The early German novel and subsequent changes caused through English influence

Lonia Nanetta Krenz

State University of Iowa

This work has been identified with a Creative Commons Public Domain Mark 1.0. Material in the public domain. No restrictions on use.

This thesis is available at Iowa Research Online: https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/3621

Recommended Citation
https://doi.org/10.17077/etd.54sttszf.

Follow this and additional works at: https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd
THE EARLY GERMAN NOVEL
AND SUBSEQUENT CHANGES CAUSED THROUGH ENGLISH INFLUENCE

A Thesis
submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate College
of The State University of Iowa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

By
Lonia Nanetta Krenz

State University of Iowa
1913
# OUTLINE

**Introduction**

Definition of the Novel ............................................. 1

I. Novel-Material before English Influence

   History of Novel-Material ........................................... 8
   Condition of Novel .................................................. 24

II. Novel-Material under English Influence before Goethe 38

   Defoe ........................................................................ 31
   Richardson ................................................................. 43
   Fielding ..................................................................... 50
   Sterne ........................................................................ 58
   Goldsmith ................................................................. 64
   Summary of English Influence .................................... 68

III. Goethe

   Werther ................................................................. 70
   English Influence upon Goethe .................................. 71
   Conclusion ............................................................. 73
INTRODUCTION

Definition of the Novel

Novel—material existed in Germany long before the term "Roman", the German equivalent of the English "novel", was used to designate such material. Possibly the earliest novel—material in Germany was a narrative written in rhymed Latin hexameters (1030-1050). With this Latin poem began a long series of chivalrous romances which drew their material from popular tales and old German hero-legends. These narratives were not written in Latin but were in the language of the people, the "Volksapprache". The poetical form, however, still prevailed. Such chivalrous romances flourished during the Middle Ages.

At the same time similar narratives existed in France. Indeed it was from the French that many of the German chivalrous romances came. In France the term "Roman" (romance) was used to designate such a narrative of this period because the language was that of the people, that is the "lingua romana".

When such romances then were brought into Germany, they were described for some time by the names "Geschichte" and "Historie". These words were used as the equivalents of the French "roman".
In the 16th century a change took place in the form of the narratives. They were no longer written in poetry but were in prose form. It was during this period, after the change in form of novel-material, that the French word "Roman" was adopted into the German language. The first book which appeared in Germany to which the title of "Roman" was applied was the tale of Amadis.

From being applied to designate Amadis, the term came to designate all tales of the "Amadis" type. Gradually the meaning broadened, until "Roman" was applied to all the narratives which described chivalrous and love adventure in an exaggerated style. As Amadis and the other adventurous narratives were forgotten, the term "Roman" persisted and came to designate all prose fiction.

In the 18th century with Goethe's Werther und Wilhelm Meister, the German word "Roman" took on a new and more limited meaning, corresponding to the new characteristics developed in novel-material. No longer might every prose narrative be called a novel. The term "Roman" had come to mean a narrative composition which gives through the presentation of a character or a group of characters and a series of events, a Weltbild (a picture of the life and thought of the time). Event and
character must be consequentially related. Through the inner and outer influences of life upon a character or group of characters, the author produces a copy of the life and society of the time. Underlying this entire presentation is the expression of the idea which lead to the composition of the narrative. This is what the novel came to mean with Goethe's narrative writings.

This definition still affords the measure of a real novel and it is with this rule that novel-material must be judged. For this purpose a further elaboration of the definition is necessary.

A novel must be judged as to form and content. In form it must be a narrative in prose. It is also required that this prose narrative be an art-form. Aside from this the form is original with the author.

The content of a novel, on the other hand, must fulfill certain definite requirements. These requirements concern the idea, the characters, the material, and the action of the narrative.

An idea must lead to the writing of every novel. To picture events merely will produce no work of art because the inner unity will be lacking. This inner unity of events is the idea. It is not essential that the
reader be able to put the idea into words. The essential part is that he become aware of it. Nor need the idea be spoken out in the novel. Its purpose and function is to sustain the action. Because the idea on the part of the author makes possible the attainment of an art-form, it is the fundamental part of every novel.

Not only is an idea required of a novel, but the idea itself must meet certain requirements. The idea must be capable of poetic treatment. This bars all ideas which turn on the intellect alone without the mediation of the imagination or emotion. Abstract ideas, as such, can not be treated in a novel. Ideas capable of poetic treatment and thereby valuable for the novelist are those of love, work, development, and all conflicts between love and honor, honor and duty, and duty and love.

The idea must be worthy of poetic treatment. That is, it must have an especial significance. It must raise itself above the level of the common and open a wide view of the world and humanity. Through the idea the people are to be interested and uplifted.

The idea must be a universally human one. That is, the reader must be able to share the idea and be interested in it.
Finally, the idea must be a wholesome idea. For example, the idea which forms the basis of a novel must not oppose the upright principles of society.

Ideas which are from their nature suitable for the novel, therefore, are those which give a Weltbild on a larger or smaller scale. Since such ideas must grow out of the spiritual life of the time in which the events take place it is evident that the ideas always have cultural and historical significance.

The second requirement of the content of a novel concerns its characters. The characters of a novel must at least be people possible in a real world. It is through the characters that the author individualizes the idea which he wishes to bring to the consciousness of the reader. The hero is usually made the carrier of the idea, and as such he must at all times be at one with the idea. It becomes for him the ideal. "The hero is to a certain extent the eyes through which the author sees the world. In this novel at least and in this stage of his development the hero is certainly the angle of vision from which the author would have us contemplate the piece of 'Weltbild' which he has cut from the whole." (Spielhagen).
There must also be development of character. Outer experiences alone do not make a hero for a novel. His inner world must change along with his outer world.

The third requirement of a novel concerns its material. The material must be worthy of poetic treatment. That is, the material must be adequate to express the idea completely and perfectly. It must contain nothing that stands in contradiction to the idea. The material must be interesting.

The material must give a piece of Weltbild. This is the essential requirement of the material. Since a man thinks, feels, and acts only in connection with his fellows it is, therefore, necessary that a novel unroll a culture-picture (Kulturbild) of the time. The range of this picture may be large or small but the novel must in all cases give at least a little of the world-picture.

There must be an inner truth to the material. That is, there must be a possibility of the facts related.

The fourth requirement of the novel concerns its action. The action of a novel must not consist of one event alone but must be a series of events. In every case there must be a consequential relation between the event and the character.
If a prose narrative is an art-form and fulfills these requirements in its idea, its characters, its material, and its action, it may properly be called a novel.
I

NOVEL-MATERIAL BEFORE ENGLISH INFLUENCE

History of Novel-Material

A history of German novel-material however brief must go back to the Latin poem Ruodlieb, written about 1050. Ruodlieb, which bears the name of the hero as its title, is a chivalrous romance narrating the incidents in the life of the hero. The greater part of the poem is taken up with Ruodlieb's life in Africa, where he spent ten years of his youth in the service of the King of Africa. All the experiences and adventures of the youthful Ruodlieb are related by the poet — his victories, his friendships and enmities, his relation to the king, the conflict of good and evil in his life. The poem continues with the life of Ruodlieb after his return from his foreign service. In this shorter part the love element is introduced. The poet draws a contrast between true and false love.

In relating all these incidents and experiences in the life of Ruodlieb the poet has succeeded in creating a chivalrous romance which presents in some small degree a picture of the life and thought of the time. Because of this piece of Weltbild, produced by incident and char-
acter, Ruodlieb belongs to that part of literature from which the novel developed. This early narrative, therefore, although it is in rhymed Latin hexameters and although it has been preserved only in incomplete form, must be considered the first bit of novel-material in Germany.

After the individual romance of Ruodlieb, the epics of chivalry of the Middle Ages furnish the next step in the development toward German novel-material.

By epics of chivalry are meant all those narrative, chivalrous poems which are not based upon national tradition. Such poems are the literary and romantic epics which must be distinguished from the German national epics and the popular epics which preceded them.

The production of the epics of chivalry was at its height during the latter 13th and early 13th centuries. The best illustrations of this type of novel-material are Wolfram's Parzival, his Willehalm, Gottfreid's Tristan und Isolde, Der arme Heinrich of Hartmann von Aue, and Der gute Gerhard von Köln of Rudolph von Ems.

It is from these chivalrous epics that a basis for a German novel finally developed. They are novel-
material because they have in narrative form incident, character, and background. But they are not novels in themselves because they have not the proper proportion of incident, character, and background, and because the interrelations between these essentials of the novels are not those necessary for its formation.

Incident predominates above all else in these epics. They result, therefore, in a series of thrilling episodes. Not only does incident predominate but it contains elements which are not permissible for the novel -- the fabulous and the magical. The events are not such as present a picture of life but show rather the ability of the author in inventing wonderful incidents.

Character development is neglected entirely and characterization is everywhere subordinated to the wonderful, the adventurous, and the startling. The characters exist solely for the events. There is no consequential connection between the events and the characters. This connection must exist before a novel is attained.

The beginnings of the elements out of which the novel is formed -- narration, incident, character, and
background -- are found in these epics. It is to this that they owe their place in the development of novel-material.

On the side of form these epics must be excluded at once from the lists of the novel because they are in poetry while a novel must be a "prose narrative". During the same period of the greatest examples of the chivalrous epic, the Arthur-romances came into Germany from France. Hartmann von Aue introduced this type by his romance, Erek. He based his story upon a similar narrative by the French author Chrestian of Troyes. Hartmann's Iwein is another Arthur-romance. So far as novel-material is concerned, these Arthur-romances are the same as the chivalrous epics. In form they are poetical. In content they consist of loosely connected episodes.

One offspring of the French Arthur-romances in Germany must be mentioned, since it is in prose. There existed in Germany during the 13th century a German prose romance with Lanzelet, one of the knights of the Round Table, as its hero.

The material, out of which these epics of chivalry and the Arthur-romances were constructed, was almost
entirely foreign. Some of the stories were direct translations and the others were very direct adaptations of foreign tales. The prose Lanzelet romance of the 13th century was in reality a translation of a French Lanze-lot-romance. For Parzival the author borrowed from French poetry. The basis of Der arme Heinrich was a Latin story. The material for Willehalm was taken from French national poetry. In Tristan und Isolde, the poet gave an almost exact imitation of a French poem. Such then are the epics and romances of the Middle Ages, really foreign material transplanted into Germany.

However foreign the material of the epics of chivalry and the Arthur-romances may be, they represent, nevertheless, in Germany one period in the development of the German novel, because they have narration, character, and incident.

The next step in the development of novel-material was the change in form from poetry to prose. About 1350 the great interest in the field of the chivalrous epic ceased. There was no important novel-material again until the 15th century. At that time when interest in the romance revived, it was centered in the prose-romance and no longer in the romantic epic. From this
time forward novel-material was in prose form.

During the 15th century, after the revival of interest in the field of the romance, novel-material was drawn from three sources. First, many of the stories which had been written in verse form were now worked over into prose form. The material of these prose narratives was thus still indirectly foreign and they consisted of series of episodes as did their poetic originals.

A second source was found in new translations directly from foreign literature. Many translations of French, Latin, and Italian romances appeared. Among such romances were the tales of Fortunatus and the collection of Indian stories, *Pantschatantra*. Boccaccio's *Decamerone* was translated. *Wigalois*, *Pontus und Sidonia*, *Hugschapler*, *Loher und Maller*, and *Melusine* were other translations of the period.

But these translations of foreign romances did not become, in the transplanting, German novels. Most of them remained foreign in tone and spirit and all remained romances.

The third division of the 15th century prose romances included the *Till Eulenspiegel* stories. Here
for the first time in the century of romance writing the material was German. Any such attempt at utilizing German material is significant in the development of the German novel. But this attempt stands alone in this century, and after the Till Eulenspiegel stories narrative writing disappears as a German art.

In distinction to the other romances of the period, the Till Eulenspiegel tales were folk stories. The translations, on the other hand, the other branch of novel-material, were decidedly heroic. Due to this difference the Till Eulenspiegel stories are less near to novels than the heroic translations, both in tone and form. In tone Till Eulenspiegel stories are rustic. They treat of the rough peasants and their crude jokes and pranks. The characters of the romances were portrayed as heroic in deed and emotion.

Lack of unity, overabundance of incident and absence of characterization are much more evident in the Till Eulenspiegel group than in the heroic group. What we have under the name of Till Eulenspiegel is really a collection of loosely connected farcical tales. In the heroic narratives we have romances.
The Till Eulenspiegel tales owe their importance in German novel-material to their German source rather than to their thought and composition.

During the 15th century the greatest advance was made in the form of novel-material which became prose. With the single exception of the Till Eulenspiegel tales, the content was still foreign. Just as in the preceding periods there was in the 15th century an abundance of novelistic material because there were many narratives built upon incident and character. But there were still no novels produced because the relation between event and character was nowhere established. The foreign and the fantastic appealed to the reading public of the time and necessarily this was what the writers gave to their readers. The result was the flood of romances, foreign in tone, predominating in thrilling incidents and amusing situations and in suspense which characterized the 15th century.

The taste for the unusual, the fantastic and even the monstrous increased in Germany more and more. In French poetry these elements had existed from earliest times. Later, such representations, even more grotesque,
predominated in their romances. Therefore when the German people demanded such extremes in their reading, the writers turned to French literature for satisfaction for the readers. This explains the wave of translations which opened the 16th century. Between 1533 and 1539 five romances were translated from the French into German. They were Fierabras, Haimonskinder, Kaiser Octavianus, Die schöne Magelone, and Ritter Galmy.

In the middle of the 16th century there was an isolated attempt at original independent German story writing by Jorg Wickram of Colmar which is comparable to the Till Eulenspiegel tales of the previous century. Between 1551 and 1566 Wickram wrote four narratives — Gabricto und Reinhard, Goldfaden, Knaben-Spiegel, and Gute und böse Nachbare.

In these narratives Wickram made a conscious effort at story writing which should be independent of foreign material and influence. But he did not succeed in attaining a novel. His narratives are still much burdened with incident, incident which fails in producing a piece of Weltbild and in which the author has no further purpose than to delight and please the reader.
But in using German material Wickram, again, failed to establish a precedent and foreign influence once more predominated. The result was a series of chivalrous romances (Ritterromane) which found their first impulse in *Amadis von Gallien*, a fantastic romance of adventure which originated either in Spain or Portugal. *Amadis* came into Germany shortly before 1569 and was soon given out in translation. Along with *Amadis* other chivalrous romances of lesser importance were transplanted into Germany. These added inspiration in the type so that there was in Germany a whole series of chivalrous romances consisting either of translations of foreign romances or direct adaptations of stories of the Amadis type.

Two other branches of novel-material are to be noted in the 16th century because they had the novelistic elements of prose narration and incident rather than because of any direct influence or importance they possessed. The first division consists of the collection of comic tales, *Schildbürger*, which appeared in 1597. The Faust stories which appeared in a collected form in 1587 and which contain all the stories of magic which centered about the character of Dr. Faustus, composed the second
division. From the mere designation of these stories it is evident that they were not novels. *Schildbürger* is a collection of comic tales. The stories of Dr. Faustus are tales of magic.

In all the various novel-material of the 16th century German writers produced no novels. The essential point with them was to delight a public which demanded excitement and suspense in its reading. The authors had no ideas which they were attempting to bring to the consciousness of the reader. For this reason they resorted to translation or direct adaptation of foreign material. There they found ready made what the public wished or ample material from which to form it. This accounts for the lack of the first important essential of the novel in this period, the idea on the part of the author which should form the purpose of writing the novel.

In the events the authors of this period failed to give any picture of the life and thought of the time of their narrations, any piece of Weltbild.

Finally, as in all the previous novel-material in Germany, there is still in the 16th century the failure
to relate event and character in a consequential way. The characters exist for the incident. The necessary reaction of the one upon the other is lacking.

Thus, though possessing some of the elements of the novel, these narratives fall far short of novels. The real essentials of the novel are lost in the mass of episodes.

Lack of creation on the part of German writers and the introduction of various new elements from foreign sources characterized 17th century novel-material in Germany. Both of these effects were caused by the Thirty Years' War. For nearly a century after the war Germany created no literature. There was no German national spirit upon which a German literature could be built. Since German writers could not create German novel-material, it was brought in from foreign sources. In this manner many new and different elements were established in the novel-material of Germany.

In the time of depression after the Thirty Years' War the rogue-romance (Schelmenromane) came into Germany from Spain. It was started by translations which were much read and imitated.
In tone the rogue-romances were the direct opposites of the chivalrous, heroic, and adventurous romances. Satire and wit and jest characterized the rogue romances. In themselves they were burlesques rather than novels.

Because they were burlesques the rogue-romances are not important as individual pieces of literature. As a class they are important. They broke the spell of the heroic romance. They represent a type of novel-material which predominated over all other types in the early 17th century. In relation to subsequent novel-material their influence was negative rather than positive. No definite change was wrought in novel-material by this type of story. Yet it left its coloring a lighter tone, upon novel-material. In later material the rogue element is frequently found in novel-material and that rogue element found its origin in this period.

Following the rogue-romance, was the interest in the sentimental pastoral romance of the Italians. Martin Opitz transplanted this type into Germany with his Schäferei von der Nymphe Hercynia.

The life of the characters in the pastoral romance was unnatural and impossible. They lived in an ideal
world. But the sentimental nymphs and the educated shepherds appealed to the imagination of the German people.

One more distinct species of fiction, the pseudo-historical romance, found a place in the 17th century. The affirmed purpose of the historical romance was to teach the reader. Consequently the author under the guise of giving a history of the life of the hero gave a mass of information upon any subject his fancy chose. The historical romances were long drawn out and monotonous. They were not novels but books of information.

In the types of fiction which found a place in 17th century literature one unnatural creation followed another. The rogue-romance, the pastoral romance, and the historical romance each pictured life in an impossible world. No novel can be built up from such unrealities. What occurs in a novel must be not only possible but also probable.

While other writers of the 17th century were giving to the public translations and imitations of foreign stories which had their settings in impossible and far-distant lands and times, in romantic worlds of adventure, there was one author who saw how much Germany, after the
Thirty Years' War, offered for literary treatment. This author was Christoffel von Grimmelshausen. He understood the futility of mere translation or slavish imitation and appreciated the value, to the writer of fiction, of individual observation of life. In his best story, *Simplicius Simplicissimus*, Grimmelshausen wrote a story upon this plan of giving a picture of the life which he observed roundabout him. This plan, added to the individual ability of Grimmelshausen made *Simplicissimus* the greatest prose narrative of the 17th century.

The qualities in *Simplicissimus* which put it far above other fiction of the age are its vivid realism and its genuine popular tone. It is a story of common life told in autobiographical form. Indeed, in this history of a vagabond, Grimmelshausen gives a story of his own life. The terribleness of the war, the vanity of a dissolute society, the manners and customs of the people, the humorous adventures of the rogue, are all pictured. In this story Grimmelshausen shows in a clear, realistic manner the life of the age of the Thirty Years' War as he interpreted it.

Although *Simplicissimus* gives this piece of Weltbild, in tone and in construction it is not a novel.
In tone it is a satire upon society. It was written in a period of satires, for the Schelmenromane were all satires, more or less. *Simplicissimus*, which followed the rogue romance in many respects failed to break away from them in this characteristic.

In construction *Simplicissimus* is not a unified piece of narration but a series of sketches. The episodes do not carry forward a development in the narration. They might be shifted and the result be the same. Many incidents, too, find a place in *Simplicissimus* which should not properly be included in the novel. Their coarseness often offends. Therefore, because *Simplicissimus* is a satire and because it is made up of a series of sketches, it fails in being a novel.

Of the narratives inspired by *Simplicissimus* only those of two authors need be mentioned. First, *Schelmuffsky* by Christian Reuter, and secondly, the romances of Christian Weise, were imitations of Grimmelshausen's story. But all of these narratives lack literary value. They are parodies on the novels of travel.

To sum up: Novel-material of the 17th century was divided into two parts. In the first division were the
translations from foreign romances. Of these the types were the romances of heroic gallantry, the sentimental pastoral romances, the historical romances, and the rogue-romances. In the second division stands the one narrative of *Simplicissimus*, the forerunner of a new era.

**Condition of Novel**

From this brief history of novel-material, it is evident that Germany had little narrative fiction at the end of the 17th century. What there was may be summed up under four heads, each of which had its variations. First, there were the collections of anecdotes (Schwänke). *Till Eulenspiegel* and the *Schilderbürger* represent this group. Then there were the prose paraphrases of the German metrical tales. Such was the prose *Pontus und Sidonia*. The other two divisions of novel-material were those of the 17th century which have been mentioned above. In these types of narratives which Germany possessed there was little of literary merit. *Simplicissimus* is the only story which has endured and can still be read with interest.

But there were reasons why German novel-material was so meagre after such a long period of development. (1)
It was not characteristic of German writers to express themselves in this type of literature. (3) The Thirty Years' War had crushed the German spirit and stopped literary creation. (3) The aping of French models was detrimental to narrative writing.

As to the first of these causes for lack of German novel-material, the German mind seemed unable to express itself in interesting narration, in narration which would mirror German life. As soon as writers began to observe life at all, they began to theorize and to speculate. Then they wanted to make known the information they gathered. They thought the public should benefit by the ideas which they had evolved. In their narratives they implanted the results of their speculations. Thus, as soon as German writers ceased simply to translate or directly imitate their narratives became burdened with political, educational, and moral theories. This innate speculative tendency of the German mind kept German authors from creating real novels.

In relating event and character the German writer is not naturally a novel writer. There must be a consequential connection between character and incident in a novel in order that it may picture life. The German
writer was not able to attain this union and his original efforts at novels resulted in series of episodes or series of his own opinions concerning life as the case might be, but in no case a picture of life.

In ability to relate event and character and a tendency to theorize and exploit a personal opinion are characteristics of the German writer which prevent him from being characteristically a novel writer.

In the second place Germany lacked a novel at the beginning of the 18th century because of the disastrous effects of the Thirty Years' War. For over a century after the war Germany had no novel. Indeed, during this period no national German literature in general was created. There was no national spirit upon which to build a national literature. Writers could draw no inspiration from the political oppression and helplessness and the social and moral degeneration of the age. The Thirty Years' War had taken away Germany's national self-respect. Until a national pride developed no national literature could result.

In the third place Germany had so little novel-material at the opening of the 18th century because of French influence. In the period after the Thirty Years'
War everything German was looked down upon. The German language was considered vulgar. French was the fashionable language. French customs, French manners, French ideals were imitated as the best of all possible models. Naturally French literature was also much admired. The Germans were not able to select in what they took. They received everything French with enthusiasm regardless of its suitability to their own needs and characteristics. In their desire for things French, the Germans, a people so unlike the French took much which was absolutely unsuited to them.

In addition to the vogue which French literature had in common with all things French, it also had characteristics within itself which appealed to the German. French literature was so much imitated in Germany because it contained so much of the unusual, the adventurous, and even the grotesque. The German reading public was eager for excitement. They found it in French literature.

Because of the type of German mind, therefore, and the effects of the Thirty Years' War, and the copying of French material without selection -- because of these facts, Germany had no novel at the beginning of the 18th century.
Interest in the different kinds of narrative fiction develops gradually. The wonderful always attracts attention first. The unusual, the monstrous, the impossible, and the unreal holds its place in the early development of the narration of events. Up to the end of the 18th century German novel-material served its first period of development under the rule of the fantastic and the extraordinary.

The next step will be to trace the succeeding periods in the shaping of German novel-material into a true novel. This was accomplished under the direction of English influence. It is necessary to discover first why English influence came into Germany.

The moral weeklies were the greatest factor in turning the German mind in the direction of England. These weekly papers were modelled after the Spectator and Guardian of Addison and Steele. Their purpose was both the literary amusement and the moral and literary education of the people. A vast number of these periodicals were issued for a longer or shorter time. Among those which were best known and had the widest influence were Die Discourse der Maler (Zürich), Die vernunftigen Tädisen-
nen (Leipzig) and Neue Beiträge zum Vergnügen des Verstän
dea und Witzes (Bremen). In these papers the best critics of the land shaped German literature into chan-
nels they thought the most profitable.

When the critics investigated the condition of Ger-
man literature in the early 18th century with a view to
bettering it they saw that a period of pupilage was neces-
sary to the development of a German national literature.
They sought for a model other than France. France had
not been able to help Germany in her literature. French
ideas were not capable of being used by the Germans for
their own betterment. The only other country to which
Germany could turn was England. The critics saw at
once much of benefit that could be derived from English
literature and sought to bring it before the people.
They established their periodicals in imitation of the
English papers and published in these moral weeklies
extracts of English works, criticized pieces of English
literature, and in every way brought English writing
and ideals before the German people.

The English Free-thinkers exerted a remarkable in-
fluence upon Germany and helped to bring about Germany's
admiration for things English. The spirit of the Eng-
lish Free-thinkers was freedom from restraint in religious matters. They rebelled against the existing dogma. The idea of rationalism was formulated by a people weary of religious strife. In Germany the people were politically oppressed. In religious matters there was continual quarrelling. There was dogma in religion and restraint in social life against which the Germans rebelled but against which they seemed helpless. When the English Free-thinkers expressed their ideas, the Germans readily received them as applicable to their individual need. The spirit of the Free-thinkers in Germany was rationalistic instruction in matters of religion, in morals, and in social and political life.

The conscious directing of the German attention to the English and the unconscious appeal and reception of the ideas of the English Free-thinkers led to a great admiration on the part of the Germans for English ideals and English literature. In England they found something which they could use.

In literature the admiration was especially great for English fiction. In the field of the novel the critics realized that the English were superior to other
nations. They seemed peculiarly adapted to this form of expression. German writers recognized that the English novel could not be excelled. They knew also that they, as a nation, were not suited to this type of writing. In the field of fiction, therefore, the Germans especially accepted the English as their model.

Because of the popularity of English fiction, it was inevitable that Germany should imitate the English masters.

**Defoe**

The first English fiction to be widely read, translated and imitated in Germany was Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. This story was received with peculiar enthusiasm by German readers and writers. Such a circumstance was not accidental.

We have seen why the German mind was directed towards English literature in general. The same causes, of necessity, explain why English fiction was brought before the Germans. It remains to be discovered then why, from the field of English stories, *Robinson Crusoe* was the first and most enthusiastic choice of the Germans.
Certain conditions in German life, working together with certain qualities of the story, explain chiefly the hearty reception of Robinson Crusoe in Germany. Added to this were certain novelties in the story which made it appeal to all Germans.

The condition of social, religious, and political life which peculiarly fitted Germany for the reception of Robinson Crusoe was brought about by the Thirty Years' War combined with the various religious wars. Political oppression by whimsical and capricious rulers had brought the German people to a state of indifference to the wretched condition of public life. Morality and a true religious feeling disappeared. Disbelief and unbelief flourished and rebelled against all dogmatic doctrines. Such a low standard of morality and such wretched social conditions were to be expected in a people so oppressed and so helpless politically.

But in this abject state of life a new idea found its origin and development. This was the idea of Pietism from which sprung a revolution for the individual and for spiritual and mental independence. The final outcome was rationalism.
What the adherents of rationalism were trying to teach the people was fully illustrated in Robinson Crusoe, not in dry moralizing, but in a story which all people could understand. Robinson Crusoe was an individual working out his own salvation. Just so it seemed to German readers, they as individuals of a society at a low point in its history must work out their salvation. Here they found their own case illustrated in the form of a story.

Defoe worked the ideas and ideals of the Free-thinkers into his character. Crusoe was an individual and independent man not held down by tyrannical authority and narrow religious dogma. His life was one of practical piety and morality. A free and beautiful humanity was not only described and praised in this story, but actually illustrated in the life the hero lived. To the Germans who were just awakening to these religious and social ideas this appeared as a revelation. Here in the story of a man's actual experiences they found expressed ideas which were just coming to them, and which sought expression. Naturally such a story appealed.

Not only did Crusoe express social and religious ideas which agreed with German ideals, but the story
expressed also a political state for which the Germans longed. Crusoe was oppressed by no political authority. He lived his own life, was his own king. To a people whose only freedom was freedom in thought, such an independence was Utopia. They read with pleasure of such a life.

Robinson Crusoe appealed chiefly to the German reader, therefore, because it expressed in narration his own ideas of the truest religious and social and moral life, and because the life described in the story presented an ideal state of political freedom for which the oppressed and helpless German longed.

The new qualities in Robinson Crusoe which appealed to all Germans and made the story so immensely popular were the character of the hero with its burger element, the naturalism and the travel element.

In Robinson Crusoe Defoe succeeded in picturing a character whom all classes could understand. Every reader whether educated or not could appreciate Crusoe's experiences, his trials and his difficulties, his work and his pleasures. He was not the mere mechanical figure taking a part in impossible events. He was an individual with individual problems to solve. These
problems were not peculiar to one class or one nation, but were those of a man as a man. In reading of him, therefore, Crusoe's problems became the problems of the reader. Because of this universally human element, the character of Robinson Crusoe appealed to all classes in Germany.

The realism of the narration and the simplicity and naturalness of the hero's life attracted the Germans. The stories they were accustomed to read were of wonderful and impossible episodes. Magic and fabulous elements abounded in all the romances. The usual hero was an exaggerated type of over-sentimental or over-gallant adventurer. Application of the life of such a hero to their own was impossible. Crusoe, on the other hand, lived the life of a real man. Defoe showed in the development of the hero how a man's character reacts and responds to its environment. He pictured a man's relations to external events, how a man determines his own character by the manner in which he meets difficulties and overcomes them. In Crusoe a man's own ability, not magical power or supernatural means, conquered the obstacles which appeared. All of these things Defoe pictured with a touch of realism which brought the story
near to the reader. After the typical hero and the usual impossible plot, the story of the life of the simple and resourceful and natural Crusoe was a novelty which could not fail to please.

The travel element in Robinson Crusoe appealed to the German reader. Here was adventure enough to delight the fancy and imagination of a reading public whose taste for the foreign had not yet disappeared. In Robinson Crusoe, however, the travel element did not consist of a mere jumble of events. Each incident was directly related to the character and its development. Thus the unity of the narrative persisted. The combination of adventure and character, each reacting upon the other, was novel and interesting.

The adventurous introduced by the travel element, the naturalness and reality of the hero and his life, and the broad humanity expressed in the characterization all aided in the attraction which Robinson Crusoe had for the German people.

With so many qualities to appeal to the reader and with conditions in Germany so admirably fitted to receive the ideas expressed in Robinson Crusoe, the story was of necessity much read, translated, and imitated.
Robinson Crusoe appeared in England in April, 1719. During the following year four translations were put upon the German market.

The first translation was published in Hamburg early in the year 1720. This translation was made by Ludwig Friedrich Vischer. It was simple, brief, and interesting. Vischer kept well to the original text and yet expressed the spirit of the story. On the whole the first translation of Robinson Crusoe into German was careful and praiseworthy.

Defoe's story in the German was next issued in Leipzig. This translation purported to be the work of Johann Christian Martini. The text corresponded very nearly to the Vischer translation, of which it was evidently a copy. Martini attempted to conceal his theft in various ways, but it is now recognized that the Martini translation was in reality a reprint of Vischer's work.

The third translation of the story was the Frankfurt and Leipzig edition. This was in truth a reprint of the Leipzig edition, thus indirectly a copy of the Vischer translation.

The fourth and last translation, by Moritz Georg Weidmann, appeared in Leipzig in October, 1720. Weid-
mann translated the story directly from the French. He narrates the episodes in an interesting and skillful fashion.

From the year 1721 on questions of editions and publications of the story are hopelessly confused. No new translations appeared but many new editions of the four existing translations were issued. Many piratical editions were also published. In rapid succession reprints of the Weidmann, Martini, and Vischer stories were offered to the public without proper recognition to the real translators. For nautical terms the language of Vischer was always used, but nowhere was he named as the translator.

From the many editions which the Germans had of this story, both the original translations and piratical reprints, it is seen how greatly the life of Robinson Crusoe appealed to them. No story could form so large a part of a people's reading and not leave its influence. The extraordinary influence of Robinson Crusoe expressed itself in a multitude of imitations, the equal of which no other book has ever even approximately attained.

The imitations formed a class of writings in German literature known as the "Robinsonaden". These stories
had the same fundamental idea and structure as *Robinson Crusoe*, but the scenery and the embellishments were changed.

In the 18th century about sixty Robinsons appeared. There was a Dutch, a German, a French, an Italian, a Swedish, a Spanish, a Russian, a Danish, and an Austrian Robinson. There was an American, a Persian, a Swabian Robinson. When countries failed to offer titles, cities were utilized and a Leipzig and a Hamburg Robinson came out.

Besides these there were about twenty other direct imitations of *Robinson Crusoe*, which bore the name "Avanturier" in the title instead of Robinson.

Aside from all of these stories, signifying their content and source of inspiration by their name, there existed a great number of tales which were indirectly inspired by Defoe's story but without the name Robinson in the title.

In all the imitations of *Robinson Crusoe* one phase of the story received conspicuous emphasis. The adventure and absolute freedom and independence of Crusoe allured the writers, and this is what they expressed in their stories. The adventures of their heroes were
conceived as possible only to such entirely unrestrained creatures as Crusoe. Therefore the freedom and independence of Crusoe was what received greatest emphasis in the imitations. Such stories were read all the more eagerly because such entire lack of authority was unknown in real life.

Imitations of Robinson Crusoe may be divided into two classes. The first and by far the larger class is made up of those stories which deal with pure adventure. As literature these stories are bad.

At first the adventures utilized were those in Robinson Crusoe. Gradually new elements had to be introduced to sustain the interest. New and wonderful means were devised to bring the hero to the island. Later the scene changed from an island to various far away lands. Women were introduced into the stories, an element which naturally added greatly to the interest.

Thus the "Robinsonaden" gradually drifted farther and farther away from their original model. The unity and reality, the simplicity and naturalness of the story were lost. The imitations became series of adventures in which the wonderful and impossible found abundant expression. The meaning of the character disappeared
among the thrilling adventures.

The other and smaller class of imitations of *Robinson Crusoe* had the Robinson motive as the inspiration and basis of the work, but this idea was worked out in an individual way. This branch was started by Schnabel's *Insels Felsenburg*. The first volume of this story appeared in 1731. Felsenburg and its imitations compose the second group of stories inspired by *Robinson Crusoe*.

In the first group the adventurous element received the emphasis. In the second group the ideal state in which Crusoe lived was pictured.

Schnabel's story is the only one of all the imitations of *Robinson Crusoe* with any literary merit. In *Insels Felsenburg* the author tries to give a setting and background which should be true to geography and history. The other "Robinsonaden" no longer aimed at truth. But the spirit of Schnabel's work is not true. He pictures an ideal state, a life utterly impossible. Yet he pictures this wonderful life in simple language and in such glowing colors that it appealed to all the people. In his idealism which leads him to improbabilities and impossibilities, Schnabel loses sight of the great essential of a novel -- the piece of Weltbild.
The Insel Felsenburg drew after it a series of imitations, all of which were far inferior to their model.

At the time of the appearance of Felsenburg, from 1731 to 1743, and following its publication, stories inspired by Robinson Crusoe appeared in countless numbers. After this outburst in which German enthusiasm freed itself, the qualities and elements peculiar to the "Robinsonaden" became more and more absorbed by other elements of narration. Gradually the type ceased to be distinctive until even its individual characteristics were lost. Finally it was merged altogether into other types of writing.
Richardson

During the first half of the 18th century the spirit of independence which was just developing in Germany and which had been turned away from public life found its expression in literature in the two forms of rationalism and sentimentalism. Rationalism we have seen was instrumental in bringing into Germany the influence of English literature in general and in particular it brought about the influence of Robinson Crusoe. The other manifestation of the individualistic tendency of the period -- sentimentalism -- accounts for the influence of Richardson's novels in Germany.

The Germans of this time delighted in analyzing their feelings, their emotional life. They found joy in their own sadness and magnified feeling of isolation and misery. Emotional extravagance predominated. Every feeling was exaggerated to a degree of absurdity.

To a people so interested in studying and intensifying their own emotions such novels as Pamela, Clarissa Harlowe, and Sir Charles Grandison could not fail to bring delight and new impetus and inspiration in self-contemplation.

In these novels Richardson pictures almost entirely the emotional life of his characters. He gives in minute
detail their every thought and feeling. Especially does he emphasize the miserable in life. All this the people read with joy and tears both in England and in Germany.

After Richardson's sentimentalism had brought him to the German people, they found another quality in his novels which appealed. This was his moralizing tendency.

Richardson was essentially a moralist and he intended his novels to be in a sense sermons against the moral decay of the time. As he himself said, he drew attention to "special cases of conduct". Throughout his novels, his aim was the discussion of moral questions. All this appealed to the German people and was readily taken up by them.

The unnaturally virtuous characters which Richardson drew to teach his lessons on morals and religion attracted the Germans. Gellert expressed a common sentiment of his time when he eulogized the author of Pamela and Clarissa as the "creative spirit who had taught us to feel the charm of virtue".

The picturing of lower-class family life as Richardson did in Pamela and Clarissa was as novel to the Germans as to the English. It established the plot and characters of his stories upon a basis which all people
could understand and appreciate. Such portrayal of family life was enthusiastically received.

These were the characteristics of Richardson's novels, therefore, which appealed to the German people — their sentimentalism, their moralizing, the excessive virtuosity of their characters, their pictures of middle-class family life. Such were the qualities necessarily which German writers attempted to repeat in their stories.

But as the Germans always did in similar cases of imitation of a foreign model, they went beyond all the limitations set up in the model and in their eagerness over this new source of material they exceeded the bounds of the possible. The result as usual was a mass of exaggeration and absurdity. Instead of convincing it lead to disbelief.

In their imitation of Richardson's novels this tendency of German writers to elaborate upon their models is especially suggestive. Due to it they failed to attain the realism which is one of the chief characteristics of Richardson's writings.

Richardson wanted his characters to be exactly lifelike. To make them so he gave the most detailed descriptions of their daily actions and thoughts. Their most insignificant duties and occupations were accounted for
with minute accuracy. To be sure this realism is more that of statistics than that of a work of art. Still it was a realism which the German imitators of Richardson failed to appreciate and repeat in their narratives. They pictured commonplace people but they failed to see the significance of describing commonplace actions to correspond. They were still far from supposing that everyday reality could be made interesting.

Gellert's Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin von G (1747-1748) was the first German romance written under the influence of Richardson. In it Gellert attempted to write moral and sentimental, family fiction. Pamela was his professed model and his heroine shows much of Pamela's obtrusive virtuousness, her moralizing, and her sentimentalism.

But in technique Gellert fell far behind Richardson. Instead of the realism and simplicity of Richardson's novels, Gellert's tale is a complication of strange adventures and improbable incidents. Although Gellert learned to treat of middle class people, still he exaggerated their experiences and immoralities to a degree which made of them impossible characters.
Gellert shows in his writings the influence of the sentimental, moral, and "bürger" elements of Richardson's novels. He failed, however, to grasp the significance of Richardson's realism and preferred the adventurous, the marvelous, and accidental of the older fiction. By that he lost the opportunity of picturing life.

Gellert's Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin was the signal for an outburst of sentimental literature. Of these Goethe's Werther and Wieland's Geschichte des Agathon (1761) were the only narratives which possessed any degree of literary value. All the other stories inspired by Pamela or Clarissa were the expressions of moods too exaggerated and unnatural to be enduring. The chief characteristic of the fiction of the period was its excessive sentimentalism.

In the Geschichte des Agathon Wieland was essentially the imitator of Richardson. Lengthy discussions on the nature of virtue, sentimentalism, and elaborate detail mark Agathon as Richardsonian in type and do not distinguish it greatly from the other imitations of Richardson's novels.

In technique, too, Agathon is not far superior to the other narratives of its class. It is not a true
novel. Its plot depends upon improbable and accidental happenings. The complicated and incredible events do not picture life.

*Agathon* possessed one important quality, however, which previous fiction in Germany lacked. This was the psychological analysis of character. Wieland found his model for this in Richardson.

"Wir haben uns", he says at the beginning of the ninth chapter of Book XII (Werke 3, 72), "zum Gesetz gemacht, die Leser dieser Geschichte nicht bloss mit den Begebenheiten und Thaten unsers Helden zu unterhalten, sondern ihnen auch von dem was bey den wichtigeren Abschnitten seines Lebens in seinem Innern vorging, alles mitzuteilen was die Quellen, woraus wir schöpfen, uns davon an die Hand geben."

Here is to be found the importance of *Agathon* for the development of novel-material. It introduced psychological analysis of character into German fiction. Since it was through imitation of Richardson that Wieland was enabled to give his fiction that psychological character, the psychological analysis of character was in reality Richardson's contribution to German narrative literature.
The influence of Richardson in Germany which expressed itself in imitation of his novels *Pamela* and *Clarissa* had three results. (1) It lead to an outburst of sentimental fiction which freed the German people of the sentimentalism of the age. (2) It introduced into German literature the "moral" narrative of family life of the middle class. (3) It introduced psychological analysis of character into German fiction.
Fielding came to the German public in two different forms. First and foremost he appeared as the opponent of Richardson. Secondly, he appeared as the creator of a great national novel and, as such, a worthy model for study.

German critics soon freed themselves from Richardson's influence. After their first blind admiration, they perceived the weaknesses of his writings. But the public in general continued under Richardsonian influence and his admirers and imitators increased every year. When the critics realized to what extremes this influence was carrying the German people they sought some remedy.

This remedy they found in Fielding's novels, *Joseph Andrews*, *Jonathan Wild. A Journey from this World to the Next*, *Tom Jones*, and *Amelia*. The naturalness and reasonableness of these stories counteracted the sentimentality and extravagance of Richardson. Such critics as Lessing, Merck, Lichtenberg, Abbt, and Musæus appreciated these qualities in Fielding. They knew if the people generally could be brought to know Fielding, the spell of Richardson's influence would be broken.

Through their efforts the party opposing Richardson gradually increased. At first only here and there a
voice was raised against his unnatural characters. Then his "perfect" people with their overdrawn and excessive virtue were criticized. Later Klinger spoke out against the "accursed Grandison fever" and Leuz called *Pamela* "the most dangerous book". Thus slowly but steadily the people were brought to an understanding of the extravagances of Richardson's stories.

In proportion as Richardson's influence decreased, Fielding's influence increased. Critics were enthusiastic in their praise of the excellencies of Fielding's writing. In their papers they contrasted the good qualities in Fielding with the characteristics of Richardson's style. Through the conscious efforts of the critics, therefore, the people came to know and appreciate Fielding. Soon his novels were widely spread and read.

But Fielding was more than merely an opponent of Richardson. He was recognized by the Germans as the creator of a national novel. Critics appreciated the superior qualities of his work and held him up as a model for German writers.

The qualities in Fielding's novels which especially appealed to German readers and thereby influenced
them were his artistic realism both in character and life, his personal confidences with the reader, his easy and natural style, and his peculiar humor.

Fielding's realism was a great advance upon that of previous writers. Defoe and Richardson both had the realism of fact. They convinced the reader by presenting detailed accounts of the actions and thoughts of their characters. Fielding, on the other hand, had the realism of an artist. He succeeded in securing the allusion of reality.

One of the greatest advances which he made was in his manner of procuring this realism. He dealt with life as it really was and as he experienced it. Other writers had presented a fanciful or idealized life and sought to make it realistic by presenting facts.

Fielding's realism as the people now understood was a realism both of life and character. Before they had failed to appreciate the value of reality in incident as related to realism in character.

All German readers of Fielding delighted in his "personal style. In his confidences with the reader Fielding discussed subjects which had no bearing upon the plot. In imitating this characteristic, the Ger-
mans were not successful. They failed to make their side-talks effective.

Fielding's sarcastic humor attracted the Germans. Fielding despised hypocrisy and never hesitated to ridicule it. Genuineness and sincerity, the basis of his ridicule, served to make it effective. Fielding's avowed purpose was not to preach to the people but to amuse them.

Another quality which influenced German writers was Fielding's style of writing. He wrote with ease and naturalness which could not fail to attract German imitators.

In actual imitation Fielding's characteristics as a novelist were much more difficult of attainment than Richardson's peculiarities. The Germans could easily examine their own feelings and emotions and write what they observed. But in Fielding they found consequential relation between character and event. This was always a stumbling block for German narrative writers. Because of this Fielding was much less imitated than Richardson. What imitations did appear were based more upon his external style and manner of writing and less upon the content and thought of his work.
Of much greater importance than the imitation of Fielding's style is the fact that through reading Fielding the Germans were brought to a knowledge of what should be the relation of event and character in a narrative. They became more critical as they learned that naturalness and not exaggeration forms the basis of effective narration. Thus Fielding's influence was not lost although direct imitations were few.

Only three men of importance wrote under the direct influence of Fielding. They were Musäus, Wieland, and Hermes.

In connection with Fielding's influence in Germany Musäus was more important as a critic than as an original writer. He was one of the chief advocates of Fielding. In his magazine he wrote many editorials on Fielding and translated parts of his novels. Especially did he praise and hold up Tom Jones as a model.

In this way Musäus formed a bridge between Fielding and a great many German readers.

Although the Germans accepted Musäus only as a critic, still he was the author of a parody on Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison. Musäus called his parody Grandison der Zweite. (1759) It was directed more against the ad-
mirers and imitators of Richardson than against Richardson himself.

Since this was a parody on Grandison, Musäus adopted Richardson's style and form of writing. But in other respects the story shows the influence of Fielding. It is very similar to Joseph Andrews.

The characteristics of Fielding's writing which pleased Musäus, he attempted to repeat in his story. Like Fielding he takes the reader into his confidence and has frequent side-talks with him. Musäus attempted also to imitate Fielding's sarcasm. Many of Musäus's characters are similar to the characters in Tom Jones.

Fielding said that in Tom Jones he mentioned every one of his friends, either characterizing or ridiculing them. Musäus did the same thing in his Grandison der Zweite. He drags in all of his contemporaries and makes witty remarks about them.

As a critic Musäus furthered Fielding's influence in Germany by making him favorably known to many German readers. As an author Musäus imitated the characteristics of Fielding's style.

Wieland shows clearly the relation of Fielding to Richardson in literature. In 1761 Wieland wrote Agathon.
under the influence of Richardson's sentimentalism. When he wrote *Don Sylvio* a few years later Fielding was the inspiration and model. Just so in literature in general, only more slowly, Fielding crowded out Richardson and became the great model.

From Fielding Wieland borrowed for *Don Sylvio* certain episodes and characters. He imitated Fielding's humorous style and attempted to write in the same simple and natural yet artistic manner.

But Wieland was indebted to Fielding for more than these external peculiarities of style. Wieland learned from Fielding his theory of development in a novel, his manner of thought and his philosophy of life. All this he expresses in *Don Sylvio*.

In spite of all Wieland took from Fielding's thought and style, he was not able to produce a significant work of art.

In Hermes we have an author who drew at the same time from Richardson and Fielding. His stories, *Fanny Wilkes* and *Sophia's Reisen* are far inferior to the other narratives of the period. Hermes professed purpose was to preach. He desired to teach the people a certain
moral system. He thought the people would accept his laws of morality more readily if he presented them in a narration. With this as his aim, Hermes cared nothing at all whether he created a work of literary value. As a result his narratives are not at all novels.

It is necessary merely to point out the characteristics which Hermes borrowed from Fielding. There was no inner, thought relation between the two. Hermes simply borrowed certain mechanical devices from Fielding's novels. Hermes copied the method of dividing his stories into books and chapters which Fielding used in Tom Jones. He used portions of the story to give opinions and reflections to the reader which were not connected with the plot. Like Fielding, Hermes assured that his narrative was "history", that the wonderful was omitted, and that the characters were not pictured with an excessive virtuosity. Hermes was diligent but unsuccessful in imitating Fielding's sarcasm. Where Fielding is finely humorous, Hermes is foolish.
Sterne

Sterne came into Germany when the people in general were still under the influence of Richardson's sentimentalism. At this time the Germans kept close watch upon English literature for anything worthy of translation. So vigilant were they that the introduction of Sterne into Germany was almost inevitable.

When *Tristram Shandy* appeared in England in 1760, it was immediately taken up and had a great vogue. At this time individual German authors, men recognizing the relations between English literature and German literary development came to know and appreciate *Tristram Shandy*. They recognized and esteemed the work of Sterne in his story.

But German readers in general did not receive it. This was due largely to the poor and inaccurate translation which formed the medium of giving Sterne to the German public. The first translation was made by Johann Friedrich Zückert and appeared in 1763. It was called *Das Leben und die Meynungen des Herrn Tristram Shandy*. Zückert's translation won no popular success and no recognition by critics.

Therefore, although known and appreciated by a few individual authors Sterne would never have been widely
popular had it not been for *The Sentimental Journey* which appeared in London in 1768.

An excellent translation appeared at once in Germany by Bode, the best German translator of English fiction in the 18th century. Through Bode's translation the book at once took up a career of widespread popularity and influence.

Sterne's position in Germany, therefore, was due primarily to *The Sentimental Journey*. Without it *Tristram Shandy* would never have won general interest and admiration.

But aside from the poor translation of *Tristram Shandy*, the essential characteristics of the two books explain sufficiently Germany's temporary indifference to the one and her immediate reception of the other.

*Tristram Shandy* is "whimsicality touched with sentiment", and *The Sentimental Journey* is the "record of a sentimental experience guided by the caprice of a whimsical will". Whimsicality requires its own native country and conditions for growth and appreciation. Therefore, under the unusual and unnatural conditions of Germany, *Tristram Shandy* failed to appeal. What appears whimsical under certain conditions, appears
silly under any other influences. This was the case of *Tristram Shandy* in Germany in the first translation.

The *Sentimental Journey*, on the other hand, flourished as widely upon German soil as in its native England. It gave satisfaction to German readers in two ways. Interest in travels prevailed widely. At no time was there such popular enthusiasm for books of travel with geographical description and information about peoples and customs. The *Sentimental Journey*, to its very name, satisfied this interest.

More important was the sentiment of the book. Sentimentalism was 'ri$e' in Germany. Display of emotion and analysis of human feeling characterized the time. "Germany had been for a decade hesitating on the verge of tears and grasped with eagerness a book which seemed to give her British sanction for indulgence in her lachrymose desire."

After the publication of *The Sentimental Journey* in Germany, Sterne was at once recognized as the leader in literary impulses and emotional experiences. Journals and periodicals throughout the country were lavish in their praise of the new favorite.
This popularity of *The Sentimental Journey* renewed and increased interest in *Tristram Shandy*. Bode undertook a translation of the story which he finished in 1774. This translation gave *Tristram Shandy* to the Germans more nearly as it appeared in the English.

Sterne exerted a wide influence upon German literature and conduct. To the Germans Sterne was a figure of broad and tolerant humanity, a man of lavish sympathy. He became their guide and consoler in misfortune. They applied his precepts to their lives in practical service and from his teachings formed a rule for human relationships. But above all else Sterne was to the German people a sanction for emotional expression.

In literature Sterne's influence was expressed in imitation of his style, his sentiment, and his accounts of travel.

The travel element of *The Sentimental Journey* started again a series of stories of travel. Due to Sterne's influence a more personal element was added to such stories. They became more subjective. Humor and fun crowded out the merely topographical descriptions which had characterized earlier accounts of travel.
In sentiment Sterne fostered the expression of emotion in writing. The imitations which his stories inspired often, like their model, carried sentiment to the extreme and made the pathetic ridiculous.

No German author succeeded in imitating successfully Sterne's whimsicality although frequent attempts were made. They had no more success in imitating the whimsical characters of his stories.

In style of writing, Sterne stood absolutely alone in English fiction. His stories are unique. They are utterly chaotic and formless. The events which are pictured follow no logical order but are introduced at the fancy of the author. Digressions abound. To Sterne digressions were "the very sunshine and life of reading", and he gave them freely to his readers. Even the chapter divisions defy all laws of the subject. Sterne said, "If I thought there were two pages in the book (Tristram Shandy) of which the reader could guess the contents of the second after reading the first, I would tear them out." In his stories Sterne amply illustrates what he thinks should be the characteristics of a novel.

This was the style of narration which the Germans sought to copy. Therefore the literature which Sterne
inspired in the later 18th century was characterized by incontinuity of narration, irrelation of parts, endless digressions, and numerous side-talks with the reader about the work and its progress.

All of the imitators of Sterne lacked his genius and their stories resulted in collections of disconnected essays and instances. Sterne's influence gave sanction, therefore, and inspiration to a mass of mediocre literature, all of which was forgotten as soon as the popularity of Tristram Shandy and The Sentimental Journey passed.
Goldsmith

Always during the 18th century when the German people became dissatisfied with the prevailing types of literature or when critics thought a different literature would be more beneficial to the public, they sought for new inspiration and sources of material in England. Therefore when Defoe and Richardson had been crowded out and when the people became dissatisfied with Fielding and Sterne, both critics and readers in general looked to England for new and better models. In their search they found Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield. This novel possessed characteristics which attracted the Germans to it at once.

In the Vicar of Wakefield Goldsmith united the sentimentalism of Richardson and the humor and realism of Sterne and Fielding. From each he chose the best and avoided the coarse and displeasing. What he selected he put together with his own individuality. Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, therefore, although combining various elements of other writers, is pervaded with a tone which makes it peculiarly Goldsmith's novel.

What Goldsmith gave to his writing by working into it his own individuality was freedom from vulgarity, a cleaner tone. The atmosphere of the Vicar is pure and
true. In contrast to the low moral tone which other writers had introduced into their works, the clean morality of the *Vicar of Wakefield* appealed to the Germans.

The characters which Goldsmith presented in his novel are essentially life-like. They seem real people in a real world. Much of Goldsmith's own personality and spirit was unconsciously worked over into these people. They are kindly, sympathetic, natural, tolerant, and charitable. A broad humanity was instinctive with them. Characters such as these were not common in literature and when the Germans came upon this wealth of humanity in the *Vicar of Wakefield* they took it up eagerly.

The life in the *Vicar* is as convincing as the characterization. The interest centers in the daily activities and pleasures. In his picture of life Goldsmith attained a poetic realism. If the life he pictures is sometimes idealized it is not the idealization of unreality and impossibility. It is an idealization which lends charm and interest to the narrative.

Goldsmith's humor pleased his German readers. It was a subtle humor, lurking beneath the surface.
But the realism in character and life and the naive humor of the *Vicar of Wakefield* would have been impossible had not Goldsmith been a master writer. The whole story is poetical in its expression. Its style is clear, easy, and graceful. The romance and characters are developed with a naturalness and spontaneity that is altogether charming. The Germans did not fail to recognize Goldsmith as a master in expression although they read the *Vicar* for the most part in translation.

There is one novelty in the material which must not be overlooked in designating the qualities of the *Vicar* which attracted and appealed to the Germans. This was the new idea of making a Vicar the center of a story. This was without precedent and its very newness appealed.

Just as these qualities of the *Vicar of Wakefield* were admired by the Germans, so they were influenced by them. The influence of Goldsmith found expression in widespread imitation. The imitations of the *Vicar of Wakefield* were called Pfarromane.

The Pfarromane often differed from their model. German writers frequently changed the style, the motive, or made additions to the material. They did this mostly to please their readers.
A common failing of German writers was the tendency to point a lesson. Goldsmith never moralized in the *Vicar* unless it proceeded directly from the action. But instruction in morals was so delightful to the usual German writer that he brought it forward without sufficient occasion.

While German readers appreciated the pure tone of the *Vicar*, it was not always possible for them to maintain this spirit in their imitations. Consequently some fell into the sentimentalism and others into the coarseness and vulgarity of previous fiction.

Of the imitations of the *Vicar*, Sebaldus Nothanker (1776) of Nicolai was one of the first and most important. Both stories have much in common — the description of country life with its pleasures and the relations between the Vicar and his people. The misfortunes which come upon the characters in both stories are similar. In each the author praised independence.

Other stories inspired directly or indirectly by the *Vicar* were the *Landprediger* (1778) by Jakob Leuz; *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1770) by Sophia von la Roche; *Geschichte eines Landpredigers in West-
falen (1780), St. Julien (1798), Das Leben eines armen Landpredigers (1801), Der arme Pfarrersohn (1804), and Die Pfarre an der See (1816).

These last four stories were by Lafontaine. In them he attempted to imitate the characterization of Goldsmith but without success. An excessive sentimentality detracts from their value.

The most original of all the imitations was Des Pastors Liebesgeschichte by Fried. Laun.

Summary of English Influence

The time which German novel-material served under the influence of Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Goldsmith brought it from the stage of the frankly marvelous to the stage which demands the probable and rational. This period of English influence and imitation was the period of the possible in German narration.

From each of the English authors German novel-material drew some element which helped it progress to expression in a true novel. From each period of imitation novel-material derived something of lasting benefit to its successful development.
From Defoe the Germans learned to accept as interesting only that which seemed, at least, within the range of possibility. They were no longer so naively credulous but had become slightly critical. This attitude was only begun with Defoe and found its development later.

In the Robinsonaden there is a significant tendency, scarcely defined, but yet perceptible, to conform to this new critical attitude.

By reading and imitating Robinson Crusoe, therefore, German novel-material was started upon the path of the possible.

From Richardson the Germans learned their first lessons in character drawing.

Fielding taught the Germans that the true purpose of the novel was not merely to teach and he gave them their first lessons in artistic realism.

Goldsmith contributed to German narration on the side of art. He illustrated to the Germans what might properly be included in a novel to make it an art form. He showed them how this material should be treated in order to be artistic. Above all he gave to German novel-material its proper tone.
It remained for Goethe to create the first true German novel. This novel was Werther (1774). Werther was the first novel-material in German literature to fulfill the requirements which a narrative must fulfill in order that it may properly be called a novel.

The idea which lead to the writing of Werther and which the story expresses is the power of love. This is an idea capable and worthy of poetic treatment. It is also a universally human and wholesome idea.

Through the material which Goethe presents in Werther to progress his idea, he gives a picture of the life and thought of the time. He pictured his age which is the essential requirement of the material of a novel. In Werther the material expresses the idea completely, it is interesting, and it is probable.

Goethe shows successfully in Werther character development. The hero is always at one with the idea which seeks expression. Werther individualizes the idea of transformation through love. All the characters are typical and psychologically true.
The action of Werther consists of a series of events. In every case there is a consequential relation between the event and the character.

In content, then, Werther is a novel because it fulfills the requirements of a novel in its idea, its characters, its material, and its action.

The literary quality of Werther is admirable. The incidents are poetically treated. No concessions are made to a taste for excitement and wonders. It is a true art-form. Werther, therefore, may properly be called a novel.

**English Influence Upon Goethe**

Goethe was influenced in his novel writing by Richardson, Fielding, and Goldsmith.

In his youth Richardson captivated Goethe. Werther was written under this influence. From Richardson it gets its psychological analysis of character and its letter structure. But Goethe did not merely imitate Richardson. He individualized his material. Richardson showed Goethe the way but it was Goethe's own genius that made his writing endure.
After writing *Werther* Goethe turned away from Richardson. The influence of Fielding was more lasting. To Goethe Fielding was always a classic writer. When seventy-five he wrote: "Our novels, our tragedies, where do they come from if not from Goldsmith, Fielding, and Shakespeare?" From an admiration of Fielding came the poetic realism of *Werther*.

Goethe drew material from Goldsmith also for his *Werther*. The surroundings, environment, characters, ideas, and philosophy which Goethe expresses in *Werther* were inspired by the *Vicar of Wakefield*. Goethe always considered this novel as a model.

*Werther* represents in the development of German novel-material the first expression of the period in which the probable and normal is demanded. Goethe was able to attain this expression because he took the best which English writers offered and then not merely imitated what he selected but worked his material over into an art-form.
CONCLUSION

In its development German novel-material commenced with the miraculous, progressed to the possible, and then to the probable and normal.

The first period, that of the miraculous continued until the end of the 17th century. This was the time of French, Spanish, and Italian influence and imitation.

The second period, that of the possible in narrative writing, was served under English influence during the first half of the 18th century.

The third period began with Goethe's novel, the first true novel in German literature. This is the period in which novel-material in Germany still continues. Its key-note is the portrayal of life in probable and normal events and characters by a narrative which is an art-form. Those probable and normal events and characters are pictured which best progress the idea of the author which seeks expression.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Special Sources

Der Roman. Heinrich Keiter und Tony Kellen.
Der Deutsche Roman. Karl Rehorn.
Robinson in Deutschland bis zur Insel Felsenburg (1731-1743). August Kippenberg.
Einfluss Fielding's auf die deutsche Litteratur.
Wood.
Goldsmith's Einfluss in Deutschland im 18 Jahrhundert.
Hertha Sollas.
Laurence Sterne in Germany. Harvey Waterman Thayer.

Histories of Literature

German Literature. Calvin Thomas.
A History of German Literature. Robertson.
Essays on German Literature. Boyesen.
Studies in German Literature. Bayard Taylor.
History of German Literature. Scherer.
History of German Literature. Hosmer.
Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. Gervinus.
A Brief History of German Literature. Priest.