-* or **sqnt-*¹. If the latter, we may compare Gk. *κεντέω* 'spur, spur on', O. H. G. *hantag* 'sharp, violent', Goth. *handugs* 'wise', *i. e.*, 'sharp, keen-witted'. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *κεντέω*. To these we may add Goth. *-hinþan* 'catch', primarily 'get by pursuit, erjagen'.

² For a different explanation, however, compare Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *skauts*.

25. O. H. G. *scenko* 'schenk', *scenzen* 'pour out', give to drink' are supposed to be derivatives of *shank*, on the assumption that a bone from the leg was used in ancient times as a faucet or stopcock on a cask. This connection is probably correct, but the explanation is absurd. The earliest receptacle for beer or wine was a skin, and a hollow bone would hardly be used for drawing off the contents. And when our ancestors were advanced enough in the arts to make casks, they certainly would not resort to so clumsy a contrivance. The ancients did use a tube, called by the Greeks *σίφων* or *διαθήτης*, but surely not a hollow bone. The probability is that 'shank' was named because it was hollow like the horns or drinking cups in use, and that 'skink' meant to pour from the drinking cup.

That this is the real explanation is apparent from the related words. O. E. *scencan* 'give to drink' is a direct derivative from *scenc* 'cup, draught'. That this cup may have been a hollow bone is quite possible, but it was a cup and not a siphon or stopcock. Compare the similar correspondence between O. E. *stēap* 'drinking vessel': Icel. *steypa* 'pour out', and notice also O. E. *scencing-cuppe* 'cup from which drink is poured'.

O. E. *scenc* 'cup' is probably of the same origin as Lat. *congius* 'a measure for liquids', which (cf. Prellwitz) is akin to Gk. *κόγχη* 'muscle-shell, liquid-measure, any shell-like bone or cavity; hollow of the ear, socket of the eye, kneepan', *κόγχος* 'skull', Skt. *çankhā-s* 'muscle'. The Germ. *skankja-* is from pre-Germ. **skonquiō-* or *skongiō-*. Lat. *congius*, Lett. *senze* may also have *-g-* and not *-qh-* as in Skt. and Greek. The *-qho-* and *-giō-* are probably suffixes. This word may have designated primarily any hollow shell-like object, especially a muscle-shell. Later, as is evident from the Lat. and Gk. words, it came to mean a measure for liquids, and that is just what O. E. *scenc* is. Other related words, O. E. *scanca*, M. H. G. *schenkel*, were therefore 'hollow bones' and not 'stopcocks'.

26. O. H. G. *swīgēn*, O. S. *swīgōn*, O. E. *swīgian*, *sweorwian* 'to be still, silent', and Goth. *sweiban* 'to cease', O. H. G. *swiftōn* 'to be silent', M. H. G. *swiften* 'to silence, appease',

have been referred to an I. E. root *suīq**, a byform of which is supposed to be in Gk. *σίγῶω*.

This connection is phonetically improbable, and is not strengthened but weakened by the close similarity in meaning. As may be seen from the Germ. group, 'to be silent' was not the primary meaning, but rather 'to cease' or 'to suppress'.

The Germ. root *swīg-* occurs further in O. N. *suīg* 'suppression', *suīkia* 'leave off, cease'. The form *swīk-* is from pre-Germ. *suīkn-* or a by-form *suīg-*. As *swīk-* the root is found in O. E. *swīcan* 'depart, withdraw, cease, betray', and with similar meanings in O. H. G. *swīchan*, O. S. *swīkan*, etc. The root occurs also with a short vowel in O. E. *swician* 'wander, deceive', *swica* 'deceiver', *ge-swicennes* 'cessation, repentance', *swicn* 'clearance from criminal charge', and others. This development in meaning shows that we must connect with this root Goth. *swikns* 'innocent, pure', O. N. *sykn*. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, leaves *swikns* unexplained, although Fick, *V. Wb.*, III, 364 (ed. 1874), had referred *swikns* to this Germ. root *swīk-*. The development in meaning must have been as indicated above.

With this Germ. root we may compare Gk. *ἴπος* 'heavy weight, trap', *ἰπῶω* 'press down', *ἴπτομαι* 'press hard, oppress; hurt, harm', from (*s*)*uīq**. That the Germ. root developed from the meaning 'press down' is seen from O. E. *swice* 'trap' and O. N. *suīg* 'suppression'.

27. For the Germ. root *slah-*, *slag-* 'blow, wound' comparison has been proposed with O. Ir. *sligim* 'strike', Av. *harēca-yeiti* 'throws', Skt. *śṛkṣā-* 'missile'. Without rejecting this comparison, I suggest the following: Gk. *ἔλχος* 'wound, sore', *ἔλχω* 'drag, pull, tear to pieces', *ὄλχος* 'machine for dragging or rolling; furrow, track', Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow', O. E. *sulh* 'plough'. We have here the ablaut *selq-*, *slaq-* from a full grade *selaq-*. In Germ. *slah-* developed the secondary ablaut *slōh-*.

Besides the meanings 'blow, stroke, wound', etc., occur also in Germ. the following: O. H. G. *slaga*, M. H. G. *slage* 'hoof-print, track, runway', *slag*, *slac* 'depression, track, way', *ur-slahit* 'scar, varix'.

28. The unexplained Goth. *swarē* 'in vain' is an adverb formed on an adj. stem **swara-*, like *simlē*, *bisunjanē*, etc. This adj. stem is from pre-Germ. **syo-ro-* or *syə-ro-*, a derivative of the root *syo-syē*, in Skt. *svá-*, Gk. *έός*, Lat. *suus*, Goth. *swēs*, etc., and sustains the same relation to the stem *syo-* that *unsera-* does to *unsa-*. (On this formation compare Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 828.)

Goth. *swa-rē*, therefore, meant primarily 'of itself, without cause', and in that sense we find it used. It is like Skt. *sva-tas* 'of itself', the first element in which is the same as in Goth. *swa-rē*.

29. Scot. *swats* is derived by Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et.*, from O. E. *swata* 'beer'. This they write with *ǣ*, and refer to the Germ. root *swōt-* in *sweet*. O. E. *swātan* is given doubtfully by Sweet, *Dict. of Ags.*, with *ā*. Kluge, in his review of Sweet, holds that if the *a* in the O. E. word were long, we should find in Scotch not *swats* but **swaits*. But it is to be observed that the word from O. E. time is used only in the plural, and this would early be *swats*, first with *ā*, afterward with *a*, on account of the two consonants following. For other examples of such shortening, cf. Kluge, *Paul's Grd.* I, 869. We may therefore derive O. E. *swātan* from Germ. **swait-*, and connect with Skt. *kṣvēdate* 'become moist, exude sap', O. Bac. *khṣvīdha* 'milk, sweetness'.

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I. WALTHER'S "FOURTH GROUP" OF BIBLE TRANSLATIONS.

The "Second Group" of Bible translations according to Walther* is divided into two subdivisions, the second of which differs from the first in that certain portions, Gen.-Num. incl., I. Paral. 7. 33-Job incl., and II. Machab., are from an entirely different translation which Walther calls the "Third Group." The remaining text is that of the "Second Group."

In this subdivision there are four MSS.: Cgm.† 219-221, written 1463 by Oswald Nott at Tegernsee. Cgm. 502-503, written 1463 by Georg Rörer at Regensburg. Maihingen 1. 3. D. fol. III-IV, written 1468 by Georg Rörer. Gotha MS. 10, of which date and scribe are unknown, the second volume which probably contained a statement with regard to these now being lost.

With regard to their relation to each other these MSS. are grouped as follows: The two Munich MSS., 219-221, and 502-503, have certain differences in common which distinguish them from the other two. Deut. 13, 6 both read: "verholn sprechenndt fremden gotten dye du nit kennest." The words *gee wir und dienen* have been omitted after *sprechenndt*, in both these MSS., while the other two have them.

On the other hand, in I. Reg. 26, 11-12, the Maihingen and Gotha MSS. leave out the words corresponding to the Latin *et abeamus. Tulit igitur David hastam, et scyphum aquae.* The scribe of the MS. from which they descend jumped from *Kopf des wazzers* in v. 11 to the same words in v. 12, thus omitting the words corresponding to the above clause. In the two Munich MSS. there is no such omission.

In Jonas I. 7, the Maihingen MS. reads: "Kumet her und lass wir das los und das los viel auff Jonam." The words corre-

* *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters, dargestellt von Wilh. Walther.* Braunschweig, 1889-1892.

† Codex germanicus monacensis.

sponding to: *et sciamus quare hoc malum sit nobis. Et miserunt sortes*, are omitted, because the scribe jumped from *los* to *los*. The Gotha MS. does not extend thus far, but the two Munich MSS. have no gap here.

Further differences have been found by Walther, cols. 317–8. The Gotha and Maihingen MSS. also have an order peculiar to themselves: 5 books of Moses, (+ Matthew in Maihingen,) Job, Tobias, Judith, Hester, I. Paral., I. II. Machab., I–IV. Reg., Josua, Judices, Ruth (=end of vol. 1). The second volume is missing in Gotha, but has the regular order in Maihingen: Psalter, Prov., Ecclesiastes, Cantica, Sap., Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias, Threni, Baruch, Ezech., Dan., etc., to Malachias, thus giving the Old Testament complete. It is evident therefore that these four MSS. are to be grouped in two pairs, the two at Munich, and the two at Maihingen and Gotha. In I. Reg., 9, 8 all four have a common omission, corresponding to the Latin *manu . . . quarta pars . . . argenti*, showing that this defect must have been in an early MS. from which they all descend.

Cgm. 502–3 did not copy from 219–221 because the latter omits the Psalter and also the words *unnütz funden umb kumb wir*, Sap. 2. 17, both of which are found in 502–3.

Cgm. 219–221 did not copy from 502–3 because the latter has, Job 19–28: *wir wöllenn in durchächtenn*, where 219–221 and all the other MSS. have the older form with *sullen*.

Having thus briefly sketched the grouping of the MSS., we can now proceed to the discussion of the "Fourth Group." In the Maihingen MS. there follows after the five books of Moses a fragment of the Gospel of Matthew, (1–5, 44). This interpolation follows the preceding book in the middle of a column, without any break, and at the close of the fragment the book of Job begins, with a large capital several inches high. Matthew ends on f. 146^{verso}, thus: "deinen veintt Ich aber sag euch habt | (end of col. 1) | lieb eur veintt." (col. 2, l. 1). Then Job follows immediately.

The translation of Matthew is not homogeneous with the preceding and following, and Walther designates it as the

"Fourth Group," stating at the same time that the Maihingen MS. is unique in its insertion of this fragment. This statement is erroneous. The same text occurs in another MS. of the same group, cgm. 502, written by the same scribe, Georg Rörer, who wrote the Maihingen MS.

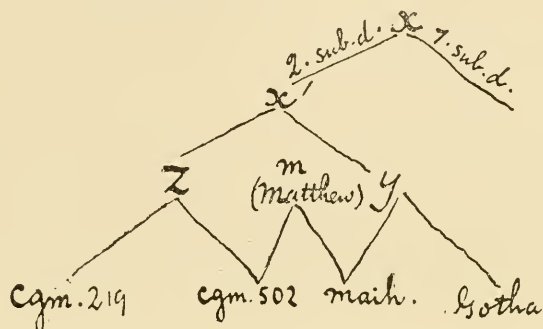
Walther presumably examined this MS. also, for he gives a detailed description of it, and the inference is that this description is the result of a personal examination; the instances cited by him of agreements between this MS. and cgm. 219-221 could hardly have been observed in any other case. At all events, his examination was not very thorough.

In cgm. 502, the book of Numeri ends at the bottom of f. 66^{recto}, at the top of f. 66^{verso} the Gospel of Matthew begins with a large illuminated capital: "Liber generationis ihesu cristi filii dauid, filii abraham. Daz ist das püch des geschlächts ihesu cristi davidis kint abrahams sun. abraham gearp ysac. ysac gearp iacob." . . . The translation continues to f. 68^v, bottom of the first column, (Matth. 5, 44): "und wer dich nött tausent schritt gee mit dem andern zway. Der von dir pitt dem gib und der von dir entlechenn will da von verwentt dich nichtt. Jr habt gehortt daz gesprochen ist du wirdest lieb haben deynen nächsten und yn hazz haben deynen veindt. ich sag aber euch habt lieb eure veindt."—Explicit Ewan^m Mathj.

The last sentence of the text it will be noted is incomplete. The scribe knew, however, that he had the Gospel of Matthew before him, even if he did not know that it was incomplete. At the top of the next column the book Deuteronomii begins.

We have therefore the strange phenomenon that the beginning of the New Testament has been interpolated in two MSS. of the Old Testament. These MSS. belong to the same family, but as we saw above they are not otherwise closely related. On the contrary, each is more closely related in other respects to another MS. which does not contain this interpolation. On this account it is probable that the interpolation did not exist in the MS. from which these MSS. in question descend. The scribe, Georg Rörer, who wrote both MSS., is probably respon-

sible for it. It remains curious however, that in writing these two MSS. he used in each case a different MS. to copy from, while inserting the same fragment of Matthew in both. In the case of the earlier (Munich) MS. he put it after Numeri, in the Maihingen MS. after Deuteronomii.



We thus arrive at the adjoining sketch of the descent of the MSS. The only other possibility would be to assume that the extraneous portion (Matthew) existed in the MS. *x'* from which the whole sub-group descends. This has some degree of plausibility from the fact that the text as contained in this sub-group is of a composite character, since Gen-Num., I. Paral. 7, 33-Job incl., and II. Machab. are taken from a different source than the rest. In making up a complete Old Testament composed of these different strata, the compiler of *x'* might very readily have gotten the opening of the New Testament into the conglomerate. Such mistakes are common in pre-Lutheran Bible MSS., the "Wenzelbibel" at Vienna being a striking illustration.

But for this assumption the further supposition is necessary, that the scribes of the Gotha MS. and of cgm. 219 noticed the extraneous portion and removed it, while Rörer, who wrote the other two MSS., retained it. The fact, however, that this portion occurs in different places in the two MSS. is against this view, for Rörer would hardly have changed the place of the interpolation, but would have copied it as he found it. The other view therefore, that Rörer for some reason or other intro-

duced this translation, is to be preferred. Walther's attempts at explanation (cols. 324, 325, 346,) are inadequate, as he does not take into account the second version in the Munich MS., of whose existence he is ignorant.

The following extracts will serve to give an idea of the character of the translation, while the variants show the relation of the two texts to each other.

Cgm. 502, f. 66 verso (Matthew 1, 18-2, 12.):

“Aber cristi geschlächtt waz allso do unns fraw sannd maria wardt gemähelt ioseph ee daz sy tzu samen kamen do ward sy swanner yn irem leib und waz daz¹ vom heiligenn geist wann iozeph ir man guter und rechtter waz do wolt er [sich *erased*] sy taugentlichen lassen ungemachligtt² do er also gedacht do erschain im der engl in dem slaff und sprach tzu ym Jozeph dauides kind nun fürcht dir nitt maria³ zu nemen tzu eyner chonen wann daz yn ir ist daz ist von dem heiligenn geist. sy sol gepern eynen sun der soll hayssen ihesus und soll haylen sein volck von yren sünden daz ist als geschehen daz dye weyssagung erfüllt werd⁴ daz der herr gesprochen hatt durch den sprechennenden pphetenn nym war eyne junckfraw dye⁶ wirt haben yn yrem leib⁶ wirt gepern eynen sun und wirt gehayssen sein nam Emanuel das gesprochen ist Gott mit unns. Und als ioseph auff stennd von dem slaff tett als ym der engell dez herren gepott und nam sein chonen und bekannt ir nichtt piz daz⁷ sy gepar yren erst gpornenn sun und hiess sein nam ihesum.⁸ Daz ander capitell Do ihesus ward geporn zu Bethlehem⁹ iuda yn den tagen des Königs herodis nym war da kamen¹⁰ dye König von auffganckh¹¹ der sunn gen iherosolimam sprechendt wo ist der König der juden der do geporn ist wenn¹² wir haben gesehen seynen sternn zu orientt und sein kumen mit unsern gaben yn an zu petten aber der Kunig herodes daz horntt ward gar petrübt¹³ und daz ganntz irlm mit im und waz sament all priester¹⁴ der fürstn¹⁴ und schreyber dz volckhs und er vorscht von yn wo cristus gepornn wurd und dye sprachenn zu ym tzu bethlehem iude wann also durch den pphetenn geschrybenn¹⁵ ist und tzu¹⁶ bethlehem¹⁷ des lannds iuda

(B. = Maih. MS.) ¹B. omits. ²B. ungemailgitt. ³B. zu nemen mariam. ⁴B. würd. ⁵B. omits. ⁶B. leib und wirt. ⁷B. omits. ⁸B. ihesus. ⁹B. Bethlahem. ¹⁰B. do chomen. ¹¹B. auffganck. ¹²B. wann. ¹³B. betrübt. ¹⁴B. all fürstnn der priester. ¹⁵B. omits. ¹⁶B. du. ¹⁷B. bethlahem.

pist mir nichte nicht dye mynst unter den furstn steten iuda wann von dir kumpt¹⁸ ain laitter der richtten soll meyn volckh isrl. Do herodes dass vernam do lud er dye König wider tzu ym und fragt sy fleyssicklichenn wye lanng des war daz sy den stern hietten gesehenn und sanntt sy tzu bethlehem und sprach zu ynn fartt hyn und fragt fleyssicklich von dem kynd und so yr ez vynn det so piett mir ez herwider daz ich auch dar chöm und ez an pett. Do sy daz vernömen von dem künickh herode do furn sy von dannen und den stern den sy gesehenn hettenn zu orientt gyng vor ynn untz sy dar chomen do daz kynnd waz. Und do abgestuend²⁸ er do sy aber den sternn sahenn do freuttn sy sich mit grosser freud und gyngen yn daz hauss und fünden daz kynnd mit maria seyner müter und vveln nyder für ez and anpettenn ez und auffgethan ir schätz und opfferttn ym gab. Golt weyrauch und myrren und wurden gemontt¹⁹ von dem engl yn dem slaff daz sy nicht²⁰ wider chamen²¹ zu herode eynen andernn weg kertten sy wider yn ir lanndt." . . .

Cgm. 502, Matthew 4, 1-6, 12-17:

“Do wart Jhesus gefürtt von dem geist yn dye wüst daz er do an versucht wurd von dem teuffl und do er geuast hett xl tag und xl nacht darnach hungertt ym und der versücher ging zu ym und sprach zu ym pistu der gottes sün so sprich daz dye stain tzu prott werden, des antwurtt im ihus und sprach war umb ez ist geschrybenn daz der nicht allayn leb dez protz sündler eynnss yetzlichen²² wortz daz da chumpt von dem mundt gottes do nam yn der teuffel mit im yn dye heiligenn statt und setzt in auff dye hoch dez tempels und sprach zu ym pistu der gottes sun so la dich her nyder. . . .

4, 12: Do aber ihus vernam daz iohannes geuangen waz entwaich er ynn Galyleam und lye²³ dye statt nazareth und kam und wonett zu kapharnaum maritimaz²⁴ yn den landen²⁵ Zabulonn und dye erd neptalym eyn weg dez merss über den Jordann galilee der haydnischenn diet daz volckh daz do ging yn der vinster sah ein grosses liechtt und den sitzendenn yn dez tötes²⁶ schattenn ist ein liecht auff gegangen. Darnach begündt ihesus predigenn und sprechen lätt euch rewen²⁷ eur sünd und ennpacht püess umb eür missetat. Wann euch nahenddt daz gottes reich." . . .

¹⁸ B. chumpt. ¹⁹ B. gemantt. ²⁰ B. nitt. ²¹ B. kämen. ²² B. yettlichen. ²³ B. liess. ²⁴ B. maritimam. ²⁵ B. lannden zabulon unnd Neptalym daz erfüllt wurd daz ysaias gesprochenn hatt. Dye erd zabulon. ²⁶ B. todes. ²⁷ B. reuenn. ²⁸ B.-stuond.

The translation of Matthew as found here is similar to that in a so-called "Perikopen" MS. cgm. 66, of the fourteenth century, which is noted by Walther. A comparison with this shows that the text of the Maihingen MS., though written later, is better than that of cgm. 502.

For example, cap. 1, 19, both cgm. 66 and Mailhingen have correctly *ungemailt, ungemailgt* (nollet eam traducere), while cgm. 502 has *ungemachligt* = unmarried. In cap. 2, 4, Mailhingen has correctly *all furstun der priester* (omnes principes sacerdotum) while cgm. 502 has *all priester der furstn*. In cap. 4, 13-14, cgm. 502 omits the words: *Neptalym daz erfult wurd daz ysaias gesprochenn hatt. Dye erd zabulon unnd—*. The scribe jumped from *zabulon* in v. 13 to *zabulon* in v. 14, omitting the intervening clause. Mailhingen has the text complete as above.

These errors and omissions in cgm. 502 show conclusively that the text of the later Mailhingen MS. is not a copy from cgm. 502; there is, however, nothing against the assumption that both were copied from the same MS.

Another difference to be noted is that in cgm. 502 Matthew begins at the top of the page, with a large capital, and the Latin heading *Liber generationis ihesu cristi filij david*, etc., while at the end there is also the formula *Explicit Ewan^m Mathj*. In the Mailh. MS. this portion does not head a page and the opening and closing inscriptions as noted above for cgm. 502 are lacking.

In conclusion, another curious confusion in cgm. 220 may be noted. On f. 18, I. Reg. cap. 20, the verses are in the following order: 1-7, regular, then 23-34, then 7-23, then 34-43. By means of notes on the margin: *cher umb daz plat*, the correct order is indicated. We might suppose that a leaf of the MS. from which this was copied contained on one side vv. 7-23, on the other, 23-34, and that this leaf had been reversed in binding, thus producing the confusion in the copy. But the fact that the former section (7-23) occupies a larger space than the latter (23-34), argues against this hypothesis.

W. KURRELMAYER.

GOETHE'S "VORKLAGE."

Wie nimmt ein leidenschaftlich Stammeln
Geschrieben sich so seltsam aus !
Nun soll ich gar von Haus zu Haus
Die losen Blätter alle sammeln.

Was eine lange, weite Strecke
Im Leben von einander stand,
Das kommt nun unter Einer Decke
Dem guten Leser in die Hand.

Doch schäme dich nicht der Gebrechen,
Vollende schnell das kleine Buch;
Die Welt ist voller Widerspruch,
Und sollte sich's nicht widersprechen ?

(von Loeper, *Goethe's Gedichte*, I, 9, 268. Berlin, 1882.)

During the latter months of the year 1814 and the first half of 1815, Goethe was principally engaged in the preparation of a new edition of his works, for the publication of which he had arranged with Cotta, the Stuttgart publisher.

In this edition, known as the edition of 1815 (von Loeper I., 264-5), the *Vorklage* appeared for the first time. It was evidently written while Goethe was engaged in collecting and arranging his poems, and, as the name implies, it was intended to disarm any attacks which might be made upon his work on account of apparent inconsistencies. This point will be treated more fully later.

The exact date of composition is not known, for there exists no MS. of the poem ; but from a comparison of certain entries in the *Tagebücher*, with passages in the *Briefe*, an approximate date may be obtained. As a *terminus ad quem* may be taken October 29, 1815, when Goethe writes to Zelter, as follows : "Die erste Lieferung der neuen Ausgabe meiner Werke ist

schon abgedruckt, Cotta secretiert sie aber und wartet mit der Subscriptionsanzeige auf besseres Wetter;" (Briefwechsel mit Zelter II, 202). The *Vorklage*, therefore, could not have been written later than October 29, 1815; it was probably written much earlier. Since there is no authority to which we can appeal, an attempt to fix the date somewhat more exactly may be permissible. We shall not go far astray, I believe, if we say that the poem was composed during the latter part of December, 1814, about the twenty-seventh. The reasons for assigning this date are as follows: Beginning with December 25, we find frequent references in the *Tagebücher*¹ to the new edition soon to appear. For instance, December 25 (145, 10) we find the entry "Werke numerirt. Inhalt durchgesehen." January 2, 1815 (146, 7), "Gedichte, 2 Band." January 17 (147, 27), "Redaction der kleinen Gedichte." January 20 (148, 8), "Nachricht von Cottas Acceptation." From these entries we see that from December 25 to January 20 Goethe was busily engaged in going through his poems, and his mind naturally reverted to scenes and experiences of the past. If now we compare the above extracts with a letter written to Zelter December 27, 1814, their bearing upon our poem will be apparent.

Jetzt bin ich mit der neuen Ausgabe meiner Werke beschäftigt, die mich zu wunderlichen Betrachtungen veranlasst, indem ich genöthigt bin über die abgeschiedenen und immer aufs neue spukenden Geister Revue zu halten.

This is exactly the sentiment of our poem:

Was eine lange, weite Strecke
Im Leben von einander stand,
Das kommt nun unter einer Decke
Dem guten Leser in die Hand.

One is reminded at once of the closing stanza of the *Zueignung* to *Faust* where we have the same thought, but far more beautifully expressed.

Assuming the last few days in December, 1814, as the date of

¹References for *Tagebücher* are to Weimar edition, III Abth. 5 Bd. The earlier entries of this year scarcely need be considered.

composition, let us now look at the poem more closely. The subject of textual criticism need not concern us, for all later editions are based on that of 1815, and the poem is printed without change.

The title has already been mentioned. *Eine Vorklage* is a statement made in anticipation of a charge or complaint. In the case of Goethe it is more than this: as applied to the poem under consideration, it is a justification of the poet's conception of his own work, and a statement of the manner in which he desires the expressions of his genius to be judged. In dealing with this short and apparently unimportant poem, we must remember what Goethe said to Eckermann concerning all his work, that he had never written anything which he himself had not felt.

Wie nimmt ein leidenschaftlich Stammeln
Geschrieben sich so seltsam aus!

von Loeper here remarks (I, 268): "Stammeln nach Klopstock's Gebrauch, der auch die Abneigung gegen das Schreiben theilte." If I understand his note, he means simply that Goethe is here expressing his repugnance to the mechanical effort of writing. The meaning of the passage is quite different, I believe. Taking *stammeln* in a general, figurative sense, I should paraphrase the lines thus: "What a picture all your passionate attempts to utter the truth present when you have them before you in black and white and consider them one by one." Cf. *An Lina* (v. Loeper, I, 65).

Ach, wie traurig sieht in Lettern,
Schwarz auf weiss, das Lied mich an,
Das aus deinem Mund vergöttern,
Das ein Herz zerreißen kann!

Cf. also the letter to Zelter: ". . . die neue Ausgabe meiner Werke, die mich zu den wunderlichsten Betrachtungen veranlasst . . ."

We have a good gloss on this word in Goethe's first letter to Auguste Stolberg, written January 25, 1775. It begins:

Meine Teure—ich will Ihnen keinen Nahmen geben, denn was sind die Nahmen Freundinn, Schwester, Geliebte, Braut, Gattin, oder ein Wort das einen Complex von all denen Nahmen begriffe, gegen das unmittelbare Gefühl? . . . Ich fühle Sie können ihn tragen, diesen zerstückten, *stammelnden* Ausdruck, wenn das Bild des Unendlichen in uns wühlt. Und was ist das als Liebe!²

The next two lines are, of course, not to be taken literally, though the poet did actually get back from his friends certain poems for this edition (cf. Düntzer D. N. L., 82 Goethe I, 7). The second stanza looks both backward and forward; it serves to explain the sentiment expressed in the first two lines of the first stanza, and is itself commented upon and vindicated by the concluding verses of the last. It also elucidates, as von Loeper notes, the first line of the *Vorspruch* "Spät erklingt was früh erklang."

This stanza together with the last two verses of the third may be thus freely paraphrased: "My poems, which are all the expression of my inmost thoughts and feelings, and the reflections of the varied experiences of my life are now to be presented to the public without regard to chronological order. Those which reflect the thoughts and feelings of youth will be found side by side with those which give expression to the sentiments of advancing years; and those emanating from one experience will often be closely followed by others resulting from causes quite different. Will this give rise to inconsistencies? Well, what if it does? The world, life, my life in particular, is full of inconsistencies—"Die Welt is voller Widerspruch"—why should not my poems, which are but the image of myself reflect this inconsistency—"Und sollte sichs nicht widersprechen?" It is better that my works should represent me as I am, than that they should represent my chronological development for the benefit of those who are to read and perhaps study them."

All this, I believe, we read out of the poem and not into it;

² Cf. Thomas, *Faust*, 319, note to 3428-3430.

for it is very well known that Goethe's friends were constantly urging him to adopt a chronological sequence in the arrangement of his writings, but he invariably refused to do so for the reason just given.³

In order to treat together connected thoughts we have passed over the first two verses of the first stanza, to which we must now return. They should be read in connection with the first two verses of stanza one. "The book is full of inconsistencies, and often expresses but poorly what was in the heart, but don't be ashamed of it, finish it quickly and let the world see what it contains."

Standing as it does at the threshold of Goethe's poems, the *Vorklage* is a kind of sign board, pointing out the way to a proper understanding of them all. The reader must not endeavor to smooth away all inconsistencies, but taking each poem as a whole, he must strive to get the poet behind the written words, and must seek to discover what part of himself he has revealed to us in each of his works.

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³Cf. Goedeke. *Grundriss* IV, 564. "Schon bei der Ausgabe seiner Werke im Jahre 1816 hatte man ihn zu vermögen gesucht, ihre Ordnung in zeitlicher Reihenfolge vorzunehmen, wie sie Körner bei der Herausgabe der Werke Schillers zweckmässig gewählt hatte. Goethe wies das Ansinnen entschieden zurück. Er wollte nicht in seiner Entwicklung, sondern als Einheit und Ganzes erscheinen: das Letzte sollte neben dem Ersten gelten als ob alles nur Äusserung einer grossen einheitlichen Entfaltung sei, ohne Geschichte."

THE INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION UPON GERMAN LITERATURE.

GENERAL INTEREST IN AMERICA.

The high idealism which underlay the foundation of the American republic could not fail to attract and hold the attention of enlightened men everywhere. The Germans, who were eminently inclined to philosophical speculation, followed the growth and progress of our commonwealths with especial interest. This interest reached its height at the time of the revolutionary struggle with England. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, America, the land of freedom and opportunity, strongly attracted the Germans, as Goethe records in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*.¹ America, an unspoiled land, showed the ideals of liberty and equality being actually realized: what had been elsewhere only a pious wish, was to be found here in practical working order.² The dead-weight of the feudal system, the curse of Europe, had been cast off. Among important admirers of the new nation may be mentioned the philosopher Kant. "He was one of the first, perhaps the very first, of the German nation to defend, even at the risk of his friendships, the cause of the United States."³ Similar were the interest and enthusiasm of such men as Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller. The enthusiasm which the American cause aroused in generous young idealists is expressed in the experiences of Lothario in Goethe's *Lehrjahre*,⁴ and satirized in *Die Mitschuldigen* (revised text, published 1787),⁵ lines 50-58:

¹ *Werke*, xxiv, 120 ff.

² Cf. Kapp, *Steuben*, p. 46. *Historisch-genealogischer Calender*, 1784, p. 41.

³ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. x, ch. ii, *Germany and the United States*.

⁴ 7. Buch, 3. Kapitel; *Werke*, xxiii.

⁵ *Werke*, ix, 44.

Söller.

Ach, apropos, Papa! Man sagt mir heute früh,
 In Deutschland gäb's ein Corps von braven jungen Leuten,
 Die für Amerika Succurs und Geld bereiten.
 Man sagt, es wären viel und hätten Muth genug,
 Und wie das Frühjahr käm', so geh' der ganze Zug.

Wirth.

Ja, ja, bei'm Glase Wein hört' ich wohl manchen prahlen,
 Er liesse Haut und Haar für meine Provinzialen:
 Da lebt' die Freiheit hoch, war jeder brav und kühn,
 Und wenn der Morgen kam, ging eben keiner hin.

America, in all its aspects, received much attention. Works descriptive of the new country, for the most part translations from the English, were early current and widely read in Germany.⁶

Accounts of travel, such as the one announced in *Der Teutsche Merkur* for 1780⁷ also helped to make the country

⁶ For instance, *Die unbekannt neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Welttheils Amerika, und des Sud-Landes: Darinnen vom Ursprunge der Ameriker und Sudländer und von den Gedenckwürdigen Reysen der Europæer darnach zu*, etc. *Durch Dr. O. D.* (Oliver Dapper), Amsterdam, 1673. Siegmund J. Baumgarten, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Länder und Völker von Amerika*, Halle, 1752. Arnold, *Das Britische Reich in America*, Lemgo, 1744. Andrea, *Geschichte und Handlung der Englischen Colonien in dem nördlichen Amerika*, Frankfurt a. M., 1755. *Geschichte der Englischen Colonien in Nord-Amerika. . . . bis auf den Frieden 1763, 1776.* William Douglas, *Summary . . . of the British Settlements in North America*, London, 1760. Daniel Neal, *History of New England*, London, 1747. Hutchinson, *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, London, 1760. Smith, *History of the Province of New York*, London, 1776. *A General History of Connecticut*, London, 1781. Chalmers, *Political Annals of the present United Colonies*, London, 1780. Schubart's *Deutsche Chronik* (1774 ff.) mentions *Die Reisen des Herrn Andreas Burnaby*, "die kürzlich zu Hamburg von Herrn Ebeling ins Teutsche übersetzt und mit einigen Zusätzen vermehrt worden." The book gives information "über den Zustand der mittleren Kolonien der Engländer in Nord-Amerika." Schubart also announces that Ebeling is to publish a larger work on the same subject.

⁷ July, 1780: Announcement of Johann Carvers *Reisen durch die innern Gegenden von Nordamerika in den Jahren 1766, 1767, 1768, mit einer Landcharte*. Aus dem Englischen. Hamburg, 1780.

familiar. Abt Clavigero's *Abhandlung von der natürlichen Beschaffenheit des Königreichs Mexico und der neuen Welt überhaupt*⁸ was widely read. The acquaintance with American local geography was considerable. Long Island is the scene of *Amerikanische Anekdote*,⁹ an ancient institution of California is discussed in the *Merkur*,¹⁰ Schubart speaks of Niagara,¹¹ Pfeffel of Connecticut,¹² and Stolberg in *Die Zukunft* shows an acquaintance with the whole western hemisphere. There is a surprising amount of information about various minor details of American life. Even "Görgel," in the *Billet doux von Görgel an seinen Herrn*,¹³ speaks of the amount of snow in America. Trees of distinctly American species were known in Germany.¹⁴ Products, especially tobacco, which were made more familiar to the Prussians by the trade-compact made by Frederick the Great with America, are also mentioned.¹⁵ The tobacco trade of Virginia is discussed in the *Deutsches Museum*¹⁶ under *Nordamerikanische Handlung*, an article which considers the value of American trade to Great Britain. Customs, modes of life, and methods of holding property are likewise discussed in letters.¹⁷

The Indian seems to be a familiar figure, and, in poetry, is often represented ideally. Pfeffel mentions the Hurons in *Recept wider den Krieg*¹⁸ (1777), Goethe in *Meisters Wanderjahre*¹⁹ refers to the "Irokesen," Halem, in *Vaterliebe, eine Amerikanische Scene*, shows the merciful Indian, as does also

⁸ *Ibid.*, July, 1786.

⁹ Bibra's *Journal*, 1788, vi, 563.

¹⁰ *Gespräch über einige neueste Weltbegebenheiten*, 1782. See also Wieland's *Werke*, xi, 198 ff.

¹¹ *Gedichte*, 226.

¹² *Gedichte*, iii, 195.

¹³ Claudius, *Asmus*, iii, 47 (1777).

¹⁴ Cf. Jacobi, *Werke*, vi, 120, ff., and Voss, *Poetische Werke*, 85, and Wangenheim.

¹⁵ Voss, *Poetische Werke*, 113.

¹⁶ 1776, i, 307. The chief exports of America at this period were tobacco, furs, rice, and indigo. See Fisk, *Beziehungen* etc., p. 20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1777, ii, 188. ¹⁸ *Schriften*, ii, 235. ¹⁹ *Werke*, xxiv, 132.

Seume, in his familiar poem, *Der Wilde*.²⁰ Schubart alludes to methods of Indian warfare in *Ein Gespräch auf dem Schiffe*,²¹ in *Der sterbende Indianer an seinen Sohn*,²² he wishes to show "wie bei rohen Nationen der Naturgeist so frei, leicht und energisch spricht." Schiller writes a *Nadowessische Todtenklage*.²³ In *Der Teutsche Merkur*²⁴ there is a *Rede eines Amerikanischen Wilden an Lord Dunmore*, while in Bibra's *Journal*²⁵ an attack by Indians is described. We may estimate the Indian's place in the mind of Germany by the statement in *Der Teutsche Merkur*²⁶ concerning *Johann Carvers Reisen*, which reads: . . . "Allein die Nachrichten von den Sitten der wilden Indier sind bereits so bekannt, dass wir hier nichts neues finden."

The question of negro slavery is not left untouched, and it is manifest from the *Lied eines Negerklaven in Amerika*²⁷ that the moral sense of Germany protested strongly against the anomaly of human bondage in the new world:

Bin ein Mensch, wie Weisse,
Habe nichts gethan;
Plagen mich mit Fleisse,
Sehn als Thier mich an.

Lasten zum Erdrücken,
Sind mir aufgelegt.
Blut färbt meinen Rücken,
Wenn die Geissel schlägt. . . .

Weiss', ihr fleht zu Gotte:
Dass er günstig sey.
Thut ihr's nicht zum Spotte:
Weisse! gebt mich frey.

²⁰ *Sämmtliche Werke*, vii, 72.

²¹ *Gedichte*, 383.

²² *Ibid.*, 361.

²³ *Schriften*, xi, 234.

²⁴ July, 1784, p. 95.

²⁵ 1791, viii, 697.

²⁶ July, 1780, p. 78.

²⁷ By "A. E." in the *Göttlinger Musenalmanach* for 1784, p. 88.

A significant poem is another *Lied eines Negersklaven* in Voss's *Musenalmanach* for 1779²⁸ by Pfeffel, which compares the negro with the German slave.

The history of America, of its discoverers and settlers, as also of the Revolution, was given by special accounts, often translations, one of which is thus described in *Der Teutsche Merkur*:²⁹ *Geschichte von Amerika, von dessen Entdeckung an bis auf das Ende des vorigen Krieges, nebst einem Anhang, welcher eine Geschichte des Ursprunges und des Fortganges des gegenwärtigen unglücklichen Streites zwischen Großbritannien und seinen Colonieen enthält*, von Will. Russell, Esq. Aus dem Englischen übersezt. Leipzig, 1779. A later translation from the *British Mercury*³⁰ also gives information concerning events in America. In poetry, Schiller praises the genius of Columbus in the fragment *Columbus*,³¹ and in the one found in the *Nachlese*,³² where he says:

Nach dem fernen Westen wollt' ich steuern
Auf der Strasse die Columbus fand.

In *Der Venuswagen*³³ he speaks of Columbus, as also of Cortez and Pizarro.³⁴ Stolberg in *Die Zukunft*³⁵ mentions Balboa's discovery. In the poem *Mein Vaterland*,³⁶ addressed to Klopstock (1774) the same writer alludes to the devastations of the French and Indian War, which had been repaired by the industry of German colonists:

Kolumbia, du weintest, gehüllt
In Trauerschleyer, über den Fluch
Welchen der lachende Mörder
Oeden Fluren zum Erbe liess;

²⁸ P. 41; see below.

²⁹ Nov. 1779, p. 172. Cf. also J. Fr. Schiller's German Translation of Robertson's *History of America*. 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1777.

³⁰ *Der Teutsche Merkur*, July, 1787, Anzeiger.

³¹ *Schriften*, xi, 46; *Musenalmanach* for 1796.

³² *Ibid.*, xv, i, 421.

³³ *Ibid.*, i, 186. ³⁴ Ll, 246, 247.

³⁵ III, 247. ³⁶ *Gedichte der Brüder Stolberg*, 61.

Da sandte Deutschland Segen und Volk:
 Der Schooss der Jammererde gebar,
 Staunte der schwellenden Aehren,
 Und der schaffenden Fremdlinge!

America was looked on in large measure as a place of escape for unfortunate Europeans, often as a means of rapid advancement in the army. Thus in *Nachrichten aus Amerika*,³⁷ a long tale, the loving pair is made to flee thither to escape the anger of the hero's mother. In *Der Teutsche Merkur*³⁸ a farmer who has made a failure in Germany goes to America. The writer of *Schreiben eines Deutschen aus New York*³⁹ goes so far as to say: "Amerika ist gut für die welche nichts mehr zu verlieren haben." Wieland, however, in a political report,⁴⁰ takes a broader view when he speaks of the courage of the Americans, "die man vielleicht zu früh für blos zusammengelaufenes Gesindel halten wollte." The thought of making a career is brought out in Lenz's *Waldbruder*,⁴¹ in which there is a character Plettenberg, "der schon eine Campagne wider die Kolonisten in Amerika mitgemacht hat, bloss damit er Gelegenheit habe, sich bis zum General oder Generallieutenant zu bringen, weil er sonst nicht wagen darf, bei dem Vater der Gräfin um sie anzuhalten." *Der kalte Michel*, a humorous poem by Schubart,⁴² represents a nobleman who, having lost relatives and property, is on the brink of despair, and who is cheered by the advice of his servant, who tells him to go to America:

Und mir nichts, dir nichts, plötzlich
 Floh er mit ihm davon,
 Europa bleibt zurücke
 Sie machen bald ihr Glücke
 Beim grossen Washington.

³⁷ *Deutsches Museum*, 1776, 2. Band, 1103.

³⁸ 1781, iv, 151. From Merck's *Herr Oheim der Jüngere*.

³⁹ *Bibra's Journal*, 1790, ix, 283.

⁴⁰ *Der Teutsche Merkur*, April, 1777, p. 67.

⁴¹ *Kürschner*, 197.

⁴² *Gedichte*, 358.

Goeckingk's *Kriegslied eines Provinzialen*⁴³ contains an urgent invitation for the Germans to come to America for property and freedom. Later, in Bibra's *Journal* for 1792,⁴⁴ speculation in American property is advocated as a rapid means of accumulating wealth. Klinger's hero, Wild, in *Sturm und Drang* (1775)⁴⁵ has come to America as a volunteer, merely to give vent to his superabundant spirits. He says: "Da kann sich meine Seele ausrecken, und thun sie mir den Dienst und schiessen mich nieder; gut dann!" Schiller seeks liberty in America; thus a fragment⁴⁶ says:

Nach dem fernen Westen wollt' ich steuern
Auf der Strasse die Columbus fand, . . .
Dort vielleicht ist Freiheit
Ach dort ist sie nicht.

Goethe, speaking in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* of conditions in the year 1775, says: "Amerika war damals . . . das Eldorado derjenigen, die in ihrer augenblicklichen Lage sich bedrängt fanden" (*Werke*, xxix, 156).

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The American movement was the first practical expression of the revolutionary spirit in the latter part of the eighteenth century,⁴⁷ and was clearly recognized as the influence which fanned this spirit to a flame on the continent. The words of the mother in *Hermann und Dorothea*⁴⁸

. . . es haben die ersten

Zeiten der wilden Zerstörung den Sohn mir der Jugend gegeben refer undoubtedly to the American movement. Bibra, in his *Journal von und für Deutschland*⁴⁹ very emphatically blames

⁴³ See below.

⁴⁴ viii, 639.

⁴⁵ Act I, Scene 1.

⁴⁶ *Schriften*, xv, i, 421.

⁴⁷ With the exception of the Corsican uprising under Paoli, 1768-1769.

⁴⁸ II, 153 f.

⁴⁹ 1790, vii, 3 ff.

America for the disturbance of Europe, in his article, *Bekantmachung eines Verschwörungsplans gegen die allgemeine Ruhe von Europa an die Mächte desselben*. He says: "In Amerika begannen die Erschütterungen, welche demahlen unser festes Land beunruhigen, da wurde der Entwurf ausgebrütet, die alte Welt der neuen zu unterwerfen. Seine Propheten sahen, dass die Entvölkerung von Europa unausführbar sey, so lange dasselbe reich und dessen Souveraine mächtig waren." And thus, he continues, the seed of revolution was planted by America; America led France astray, and France will proceed to overturn all Europe. The *Ode auf die gegenwärtigen Unruhen in Frankreich*⁵⁰ also connects the revolution in America with events in Europe:

Es hörts der Britte, der doch auch gern Slaven hätte,
 und denkt an sein Amerika:
 es hörts der Deutsche, und knirscht in die Sklaven-Kette
 und seufzt: Germania!⁵¹

GERMAN INTEREST IN THE REVOLUTION.

The progress of the war was watched with great interest, and even suspense, in Germany, and its events became known there with surprising promptness and accuracy. Frederick the Great, because of his hostility to England, had followed the war with most eager attention, and since he desired to see every disgrace heaped on the head of Great Britain, he wished the colonies victory.⁵² As early as December 18, 1775, he writes to his minister in London, Count Maltzan:⁵³ "Es erhellt immer mehr dass der König von England mit seinen Colonien hohes Spiel spielt and sich in diese Wirren zu tief eingelassen hat um siegreich daraus hervorzugehen. . . . Die grosse Frage ist immer ob die Colonien nicht Mittel finden werden, sich ganz vom Mutterlande zu trennen und eine freie Republik zu stiften.

⁵⁰ *Der Teutsche Merkur*, 1789, Oct., p. 60.

⁵¹ Cf. Menzel, *History of Germany*, iii, 153. Menge, *Stolberg*, i, 100 ff. Kapp, *Steuben*, 45. L. Geiger, introduction to *Goethe's Werke*, i, xxxv.

⁵² See Fisk, *Beziehungen*, etc., p. 10. ⁵³ Oncken, III, 8, 2.

. . . Gewiss ist dies, fast ganz Europa nimmt Partei für die Colonien und vertheidigt ihre Sache, während die Sache des Hofes weder Gönner noch Förderer findet." Frederick even helped the Americans, in a positive way, when he forbade, in October, 1777, the passage of the mercenaries from Ansbach, Hanau, and Zerbst through his provinces.⁵⁴ This decision retarded the transportation of somewhat over one thousand men for several months, and caused General Howe such anxiety, since auxiliary troops were greatly needed by him, that he did not dare attack Washington's soldiers at Valley Forge, and gave to General Steuben an opportunity of infinite value.⁵⁵

The progress of the war was carefully studied from original and secondary sources.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Cf. Fisk, *Beziehungen*, etc, p. 19. ⁵⁵ See Kapp, *Soldatenhandel*, p. 177.

⁵⁶ Thus, Professor Sprengel of Halle, in his history of the Revolution (*Historisch-genealogischer Calender für 1784*) mentions the following sources: Benjamin Franklin's *Political, miscellaneous and philosophical pieces*, London, 1779; *Reflexions on the late Colonial Governments by an American*, London, 1783; Hector St. John's *Letters from an American Farmer*, London, 1782; *Remarks on the Principal Acts of the Thirteenth Parliament*, London, 1775; *The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the Claims of America*, London, 1776; Payne's *Letter addressed to the Abbé Raynal*, London, 1783; *Letters to a Nobleman on the Strength of the Middle Colonies and the Conduct of the War*, 1780; *Political Reflexions on the Late Colonial Governments, by an American*, London, 1783; *State of the Expedition from Canada*, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, London, 1780; *Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton*, London, 1782; *An Answer which Relates to the Conduct of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis*, London, 1782; *Annual Register for 1775-1781*; *Political Magazine*, 1781-83; William Jackson's *Constitution of the Several Independent States of America*, London, 1783; Pouchat's *Mémoires sur la dernière Guerre de l'Amérique septentrionale*, Yverdon, 1781; Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essai sur les Anglo-Américains*, Paris, 1782; *Letzte Beschreibung des brittischen America*, Wolfenbüttel, 1778; Sprengel's *Geschichte der Europäer in Nordamerika*, Leipzig, 1782; Ebeling's *Amerikanische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1778; Melsheimer's *Tagebuch seiner Reise von Wolfenbüttel nach Québec; Canadische Briefe* in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, etc. *The Amerikanisches Archiv* (herausgegeben von J. A. Remer, Professor der Geschichte), Braunschweig, 1777, contains translations of Richard Price's *Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice and Policy of the War with America* (1776); Edmund Burke's *Speech on Conciliation of the Colonies* (1775); letters from Generals Lee and Burgoyne ("bey Gelegenheit der Ankunft des Letztern in Boston"); of Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*; of Josiah's Tucker's productions advocating the

Georg Forster implies that the enthusiasm for literature on this subject became excessive, for he speaks (1790)⁵⁷ of events "zu einer Zeit wo man anfang der unzähligen Schriften über die amerikanische Revolution überdrüssig zu werden." In May, 1785,⁵⁸ is announced a translation of the *History of the Revolution in America*, by Abbé Raynal, an early date for such a work. A MS. *Geschichte des Nort-Amerikanischen Kriegs* (1777-1783), by Stephen Papp, is cited by Learned in *Americana Germanica* I, iii, 84 (1897). Cf. also Rosengarten, *Sources and Am. Hist. from Germ. Archives*.

Letters from soldiers in America contributed to a knowledge of the war. Such are found in the *Deutsches Museum*,⁵⁹ in *Der Teutsche Merkur*,⁶⁰ and in Bibra's *Journal von und für Deutschland*.⁶¹ Such letters of soldiers and officers contain, usually, descriptions of the countries through which the army passed, and of the battles in which they fought, without showing, apparently, any great personal interest in the cause of the Americans. Letters of this kind were furnished Schlözer for his *Neue Correspondenz*, "a journal which had for its object, in part, the publication of private letters written by officers to their relatives and friends in Germany, from those portions of the world then engaged in war."⁶²

recognition of the independence of America; *Berufung auf die Gerechtigkeit und den Vortheil der Grossbritannischen Nation in den gegenwärtigen Streitigkeiten mit Amerika, von einem alten Mitgliede des Parlements, aus dem Englischen übersetzt*, etc. ⁶¹ *Schriften*, vi, 75, f.

⁵⁹ *Der Teutsche Merkur*, May, 1785; *Anzeiger*, lxxxiv.

⁵⁸ 1777, 188: *Aus einem Schreiben vom ersten Januar 1777 aus dem Lager bey Knyphausen*. Cf. also *ibid.*, 159: *Briefe nordamerikanischen Inhalts*.

⁶⁰ 1784, August, p. 97.

⁶¹ 1789, xi, 445: *Briefe eines Braunschweigischen Officiers; Zweiter Brief*, 1782; *Dritter Brief*, 1790, xi, 474, 1783. Cf. also *ibid.*, 1790, ix, 283: *Schreiben eines Deutschen aus New York an seinen Freund in Deutschland*.

⁶² Cf. *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution*, translated by W. L. Stone. These letters are taken from "Schlözer's *Letter Exchange*." "This publication was continued through the year 1782, and consequently contains many letters of the most interesting character from Hessian and Brunswick military men who were serving on the British side during the Revolutionary War."

These letters contain much new and valuable information regarding the habits and customs of the inhabitants of the places whence they were written; minute descriptions of different personages, such as Gates, Hancock, Carleton, and others. Schubart, in his *Deutsche Chronik* (1774 ff.), frequently mentions letters that he has read, and once gives the letter of a German clergyman in Baltimore. It appears also that he got his information about the war from English or French newspapers and from letters written by Germans, but not necessarily addressed to him.⁶³

Besides letters, there were also the private journals of officers, such as that of Captain Pausch⁶⁴ (chief of the Hanau artillery during the Burgoyne campaign. Cf. *Journal of Captain Pausch*, translated and annotated by William L. Stone), which contains copious descriptions of the battles in which he took part. Döhla's *Tagebuch*, a similar chronicle of the Revolution, has been published in part by H. A. Rattermann in the *Deutsch-Americanisches Magazin*.⁶⁵ Wieland, in his widely influential *Merkur*, gives positive testimony to the interest which America in her relations with England excited, by his careful, intelligent accounts of the progress of the war. As early as 1773⁶⁶ he sees the necessity on the part of England for acting with the greatest wisdom in regard to her colonies in America. *Der Teutsche Merkur* furnishes a continued report, and almost a history of the war, for a number of years. In 1775,⁶⁷ Wieland pays tribute to American character as revealed in the attempt to gain independence, which he recognizes as the aim of the colonies. He again⁶⁸ praises their courage and ability, and states his belief⁶⁹ that they could soon bring the sympathies of all to their side. In 1775,⁷⁰ he men-

⁶³ Communicated by Dr. John A. Walz.

⁶⁴ Other journals of this kind are to be found in the Ständische Landesbibliothek at Cassel. Cf. list of sources for Lowell's *The Hessians*.

⁶⁵ See *Americana Germanica*, I, iii, p. 84, 1897.

⁶⁶ 1773, i, 279. ⁶⁷ October, p. 88.

⁶⁸ 1776, Jan., p. 98; *Ibid.*, Oct., p. 94.

⁶⁹ 1775, Nov., p. 189. ⁷⁰ Oct., p. 88.

tions the declaration which the colonies have made to other nations,⁷¹ and which states the reasons why they have taken up arms, saying: "In jeder Zeile dieser Schrift spricht Patriotismus und Liebe zur Freyheit, und sie verdient würklich den schönsten Reden des Demosthenes und Cicero an die Seite gesetzt zu werden." He does not consider the Americans barbarians, and points to this declaration as a proof that art and eloquence have not been neglected in the colonies. He characterizes the acts of Parliament for December, 1775, as a more impenetrable wall of separation between England and her colonies than the expanse of sea which separates them.⁷² The numbers for April, May, June, July, August, October, November, December, 1776, contain detailed accounts of the progress of events and of the movements of troops in America.

The suspense with which the war was followed and the importance which was attributed to it may again be learned from the following statement:⁷³ "Das grösste politische Eräugniß des siebenten Decenniums unsers Jahrhunderts (und vielleicht bey der Nachwelt des ganzen Sekulums) ist ohne Zweifel der noch immer fortdauernde Prozess zwischen Mutter und Tochter, Grossbritannien und seinen Kolonien: dessen Entscheidung für einen grossen Theil der Menschheit äusserst wichtig sein kann. . . . Eine interessante Abänderung des itzigen politischen Septems scheint fast eine unvermeidliche Folge, deren Nähe oder Ferne von den verschiedenen Modifikationen des Ausgangs dieser grossen Begebenheit abhängt."

Wieland's warmest expression of appreciation is found in the *Gespräch zwischen Wieland und dem Pfarrer zu . . .*,⁷⁴ where he says: "Die guten Sitten cirkuliren in der Welt herum, wie alles andre. Izt sehen wir sie in den Kolonien von Nord-america. Es ist ein labender Anblick für den Menschenfreund,

⁷¹ Probably the declaration of the second Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Cf. *American History told by Contemporaries*, ii, 442.

⁷² 1776, Jan., p. 98.

⁷³ 1777, June, p. 77.

⁷⁴ *Der Teutsche Merkur*, April, 1775, p. 93.

ein tugendhaftes Volk zu sehen!—Hundert Tausende, von einem durch sie alle hinströmenden Geiste belebt, die mit hohem Muth, standhaft und unerschütterlich, die unverlierbaren Rechte der Menschheit behaupten; ein Volk, wo alle einzelne Glieder in die Wette eifern, ihre Privatvortheile dem Gemeinen Besten aufzuopfern; wo Alte und Junge, Männer und Weiber, denken und handeln, wie die besten Helden und Heldinnen im Plutarch!"

Jacobi's *Iris*, published at Düsseldorf from 1774 on, follows every step of the struggle with the keenest interest. As early as December, 1774, is found the opinion: "Vielleicht wird der Widerstand der Kolonien nur ihre Wiedervereinigung beschleunigen, wenn man der Gährung Zeit lässt, sich wieder zu legen, den Geistern, sich zu vereinbaren, den Kindern des nämlichen Vaterlandes, ihr gemeinschaftliches Interesse in der Unzertrennlichkeit zu sehn."⁷⁵ In March, 1775,⁷⁶ four pages are devoted to a very intelligent review of the situation. England's abuse of power is explained to be the cause of the awakening of the spirit of independence which demands representation. Boston is spoken of as the centre of agitation. A hope of speedy reconciliation is expressed, and an unbroken unity among the colonists is urged. In June, 1775, it is stated that more complete news is awaited with interest; war has broken out, and the colonists have demonstrated that there is no better soldier than the man who is an enthusiast for liberty. The people of London have at last ceased to find anything amusing in the caricatures of the new way of making war, which had been in circulation there.⁷⁷ In September, 1775,⁷⁸ it is stated that the miracles wrought by the love of fatherland and of liberty in the American colonies are holding the attention of the whole world. An account is given of the arming of even the women and old men. The women of New Jersey have

⁷⁵ P. 109.

⁷⁶ Pp. 257-260.

⁷⁷ P. 233.

⁷⁸ Pp. 257, ff.

formed two companies for drill in arms and in all the exercises of war ; they do this with great ease, since they are all accustomed to hunting. The Quakers also are taking up arms. Mention is made of the battle of Bunker Hill, in which the British paid so dearly for a slight advantage that five or six such victories would be enough to annihilate them. Even his foes pay a tribute to the valor of the aged General Putnam. The dying words of Colonel Abercrombie are quoted: "Meine Freunde, wir haben die Vertheidigung einer schlechten Sache unternommen, und schon leidet ein grosser Theil unter uns die gerechte Strafe. Wenn ich mich wider den Feind des Vaterlands geschlagen hätte, so würd' ich itzt den Trost haben, mit Ruhm zu sterben, aber die Nachkommenschaft wird uns schänden, um wider unsre eigene Brüder gestritten zu haben." The younger Penn's peaceful mission to London is also mentioned.

The *Amerikanisches Archiv*⁷⁹ offers another proof of the fact that American events were seriously watched in Germany. In his preface the editor says: "Die Streitigkeiten Grossbritanniens mit seinen Colonien verdient aus mehr als einem Gesichtspunkte die Aufmerksamkeit des Beobachters der grossen Fortwältzung der Begebenheiten des menschlichen Geschlechts. Der Gegenstand dieses traurigen Zwistes: die Art und Weise, wie er von beiden Seiten unterhalten wird; die bekannte, gefürchtete Grösse der einen der streitenden Nationen, die unerwartete Stärke und Thätigkeit der andern, die nur wenige für einen Kämpfer, der Englands würdig sey, ansahen, . . . ; der specielle Antheil, den verschiedene Gegenden Deutschlands an denselben nehmen; die unaussprechlichen Folgen endlich, die man erwarten muss, wenn die Colonien, ich will nicht sagen, siegen, sondern nur im Stande sind, durch ihren Widerstand, oder durch auswärtige dazwischentretende Vorfälle, Grossbritannien zu nöthigen, ihnen vortheilhafte Bedingungen zuzugestehen; alles dieses sind Gründe die den Antheil rechtfertigen, den das deutsche Publikum an diesen Unruhen nimmt." It is

⁷⁹ Braunschweig, 1777.

the intention of the editor to furnish a set of writings which will enable the public to judge more accurately. He says that there are many discussions of the subject in English, but that there are no German translations known to him except "die von Herrn Schlözern herausgegebenen Pintoischen Ministerial-Vertheidigungen, einige von Herrn Mauvillon ausgezogene und so gut commentirte Tuckersche Schriften, gleiches Inhalts, und ein Pamphlet von Wesley,⁸⁰ ebenfalls in dieser Absicht geschrieben, das man in den Braunschweigischen Anzeigen im vorigen Jahrgange findet."

In a similar tone are written the words of the author of the history of the American Revolution contained in the *Historisch-genealogischer Calender* (Leipzig, 1784), which point to the earnestness with which the war must have been followed in Germany. He says: "Und in der That, wen es nicht schon auf den ersten Anblick interessirt, zu sehen: wie solch ein Volk . . . plötzlich seine Pflugschaaren verlässt, und für etwas edleres, als warum die Fürsten einander bekriegen, aus Ruhmsucht nicht, nicht aus Eroberungsgeist, sondern für die heiligen Rechte der Menschheit, für Freyheit und Sicherheit des Eigenthums beginnt," etc. And he continues enthusiastically: "Wer auf jede einzelne Scene dieses grossen Schauspiels nicht einen forschenden Blick zu werfen, das Ganze zu übersehen, und den Antheil der handelnden Personen gegen einander abzuwiegen wünscht—der versündige sich nicht, je ein Geschichtsbuch in die Hände zu nehmen, oder rühme sich nie, für irgend etwas grosses Sinn zu haben, sondern vegetire fort, und sein Beruf sey, innerhalb den engen Grenzen seines Gesichtskreises eingeschränkt zu bleiben."⁸¹ The body of the calendar consists of a history of the war by Professor Sprengel, of Halle. Etchings represent some of the principal events connected with the conflict, and portraits are given of Washington, Gates, Franklin, Laurens

⁸⁰ Probably John Wesley's *A Seasonable Address to the More Serious Part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain, Respecting the Unhappy Contest between us and our American Brethren*. Printed 1776. Wesley's Works, vi, 321.

⁸¹ Page 28.

and Paul Jones, whom the author calls⁸² "so allgemein und so rühmlich bekannte Männer." The calendar bears strong testimony to the universal interest in the war on the part of the Germans, as follows: "Doch der grössere Theil des Publikums hat ja diesen merkwürdigen Auftritt, des entfernten Schauplatzes ungeachtet, wirklich mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit, und vielleicht gar mit mehr Theilnehmung angesehen, als Vorfälle, die uns näher betreffen." The general treatment of England in the discussion is fair and impartial.

From Klinger's drama, *Die falschen Spieler* (1780),⁸³ we likewise gain the impression that American events were watched with as much interest as great events in Europe. The poet Goeckingk, in 1777, speaks of deciding the war in America, among other ways of passing his time.⁸⁴ Nicolai and his circle in Berlin glorified the war "in schwülstiger Prosa und noch schwülstiger Poesie."⁸⁵

An exception to the general sympathy extended to the Americans must be made in the case of Schlözer, Professor of History at Göttingen, who vehemently supported George the Third and the English aristocracy against the North Americans. His politico-statistical journal, begun in 1775,⁸⁶ and, a year later, entitled *Neue Correspondenz*, was published at Göttingen, in the Hanoverian dominions of George III.⁸⁷ It contains many articles on the American war, all written on the English side, with the single exception of a letter from Baron Steuben, who was fighting for the colonies. This letter is, moreover, annotated by the editor in a sense adverse to the Americans. This tone may perhaps have been forced upon Schlözer by circumstances, as the press in Germany was then tolerated rather than free. An

⁸² Page 28.

⁸³ Act II, scene 2.

⁸⁴ Bürger, *Briefe*, ii, 124.

⁸⁵ Kapp, *Soldatenhandel*.

⁸⁶ Schlosser, *History of the 18th Century*, II, 330.

⁸⁷ Lowell, *The Hessians and other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War*, p. 21.

interesting little book was published at Wolfenbüttel, near Brunswick, in 1778. It gives an account of America, its products, its geography, and its history, together with an excellent map. The author of this book is decidedly hostile to the colonists. The sending of more than 17,000 Germans to America is briefly, one might almost say incidentally, mentioned, though the earlier operations of the war and of these auxiliaries are described at some length. Yet the presence of so many Germans in the new world was undoubtedly the principal reason for the book's existence. Schlözer "raved wildly against the North Americans, and stormed at their disobedience to Parliament, as if he had been a genuine old Englishman."⁸⁸ His writings led to the first serious public political discussions in Germany, among the writers of periodical literature, although this discussion only affected the policy and conduct of foreign states.

KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN LEADERS.

It is interesting to note how well known to Germany were the leaders of the cause, and gratifying to see the tributes to Washington and Franklin, especially, who were held in universal esteem, as appears in prose as well as in poetry. Washington's must have been a very familiar name: Bürger,⁸⁹ in one of his letters, even uses the word "bewashingtonen" as early as 1777; Franklin was honored not only as a patriot, but also as a scientist.⁹⁰ Goethe, as elsewhere mentioned, says in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*:⁹¹ "Die Namen Franklin und Washington fingen an am politischen und kriegerischen Himmel zu glänzen und zu funkeln." Voss, too, acknowledges their worth in his *Luiſe* in the lines:⁹²

⁸⁸ Lowell, *The Hessians*, 1, c.

⁸⁹ *Briefe*, ii, 152, 2. Oct., 1777.

⁹⁰ Cf. Lichtenberg's *Briefe*; *Gem. Schriften*, ii, 143: "Die edle Einfalt der Franklinschen Theorie," etc. Cf. also Fr. L. Stolberg's *An Karl Freiherrn von Kompeſch* (1790), Kürschner, 166.

⁹¹ *Werke*, xxix, 68. ⁹² II, 119, ff.

Lies noch ein Weilchen im Bett, wie du pflegst: ein Kapitel der
Bibel
Dort auf der kleinen Rirole zur Seite dir; oder ein Leibruch
Besserer Zeit, als Menschen wie Washington lebten und Franklin.

Friedrich Leopold Stolberg characterizes Washington thus in
Der Prüfstein:⁹³

Wer spricht von Chatham der im Leben gross,
Und grösser noch in seinem Tode war?
Wer vom bescheidenen Helden Washington?

and Schubart's hero in *Der kalte Michel*⁹⁴ makes his fortune
"beim grossen Washington." In the poem *Die Freiheit
Amerikas* (1783)⁹⁵ he is compared to a hero of antiquity:

Wie sie kämpft, die Hyder!
Wie sie die schuppichten Nacken windet,

Und Flammen sprüht! Doch Herkules-Washington,
Der Freiheit Schutzgott, stämmte den starken Arm
Ihr kühn entgegen, lehrt, das Scheusal
Muthig in jeglicher Zone fällen.

In the notice of Washington's life in the *Historisch-genealogischer Calender* (1784)⁹⁶ his ability as general, his personal courage, and his wisdom are highly praised, and he is called "unermüdet thätig, äusserst aufmerksam, bis zur Strenge gerecht und ein wahrer Vater seiner Untergebenen; ein treuer und edelmüthiger Freund, im Privatleben von untadelhaftem Charakter, ein praktischer Philosoph." Baron Steuben shows his admiration for Washington in a letter to him (cf. Washington's *Writings* by Jared Sparks, v, 528), where he says: "Fürchtete ich nicht, Ihre Bescheidenheit zu verletzen, so würde ich noch hinzufügen, dass, nachdem ich unter Friedrich dem Grossen die Kriegskunst erlernt habe, Ew. Excellenz der einzige Feldherr ist, unter dem ich meinen Beruf als Krieger weiter zu verfolgen

⁹³ *Iamben*, p. 64. ⁹⁴ *Gedichte*, 358.

⁹⁵ See below. ⁹⁶ See above, p. 352.

wünschte." Rupert Becker, addressing the spirit of Liberty in his poem *An die Freiheit*⁹⁷ (1784), says:

Du erhebst in Stunden deiner hohen Weihe
über Neid und Misgunst, und die Qualenreihe
der gedrückten Menschheit einen Biedermann;
giebst ihm Waffen, die der Wahrheit Ehre rächen,
Waffen, die nicht beider Welten Gold bestechen,
und ein Blutgerüste nicht bezwingen kan.

In Pfeffel's *Lied eines Negersklaven*⁹⁸ there is hostility toward him because of German sympathy with the negro slave, and yet a touch of admiration. An important account of Washington is contained in Bibra's *Journal* for 1790, under *Nachrichten von dem Amerikanischen General Washington*.⁹⁹ This account gives a short biography, praises his genius as a leader, and represents him as endowed with unselfish patriotism.

Franklin calls forth from Schubart a eulogy, not only for his inventions, but especially for his services to humanity in the cause of freedom, in the poem *Franklins Grabschrift* (1788):¹⁰⁰

Hier liegt in Gräberstille
Franklins Hülle;
Geist, Weiser, Patriot,
Voll Vaterland und Gott.
Er wusste den Strahl der Tyrannen
Wie Blitze des Himmels zu bannen
Und aus gläsernen Glocken
Himmlische Töne zu locken.
Wie einem Bräutigam die Braut
Bot ihm Freiheit die Hand;
Dann führt' er sie liebevertraut
In Columbus glückliches Land.

⁹⁷ Canzler und Meissner's *Quartal-Schrift*, 2. Jahrgang, 2. Quartal, 1 Heft, p. 71.

⁹⁸ See below.

⁹⁹ I., 19; taken from a letter of John Bell, of Maryland to a friend in England.

¹⁰⁰ *Gedichte*, 194.

Sein Name frei und gross
 Flog über den Okeanos.
 Columbia trauert um Ihn,
 Europa klagt um Ihn,
 Der kühne Franke hüllt sich in Flor;
 Doch Franklins Seele flog empor
 Ins Urlicht, Geister drangen
 In Schaaren herbei,
 Willkommten ihn und sangen:
 Wen Gott freimacht,
 Ist ewig frei.

In the second of his *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* Herder pays a glowing tribute to Franklin, whom he had long admired and revered: "der Menschheit Lehrer, einer grossen Menschengesellschaft Ordner sey unser Vorbild."¹⁰¹

An exceedingly interesting and appreciative account of Franklin is given by Georg Forster in *Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1790*¹⁰² with the sub-title, "*Benjamin Franklin—Eripuit coelo fulmen, mox sceptrum tyrannis.*" Wieland speaks of "der berühmte Franklin,"¹⁰³ and again he says¹⁰⁴ that a better constitution might have been made for France if she had had a single Solon at the head of affairs, or a triumvirate such as Montesquieu, Turgot, and Franklin. Franklin is cited as a supreme standard of character in the *Almanach für Dichter und schöne Geister auf das Jahr 1785* (*Gedruckt am Fuss des Parnasses*).¹⁰⁵ In the *Historisch-genealogischer Calender* (1784) again,¹⁰⁶ Franklin is spoken of as "dieser eifrige warme Vertheidiger seiner Landesleute, dem Amerika beynahe einzig seine Freiheit zu verdanken hat," and he is described as endowed¹⁰⁷ "mit welch einer männlichen Entschlossenheit, mit welch

¹⁰¹ Goebel, *Amerika in der deutschen Dichtung*, p. 106.

¹⁰² *Kleine Schriften*, vi, 102.

¹⁰³ *Merkur*, April, 1777, p. 74.

¹⁰⁴ *Sendschreiben an Professor Eggers in Kiel: Werke*, xli, 196.

¹⁰⁵ Page 84.

¹⁰⁶ Page 63.

¹⁰⁷ Page 172.

unermüdeter Thätigkeit, und mit seltner Weisheit." "Amerika wird ihm, als seinem Schutzgott und Wohlthäter, Altäre bauen, und auch Europa wird noch spät den Namen des Mannes mit Achtung nennen, dem mit jedem Blitzableiter ein Monument errichtet wird!"¹⁰⁸ Bürger published a translation of Franklin's *autobiography* in 1792.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT IN GERMAN POETRY.

Contemporary with the stirring events in America, there is to be noticed the outbreak of a fiery revolutionary spirit in German poetry, the direct connection of which with the American movement can in no wise be doubted, and for which the soil had been well prepared by the *Bardendichtung* of Gerstenberg, Klopstock, and their imitators. Symptomatic are such poems as the *Feldgesang vor einer Freyheitsschlacht* (1774) in the *Göttlinger Musenalmanach* for 1775,¹⁰⁹ charged with vehement denunciation of "Tyrannen," which sounds like an overture to the rhetoric of the French Revolution :

Ha ! Brüder ! nicht geschont ! Hinab das Flammenschwert
In seinen Schädel tief ! Heraus den scheuen Mördergeist,
Wie aus dem Baum, in den der Stral des Himmels stürzt,
Der gescheuchte Geyer fleucht !

Ten of the twenty-eight stanzas begin: "Freyheit! Freyheit!" Rulers are given such titles as "goldne Länderdrücker," "gestirnte Sklavenführer," "Weichlinge," "Völkermörder," and "Ungeheuer." The ode closes,

Freyheit ! Freyheit ! Freyheit !
Trunken ! trunken ! trunken dir !
Ist uns der Schmerz süß, und der Tod süß !
Hin, hin zu dir !

Und wenn der Hölle Flammenstrom
Und ihre Feuerberge vor uns ständen !
Hin über sie ! durch den Flammenstrom !
Ueber die Feuerberge hin !

¹⁰⁸ Page 174. ¹⁰⁹ Signed "C," p. 52, ff.

Significant is Goethe's choice of the Dutch Revolution as the background for a drama in *Egmont* (1774-1775).

The young enthusiasm of Count Friedrich Leopold Stolberg (Voss's "Adler der Freiheit"), who had written an *Ode an die Freiheit* at the early age of ten, was fanned to a flame by these influences,—a flame which was destined to be thoroughly extinguished by the outrages of the French Revolution. It was the declamatory expressions of thirst for the blood of tyrants on the part of Stolberg in 1775 which caused "Frau Rath" to offer up her choicest red wine from the cellar of the Goethe House in Frankfort with the exclamation: "Hier ist das wahre Tyrannenblut! Daran ergötzt euch, aber alle Mordgedanken lasst mir aus dem Hause!"¹¹⁰ During the period of the American war the fermentation of this vehement spirit found an outlet in such poems as *Die Freyheit* (1774),¹¹¹ and *Freiheitsgesang aus dem zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (1775)¹¹² in which he prophesies the death of himself and his brother for the sacred cause of liberty:

Da sprengten hervor,
Auf schäumenden Rossen,
Wie zückende Blize,
Zween Jünglinge, Stolberg ihr Name, Reisisge hinter ihnen her! . . .

Stolberg fochten und sanken dahin
Den schönen Tod,
Den blutigen Tod,
Den Freiheitstod!

Stolberg's poem, *Die Zukunft*, has many expressions of yearning for freedom.¹¹³ The same spirit breaks out in Johann Martin Miller's *An meine Freunde in Göttingen* (January, 1775).¹¹⁴ Joined to the hatred of tyrants is a scorn for those content with

¹¹⁰ Goethe, *Werke*, xxix, 90.

¹¹¹ *Göllinger Musenalmanach*, 1775, p. 221, ff.

¹¹² *Gedichte der Brüder Stolberg*, p. 102, ff.

¹¹³ E. g. iii, 289, ff.; 107 ff.; v, 244, ff.; cf. Klopstock's *Fürstenlob*, (1775).

¹¹⁴ *Gedichte*, 342.

the old order, and willing to be slaves. This is expressed in Schubart's *Freiheitslied eines Kolonisten* (1775)¹¹⁵ and in Voss's *Der zufriedene Sklave*.¹¹⁶ Schiller, in a letter to Reinwald at a later period,¹¹⁷ angrily writes from Mannheim "den Fiesco verstand das Publikum nicht. Republikanische Freiheit ist hier ein Schall ohne Bedeutung, ein leerer Name." Voss's *Trinklied für Freie* (1775)¹¹⁸ sees in vision a revolutionary uprising in Germany :

Zur Rach' erwacht, zur Rach' erwacht
Der freie deutsche Mann!
Trompet' und Trommel, ruft zur Schlacht!
Weht, Fahnen, weht voran!

Ob uns ein Meer entgegenrollt;
Hinein! sie sind entmannt,
Die Knecht', und streiten nur um Sold,
Und nicht für's Vaterland! . . .

Auf rothen Wogen wälzt der Rhein
Die Sklavenäser fort,
Und speit sie aus, und schluckt sie ein,
Und jauchzt am Ufer fort!

Der Rebenberg am Leichenthal
Tränkt seinen Most mit Blut!
Dann trinken wir beim Freudenmahl,
Triumph! Tyrannenblut!

The *Musenalmanach* for 1776 contains, besides this poem by Voss, a similar one by J. M. Miller, *Der Todesengel am Lager eines Tyrannen*,¹¹⁹ which expresses hatred and a desire for vengeance, and in an earlier almanac in the *Lied eines Gefangenen*,¹²⁰ Miller rages against "des Fürsten Wuth," exposes the

¹¹⁵ See below, p. 366.

¹¹⁶ *Gedichte*, 158.

¹¹⁷ May 5, 1784.

¹¹⁸ *Gedichte*, 155; *Musenalmanach für 1776*, 107.

¹¹⁹ Page 41.

¹²⁰ *Göttlinger Musenalmanach*, 1775, 158.

crime of the princes, and raises a cry for liberty. This cry is echoed everywhere; thus Bürger, in a letter to Boie (29. January, 1776),¹²¹ speaks of a subject which he has on hand, saying that it will be very suitable "für den gegenwärtigen Ton der Freyheit." Schubart's verse is passionate with indignant protest and denunciation of the oppression of the German rulers. Thus in his *Neujahrswunsch* (1776):¹²²

Stärk den Müden, der des Lebens Plagen,
Seine Lasten duldet friedsam still;
Donner sollen den Tyrannen schlagen.
Der des Schweisses Frucht ihm rauben will!

The most significantly bitter expression of this feeling is, perhaps, Schubart's poem, *Die Fürstengruft*,¹²³ (1779 or 1780), written during his imprisonment, out of anger against the Duke, who had not fulfilled an express promise to set him free in the near future.¹²⁴ Although this poem is undoubtedly tinged with personal feeling, it serves to show the causes which existed for rebellion, and to illustrate the attitude of the poets towards the princes. He begins:

Da liegen sie, die stolzen Fürstentrümmer,
Ehmals die Götzen ihrer Welt!
Da liegen sie, vom fürchterlichen Schimmer
Des blassen Tags erhellt.

Die alten Särge leuchten in der dunkeln
Verwesungsgruft, wie faules Holz;
Wie matt die grossen Silberschilde funkeln,
Der Fürsten letzter Stolz.

For their accumulated outrages he foretells a fearful punishment, when they shall be called to account:

¹²¹ *Briefe*, I, 272. Cf. various poems by Bürger.

¹²² *Gedichte*, 201.

¹²³ *Gedichte*, 205.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, note.

Damit die Quäler nicht zu früh erwachen,
 Seid menschlicher, erweckt sie nicht.
 Ha! früh genug wird über ihnen krachen
 Der Donner am Gericht,

Wo Todesengel nach Tyrannen greifen
 Wenn sie im Grimm der Richter weckt,
 Und ihre Gräul zu einem Berge häufen,
 Der flammend sie bedeckt.

The same spirit of scorn for the princes is manifest in his *Aderlässe* (1782),¹²⁵ *An Ihro Gnaden*,¹²⁶ and in his *Fürsten* (1788).¹²⁷ With these expressions of hatred may be compared the fiery outbursts of the young Schiller. In his *Der Eroberer* (1777),¹²⁸ written while he was yet in the military academy, he also prophesies a day of judgment for the tyrants :

Schau gen Himmel, Tyrann—wo du der Sämann warst,
 Dort vom Blutgefild stieg Todeshauch himmeln
 Hinzuheulen in tausend
 Wettern über dein schauerndes
 Haupt! . . .

Schauer, schauer zurück, Würger bei jedem Staub,
 Den dein fliegender Gang wirbelnd gen Himmel weht,
 Es ist Staub deines Bruders,
 Staub, der wider dich Rache ruft.

Wenn die Donnerposaun Gottes vom Tron izt her
 Auferstehung geböt—aufführ im Morgenglanz
 Seiner Feuer der Tode
 Dich dem Richter entgegen riss. . . .

Schiller again shows us the princes deprived of their glory, a helpless food for worms, in the poem of which Schubart speaks when he says :¹²⁹

¹²⁵ *Gedichte*, 208. ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 209. ¹²⁸ *Schriften*, i, 40.

¹²⁹ *An Schiller* (1782), *Gedichte*, 128.

Gott sah
Dass er muthig zürnt
Dem gekrönten Laster.

In the last stanza of this poem, *Die schlimmen Monarchen*,¹³⁰ (1781), Schiller warns the princes of the power of the poets :

Berget immer die erhabne Schande
Mit des Majestätsrechts Nachtgewande!
 Bübelt aus des Thrones Hinterhalt.
Aber zittert für des Liedes Sprache,
Kühnlich durch den Purpur bohrt der Pfeil der Rache
 Fürstenherzen kalt.

His sarcasm smites the princes also in *Aufschrift einer Fürstengruft*¹³¹ and *An den Galgen zu schreiben*.¹³²

Among others who scorn the tyrants are Goecking, in such poems as *Golddurst* (1782),¹³³ *Epistel, Einladung an einen Freund* (1777),¹³⁴ and *Epistel an eine Dame an dem Hofe zu . . .* (1781);¹³⁵ and Jacobi in *Die Fürsten* (1779),¹³⁶ where he calls them "Kartenkönige."

Klopstock, in *Der Krieger* (1778),¹³⁷ praises him who fights for liberty; Matthisson has also a *Siegesgesang für Freie*;¹³⁸ Schubart, in his *Deutsche Freyheit* (1786),¹³⁹ seeks freedom for Germany.

The cry for freedom is uttered very early in the dramas of Goethe and Klinger, and it is re-echoed in those of Schiller, such as *Die Räuber* (1781), *Fiesko* (where he shows his ardor for republican liberty), and *Kabale und Liebe* (1783). Schiller also

¹³⁰ *Anthologie* (1782), 244.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 37.

¹³³ *Gedichte*, iii, 112. Published 1782.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 201.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 14. Published 1781.

¹³⁶ *Werke*, iii, 167.

¹³⁷ *Oden und Epigramme*, 171.

¹³⁸ *Gedichte*, i, 99.

¹³⁹ *Gedichte*, 215.

speaks¹⁴⁰ of the influence of Leisewitz' *Julius von Tarent* (1775) over him, a drama full of the new ideas of liberty, as may be seen from the following passage:¹⁴¹ "Ist denn Tarent der Erdkreis, und ausser ihm Unding?—Die Welt ist mein Vaterland, und alle Menschen sind ein Volk.—Durch eine allgemeine Sprache vereint!—Die allgemeine Sprache der Völker ist Thränen und Seufzer;—ich verstehe auch den hülflosen Hottentotten und werde mit Gott, wenn ich aus Tarent bin, nicht taub seyn!—und musste denn das ganze menschliche Geschlecht, um glücklich zu seyn, durchaus in Staaten eingesperrt werden, wo jeder ein Knecht des andern, und keiner frey ist—jeder an das andere Ende der Kette angeschmiedet, woran er seinen Sklaven hält—Narren können nur streiten, ob die Gesellschaft die Menschheit vergifte!—Beide Theile geben es zu, der Staat tödtet die Freyheit—Sehen Sie, der Streit ist entschieden!—Der Staub hat Willen, das ist mein erhabenster Gedanke an den Schöpfer, und den allmächtigen Trieb zur Freyheit schätz' ich auch in der sich sträubenden Fliege."

DIRECT ALLUSIONS TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN
POETRY.

The American Revolution found its warmest sympathizers among the poets of Germany, a fact borne out by an article in the *Deutsches Museum*, *Ueber den amerikanischen Krieg*,¹⁴² where the author says: "Wenn der Himmel Cäsars Parthey nimmt, so halten wir es immer mit Kato, und der Kongress hat wichtige Freunde unter unsern Schriftstellern und Dichtern, die es alle nur mühsam begreifen, wie es zugeht, dass ein gedungenes Heer diese Söhne der Freyheit bändigen kann." The poets showed this sympathy not only in their writings, but also in their lives; significant are Goethe's words in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.¹⁴³ "Noch lebhafter aber war die Welt interessirt, als

¹⁴⁰ *Briefe*, I, 132.

¹⁴¹ Act II, Scene V.

¹⁴² *Deutsches Museum*, iii, 186, February, 1777.

¹⁴³ *Werke*, xxix, 68.

ein ganzes Volk sich zu befreien Miene machte . . . man wünschte den Amerikanern alles Glück und die Namen Franklin und Washington fingen an am politischen und kriegerischen Himmel zu glänzen und zu funkeln." Goethe classed the Boston tea-party of 1773 among the prodigious events which stamp themselves most deeply on the mind of childhood. . . . He congratulated America that it was not forced to bear up the traditions of feudalism; and, writing or conversing, used only friendly words of the United States, as a "noble country."¹⁴⁴

Klinger wished to enlist in the American military service,¹⁴⁵ a wish which, however, was not fulfilled. But it is significant that he lays the scene of his drama *Sturm und Drang* (1775), from which a whole literary movement takes its name, in America at the beginning of the Revolution, and the hero exclaims:¹⁴⁶ "Ha! lass mich's nur recht fühlen auf amerikanischem Boden zu stehen, wo alles neu, alles bedeutend ist."

Lenz, all his life interested in military affairs, in *Die Laube*,¹⁴⁷ a fragment of a drama which is very closely connected with his own life, represents the hero as departing with the Hessians for America, and hence we may conclude that he, too, was personally interested in the American cause. The thought of emigrating to America had entered the mind of Goethe, and Lili Schönemann once declared her readiness to accompany him thither;¹⁴⁸ such a thought may also have come to Schiller, for in letters¹⁴⁹ to W. von Wolzogen (1783), written to throw false light on his place of refuge, he asserts that he is going to America. Lessing published his opinion that "the Americans are building in the new world the lodge of humanity," and he

¹⁴⁴ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, x, 89, ff.; Goethe's *Werke*, v. 1, 137; IV, 309, f. For further interest of Goethe in the United States in his later years, cf. Calvin Thomas's *Faust*, Part II, xlv, note.

¹⁴⁵ Kurz, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, iii, 423.

¹⁴⁶ Act I, Scene 1.

¹⁴⁷ *Dramatischer Nachlass von J. W. R. Lenz zum ersten Male herausgegeben und eingeleitet* von Karl Weinhold. Frankfurt a. M., 1884. *Die Laube* was written in 1776.

¹⁴⁸ E. Joseph in *Strassburger Goethevorträge*, p. 71; Goethe, *Werke*, xxix, 156.

¹⁴⁹ *Briefe*, i, 55, f., 57.

desired to write more, for, said he, "the people are consumed by hunger and thirst," but his prince commanded silence.¹⁵⁰ Wagner, one of the "Stürmer und Dränger," has his heroine in *Die Kindermörderin* wish that she were a man, for then, she says, "Noch heute macht' ich mich auf den Weg nach Amerika und hälf' für die Freiheit streiten."¹⁵¹

That American ideals of liberty and the particular issues involved in the revolutionary struggle found immediate recognition in Germany is well shown in Schubart's *Freiheitslied eines Kolonisten*,¹⁵² which was published in his *Deutsche Chronik*, 1775, p. 507:

Hinaus! hinaus ins Ehrenfeld
Mit blinkendem Gewehr!
Columbus, deine ganze Welt
Tritt muthig daher!

Die Göttin Freiheit mit der Fahn'
(Der Sklave sah sie nie)
Geht, Brüder, seht! sie geht voran!
O blutet für sie!

Ha, Vater Putnam lenkt den Sturm,
Und theilt mit uns Gefahr;
Uns leuchtet, wie ein Pharusthurm,
Sein silbernes Haar!

Du, gier'ger Britte, sprichst uns Hohn?
Da nimm uns unser Gold!
Es kämpft kein Bürger von Boston
Um sklavischen Sold!

Da seht Europens Sklaven an,
In Ketten rasseln sie!
Sie braucht ein Treiber, ein Tyrann,
Für würgbares Vieh.

¹⁵⁰ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, x, 89 ff.

¹⁵¹ Act IV.

¹⁵² *Gedichte*, p. 193.

Ihr reicht den feigen Nacken, ihr,
 Dem Tritt der Herrschsucht dar?
 Schwimmt her! hier wohnt die Freiheit, hier!
 Hier flammt ihr Altar!

Doch winkt uns Vater Putnam nicht?
 Auf, Brüder, ins Gewehr!
 Wer nicht für unsre Freiheit ficht,
 Den stürztet ins Meer!

Herbei, Columbier, herbei!
 Im Antlitz sonnenroth!
 Horch, Britte, unser Feldgeschrei
 Ist Sieg oder Tod!¹⁵³

In *Der Teutsche Merkur* for 1775¹⁵⁴ there is a *Lied eines jungen Engländers in Amerika*, in which a young boy complains of the command given to American recruiting officers, in accordance with which he is forbidden to fight on account of his youth; a poem which, although without any literary value, shows a sympathetic spirit among the Germans at an early date.

An interesting poem by Gottlieb Conrad Pfeffel (given later, p. 377) of the year 1778, prophetically declares that the work of freedom is incomplete because of the retention of negro slavery.

Friedrich Leopold Stolberg, whose flaming youthful zeal for liberty has been noted,¹⁵⁵ naturally found a congenial subject in the American Revolution. The fragment, *Die Zukunft*,¹⁵⁶ written by him between 1779 and 1782, is full of visions of a better future which is dawning in the events in America. It was read by contemporary poets such as Boie and Halem, who estimated it highly.¹⁵⁷ Stolberg has a vision of freedom for America:

¹⁵³ Cf. *Der Britte an Howe nach der Schlacht bey Flatland*, in Schubart's *Deutsche Chronik*, 1776, p. 703.

¹⁵⁴ November, p. 105.

¹⁵⁵ See page 359.

¹⁵⁶ Edited by Otto Hartwig, Leipzig, 1885.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Bürger's *Briefe*, iii, 61, and Menge's *Stolberg*, I, 101, n.

Zürnend entstieg die folgende Jungfrau rauschenden Fluthen,
 Hielt in der Rechten ein Schwert, und in gleich nervigter Linken
 Eine Wage, sie wog und hieb mit blitzendem Schwerte
 Von Amerikas Nacken und Händen die drückenden Bande ;¹⁵⁸ . . .

Denn frey wird Amerika seyn ! Und kann es euch Trost seyn,
 Britten, so sey es euch Trost, dass unter den Söhnen der Freyheit
 Eure Brüder die Erstlinge sind. Auf weise Gesetze
 Werden sie gründen ihr Reich, sie werden sich mehren wie Bienen,
 Emsig wie Bienen, wie sie mit scharfem Stachel gerüstet
 Gegen Jeden, der sich erkühnt zum Zorn sie zu reizen.¹⁵⁹

Characteristic is the following extravagant figure. He represents as women Asia and Africa, then Europe :

Neben ihr strebte sich aufzurichten die zürnende Schwester,
 Doch es hielten sie Bande zurück, an den staubigen Boden,
 Wild und schön, mit streubendem Nacken, flammenden Augen
 Schaute sie um sich, auch lauschte Amerika wilden Gesängen,
 Welche von himmelschreienden Thaten, strömendem Blute
 Von entvölkerten Ländern und Helden in Fesseln erschollen.¹⁶⁰

Again he says :

Geist der Freyheit, Du wirst mit weitumschattendem Flügel
 Ueber Amerika wehen ! Auf morgenröthlichem Flügel
 Schwebet Siona und bringt mich auf den Gipfel der Seher,
 Und mein Auge verliert sich in die Wogen der Zukunft.¹⁶¹

Goeckingk's *Kriegslied eines Provinzialen*¹⁶² (written as early as 1782), invites Germans to join the American battle for freedom, instead of taking sides with the oppressor :

Heran, heran ! die Fahne weht
 Für Freyheit, Leben, Guth !
 Und weil das noch zu retten steht,
 So rett' es unser Muth !

¹⁵⁸ *Zukunft*, I, 206 ff.

¹⁵⁹ V, 187 ff.

¹⁶⁰ I, 57 ff.

¹⁶¹ V, 204.

¹⁶² *Gedichte*, iii, 75.

Ziehst du das Schwerd für etwas mehr,
Als deinen Lumpensold?
Und du willst siegen, Slavenheer?
Erkaufst du Sieg mit Gold?

Doch du, du braves deutsches Blut!
Sag' an, was suchst du hier?
Landeigenthum und Freyheit? Gut!
Wir theilen gern mit dir!

Was gehn dich unsre Händel an?
Was that dir unser Land,
Wo schon so mancher deutscher Mann,
Glück, das er sucht', auch fand?

Komm, eh diess Schwerdt und Hunger, dich,
Von selbst zu kommen, zwingt,
Und ehe noch als Leichnam dich
Der Krokodill verschlingt.

Denn enrer werden über Bord
Für sie noch tausend gehn,
Bevor der Britten Wimpel dort
Im Delaware wehn.

Sie nennen uns Barbaren, sie,
Die vielen Wittwen schon
Das Haus verbrannt!—Wir brannten nie
Und gaben gern Pardon.

Was thaten wir, als halb im Sand
Bourgoyne's Heer sein Grab
Durch jene Hungerwüste fand,
Und halb sich uns ergab?

Und nun es hiess: Streckt das Gewehr?—
Wir standen ernst und stumm,
Und dachten: Macht der Schaam nicht mehr!
Und wandten uns herum.

Doch Eurer Tausend gehn davon
Izt nackt einher, denn sagt:
Wann hat das stolze Albion
Nach ihnen schon gefragt?

Kommt ! Deutsche ! worauf wartet ihr ?
 Seyd, glücklich es, mit uns reich !
 Und glücklich es nicht, so theilen wir
 Das letzte Hemd mit euch.

The accompanying *Antwort eines deutschen Soldaten*¹⁶³ satirizes the mechanical willingness of the stolid German soldier to follow blindly the orders of his tyrant:

Nichts gehn mich eure Händel an !
 Weiss traun ! davon nicht viel,
 Auch spiel' ich, wenn ich's ändern kann,
 Nicht gern ein Trauerspiel.
 Allein, gehorsam geh' ich fort,
 Gebeut mein Fürst zu gehn;
 Denn er, nicht ich, muss einstens dort
 Dafür zur Rede stehn.
 Du hast mir freylich nichts gethan;
 Ich kenne dich ja nicht ?
 Doch ist der wunderliche Wahn:
 Du seyst mein Feind ! nicht Pflicht ?
 Die Fahne, der ich lang zuvor,
 Eh dieser Wirrwarr sich
 Entspann, den Eid der Treue schwor,
 Führt izt mich gegen dich.
 Soll ich meineidig werden ? Pfy !
 Das wird kein Bidermann !
 Doch, hiess auch mein Gewissen sie
 Verlassen: Was alsdann ?
 Wie schwämm' ich durch das weite Meer
 Nach Weib und Kind zurück ?
 Denn ohne Weib und Kind, ist leer
 Dein Land für mich an Glück.
 Wohlan ! so sey es denn darum,
 Wer von uns Beyden siegt ?
 Noch hab' ich Brod, noch hab' ich Rum
 Und Sold, und bin vergnügt.

¹⁶³ *Gedichte*, iii, 78.

Hätt' ich von allen Drey'n nicht Eins,
So plündert' ich dein Haus,
Darauf verlass du dich ! um keins
Von allen Dreyen aus.

Anrühren soll dein Weib und Kind
Kein Britte, wo ich bin,
Denn wir, obgleich wir Freunde sind,
Sind's doch nicht bis dahin.

Wird's Friede: Nachbarn werden wir
Vielleicht noch auf den Streit !
Denn Weib und Kinder hol' ich mir:—
Den Grund zu seiner Zeit !

Klopstock exalts the war in *Der jetzige Krieg*¹⁶⁴ (1781):

O Krieg, des schöneren Lorbers werth,
Der unter dem schwellenden Segel, des Wimpels Flüge,
Jetzo geführt wird, du Krieg der edleren Helden,
Dich singe der Dithyrambe, der keine Kriege sang!

Ein hoher Genius der Menschlichkeit
Begeistert dich.
Du bist die Morgenröthe
Eines nahenden grossen Tags. . . .

O, dann ist, was jetzo beginnt, der Morgenröthen schönste:
Denn sie verkündigt
Einen seligen, nie noch von Menschen erlebten Tag,
Der Jahrhunderte strahlt.

In the ode *Sie, und nicht Wir*¹⁶⁵ (1790), addressed to the Duke of La Rochefoucauld, Klopstock regrets that it was not the Germans, but the French, who first resolved to carry on no wars of conquest. Even the fact that Germans had helped in the American struggle for independence does not altogether console him :

¹⁶⁴ *Oden und Epigramme*, p. 180.

¹⁶⁵ *Werke*, Kürschner, iii, 184.

Deun du warest es nicht, das auch von dem Staube des Bürgers
 Freyheit erhob, Beyspiel strahlte den Völkern umher;
 Denen nicht nur, die Europa gebahr. An Amerika's Strömen
 Flamt schon eigenes Licht, leuchtet den Völkern umher.
 Hier auch winkte mir Trost, er war: In Amerika leuchten
 Deutsche zugleich umher! aber er tröstete nicht.

Berliner Gedichte, 1763–1806, collected and edited by Ludwig Geiger,¹⁶⁶ contain the poem *Die Freiheit Amerikas*,¹⁶⁷ written in 1783, which well indicates the attitude of the followers of Klopstock:

O Land, dem Sanger theurer als Vaterland!

It shows unbounded admiration for American liberty, and a faint hope of future freedom for Germany.

Und du, Europa, hebe das Haupt empor!
 Einst glanzt auch dir der Tag, da die Kette bricht,
 Du, Edle, frei wirst; deine Fursten
 Scheuchst, und ein glucklicher Volkstaat grunest. . . .

Noch immer schreckt die rasende Despotie
 Die, Gottes Rechte lugend, nur Grossen frohnt
 Den Erdkreis. Wie sie kampft, die Hyder! . . .

Again, in praise of America:

Wo susse Gleichheit wohnt, und Adelbrut,
 Europens Pest, die Sitte der Einfeld nicht
 Beflekt, verdienstlos bessern Menschen
 Trotz und vom Schweisse des Landmanns schwelget. . . .

O nehmt, Geliebte! nehmet den Fremdling auf,
 Den muden Fremdling; lasst mich an eurer Brust
 Geheimer Leiden bittre Schmerzen
 Langsam verzehrenden Kummer lindern.

¹⁶⁶ *Berliner Neudrucke*, Serie 2, Band 3.

¹⁶⁷ Page 29 ff. The poem was written by a "nicht-Berliner."

Was säume ich?—Doch, die eiserne Fessel klirrt
Und mahnt mich Armen, dass ich ein Deutscher bin;
Euch seh' ich, holde Scenen schwinden
Sinke zurück in den Schacht und weine.

Voss, in his *Chorgesang bei'm Rheinwein*,¹⁶⁸ addresses the *Ehrenwein* as follows:

Wie ungestüm aus deinem Kerker
Du, Greis, erwachst!
Was du, als sinniger Bemerker,
Für Augen machst!
Als man dich unter Glas verpichte
War's anders da, dass du dem Lichte
So heiter lachst?

Nicht bist du später Zeit Verächter,
Du Altpapa!
Man wird mit jedem Tag nicht schlechter:
Das weisst du ja!
Viel gutes findest du, und neues!
Zum Beispiel nennen wir ein freies
Amerika!

Europa staunt, da ernst die Wage
Des Schicksals wägt,
Und Menschenrecht und Völkerklage
Entgegenlegt.
Weissag', o Greis: du schaust verwundert!
Was uns das nahende Jahrhundert
Im Schoosse trägt!

GERMAN POETS AND THE SOLDIER-TRAFFIC.

A deep feeling of indignation against the German traffic in soldiers finds frequent expression in literature. Goethe alludes satirically to the practice (with carefully-guarded diplomatic

¹⁶⁸ *Sämmtliche poetische Werke*, p. 188.

indirectness, as the lines were recited before the Weimar court) in *Das Neueste von Plundersweilern* (1781),¹⁶⁹ lines 8–12 :

Wie zwischen Cassel und Weissenstein,
Also wo man emsig und zu Hauf
Macht Vogelbauer auf den Kauf,
Und sendet, gegen fremdes Geld,
Die Vöglein in die weite Welt.

In the same year (1781) Schiller, then a bold young journalist in Stuttgart, contrived to hold the soldier-traffic up to contempt, but in such an adroit way as to avoid the vigilance of the press censorship.¹⁶⁹

The philosopher Kant denounced the bargaining away of troops by one state to another without a common cause.¹⁷⁰

In the drama, Schiller represents the cruelty of sending soldiers to America in *Kabale und Liebe* (1784). In Lenz's *Die Laube*¹⁷¹ the hero enlists with the Hessians, and in his *Waldbruder*¹⁷² the Hessian service also plays an important part.

In his *Geschichte des Herrn Oheim des Jüngern*,¹⁷³ Merck expresses his scorn for the traffic: "Haben Sie über Gewaltthätigkeiten, oder Drückungen zu klagen, fieng der Oberschultheiss an. . . . Werden unsre Kinder nach Amerika verkauft, und mit unserm eignen Gelde montirt und armirt, damit sie recht hoch können verkauft werden?"

Schubart protests bitterly against the tyrannical sale of soldiers in *Die Fürstengruft*¹⁷⁴ (1779 or 1780):

Hier heule nicht der bleiche Waisenknabe,
Dem ein Tyrann den Vater nahm;
Nie fluche hier der Krüppel an dem Stabe,
Von fremdem Solde lahm !

¹⁶⁹ *Werke*, xvi, 45.

^{169a} Goebel, l. c., p. 113.

¹⁷⁰ *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. of 1868, vi, 1. Abschnitt, *Zum Ewigen Frieden*, 409.

¹⁷¹ Erste Bearbeitung, erste Scene. Weinhold, 116.

¹⁷² Cf. II. 8. Brief.

¹⁷³ *Der Teutsche Merkur*, 1781, iv, p. 205.

¹⁷⁴ *Gedichte*, p. 205.

Damit die Quäler nicht zu früh erwachen,
Seid menschlicher, erweckt sie nicht.
Ha! früh genug wird über ihnen krachen
Der Donner am Gericht.

Very bitter is Schubart's satire in *Ein Gespräch auf dem Schiffe*.¹⁷⁵

Der Soldat.

Verzeihen Ihro Hochehrwürden,
Wenn ich es sagen darf,
Die letzte Predigt war zu scharf.
Sie laden viel zu schwere Bürden
Auf unsern Hals. Wo ist der Mann,
Der solche Bürden tragen kann?

Der Schiffsprediger.

Mag sein! Wenn doch vorüber wäre
Die Wasserfahrt! Mir schaut die Haut!
Was denkt Ihr, Freund, dass ihr dem Meere
Das junge Leben anvertraut?

Der Soldat.

Das thu' ich gern, mein Fürst hat's ja befohlen,
Wir schwimmen nach Amerika.

Der Schiffsprediger.

Um dort vielleicht den Tod zu holen!
Man sagt, es gäb' so viele Wilde da,
Die mit der Axt der Feinde Schädel splintern.

Der Soldat.

Nur feige Kerls und alte Weiber zittern
Vor der Gefahr, ein Deutscher nicht!
Zu streiten ist Soldatenpflicht.
Viel besser, dass die Axt den Schädel mir zerspalte,
Als dass ich feig auf meinem Bett erkalte.
Und kurz und gut, mein Fürst hat es gewollt
Und dafür hab' ich meinen Sold.

¹⁷⁵ *Gedichte*, p. 383. Cf. Stolberg's *Lied eines deutschen Soldaten in der Fremde*. *Gedichte der Brüder Stolberg*, p. 85.

Der Schiffsprediger.

Verzeiht, wie hoch mag der sich wohl belaufen?

Der Soldat.

Fünf Batzen sind genug,
So einem Kerl, wie ich, das Leben abzukaufen.

Der Schiffsprediger.

Ganz wohl, mein Freund, Ihr handelt klug.
Doch Weib und Kinder—

Der Soldat.

O der Armen

Wird Gott im Himmel sich erbarmen.
Gott weiss, wie hart ich sie verlor!
Jedoch der Dienst für meinen Herrn geht vor. . . .

Stolberg, while foreseeing the defeat of England, also feels the disgrace of Germany: ¹⁷⁶

Albion, schone das Blut von Deinen Söhnen und Brüdern,
Deine Wunden bluten vergebens! vergebens erkaufest
Du von deutschen Fürsten die Blüthe kriegerischer Jugend,
O der Schmach für uns, zum Hohngelächter des Käufers!
Und vergebens wogest Du Gold in bebenden Schaalen
Gegen Schädel der Brüder, die Irokesen Dir brachten. . . .
Aus dem blutbetrieften Lande werdet ihr weichen.¹⁷⁷

Germany's subjection to England is keenly felt, as shown in Goeckingk's *Kriegslied eines Provinzialen* and *Antwort eines deutschen Soldaten* (see pp. 368 and 370, above), and more scornfully in his *Golddurst*: ¹⁷⁸

Was thut der Deutsche nicht für Geld!—
Ein schöner Ruhm! Ein Sprichwort aller Zonen!
Wie? bauet er, dem Britten gleich, sein Feld?
Und nährt es schon zu viele Millionen?

¹⁷⁶ *Zukunft*, V, p. 178, ff.

¹⁷⁷ *Cf.* V, 125, and III, 190-191.

¹⁷⁸ *Gedichte*, iii, 112.

Muss darum sich dein schlanker Sohn,
 Klopfechtern gleich, für einen Fremdling raufen?
 Und ach! zu eines stolzern Volkes Hohn,
 Sein tapfres Blut für theures Brod verkaufen?

A cynically frank expression of the mercenary motive of the Hessian soldiery is found in a soldier-song, *Die Hessen nach Amerika, 1777*, reported verbally by a Hessian veteran in Cassel, and reprinted by Learned¹⁷⁹ from Ditfurth's *Deutsche Volkslieder d. 17 u. 18. Jhs.* "Das rothe Gold, das rothe Gold" is the theme of the song, which closes:

Adjö, mein Hessenland, Adjö!
 Jetzt kommt Amerika,
 Und unser Glück geht in die Höh—
 Goldberge sind allda!
 Dazu, dazu in Feindesland,
 Was einem fehlt, das nimmt die Hand,
 Das ist ein, das ist ein, das ist ein ander Stand!

Goeckingk closes his second *Epistel an Herrn * * in P**¹⁸⁰ with the satirical lines:

Fällst du zurück, so trag die Schande
 Für dich! Aus deinem Vaterlande
 Flücht' hin ins Land des Wilhelm Penn,
 Und werd' ein Ziel der Rifflemen.

Von Lingen in *Contrast alter und neuer Zeit*¹⁸¹ ridicules the eagerness of the German youth to follow the call,

Der für der Britten Recht zu streiten ihm befaht.

The German slave is placed below the negro in Pfeffel's *Lied eines Negersklaven*¹⁸² (1778):

Wohl dir, liebes Afrika!
 Nun behältst du deine Kinder;
 Schon verkauft Germania
 Seine Helden, wie die Rinder!

¹⁷⁹ *Americana Germanica*, I, iii, p. 86, (1897).

¹⁸⁰ *Gedichte*, ii, p. 67.

¹⁸¹ *Göttlinger Musenalmanach für 1784*, p. 155.

¹⁸² Voss's *Musalmanach für 1779*, p. 41; *Gedichte*, iii, p. 195.

Mit stiefmütterlicher Hand
 Reisst es sie von seinen Brüsten,
 Um durch sie das neue Land,
 Das wir düngen, zu verwüsten.

Dreimal selig muss ich traun
 Mich vor deutschen Sklaven achten!
 Mich zwingt man, Taback zu baun;
 Jene müssen Menschen schlachten.

Halb so theuer ist das Blut
 Eines Hessen angesetzt,
 Als man in Konnektikut
 Meinen feilen Schweiss geschätzt.

Ihr, die Feind und Britte hasst,
 Deutsche, lasst die Welt in Frieden!
 Wollt ihr Ketten, deren Last
 Ihr verflucht, für Brüder schmieden?

Doch ihr fühlts! Mit frommer Scheu
 Werfen halbe Legionen
 Ihre Waffen weg, um frei
 In Amerika zu wohnen.

Und mit einem solchen Heer
 Wollt ihr dieses Land bezwingen?
 Eitle Britten, nimmermehr
 Wird der Anschlag euch gelingen!

Trozig wirft das Sklavenjoch
 Washinton vom Löwennacken.
 Und der Heuchler hält sich doch
 Tausend Sklaven, die ihm hacken?

Kühne Pflanzer, hättet ihr
 Uns mit euch für frei erkläret;
 Howe trotzte nicht mehr hier,
 Percy wäre heimgekehret.

Lange müssten, Hunden gleich,
Britten eure Füße lecken,
Und wir würden stolz mit euch
Unsrer Siege Früchte schmecken.

Nun verlach' ich euren Streit !
Was kann ich dabei verlieren ?
Wird das Erbtheil Pens bedreut,
Negern, dann müsst ihr euch rühren !

Dann schliesst einen ehrnen Kreis
Um des Quakers fette Saaten,
Welcher nichts von Sklaven weiss,
Nichts von Pfaffen und Soldaten !

Er nur ist der Freiheit wehrt !
Brüder, wenn wir für ihn siegen,
Wollen wir mit Howens Schwert
Pens geweihte Felder pflügen !

Aber wird die Tirannei
Auch die Brüderschaft verderben;
Freunde, ha ! so lasst uns frei
Mit den letzten Menschen sterben !

Abendfantasien eines Hessen in Amerika,¹⁸³ a poem signed "J. N. B—ff," in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach* for 1780, p. 86, is rather exceptional, as it seems to regard British victory as something to be expected, but it is merely a picture of a Hessian soldier in America who longs to be at home because he is tired of the war ; it contains a description of a military camp in America :

Ueber die verheerten Matten
Dehnet unsrer Zelte Schatten
Schon in längre Reihen sich;
Sterne blinken schon im Osten;
Zum Gefarenvollen Posten
Rufet schon die Trommel mich.

¹⁸³ Reprinted in Goedeke's *Elf Bücher Deutscher Dichtung*, I, p. 785.

Learned has published in *Americana Germanica* (vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 84-89) a very interesting *Gesang nach America Anno 1777*, purporting to have been sung by the departing Brandenburg-Ansbach-Baireuth auxiliary troops. The poem, which borrows the tone of Gleim's *Kriegslieder von einem Grenadier*, is evidently "inspired," and has for its tendency the moral justification of the mission of the German mercenaries to fight England's battles in America. The poet appeals to the sentiment of gratitude to the British, who, under George II., had forced the French to evacuate Germany in 1743. Another soldier-song, entitled *Das Lied vom Ausmarsch*, is given in Stephen Papp's *Geschichte des Nort-Amerikanischen Kriegs* (1777-1783).¹⁸⁴ The epic genius of the German mercenary found expression in such productions as *Ein Lied welches auf die Bestürmung und Einnahme des Fortz Mont-Gomery, den 6ten Octobris Anno 1777*, etc., by Braun, an Ansbach grenadier.¹⁸⁵

The average German probably looked upon the sale of soldiers with comparative indifference; the soldier himself, as well as his lieutenant, thought only of doing his duty, and serving his prince, without any regard to the justice or injustice of the cause.¹⁸⁶ They regarded the custom of dealing in soldiers simply as a prerogative of princely majesty, and public opinion did not dream of asserting itself against the practice. The indifference of the soldier and of the officer to the real questions of the war is shown by their letters and by their journals, which, as a rule, contain no expression of opinion in regard to the real question involved. "Riedesel,"¹⁸⁷ says E. J. Lowell,¹⁸⁸ "saw nothing disgraceful in the work in which he was engaged. He was a soldier of a type common in the eighteenth century, and in military matters knew no duty but his orders." Even the poet Seume, forced to go to America by recruiting officers of the

¹⁸⁴ Learned, l. c., p. 84.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85, where mention is also made of other songs.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Kapp, *Soldatenhandel*, pp. 89, 207.

¹⁸⁷ General of the Brunswick troops.

¹⁸⁸ *The Hessians*, p. 118.

Landgrave of Cassel, apparently uttered no decided opinions as to the merits of the war. Baron Steuben forms an exception. During his stay at Portsmouth, Steuben wrote to Congress and to General Washington offering his services as volunteer. December 6, 1777, he writes to Congress:¹⁸⁹ "Der einzige Beweggrund, der mich in diesen Weltheil führte, ist der Wunsch, einem Volke zu dienen, das einen so edlen Kampf für seine Rechte und Freiheit kämpft. Ich verlange weder Gelder noch Titel . . . wenn ich einige Talente in der Kriegskunst besitze, so werden sie mir um so werther sein, als ich sie im Dienste einer solchen Republik verwenden kann, wie ich die Vereinigten Staaten noch zu sehen hoffe. Ich möchte gern mit meinem Blute die Ehre erkaufen, dass mein Name eines Tages unter den Vertheidigern Ihrer Freiheit genannt würde."¹⁹⁰

PRAISE OF THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

American liberty, achieved as a result of the struggle, and which the poets had prophesied, is held up as a model for the peoples of Europe. Thus in *Die Freiheit Amerikas*:¹⁹¹

Wer nie sich freute, freue sich deines Glücks !
 Wer nie gejauchzt hat, jauchze ! Dein Beispiel ruft
 Laut den entferntesten Nationen:
 Frei ist, wer's sein will, und werth zu sein ist !' . . .

O Land dem Sänger theurer als Vaterland.
 Der Sprössling deiner Freiheit steigt schnell empor
 Zum Baum, in dessen sichern Schatten
 Ordnung und Recht und Gesetz gedeihen.

In Voss's *Luise* occur the lines:¹⁹²

Ueber Europa geschwätzt und Amerika, jenes im Dunkel,
 Dies im tagenden Lichte der Menschlichkeit !

¹⁸⁹ *Journals of Congress*, XIII, p. 124.

¹⁹⁰ Kapp, *Steuben*, p. 56.

¹⁹¹ *Cf.* p. 372, above.

¹⁹² II, 145-146.

Cf. the lines from the *Chorgesang bei'm Rheinwein*, p. 373, above.

In his *Aufmunterung*,¹⁹³ Voss compares the destructive radicalism of the French with the saner conservatism of the American revolution :

Lasst den armen Nachbar schaffen,
Was er will und kann !
Lasst ihm Bürger sein den Pfaffen
Und den Edelmann !
Heiliger Gesetze Bürger
Sind ja nicht nothwendig Würger !
Was die Vorwelt sah,
Sieht Amerika !

The thought which is contained in this poem, that American ideals were higher than those of the French, appears in Klopstock's *Zwey Nordamerikaner* (1795),¹⁹⁴ in which two Americans deplore the bloodthirsty nature of the French revolution, being introduced as citizens of a republic where liberty did not become wantonness :

Nichts von dem, was der Franke des Guten verhiess, und des Edlen,
Nichts von Allem diesen geschah;
Wie es auch mit entzückendem Ton die Beredsamkeit aussprach,
Und die Begeistrung es hob.
Aber alles geschah, was je die stärksten der Worte
Schreckliches nanten, oder was nie
Selbst der Sprachen redendste nicht zu nennen vermöchte,
Alles, alles dieses geschah ! etc.

Glein's *Der Amerikaner an den Europäer*¹⁹⁵ (1790) contains likewise a warning from America to France :

Auf Deine Weisheit trotze nicht;
Thu' lieber was Du kannst, das, was Du bist, zu bleiben !
Ein guter Genius trieb liebend Dich zum Licht;
Aus Licht in Finsterniss kann Dich ein böser treiben !

¹⁹³ *Sämmtliche poetische Werke*, p. 192.

¹⁹⁴ *Werke*, iii, 191.

¹⁹⁵ *Zeitgedichte*, p. 10.

Of the beneficent influence of American liberty Klopstock speaks in *Sie, und nicht Wir*¹⁹⁶ (1790):

An Amerika's Strömen
Flamt schon eigenes Licht, leuchtet den Völkern umher.

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WILHELM HAUFF'S "LICHTENSTEIN."

The name of Wilhelm Hauff, while well known to a comparatively large circle of readers through his *Novellen* and *Märchen*, owes its place in the history of German literature chiefly to the fact that in his *Lichtenstein* we find the first successful attempt to produce a German historical novel worthy of the name. (Cf. Carruth's *Introduction to Ekkehard*, page xiii.)

The purpose of this paper is to discuss briefly some of the influences which seem to have been especially potent in the writing of this, Hauff's best known work. In the limits of this paper no attempt will be made to treat of *Lichtenstein* from an æsthetic standpoint, nor to consider to what extent certain passages may have reference to political conditions in Würtemberg at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In the decade 1820-1830, Scott's influence practically dominated German literary circles, the country was flooded with translations of his novels, and his popularity was further attested by that particularly sincere form of flattery, imitation. One of his imitators, Wilibald Alexis (Wilhelm Häring), even brought his maiden attempt, *Walladmor*, before the public under Scott's name.

It is well known that Hauff never got beyond the imitative period. In his *Märchen* we find the influence of the *Arabian Nights*, his *Skizzen* remind of Irving, his *Mann im Mond* was published under the name of Clauren, and *Lichtenstein* is confessedly written in imitation of Scott. This we know from the introduction to *Lichtenstein*, where he bewails the fact that as yet no German writer has arisen to make the Harz and Schwarzwald as famous as the banks of the Tweed and the Scottish Highlands, and where he declares his intention to do that for his fatherland which Scott had already done for Scotland. Nume-

rous other instances are found of his admiration of Scott, *e. g.*, in his *Skizzen*, where he says: "You must write an historical novel à la Walter Scott." In many respects, especially in description of scenery, Hauff is a very successful imitator of Scott. The question naturally arises as to whether he confined himself to following Scott along certain very broad and general lines, or whether any one particular work served as a model or influenced him notably in working out the details of plot and situation. On subjecting Scott's works to examination, we find that, having practically exhausted the field in which he had been working up to this time, he comes out in 1820 with *Ivanhoe*, his first novel with the scene laid wholly upon English soil. With the rapidity with which German publishers brought out translations it is safe to assume that Hauff was familiar with *Ivanhoe* within a year after its appearance. So much is certain, that in *Skizzen*, which he was completing in 1824, he refers to *Ivanhoe* as "diese herrliche Geschichte."

If we turn to an examination of the internal evidence, we find that the two principal characters, Ivanhoe and Georg von Sturmfeder, are both young knights-errant, handsome, daring, and skilled in the use of arms. This is of course only what might be expected in two novels with the scene laid in the middle ages. It is also nothing unusual to find that neither possesses an appreciable amount of worldly goods, although it is nevertheless a coincidence. Georg von Sturmfeder is simply a soldier of fortune, of noble family, practically penniless, seeking in the wars "a flock of wool with which to reline the paternal nest." Ivanhoe, too, we find in similar circumstances, disinherited by his father, returning on foot to England from the Crusades in the garb of a palmer. If we carry the comparison farther we note that both heroes are separated from the lady of their heart by what seem to be insurmountable barriers. It is Cedric, Rowena's guardian, who banishes Ivanhoe from his presence, because he has dared to make love to the lineal descendant of the Saxon kings, although the young lady herself was by no means unfavorably disposed toward him. So, too, it

is parental reluctance which Georg von Sturmfeder fears and has to overcome, while he and Marie had told each other of their love long before when Georg was a student at Tübingen.

Among the other characters we find a counterpart of the impetuous and chivalrous Richard Coeur de Lion in the Duke of Würtemberg. Like the English monarch, the Duke is a willful yet popular ruler, of great physical strength and daring, beloved by his people in spite of numerous acts of tyranny and reckless disregard of their rights and traditional privileges. The captivity of Richard and the usurpation of his throne furnish a parallel to the exile of the unfortunate Duke from his possessions while "der schwäbische Bund" holds sway in his land. The intimate friendship of Georg von Sturmfeder, the hero of *Lichtenstein*, and the Duke of Würtemberg recalls the fact that Ivanhoe was also the personal friend of Richard of England. Of the less important characters, Truchsess Waldburg in his hostility to Georg, in his unscrupulousness and uncontrollable temper, possesses certain qualities in common with Brian de Bois Guilbert. In both works is found the motif of the ruler being brought to ruin through the advice of an unscrupulous counsellor; in *Ivanhoe* it is the usurper John who is induced by Waldemar Fitzurse to plot against the life of his brother Richard. In *Lichtenstein* it is the rightful monarch, the Duke of Würtemberg, who places his reliance on the officious and unprincipled chancellor, Ambrosius Volland, and is for the second time driven from his ancestral halls and abandoned by his subjects in the hour of need. Ambrosius Volland is certainly more of a caricature than Waldemar Fitzurse, but the type is the same in both cases, malice, lack of principle, and cunning which finally overreaches itself.

The most original character in *Lichtenstein* is without question the Pfeifer von Hardt, and there seems to be no one person in *Ivanhoe* to whom he seems to exactly correspond. It is to be noted that like Gurth he is the personal attendant of the young knight-errant, and renders him many important services, but the Pfeifer is a much stronger character than Gurth, the Saxon

swineherd. Gurth is at times timid and fearful in presence of those whom he feels to be his superiors, entirely in accordance with his position as born serf. The Pfeifer von Hardt, on the other hand, is accustomed to look death in the face with steadfast countenance, and was one of the leaders of the peasant revolt of "der arme Conrad." He is a typical representative of the shrewd Württemberg peasant, bold and courageous, conservative, opposed to the introduction of reforms and changes. In his resistance to oppression and injustice on the part of those in high places, we recognize certain points in common with Locksley (Robin Hood) in *Ivanhoe*; the love of a roaming life in the woods, the distaste for the conventionalities and trammels of society at court, intimate knowledge of bypaths and caves, a tendency to poaching, are traits common to both Locksley and the Pfeifer von Hardt. The Duke of Württemberg's escape would have been impossible without the Pfeifer von Hardt, and Richard of England when set upon by Waldemar Fitzurse and his hirelings, owed his life to the timely arrival of Robin Hood and his merry men.

Turning from a consideration of the individual figures, we find still more striking points of resemblance in certain incidents and situations. In Scott's novel we remember that *Ivanhoe* in the guise of a palmer just returned from the Holy Land, is summoned to Rowena's chamber by the latter, who ignorant of his identity desires to obtain news concerning him. A similar violation of the conventions of the time occurs in *Lichtenstein*, likewise, in one of the opening chapters. Marie wishes an opportunity to converse undisturbed with Georg, and persuades her cousin Bertha, whom she is then visiting, to invite him together with Dietrich von Kraft to call on them in Bertha's garden.

A parallel to the scene in Friar Tuck's cell, where the jovial priest entertains Richard in disguise, is furnished by the reception of Georg von Sturmfeder in the cave by the Duke of Württemberg.

The following points common to both novels are worthy of note :

1. The rightful ruler of the country is temporarily a fugitive in his own land.
2. He nevertheless passes a convivial evening with a man who is an entire stranger to him and knows him only by reputation.
3. Both Scott and Hauff select an out-of-the-way place in the heart of the forest for this scene. In the English novels, however, Richard is the guest, while Hauff makes the Duke of Würtemberg play the part of host.

In a third incident Hauff seems to have been influenced by the attempted assassination of Richard Coeur de Lion while traveling in Sherwood Forest attended only by the fool Wamba. This attempt, suggested by Waldemar Fitzurse, miscarried owing to the valor of the Black Knight and the prompt succor afforded by Robin Hood. In *Lichtenstein* the leaders of the Bund, or rather one of the leaders, causes an assault to be made on the supposed Duke, who is known to be a fugitive and almost without escort. Georg von Sturmfeder, who has been told by the Pfeifer von Hardt that he strikingly resembles the Duke both in figure and bearing, is however waylaid by mistake instead of the Duke, and is seriously wounded. The would-be assassins are dispersed by the arrival of troops from a neighboring fortress.

Summarizing briefly we find in both *Ivanhoe* and *Lichtenstein* :

1. Attempted murder of a knight supposed to be the rightful sovereign of the land.
2. The attempt is made at the instigation of a knight holding a high position among the enemies of the monarch.
3. The attempt is unsuccessful owing to the arrival of aid.
4. The knight is traveling with only one companion.
5. At the time, the enemies of the monarch have gained possession of his land.

We remember that after *Ivanhoe* was wounded in the tourney he was conveyed senseless to the dwelling of the Jew, Isaac of York. Through marvelous skill, or as is suggested by Scott

through the practice of magic on the part of Isaac's daughter, Rebecca, the wounded knight is enabled to bear arms and mount his steed after a very short interval. Rebecca conceives an affection for Ivanhoe, but the existing prejudices of the time against the Jews, as well as the difference in their social position, would have made it impossible for Ivanhoe to marry her even if his affections had not been elsewhere engaged. Turning to *Lichtenstein* we find Georg von Sturmfeder dangerously wounded after his encounter with the hirelings of the Bund; he is brought in an unconscious condition to the Pfeifer von Hardt's. Here, as in *Ivanhoe*, the youthful hero regains his health in a marvelously short time. It is worthy of note that both Hauff and Scott give eight days as the period of recovery. I quote the following passage from *Ivanhoe*, in which Rebecca entreats Ivanhoe to bear his sickness patiently: "'No Christian leach within the four seas of Britain could enable you to bear your corselet within a month.' 'And how soon wilt thou enable me to brook it?' said Ivanhoe impatiently. 'Within eight days if thou wilt be patient and conformable to my directions,' replied Rebecca."

The following is from *Lichtenstein*: The wife of the Pfeifer von Hardt is reproving her daughter for having arrayed herself in her holiday attire on a week-day, and says: "So? als wemma et immer gnuag z'wäscha und z'puaza hätt? So sag mer no, was ist denn in de gfahra, dass de so strählst und schöa machst."

"Ah was!" flüsterte das errötende Schwabenkind, "wisset er denn net, dass heute der acht' Tag ist? hot et der Aetti g'sait, der Junker werd' am heutiga Morga verwacha, wenn sei Tränkle guete Wirking häb?" (Teil II, Kap. I). The recurrence of the numeral eight may be simply a coincidence, but it is interesting in the light of other evidence.

Georg remains a few days at the Pfeifer's home and is faithfully attended by the peasant's wife and daughter. The latter, like Rebecca, sees fit to fall desperately in love with the nobleman whose life she has been instrumental in saving. Obstacles just as great as those which separated Rebecca and Ivanhoe

make possibilities of a union between Georg and Bärbele exceedingly remote. The same social barriers and the devotion of the hero to a woman of his own rank recurs in the German novel.

Another *motif* which Hauff seems to have borrowed from *Ivanhoe* is found in the scene which brings the two women together directly after the betrothal, in which the one presents a gift to her more fortunate rival, and then departs forever in spite of the well-meant efforts on the part of the other to be of service to her. The gift which Rebecca brings Rowena consists of precious jewels of inestimable value. Bärbele offers Marie a piece of homespun linen and fine flax, which are graciously accepted. Rowena perceives that Rebecca is unhappy and offers her the consolation of religion. Marie requests Bärbele to enter her service as her sewing-maid.

In the above comparison of *Ivanhoe* and *Lichtenstein* I have endeavored to consider the points in question as objectively as possible, and to present the parallels in situations and characters without comment. In the greater number of cases the similarity is so striking that the attention is at once attracted. What speaks further for the plausibility of the theory that *Lichtenstein* was the offspring of *Ivanhoe* is the comparatively short period between the appearance of the two novels, Hauff's declared intention of writing an historical novel in the manner of Scott, his confessed admiration of *Ivanhoe*, and the similar nature of *Ivanhoe* to the style of novel he intended to write, a *Ritterroman*. In view of the extent of the Scott cult in Germany at this period and Hauff's personal testimony in *Lichtenstein* and elsewhere, any assumption of a common origin for *Ivanhoe* and *Lichtenstein* in the absence of any evidence, direct or indirect, would seem to have no ground to stand on.

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REVIEWS.

A LITERARY SOURCE-BOOK OF THE GERMAN RENAISSANCE. By Merrick Whitcomb, Ph. D. Pp. 112, \$1.00.

The above book, which has been recently issued by the department of history at the University of Pennsylvania, is a companion book to the Source-Book on the Italian Renaissance by the same author. It is intended to provide such students of history, as are unfamiliar with Latin, or the German of the closing fifteenth century, or who are unable to obtain access to the originals, material for collateral reading in connection with a course of lectures upon the period. The book is an outgrowth of several years' experience in dealing with the subject, and the selections have been made with great care. Dr. Whitcomb's aim has been to make them as comprehensive as the limits of the book would allow, and thus to give the student a general idea of the trend of thought during the period, with reference both to the feeling upon literary studies and upon the religious controversies of the time. For that purpose he has given extracts not only from the famous humanists Agricola, Wimpfeling, Reuchlin and Erasmus, but also from the *epistolæ virorum obscurorum* and from Ulrich von Hutten. The emperor, Maximilian, is represented by extracts from the *Weisskunig*, depicting incidents in the youth of this famous patron of art and literature, so aptly termed *der letzte Ritter*. Nor has poetic literature been entirely forgotten. The satirist Sebastian Brant is represented by two chapters from his *Narrenschiff*, without doubt the most popular work of its time, the one upon useless books and the other upon useless studies. Dr. Whitcomb has rendered the original into rhymeless English verse, and while one might differ with him here and there as to the interpretation of one or two passages, he has succeeded, I think, in reproducing the spirit of the original and in acquitting himself of his by no means easy task very cleverly.

Of especial interest, as giving a picture of one of the most striking figures of the closing middle ages, the traveling scholar, will be found the extracts from the autobiographies of Johannes Butzbach and Thomas Platter. In this connection it might be mentioned that

Dr. Whitcomb is at present engaged upon a complete translation of Butzbach's autobiography, which he expects soon to publish.

Prefixed to each extract is a short biographical sketch of the writer, giving the main facts of his life and most important works. That Dr. Whitcomb has made a special study of the German renaissance, is evident from the brief but excellent survey of the period which serves as an introduction to the book, and in which he has well stated the reasons for the rapid development of humanistic ideas in Germany, and the essential differences between the Italian and the German renaissance. The book will certainly prove useful to the student of this period of German history, interesting not only because in it Germany emerged from the gloom and formal scholasticism of the middle ages, but also because of its preparing the way for the great reformation movement of the sixteenth century.

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A DICTIONARY OF THE DANO-NORWEGIAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES. By A. Larsen. Third edition. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1897. Pp. 687.

The third edition of Larsen's *Dictionary*, prepared by Johannes Magnussen, differs from the preceding one only in matters of detail. The orthography, that stumbling block of modern Danish, has been adapted to the system authorized by the ministry of culture since the publication of the second edition, and some few additions have been made, but the total number of pages remains the same. The question of substantially extending a work of this kind must, of course, be regarded by the publishers from a business point of view, and it is more than probable that an expensive Danish-English dictionary would not be a successful venture. It is to be hoped, however, that in the fourth edition, when that appears, some few additions will be made that will add greatly to the value of this admirable work. A careful use of the book will show some omissions in connection with Holberg and Ibsen, the two authors probably most read by foreign students of Danish and Norwegian literature. While obsolete words do not regularly belong in a dictionary of this sort, though some of these do occur here, an exception certainly ought to be made with at least the comedies and Peder Paars of Holberg. The

following words occurring in the works of these two writers were noted as being omitted: *Blaalysblink*, Brand: *Drolle*, Jeppe paa Bjerget: *gluf*, Peder Paars: *Lattervrid*, Brand: *Rxglesmed*, Peer Gynt: *Tomtegubbe*, Peer Gynt.

Larsen's dictionary is too well known to call for any special recommendation. In its general arrangement, in its use of signs, in its choice of vocabulary and in the English renderings of idioms, as well as of single words it compares favorably with the best international dictionaries. Some slips in the English portion are inevitable in a work compiled entirely by a Scandinavian, but the number of these that was noticed is very small. Special mention should be made of the exact rendering of scientific terms, especially those relating to natural history.

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHERN IN EUROPE AND AMERICA. By Martin Grove Brumbaugh, A. M., Ph. D., Professor of Pedagogy, in the University of Pennsylvania, etc. 8vo, pp. 559. Brethren Publishing House, Mount Morris, Illinois.

Dr. Brumbaugh presents in this goodly volume a distinct contribution to modern church history, which is all the more appreciable because it takes us over unbeaten paths. There appears to have been hitherto no published record of the rise and growth of this very considerable and estimable Christian people, whose official name is The German Baptist Brethren Church, but whose common designation is Dunkard, which our author pronounces "An English vulgarity with absolutely no meaning." Dunker is a correct title, and so is Täufer, corresponding to the Anglicized Baptist.

The reader will not find a closely connected story, nor a continuous narrative, giving full details and all the stages of development which have marked this body of Christians. Neither will he be entertained by literary art and ornate diction, although passages occur which show the author fully qualified to indulge in fine writing. He restricts himself, as a rule, to the task of the historian. He has industriously gathered a wealth of material from the libraries of Europe and America; and this material he has marshaled so cleverly and lucidly that the result must enlist the attention of students, and

show to all readers these worthy but retiring "Brethren" in their true and honorable light. We have found it a very readable book, despite the fragmentary character of some special discussions, and the too rapid sketches of notable persons, while the prevalent temper and tone of the writer, the copious reference to the ultimate sources and the numerous fac-similes of important letters and documents, furnish satisfactory evidence of his fidelity to the facts.

The volume begins with the inauguration of a movement in Germany "in the opening third of the eighteenth century," when there was a widespread protest against all existing forms of worship, combined with a bitter opposition to all state churches, and an insistence upon the principle of non-coercion. It traces the rise of the denomination to "the pious eight in Schwarzenau," who, in 1708, founded the mother church, one of the number having immersed Alexander Mack, whereupon he immersed the other seven, including the one who had performed the ceremony for him. It portrays their persecutions and sufferings, the founding of a branch congregation in the Marienborn district, which fled Crefelt, in 1715; the flight of the mother congregation to West Friesland, in 1720, the emigration of the former to America in 1719, leading to the formation of the first congregation, "the sainted twenty-three," in America, at Germantown in 1723, which in turn was reinforced by the arrival of those who composed the pioneer church, which had a temporary refuge in West Friesland. With the emigration of these two small bodies organized activity in Europe came to an end.

The volume proceeds with "The Leaders in Germany," "Some Leaders in Colonial America," "Colonial Congregations," the feeble beginnings of fifteen being given—all but one located in Pennsylvania; "The Two Christopher Sowers," "The Ephrata Society," and "The Origin and Early History of the Annual Meeting."

Dr. Brumbaugh disavows for his coreligionists any connection with the Anabaptists, "in whose flagrant excesses they had no part or parcel." Those fanatical and insurrectionary agitators had, indeed, entirely disappeared before the Täufer arose. He also denies any connection with the Mennonites, with whom they are sometimes confounded. A remote and indirect influence from Pietism is admitted. Spener, Francke and Arnold are recognized as "pathfinders," but "they did not shape the purpose or direct the organization of the Brethren," and the founders cannot properly

be called Pietists, although they were greatly indebted to Pietistic writings, which were warmly cherished among them, and frequently republished on the press of Sower and at Ephrata. "They turned from Ecclesiasticism and Pietism to carve out a new and distinct order of faith and practice." They are shown to have chosen a middle position between the existing state churches and the disorganizing Separatism which was set against all organization and all ordinances. They had much in common with the Quakers, as for instance, the principle of opposition to the exercise of force in religion, non-resistance and the refusal to take an oath. While at the founding of the church "dress was not a factor in its administrative or professed activity," "here in Pennsylvania the Quaker hat and bonnet became the symbol of non-resisting people." Their hostile relation to the free-love communistic nuptics at Ephrata, some of whom had been in their fellowship, is carefully and vigorously set forth.

The author writes the history of his church with an affection and devotion becoming a true son, but occasionally he assumes the rôle of a preacher and a gentle mentor. The conservatism of his people is stoutly set against "innovations," but they are repeatedly reminded that such opposition often rests upon their ignorance of what constitutes an innovation, and they are frankly told that no one unacquainted with the past should participate in the annual meeting. Having anticipated all other sects in holding Sunday-schools, those who now oppose them are, it is shown, ignorantly making war upon an honorable landmark—a class whose counterpart can be found among other faiths.

With the sectarian claims of this history, the reviewer has little concern. Its aim, as one would expect, was at least in part "to use this record as a defence of primitive Christianity, as believed, interpreted and practiced by the Church of the German Baptist Brethren." This is legitimate and proper, and these pages are on the whole commendably free from vulgar denominational boasting and from Pharisaic polemic, yet there are slips, where the Dunkers are spoken of as "Christ's people," "the people of God," by whom "the religion of Christ planted itself securely and triumphantly," as if our Lord had no people outside the Täufer fold. The founder, Alexander Mack, is spoken of as "inspired." This use of the term may not be intended to convey the theological sense, for Spener also

is quoted as teaching that only persons "inspired" by the Holy Ghost can understand the Scriptures.

It is to be regretted that this history is almost confined to the earliest and least known epochs of the denomination which it sketches, and that no up-to-date statistics are given, exhibiting the dimensions to which this little mustard plant, after being violently torn up in Germany, has grown in the soil and atmosphere of free America.

The interest and value of the work are not confined to the denominational sphere. It throws a flood of light on colonial Pennsylvania, where Penn's inviolable guarantees of boundless liberty of conscience brought together an aggregation of fanatic and fantastic characters, which converted his fair colony into a religious wilderness, where zealots of every description charged themselves with the task of further devastation and disorder. The horrible wrongs and miseries which the emigrants suffered from the ship companies offer a lurid background for the marvelous literary activity, publishing enterprise, educational work, and the anti-slavery principles, which place the Germans of Pennsylvania in the van.

Dr. Brumbaugh has, by this volume, rendered a splendid service, not only to the Dunkers, but to Pennsylvania, particularly to that portion of her thrifty population that prides itself on its colonial German ancestry.

Reluctantly attention is called to a few slips of the pen. The wars of Frederick (p. 2) were not among those "lasting from 1620 to 1688." The Pietistic groups in Germany were not "all dissenters," neither did they "deny all creeds." Both these charges apply only to some of the degenerate descendants of that much misunderstood movement. Unquestionably, too, Dr. Brumbaugh could furnish more idiomatic and fluent translations than those which occur in these pages from the German, but he may prefer the stiff and clumsy forms as reproducing in a measure the quaintness as well as the substance of the original.

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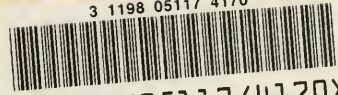
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