

England and America in the writings of Wilhelm Raabe:
a critical study of his knowledge and appreciation of
language, literature and people.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
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October, 1961.

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FEB 1962

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Abstract.

Raabe's views on England and America, as manifested above all in his characterization of the English and the Americans, are examined in detail, and attention is drawn to various works by his contemporaries in which comparable views are expressed or implied. Certain historical figures, events, and situations - and certain happenings during the author's own lifetime - did little to dispose him favourably towards the English. In some ways he found America attractive; but he did not portray it as a friendly country, and he disapproved of several supposedly American characteristics.

There follows an account of Raabe's familiarity with the English language, based largely on the evidence of his published writings and correspondence. He was self-taught, it appears, and the English he wrote is a strange mixture of good and bad: his was primarily a reading knowledge.

Raabe reveals much of his knowledge and appreciation of English and American literature through quotations and allusions. Quotations and expressions of literary origin which were popular in his day are treated separately: the more hackneyed the quotation, the more likely it is that he was not aware of its source - or at least did not have

the original context in mind at the time of writing. Occasionally the new contexts point to his knowledge of the source in question. In general, however, these tags merely serve to strengthen impressions gained elsewhere - notably from less common quotations (and from other references to English and American writers and their works) which occur in Raabe's novels and Novellen. The relevant passages are considered at some length. Biographical material is also taken into account. Of particular interest are the passages relating to Shakespeare, whom Raabe knew well.

Appended is a brief survey of the writer's personal contacts with people who knew England and America from direct experience.

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INTRODUCTION

The material for this study has been collected from numerous sources. Apart from Raabe's published writings, various works of reference and criticism,¹ and certain biographical material - mainly letters, diaries, notebooks, and the contents of the author's library² - a number of publications by Raabe's contemporaries have been examined for purposes of comparison. It is hoped that these publications are in some measure representative of the period under discussion. The majority of them are novels and Novellen, ranging in literary merit from stories by Ida Hahn-Hahn, Solitaire, and Marlitt, to works by Gotthelf, Keller, and Fontane. Reference has been made to these writers in an attempt to determine, for example, whether opinions expressed or implied by Raabe as to the physique or temperament of the English are more than a mere echo of opinions widely held at the time in question; and whether a phrase or quotation which might be thought to reflect a knowledge of a work of literature was in fact in common use during Raabe's lifetime, a tag, and therefore of limited positive significance in the present context.

1. v. pp. 479-83 below. Of particular interest are nos. 4, 11, 16, 29, 47, & 66.

2. v. p. 470 below.

In considering Raabe's knowledge and appreciation of English literature, it should be borne in mind that - in addition to the phrases and quotations mentioned above - not only the names but also diverse details of works by English writers (e.g. Shakespeare, Sterne, Goldsmith) were known to people of Raabe's generation from their reading of 18th century German literature. (One or two titles and figures from American literature were also cited freely in Germany during the 19th century by people who may not have read the works themselves.) Nevertheless, there is probably some truth in the hyperbolic assertion - made by Karl Elze in a study to commemorate the tercentenary of the birth of Shakespeare¹ -

'daß Kenntniß der englischen Sprache und Literatur zu einer conditio sine qua non für jeden wahrhaft Gebildeten unter uns geworden ist. Unsere Bibliotheken, ja unsere Häuser sind mit englischen Werken in Urschrift und Übersetzung angefüllt'.

It is through comparatively uncommon quotations and allusions that Raabe reveals much of his reading. These form the basis of an account of his familiarity with English and American authors. If a quotation in a tale or novel is in direct speech, it is rarely out of character: attention has therefore been paid both to the situation depicted and to what is known of the speaker's age, mood, disposition, occupation, and social class. Most of those who quote in Raabe's writings are

1. Die englische Sprache und Literatur in Deutschland, Dresden, 1864, p.68.

like the author inasmuch as they have either enjoyed a relatively high degree of formal education or become acquainted with literary matters for professional reasons. Whether a quotation or allusion is used in direct speech or not, its aptness has been taken into account. If, for instance, Raabe compares a figure in one of his novels with a figure in a play by Shakespeare, the similarity or the contrast between the two figures is at times an indication of the novelist's knowledge of the play concerned.

Of the topics discussed with reference to England and America - i.e. the language, the literature, the people and their history - some are clearly less important in an account of Raabe's writings than they would be if one were treating of novels by other 19th century German or Austrian authors. It is self-evident that Americans, for example, play a greater part in the stories of Sealsfield and Gerstäcker than in any work by Raabe. As far as is known, however, there is no German-speaking novelist of Raabe's stature in the latter half of the century for whom, in the broadest sense, England and America were of greater importance.

Chapter 1. The English.

The English characters in Raabe's writings - particularly the English abroad, to whom he confines his attention almost exclusively - conform in many respects to a conventional picture which, by the middle of the 19th century, had become firmly established in the minds of a number of German writers. The figure of the Englishman had naturally been treated in some detail in travel journals;¹ and the reactions and impressions broadcast by these journals clearly helped - if only indirectly - to form the figure we find portrayed in the novels of the time. Writers who, like Fontane, had visited England, were also able to draw on their own immediate experience of the country and its people. Raabe, on the other hand, scarcely ventured beyond the borders of German-speaking Europe. It is highly unlikely that he had any much more intimate contact with the English than that of rubbing shoulders with them in railway compartments.² His attitude towards them and his

1. e.g. Englische Skizzen Aus den Tagebüchern von Ida Kohl und J.G.Kohl, Dresden & Leipzig, 1845. In this connection v. W.D.Robson-Scott, German Travellers in England, 1400-1800, Oxford, 1953, and F.Muncker, "Von Pückler-Muskau bis zu den Jungdeutschen" in Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Munich, 1925. (The names 'Kohl', 'Robson-Scott', & 'Muncker' below are abbreviations of these titles.)

2. v. pp. 452 et seq. below.

opinion of their character and behaviour were therefore based largely on second-hand evidence: on his reading, and on his knowledge of history and of the political happenings of his day. Nevertheless, during his years in Stuttgart at least (1862-70), Raabe had ample opportunity to study the appearance and conduct of the English on the continent.

The English, it seems, were almost everywhere.¹ On June 23rd, 1852, Bismarck wrote to his young wife from Budapest: '... die Menge der Reisenden war groß; aber denke Dir, nicht Ein Engländer, die müssen Ungarn noch nicht entdeckt haben.'² The English traveller is mentioned by contemporary novelists as a normal phenomenon of life on the

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1. Evidence of this is to be found in many prose narrative works in 19th century German literature, e.g. in Eichendorff, Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts, chap.9 (v. Neue Gesamtausgabe der Werke und Schriften, Stuttgart, 1957-59, vol.2, p.417); Ida Hahn-Hahn, Ida Schönholm (in Aus der Gesellschaft Gesamt-Ausgabe der Romane von Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, Berlin, 1845, part 1) pp.3 & 115; Keller, Der Grüne Heinrich, part 3, chap.2 (v. Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1899, vol.2, p.18); Gutzkow, Die Ritter vom Geiste, Berlin, n.d. (Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co, ed. R.Gensel), vol.3, p.322; F.Th.Vischer, Auch Einer, 6th edition, Stuttgart, 1893, vol.2, p.185; Louise von François, Zu Füßen des Monarchen (Deutsche Hand- und Hausbibliothek, vol.1), Stuttgart, 1881, p.156; and in Th.Fontane, Frau Jenny Treibel (in Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1919, vol.3), p.496. With the exception of Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts these works are mentioned frequently below. References are to the editions specified. 'Ritter' is an abbreviation of Die Ritter vom Geiste. The edition in question is based on that of 1869, a version shortened by the author himself.
 2. Fürst Bismarcks Briefe an seine Braut und Gattin, Stuttgart, 1900; cf. letters dated 12.5.51 & 29.5.62. References below to this collection of letters take the form of an abbreviated date (i.e. that borne by the relevant letter) preceded by 'Bismarck, Briefe'. (A copy of the collection was among the books in Raabe's library.)

continent. That he had long been accepted as such is apparent when we recall how Melina 'wollte einen reisenden Engländer vorstellen, und konnte auf keine Weise in seine Rolle hineinkommen.'¹ Raabe wrote Christoph Pechlin shortly after his return from Stuttgart to Lower Saxony, and it is in this novel that, for the first and only time, English characters are of anything other than secondary importance in his writings. It has been pointed out that quite a large number of English names are to be found in the Stuttgart Adreßbücher of the 1860's,² so that Raabe was probably able to observe not only tourists but also permanent or semi-permanent residents from England. The sights, scenery and climate of Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick did not perhaps appeal to the English visitor to the same extent.

Before writing Christoph Pechlin Raabe had made only very occasional references to the English, references in which features traditionally regarded as typical of the Briton are simply mentioned or implied without comment. In Die Leute aus dem Walde (written between 21.10.61 and 1.11.62³) the author recalls having read in his

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1. Goethe, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Book 2. chap.9 (v.Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche, ed.E.Beutler, Zürich, 1948-54, vol.7, p.127).
 2. v. K.Fricker, Wilhelm Raabes Stuttgarter Jahre im Spiegel seiner Dichtung, Stuttgart, 1939, p.34: A Miss Forsyth Scott is listed, in 1865, as living in the same house as Raabe. It is not known whether she enriched or perhaps even inspired the portrayal of Miss Eddish in Christoph Pechlin.
 3. It has been found necessary to make quite frequent reference to the dates between which certain of Raabe's works were written. The form of abbreviation used above appears to be the least cumbersome.

early youth an account "in Raffe's Naturgeschichte"¹ of a gruesome fight between an elephant and a rhinoceros. The story goes that the rhinoceros

'seinen zappelnden Gegner auf der Nase tragend, mit Triumphgeheul davonrennt, zum Ergötzen der frommen geduldigen Hindus und zum Erstaunen der langen leberkranken Engländer₂ und der semmelblonden, langgelockten Rulebritannierinnen.'²

The Englishman depicted by Raabe and his contemporaries was, as a rule, lanky. Henriette Trublet, the little French seamstress in Der Hungerpastor, speaks disparagingly of 'die albernen, langen Engländer'³ and while, in Christoph Pechlin, Miss Eddish is referred to as both 'hochgewachsen' and 'lang', Sir Hugh Slidery is a 'langbeiniges Individuum' with a long, long neck.⁴ Immermann's caricature of an Englishman in Münchhausen is 'ein langer, bleicher Mann',⁵ and Spielhagen, writing twenty years later, puts the following words into the mouth of Bemperlein, who is recounting a dream he has had:

'... die Herren schwatzen, lachten und lorgnettirten, und einige mit langen Beinen und langen Zähnen - wahrscheinlich Engländer - hatten gar den Hut auf dem Kopf.'⁶

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1. No copy of this work is readily available.
 2. I,5,59 (i.e. Raabe, Sämtliche Werke, Berlin, 1913-16, first series, vol.5, p.59. This form of abbreviation is used below for all references to this edition of Raabe's works.)
 3. I, 1, 491.
 4. II,2,291,441,295 (v. also II,2,386), & 294 respectively; cf. Kohl, part 1, p.239: 'Die Engländerinnen leiden oft an zu großer Körperlänge'; cf. also Georg Weerth, Englische Reisen, Berlin, 1954, p.68: '... eine fast sechs Fuß lange Miß...'
 5. Düsseldorf, 1841, Book 3, chap.9, pp.65-66.
 6. Problematische Naturen, Leipzig, 1901, vol.1, p.149. (References below to Problematische Naturen are to this edition. In footnotes the title is abbreviated to 'Prob.Nat.'.)

A little book bearing the title Die Mappe. Skizzen eines Gentleman über deutsche Bäder, (in which August Lewald uses the ostensibly authentic notebook of an English traveller as a vehicle for much mordant criticism) contains¹ the following comment on the Englishman's physical stature:

'Er war ein überaus großer, blondhaariger Mensch, der jeden andern Sterblichen fast um zwei Kopflängen überragte; das Bild eines Engländers, wie es gern als Typus angenommen wird, und von den ungeschlachten und unwitzigen Karikaturenzeichnern des Festlands so oft nachgebildet wurde.'

To find Englishmen and Englishwomen in the exotic surroundings suggested by the passage quoted from Die Leute aus dem Walde was not unusual. The English explorer was as much a traditional figure as his tourist compatriot on the European continent. Raabe and his contemporaries were quite familiar with him in print or from hearsay if not in the flesh. Thus it is that, while the spectacular arrival in the village of Abu Telfan of Kornelius van der Mook and a motley collection of animals and natives is unexpected,² the inclusion of the Drawboddys as members of the expedition, for all their quaintness, is in itself no surprise and calls for no explanation. Such oddly clad Britons seemingly constituted one of the realities of life in darkest

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1. Leipzig, 1851, p.160. (The title of this work is abbreviated below to 'Die Mappe'. References are to this edition.)
 2. Abu Telfan, II,1,86-89. In connection with this passage v. W.Fehse, Wilhelm Raabe Sein Leben und seine Werke, Brunswick, 1937, pp.281-82 & 284; v. also the as yet incomplete critical edition of Raabe's works - Sämtliche Werke, Freiburg i.Br. & Brunswick, 1951- vol.7, pp.413 & 418-19. (The title of Fehse's work is abbreviated below to 'Fehse, Raabe'; 'Krit.Ausgabe' refers to the aforesaid critical edition.)

Africa. It is therefore a conventional figure, however bizarre, whom Schücking describes in Verschlungene Wege¹ as attending Frau von Heidweiler's salon in Rome:

'... eine hagere gelbe Engländerin, welche ganz Afrika durchreist hatte und als Mohamedaner gekleidet in Mekka gewesen zu sein behauptete.'

And the pioneering spirit evinced by the Drawboddys is to be sensed once more, albeit in a more familiar setting, in the person of Miss Eddish:

'Wie die Dame diesmal in den Kopf der Bavaria auf der Theresienwiese bei München hinaufgestiegen war, so war sie jederzeit fähig, in Kalifornien in den höchsten Wipfel der höchsten Wellingtonia gigantea, so war sie in jedem Augenblicke bereit, auf die Spitze der höchsten Pyramide bei Ghizeh hinaufzusteigen...'²

With Henriette Trublet, Raabe evidently considered many - though not all - of the English to be in some way 'albern'. He depicts them primarily as figures of fun, as people who are all more or less ridiculous and eccentric. One or two, indeed, are of such freakishness as to call to mind Goethe's admission to Eckermann,³ made in the course of a eulogy on the English:

'... wie sie auch sind, es sind immer durchaus komplette Menschen. Auch komplette Narren mitunter, das gebe ich von Herzen zu.'

From the following passage in one of Bismarck's letters it might be inferred that the English were expected to be odd, that the epithet used

1. Hanover, 1867, vol.3, pp.157-58.

2. II,2,292; cf. Louise v. François, Zu Füßen des Monarchen, p.99: '.. und nicht hochgemute, ledige Töchter Albions, oder Fortschrittsdamen der neuen Welt allein, klimmen zum Gipfel des weißen Berges hinan'; v. also ibid., p.168, & Fontane, Frau Jenny Treibel, p.303.

3. March 12th, 1828.

was used almost automatically:

'Wir haben 80 Personen zu Tisch, allerhand fremde Offiziere, komische Engländer, recht nette Russen und den ganzen Bund den Hund...'¹

Thirty years later Fontane, describing the meeting between Mr. Nelson and Leutnant Vogelsang, adds that Nelson:

'lachte dem ... Leutnant ziemlich ungeniert ins Gesicht, denn solche komische Person war ihm noch gar nicht vorgekommen. Daß er in seiner Art ebenso komisch wirkte, dieser Grad der Erkenntnis lag ihm fern.'²

The closely allied concept of the 'mad' Englishman was also one of long standing. Referring to his uncle's journey on the continent towards the end of the 18th century, August Lewald's Gentleman claims that the English had enjoyed much sympathy 'weil man uns samt und sonders für verrückt hielt'.³ And in Karl von Holtei's Die Vagabunden, which appeared in the same year, a native of Lucca exclaims: '... Man müßte sie nicht kennen, diese Engländer! Sie sind alle toll!'⁴ It seems

1. Bismarck, Briefe, 21.9.63.

2. Frau Jenny Treibel, p.315; cf. Lewald, Die Mappe, p.166.

3. Die Mappe, p.44; cf. ibid., pp.75 & 76.

4. Die Vagabunden, 3rd edition, Breslau, 1860, vol.2, p.203. The speaker is guessing at the identity of the hero, Anton: 'Ich halte ihn ... für einen Engländer, was sie einen Lord nennen'. The common practice of referring to the English on the continent as 'Lords' or 'Mylords' is reflected frequently in Louise v. François' Zu Füßen des Monarchen and, on at least two occasions, in P.Q.O.'s Sittenbuch der englischen Gesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1851 (pp.38 & 251). In Die schwarze Spinne Gotthelf writes: 'Tausende von Engländern rennen durch die Schweiz, aber weder einem der abgejagten Lords noch einer der steifbeinichten Ladies ist je ein solches Frühstück geworden.' (v. Werke, ed. W.Muschg, Bâle, 1948-53, vol.17, p.195.). In Drei Federn Raabe writes (I,6,96) of a couple who travel 'in ein vornehmes Bad.., wo sie die Bekanntschaft von Lords und Baronen gemacht haben'. ('P.Q.O.' was F.J.Grund. References below to his work are to the edition specified. The title is abbreviated to 'Sittenbuch'.)

that Raabe took over this convention as a matter of course. He does not expatiate on this characteristic English madness, but uses the term 'verrückter Engländer' in a way which smacks as much of habit as did Bismarck's use of a similar term quoted above. In his last complete novel, Hastenbeck,¹ the action of which takes place during the Seven Years' War, a porcelain painter suggests a motif to one of his colleagues, only to be told: '... das Service würde doch wohl nur ein verrückter Engländer kaufen.' And in an earlier work, Prinzessin Fisch,² a ne'er-do-well German-American exclaims: '... Jetzt aber halt mich meinetwegen für einen verrückten Engländer oder sonst was.' To behave eccentrically was to behave like an Englishman. When, therefore, the hero of Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen, Oswald Stein, finds Czika again and greets her enthusiastically, the tale is spread abroad that a 'verrückter Engländer, der des Weges gekommen, habe sich sofort in sie verliebt und es sei die allergrößte Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß besagter Engländer ... die Zigeunerin entführt habe.'³ Perhaps this commonly expressed view of the English was in part an echo of the gravedigger's opinion that it would not matter much if Hamlet did not recover his wits in England, since 'there the men are as mad as he' (Act 5, Scene 1). As will be seen below, Raabe knew Hamlet well.⁴

1. III,6,198.

2. II,6,375.

3. vol.2, p.40.

4. v. pp.420 et seq., below.

A second reference to the English in Die Leute aus dem Walde contains both a jibe at age-old Anglo-French tensions and an instance of that self-interest under the guise of piety at which the English were reputed to excel. The latter is a feature to which Raabe refers again later and with some bitterness.¹ The scene is San Francisco, where Hauptmann Faber is pointing out to the newly arrived Robert Wolf some of the more colourful characters whom he has come to know during his stay there:

'... das ist ein Untertan seiner kanakischen Majestät - ... der Schlingel wollte mir ... seine Tochter gegen meines Großvaters ... Taschenuhr verhandeln. Da ich nicht darauf einging, stahl er mir natürlich den Gegenstand seiner Wünsche; - heilloser Spektakel drum vor dem königlichen Tribunal in Honolulu - französische Intervention in Ermangelung der deutschen; britische Eifersucht auf Frankreich - Reverend Mr. Shambling nahm die Uhr und die schöne Kanakin dazu ...'²

The deluge of English tourists of all descriptions on the continent was something Raabe resented. In Abu Telfan Hagebucher speaks drily of the 'englisierten deutschen Rhein',³ and an entry made in one of Raabe's notebooks⁴ at the end of April 1865 (i.e. while he was in

1. v. p. 65 below.

2. I, 5, 365.

3. II, 1, 25.

4. Raabe's notebooks, of which there are seven, are in the hands of his heirs. Many of his aphorisms in the Jahrbuch der Raabe-Gesellschaft, Brunswick, 1960, pp. 94-139, and in the Gedanken und Einfälle, III, 6, 549-94, are taken from these notebooks. (The title of the former is abbreviated below to 'Jahrbuch, 1960'.) References below to 'Notebook copies' are to typed copies in the possession of the department of German at the Technische Hochschule in Brunswick. These include sayings and observations which are neither in the Jahrbuch, 1960, nor in the Gedanken und Einfälle.

Stuttgart, working on this novel) expresses this resentment still more clearly:

'Es war ein gut Wandern und Schifften an und auf dem Rhein, ehe ihn die englischen Schuster und Schneider und die Kellner erobert hatten.'¹

Later in Abu Telfan he returns to this theme with a disgruntled reference to the architectonic effects of foreign influence:

'... die russischen und englischen zarten und zärtlichen Verbindungen, welche ... die landschaftlichen Reize des Vaterlandes sehr vermehren, indem sie griechisch-moskowitzische Kapellen ... sowie herrschaftliche Landsitze im englisch-normannischen Stil an Stellen aufschießen lassen, von wo aus sie den besten Eindruck auf die Bewohner des angestammten Staates und die denselben mit dem Bahnzug passierenden Fremden machen.'

Yet it was some years before he really gave vent to the sourness which the presence of English visitors in his country induced in him. In Abu Telfan itself his comments are confined in the main to Hagebucher's description of the Drawboddys and to Kornelius van der Mook's letter from London - the latter being the only occasion in Raabe's writings on which a vital part of the action is set in England, and thus the only opportunity that Raabe allowed himself of showing the Englishman at home. In this way he tacitly acknowledged at least some of the limitations of the untravelled man.² The outlandish garb of the

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1. Notebook copies, 29.4.65; cf. Sittenbuch, p.261: 'Was man auf dem Continente von englischen Handwerkern und Krämern trifft, ist gewöhnlich das liederlichste und verworfenste Gesindel, das man irgendwo zu sehen bekommt'; also Pückler-Muskau, Briefe eines Verstorbenen, Stuttgart, 1836-37, part 3, pp.117-18: '.. bis zufällig ein wirklich angesehener Engländer in den Ort kommt, und man nun .. erfährt, daß man nur einem Fähndrich auf half pay oder gar einem reichen Schneider oder Schuster so viel Ehre erwiesen hat'. (References below to the Briefe eines Verstorbenen are to the edition specified, which is a corrected reprint of the 1831 edition.)
 2. cf. Lewald, Die Mappe, p.44: '.. daß nur wenige sich berufen fühlten, England durch eigene Anschauung kennen zu lernen'.

Drawboddys makes their appearance ridiculous. It is interesting to note here the humorous significance attached to yellow garments, particularly when the said garments are of flannel. Mr. Drawboddy is 'ganz in gelbem Flanell' and his wife appears 'in weiten roten türkischen Hosen, einer weiten gelblichen Flanelltunika und mit einer blauen Drahtbrille auf einer Kamelstute'.¹ Similarly, Sir Hugh Slidderly appears amid the confusion in the village of Hohenstaufen wearing 'ein gelbliches Sommerkostüm'.² Attention is drawn to such details in other 19th century German novels: Mr. Nelson (in Fontane's Frau Jenny Treibel)³ is dressed 'reisemäßig in einem gelb- und braunquadrierten Anzuge'; Miss Ethel Jones (in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied),⁴ who, though 'etwas corpulent', is described as 'wacker', 'energisch', 'muthig und klug',⁵ and who is therefore not entirely a figure of fun, is faintly grotesque when she adopts Mrs. Drawboddy's colour scheme and carries 'über einen gelben Strohhut mit ungemein breitem Rande einen rothseidenen Regenschirm von den allergrößten Dimensionen';⁶ and Adelheid (in Fontane's Der Stechlin)⁷ implies that the wearing of flannel marked the Englishman: '... an dem Tische neben

1. II,1,87.

2. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,386. He also has a 'gelblich Gesicht' (II,2,294).

3. p.313.

4. Leipzig, 1901 (vol.2) & 1902 (vol.1). References below to In Reih' und Glied are to this edition.

5. vol.1, pp.108, 66, 108 & 209 respectively.

6. vol.2, p.202.

7. v. Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1919, vol.5, p.331. (References below to Der Stechlin are to this edition.)

mir saß ein Herr und eine Dame, wenn es überhaupt eine Dame war. Aber Engländer waren es. Er steckte ganz in Flanell und hatte die Beinkleider umgekrempt.' The Drawboddys' behaviour reveals one or two traits which Raabe apparently considered to be typically English. Hagebucher, after years as a slave of Madame Kulla Gulla in the wilds of Africa, is in a state of extreme physical and spiritual exhaustion when he is discovered and delivered by van der Mook's party. Lavinia Drawboddy, who like Miss Eddish keeps a diary, registers her fastidious reactions to the ill-used wretch with the words 'Law, bless me, what a horror!'¹ Her husband, who had previously been observed 'in tiefsinniger Betrachtung des Gorillas' which was being roasted on a spit, regards the prostrate Hagebucher with a similar clinical curiosity: he 'ging dreimal um mich herum', Hagebucher recalls, 'und sagte: "Wonderful, wonderful!"'.² Augustus Montague Drawboddy is a man with a highly developed sense of commercial values³ 'der mehr als mich in seinem Leben taxiert hatte'. He estimates the unfortunate

1. II, 1, 88.

2. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*

3. British business acumen, commercial prowess, and greed for material gain are reflected in not a few novels by other 19th century German or Austrian writers: e.g. Charles Sealsfield, Das Cajütenbuch, Stuttgart, 1846, part 2, pp.197-98; Spielhagen, Prob.Nat., vol.1, pp.190-91; & Fontane, Der Stechlin, p.263. (Reference is made below to three of Sealsfield's novels: Morton oder die große Tour, Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator, & Das Cajütenbuch. The relevant editions are those in Gesammelte Werke, Stuttgart, 1843-46. The title of the first novel (vols.7 & 8) is abbreviated to Morton, that of the second (vol.13) to Nathan. Das Cajütenbuch is in vols.14 & 15 of the collection.)

German's value at 'sechs Schnüre böhmischer Glasperlen, zwei königlich großbritannische ausrangierte Perkussionsmusketen, drei Solinger Faschinenmesser, zwölf Pfund Tabak und sechs Flaschen Rum'. His wife's unpractical¹ piety is evident from her suggestion that a copy of The Pilgrim's Progress be offered in addition to the above-mentioned articles. When Madame Kulla Gulla proves obdurate, the unfeeling couple are quite prepared to go about their business and leave Hagebucher to his fate.² (That Raabe thought of the English in general as practical people can be seen from a letter he wrote in 1891 to the 'Geschäftsstelle des Ehrenkomité's der deutschen Industrie-, Kunst- und Kunst-Gewerbe-Ausstellung in London'. Like the Drawboddys, the English would shrug their shoulders at the committee's plans:

'... weiß gar nicht, wie ich meine literarische Laufbahn ... durch eine Photographie, eine Namensunterschrift und dreihundert Druckzeilen einem fremden Volke verständlich auf den Markt bringen könnte. ... Wäre es mir gegeben... etwas zu schreiben, was ... den beiden Basen Germania und Britannia zu einem noch herzlicheren Verständnis für einander verhülfe, so würden Sie ... das Blatt bald genug im Hause haben: aber in Prosa gelingt etwas Neues und Würdiges nicht so leicht. ... Mit einem "schon gedruckten Stück" ... wäre aber weder Ihnen noch den Herren Engländern gedient. Die letzteren hätten wahrlich das Recht, solches quite a german idea zu nennen, die Achseln zu zucken, und als praktische Leute wieder einmal an Jenen zu erinnern, der sein Haus verkaufen wollte und einen Ziegelstein davon als Probe herumtrug'.)³

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1. It was a not uncommon view that the English were 'praktische, auf das Reale gerichtete Menschen' (Goethe to Eckermann, 14.4.1824); cf. II, 2, 395, Miss Eddish's practical arguments in an emergency.
 2. II, 1, 88.
 3. A comprehensive collection of Raabe's letters, ed. W. Fehse, appeared under the title In Alls gedultig, Berlin, 1940. References below to this collection take the form of an abbreviated date (i.e. that borne by the relevant letter), preceded by 'In alls gedultig'. The letter quoted above is from this collection and bears the date 3.4.91.

The Drawboddys and, later, Miss Eddish and Sir Hugh Sliddery, call to mind an observation which Raabe recorded several years after he had completed Christoph Pechlin:¹ 'Im Grunde genommen besteht nicht weniger als die Menschheit auch ein Volk aus einem Mann und einer Frau'. A reference to the Drawboddys as 'Altengland',² however ironical, indicates that they are not so much individuals as types, and therefore that their behaviour is typical. Moreover, variations of the several characteristics displayed by the Drawboddys in this brief scene are to be observed subsequently in the persons of Miss Eddish and Sir Hugh.

In van der Mook's letter at the end of Abu Telfan,³ in which he gives an account of his search for the fugitive von Glimmern and his pursuer, Leutnant Kind, we are first introduced to the shadowy character of Mr. Robinson,⁴ whom van der Mook meets in Paris before embarking for England. He is an old acquaintance of van der Mook 'der wie ich allmählich ein solider Mann geworden ist und sich redlich von seiner Frau ernähren läßt'. Despite his unhappy mission, the letter-writer records with gratitude (tempered by an amused and gentle irony) the friendly co-operation of the London police. He remembers them from earlier dealings with them and assures Hagebucher, to whom the letter is addressed, that they are 'liebe Leute'. Possibly even

1. v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.113.

2. II,1,88.

3. II,1,390-96.

4. He is not necessarily a typical Englishman, unlike Mr. Robinson in Fontane's Der Stechlin (pp.162-63 & 168-69), although Raabe equates the name with those of 'Doktor Schmidt .. Mr.Legrand .. und .. Miß Miller' in Der Dräumling (II,3,215).

in those days the virtues of the English police were gaining the recognition which has long been readily accorded them by foreign visitors.¹ Of the few characters in Raabe's writings whose impressions of England are indicated in any way, van der Mook gives not only the most detailed but also the most favourable picture.

(In Gutmans Reisen Raabe makes the brief but telling observation that Vater Gutmann 'Fr ankreich genossen, England studiert, New York sich angesehen hatte!';² and in Horacker Windweibel's comment on the time he spent 'als Drawingmaster in einem Erziehungsinstitut in Leeds' suggests that he remembered the episode with definite distaste: 'Das Vergnügen hätten Sie mal kennenlernen sollen!'³) Helping van der Mook in his quest is one Inspector Cuddler, who is described as 'ruhig' and 'schweigsam', and who dons his gloves in a manner termed 'bedächtig'. The unruffled calm of the Englishman under all circumstances was viewed with a mixture of amusement, admiration and annoyance by foreign observers; for many Germans the epithet 'ruhig' was an intrinsic part of any characterisation of the English.⁴

(Miss Eddish is described as cool, calm and collected - 'ruhig, kühl

1. v. Kladderadatsch in London, Berlin, 1851, p.50.

2. III,4,255.

3. II,1,444.

4. v. Sittenbuch, p.152; Kohl, part 1, pp.117-19; & Muncker, p.57.

und gefaßt,¹ - even though she is later shown to be capable of almost hysterical rage.²) The behaviour of Mr. Thomas Giblets, described by van der Mook in his letter, is an amusing instance of English unconcern:

'Um elf Uhr hörte Mr. Thomas Giblets ... den Gentleman nebenan heimkehren, doch nicht allein, und nach einer Weile wurde seine ... Aufmerksamkeit durch einen heftigen Wortwechsel erregt, welchem er, wie er sagte, im Anfange mit Behagen hinter seinem Economist horchte. ... es trug - wie er meinte - zu seinem augenblicklichen Komfort bei, daß andere Leute ebenfalls allerlei verdrießliche Geschäfte abzuwickeln hatten, und er fand - wie er zu Protokoll gab - die Sache erst dann etwas extraordinary, als ... plötzlich ... zwei Pistolenschüsse fielen.'

It seems, too, that the reaction of the priest from the City Mission, who describes the ugly scene as 'tragically refreshing',³ impresses van der Mook as uncannily tranquil, though he concedes that the squalid scenes to which the priest is accustomed entitle him to speak with some authority on the mysteries of death.

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1. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,458. The author of the Sittenbuch, p.145, in a eulogy on the beauty of English women, writes of his amazement at seeing 'Lord W-le .. zwischen drei solchen englischen Grazien .. sitzend, sich ebenso ruhig verhalten, als ob er im Parlament einer langen .. Abhandlung von Joseph Hume zugehört hätte'. This is reminiscent of one of the rare scenes in which we find Sir Hugh Slidery in anything other than a state of agitation - namely at the turbulent village wedding festivities, shortly before they degenerate into fury and fisticuffs: 'Da saß er ganz behaglich zwischen dem Brautvater und dem Küster, ließ den deutschen Walzer mit unbewegter Miene an sich vorübertosen, sah stier, stumm und ein wenig dumm außerdem in den Wirbel der schwäbischen Fröhlichkeit...' (II,2,376-77).
 2. v.II,2,522, & cf. Sittenbuch, p.17: 'Nur ganz gewöhnliche Menschen lassen sich in England zum Affekt .. hinreißen'. Englishwomen, we are told later (ibid., p.81) 'besitzen gewöhnlich jene liebenswürdige Eigenschaft, die man in England good temper heißt'.
 3. This is reminiscent of a passage in Byron's Don Juan (Canto 8, stanza 90), a work with which Raabe was familiar by this time (v. pp.258 et seq, below).

In Louise von François' Zu Füßen des Monarchen¹ it is said that, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, most of the foreign visitors to the valley of Chamonix had fled:

'Nur ein paar englische Herren blieben seelenruhig darin sitzen und einer von ihnen ließ sich sogar nicht abschrecken, die einmal vorgenommene große Tour um die Montblanc-Kette herum ... zu unternehmen.'

And it may be remembered how Wilhelm Busch, an almost exact contemporary of Raabe, describes Mister Pief after his misadventure: 'Ohne Perspektiv und Hut / Steigt er ruhig aus der Flut'.² The imperturbability of Inspector Cuddler,³ and the general reserve which accompanies such an apparent lack of temperament, could already be discerned in the undemonstrative behaviour of Mr. Drawboddy and later reappeared in Christoph Pechlin. The word 'bedächtig' Raabe uses on one other occasion in connection with the English - in his historical tale Sankt Thomas. Here Scottish and English characteristics are implicitly compared:

'Mit wildem Ungestüm warfen sich die Schotten ... auf den Feind, mit bedächtiger Tapferkeit folgten die Engländer'.⁴

1. p.229.

2. Plisch und Plum, 3rd edition, Munich, 1882, p.59.

3. At the end of a day's searching, van der Mook and Cuddler (II,1,392) 'nehmen mit einem Händedruck Abschied voneinander', to meet again the following morning. Excessive handshaking in England had given rise to some comment among 19th century German observers: v. Pückler-Muskau, Briefe eines Verstorbenen, part 2, pp.204-05, & Kohl, part 1, p.157, and part 2, p.19.

4. I,6,298.

In a novel which Raabe wrote before Christoph Pechlin we find in George Knackstert, and through him, very briefly, in Miss Bilha Baldgable, two further figures who reflect something of Raabe's conception of the English. Knackstert is a young German businessman from Hamburg whose slightly anglophile leanings, while they are not in any way stressed, go to form part of the picture of an unpleasant and unwelcome visitor whose final departure brings relief to all those with whom the reader sympathizes. The criticism implied rather than stated in the figure of Knackstert is directed primarily at Raabe's own compatriots, as were most of his comments on the German penchant for things foreign. Raabe was a convinced patriot, and his feelings on this particular point were intensified by the difficulties which this national weakness had caused him in his chosen profession.¹ It was not unnatural, however, that some of his wrath should also fall on the objects of German emulation.

Knackstert leaves the scene of Der Dräumling in high dudgeon:²

'Unter den Klängen von "Wir winden dir den Jungfernkranz" verschwand der hinten auf den Wagen gebundene englische Reisekoffer.'

That the trunk should be of English manufacture is not necessarily

1. v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.127: 'Die Deutschen wollen von dem, was sie selbst haben nichts wissen. So habe ich einen schweren Kampf durch mein ganzes schriftstellerisches Leben hindurch führen müssen - gegen Frankreich selbstverständlich - gegen Kalifornien, gegen Norwegen, Rußland usw. usw. - gegen alles, was dem deutschen Volke weit her, also desto sympatischer ist'. Raabe's attitudes and reactions to his readers and critics are discussed by K.Heim in Wilhelm Raabe und das Publikum, (unpublished thesis) Tübingen, 1953.

2. II,3,210.

(It is interesting to note that the writer does not mention England here. In this connection, however, v. p. 337 below.)

significant. Kriegszahlmeister Tieffenbacher, in Prinzessin Fisch, has 'ein neues, wundervolles Mikroskop, das er von London verschrieben hatte',¹ but he would doubtless have ordered it from elsewhere if necessary. Baron Ripppen, in Christoph Pechlin, has suffered too much under the régime of Miss Eddish to feel very kindly disposed towards her land of origin, and he is obeying the dictates of fashion and quality rather than of a personal anglophilia when he appears 'in einem allermodernsten Frühlingskostüm von englischem Schnitt und Material'.² At the same time, in view of what we already know of Knackstert, some slight symbolical meaning may well be attached to this last visible sign of him. (The love of English customs and manners was deep-rooted in Hamburg, a love effectively ridiculed by Fontane in Frau Jenny Treibel. The Hamburg sisters Hildegard and Helene are almost repulsive in their anglomania:

'... Wenn sie so herankam und die Tante Hildegard mit einem Knix begrüßte, flüsterte diese der Schwester zu: "quite

1. II,6,430.

2. II,2,252; cf. Sittenbuch, pp.4 & 94.

english, Helen", und man lächelte sich dann glücklich an.'¹⁾

That Knackstert should be called George rather than Georg is also vaguely suspect.² But his decision to refresh his acquaintance with Miss Bilha Baldgable, with a view to matrimony, and his short soliloquy in what might pass as English, are sure signs that the villain of the piece is infected with alien sympathies. Miss Baldgable, it seems, is a very proper person, and it is this sense of propriety (a sense which proves to be one of Miss Eddish's characteristic features) which persuades Knackstert to think of her as 'that most reasonable girl'. He is quite convinced 'daß sie weder bei einem Shakespeare-- noch bei einem Schiller-Jubiläum wie Fräulein Wulfhilde Mühlenhoff mit ihrer Person sich in den Vordergrund stellen werde.'³

1. p.477; v.also *ibid.*, pp.301, 365, 386, 389, 391, 394-95, 404, 415-16, & 430. Anglomania of various kinds is also reflected in: Lewald, Die Mappe p.86; Gustav Freytag, Soll und Haben, Leipzig, 1878, vol.1, pp. 9, 65, 154, & 182; Maria Nathusius, Elisabeth, 5th edition, Halle, 1860, vol.1, p.58; Spielhagen, In Reih' und Glied, vol.2, p.230; Fontane, Der Stechlin, pp.77 & 118; and the anonymous Enthüllung des englischen Schwindel-Handels, Leipzig, 1853, p.VII; cf. also Baron Ripppen's rueful account to Christoph Pechlin (II,2,263): 'Wir trieben Englisch mit Miß Christabel, denn wir sind überhaupt sehr literarisch und ästhetisch gebildet'. (References below to Soll und Haben, Elisabeth, and the Enthüllung des englischen Schwindel-Handels are to the editions specified. The title of the last named work is abbreviated to 'Enthüllung'.) An awareness that the English themselves regarded English things and people as superior was perhaps also widespread: v.Kohl, part 1, p.156, & Das Englische Gesicht. England in Kultur, Wirtschaft und Geschichte, Berlin & Vienna, 1915, p.156. (References below to the latter work are to the edition specified. The title is abbreviated to 'Das Englische Gesicht'.)
2. Fehse, Raabe, pp.378-79, interprets the name and character as a jibe at George Westermann, one of Raabe's publishers.
3. II,3,180.

We learn no more of her. She, like her English predecessors in Raabe's writings, is rather absurd. Whether her name underlined this absurdity in the mind of the German reader is arguable: for Raabe, however, whose knowledge of our language and literature was considerable, the name must have had a comic connotation.

True to type, Miss Christabel Eddish is fair of hair and complexion, and Raabe even admits to her being pretty, though this is the only concession he makes to the then prevailing belief in the beauty of English womanhood.¹ She is not thin enough to be called thin, yet rather too thin to deserve the term 'slim': with a chivalry completely nullified by the preceding remarks, the author writes '... nennen wir sie also schlank'.² Any doubts which may remain as to Miss Eddish's physique are dispelled when the news is brought that 'd'Dürre liggt in Krämpf'.³ Leanness was a common physical

1. v.Hahn-Hahn, Ilda Schönholm, p.171; Bismarck, Briefe, 17.8.49 & 14.7.62; Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.3, p.193; Spielhagen, Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.190, & In Reih' und Glied, vol.2, p.129; and Fontane, Der Stechlin, pp.259, 275-76, & 280; v. also Hackländer, Europäisches Sklavenleben, 3rd edition, Stuttgart, 1875, vol.4, p.105. (References below to Hackländer's novel are to this edition, which comprises vols.16-20 of Werke, Stuttgart, 1866-76.) In Der grüne Heinrich, part 2, chap.2 (i.e. vol.1, p.236), Keller cautiously compares Anna's beauty to that of a young Englishwoman 'aus den neunziger Jahren'. Fair, like Miss Eddish (II,2,291 & 440), and probably more attractive, is Madame Vlämert, an Englishwoman in Holtei's Die Vagabunden, ed.cit. vol.2, p.105 et seq. The author of the Enthüllung, p.31, and the author of a similar work advertised in the edition in question (p.141) do not seem to share the view of their contemporaries.

2. II,2,291.

3. II,2,380; cf. Das Englische Gesicht, p.24.

characteristic among English people in German novels. Schücking's explorer, it will be remembered, was 'hager';¹ Fontane describes the coachman in Der Stechlin, Mr. Robinson, as 'ein typischer Engländer ... , hager, sehnig';² and Gutzkow writes in praise of two whippets,³ Biche and Alkmene, that they are 'schlank wie die schönsten englischen Misses'.⁴

Sir Hugh Sliddery is a colourful figure: among his striking features are a forest of fiery red hair and a 'brennend roter Backenbart'.⁵ In his Reiseschule für Touristen und Curgäste, which appeared in 1869 and which Raabe bought on May 9th of that year, Arthur Michelis puts the following words into the mouth of a Belgian: '... auch ich meide diese Herren mit feuerrothen Backenbärten ... so viel ich kann'.⁶ Another of Sir Hugh's distinctive physical features is 'eine Reihe sehr gelber Oberzähne'.⁷ We are reminded of Bemperlein's

1. v. p. 13 above.

2. p.162.

3. cf. Fontane, Quitt (in Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1905, vol.6), p.206: One of the Mennonite Missionaries 'mit einem feinen Windhundkopf, war ersichtlich ein Engländer'. (References below to Quitt are to this edition.)

4. Ritter, vol.3, p.351.

5. II,2,294.

6. Leipzig, 1869, p.203. Michelis continues (p.204): 'Entweder sind sie aus den ungebildeten Classen, Schneider, Schuster, Metzger, Bäcker .., oder geldstolze Patricier und schroff abgeschlassene Aristokraten..' (cf. p.17, note 1, above). References below to Michelis' work are to the edition specified. The title is abbreviated to 'Reiseschule'.

7. loc.cit.; cf. Das Englische Gesicht, p.25.

dream in which certain gentlemen, long of leg and tooth, are presumed to be Englishmen.¹ Sir Hugh's 'blendend weißer Hemdkragen' also gives rise to comment. Writing from London twenty years earlier, Baron von Strudelwitz assures Baron von Prudelwitz: '... Und reines Hemde ist hier Hauptsache mein lieber Baron, auf meiner Ehre!'² And twenty years after the publication of Christoph Pechlin Fontane stresses the startling cleanliness of Mr. Nelson's shirtcuffs, notwithstanding the young man's otherwise unkempt appearance.³

In his precipitate flight from the Bavaria monument Sir Hugh loses 'einen braunroten Murray'.⁴ The guide-book marked the visitor. For the German, according to Schücking, it was the black vade-mecum of Professor Förster:

'... jeder Deutsche, der diesen schwarzen Professor unter meinem Arm sieht, glaubt Ansprüche auf meine Landsmannschaft machen zu können!'⁵

The Englishman also carried a guide-book, as can be seen from Carl Spitzweg's delightful picture entitled Gedanken sind zollfrei!, in which 'ein ächter Sohn Albions' is seen awaiting the completion of a customs examination 'seinen companion for travelers in der Hand'.⁶ This was usually Murray. Michelis says of Murray⁷ that he had the

1. v. p. 11 above.

2. Kladderadatsch in London, ed.cit., p.18.

3. Frau Jenny Treibel, pp.312-13.

4. II,2,295.

5. Verschlungene Wege, ed.cit., vol.3, p.106.

6. Die Spitzweg-Mappe. Hervorragende Gemälde des Meisters in Kupferdruck-Reproduktion, ed. E.Spitzweg, Munich, 1887, preface. Like Mister Pief (v. p.24 above) Spitzweg's Englishman is tall, thin, aloofly distraught, and designated by a deerstalker.

7. Reiseschule, pp.8-9; v.also ibid., p.203.

satisfaction of seeing 'einen seiner dunkelrothen Bände unter dem Arm fast jedes Briten ..., der auf dem Continent einen Wagen bestieg.' This is confirmed by Fanny Lewald who, writing of the English in Italy, observes: 'Überall stehen sie da, ... den in rothen Moor gebundenen Murray in Händen, nach dem sie pflicht¹ treu besehen, loben und urteilen.'

Sir Hugh was also dependent upon his copy of Murray, as he himself felt keenly when he climbed the Staufenberg:

'Er hatte sich ungemein gewundert, so wenige, das heißt gar keine Überreste der einstigen weltdurchleuchtenden Herrlichkeit vorzufinden auf der Höhe, und somit von neuem Grund gehabt, den ... Verlust ... seines Murray zu bedauern.'²

Once again we are reminded of Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, in which the unintelligent sightseeing of a young Englishman in Rome is instanced: 'der ... erzählte: daß er doch heute sechs Kirchen und zwei Galerien beiseite gebracht habe.'³ Sir Hugh's sightseeing is equally super-

1. Italienisches Bilderbuch, Berlin, 1847, part 1, p.242.
2. II,2,375-76. Miss Eddish also has a copy of Murray (II,2,439), and Hagebucher (Abu Telfan, II,1,25) mentions 'das rote Reisehandbuch' in a clear allusion to the English who visit the Rhine area.
3. Book 6 (ed.cit., p.438). In this connection v. Muncker, pp.53-54, and cf. Sittenbuch, p.281. In the second version of Ein Frühling (v. Deutsche Romanzeitung, Berlin, 1871, column 881) Raabe mentions 'die Kuppel ... des Doms von Sankt Peter, den .. ein Engländer, nämlich der Baumeister der Sankt Pauls-Kirche, gerne auf den Abbruch gekauft hätte'. Whether, as one critic claims (i.e. H.Madl, Wilhelm Raabes politische Anschauungen in ihrer Entwicklung, (unpublished thesis) Vienna, 1935, p.132), this was intended as a jibe at the 'Sammel- und Geschäftsgeist der Engländer', or whether the writer wished to illustrate the Englishman's lack of culture, is open to question.

ficial: 'er ... war ... auf den Gipfel des Burgberges gestiegen und sofort wieder hinunter.'¹ And while the confusion of the names Hohenstaufen and Hohenzollern was not necessarily common among his compatriots (Schücking tells of an Englishwoman who has not only discovered 'daß in einem kleinen Felsenest im Gebirge ... der letzte Hohenstaufen als Tagelöhner lebe', but who has also 'den letzten Hohenstaufen mit einem portativen photographischen Apparat selbst abporträtirt'.)² Sir Hugh's inability to distinguish between the two is possibly symptomatic of an ignorance of foreign history and affairs which was considered common among the English.³ In Die Ritter vom Geiste, Olga writes to Rudhard about the English people she met in Rome: '... sie wissen nur über England und seine Staatsverfassung ... zu sprechen';⁴ and in 1862, after a visit to London, Bismarck's

1. loc.cit.

2. Verschlungene Wege, ed.cit., vol.3, pp.157-58. The Englishwoman apparently 'wollte eine Subscription für ihn eröffnen'.

3. Sir Hugh is a product of Eton, from which institution he has retained 'einige dunkle, historische Erinnerungen an den Glanz des hohenstaufischen Kaiserhauses (das er aber .. hartnäckig mit dem hohenzollernschen Königsgeschlechte verwechselte!)'. This need not mean that Raabe shared entirely the views of a J.C.Fabricius on Eton, Westminster, and the 'intellectual insularity of the English' (v. Robson-Scott, p.150). He refers, it is true, to Sir John Lubbock as 'dem unbelesenen Engländer' (Gutmanns Reisen, III,4,231), but does not generalize. In this connection v. Kohl, part 3, p.217, & Das Englische Gesicht, p.55.

4. vol.3, p.322; cf. Georg Weerth, Englische Reisen, ed.cit., pp.33-34.

impression was that 'über Preußen wissen die englischen Minister weniger wie über Japan und die Mongolei, und klüger wie unsre sind sie auch nicht'.¹ Of soldiers Hume had long since asserted that 'as they use more the labour of the body than that of the mind, they are commonly thoughtless and ignorant.'² But the more positive martial qualities which Hume mentions are not shared by Sir Hugh - although it cannot be said that Raabe considered him typical in this respect. He thought tolerably well of the English military, as comments in his historical tales and novels show. Sir Hugh, however, whom an attack of the colic had prevented from being at the front during the battle of Inkerman,³ cuts a sorry figure during the brawl in the village of Hohenstaufen. While he claims to have repaid his assailants in kind, his bearing leaves much to be desired. Pechlin's calm amidst the chaos (illustrated to some extent by the words used to indicate his manner of speech: 'sprach Pechle', 'sagte Pechle', 'rief Pechlin', 'fragte Pechlin') forms a marked contrast with the agitation of the mishandled captain ('keuchte der neue Bekannte unseres Freundes', 'winselte er', 'krächzte der Engländer'). His reaction to the offer of emergency accommodation ('... ouich uill, ouich muß uab ein Privatappartement')⁴ betrays that much renowned English love

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1. Bismarck, Briefe, 5.7.62; cf. Fontane, Frau Jenny Treibel, pp.307-08 & 327-29.
 2. Raabe acquired a copy of Essays and Treatises on several subjects, Basil, 1793, on 10.11.1899. The words quoted are in the essay 'Of National Characters', vol.1, pp.216-17.
 3. II,2,366.
 4. II,2,386-90.

of comfort which Immermann, among others, had satirized so wryly:

'Um Gotteswillen, Mylord, habt ihr mich darum gerettet, um mich in dieser Einöde dem Hunger, dem Durst, den wilden Thieren preiszugeben? rief ich. Bei der Gnade des Himmels! nehmt mich auf der Kruppe Eures Pferdes mit. You would deprive me of my comfort, versetzte der großmüthige Engländer kalt und ritt wirklich fort.'¹

But although it has been maintained that the English 'wissen sich ... all ihren "Comfort" auch im Auslande zu schaffen',² neither Sir Hugh nor Miss Eddish is successful in this when stranded in the Swabian outback. Miss Eddish brings her 'comfort' with her in the shape of a Birmingham tea-machine, but the local inn-keeper forbids its use. His attitude³ is reminiscent of that of the Rhenish hôte-lier in Michelis' Reiseschule, who complains:⁴

'Mein Geschäftsgrundsatz ist: keine Engländer aufnehmen. .. Kein anderes menschliches Wesen macht so viele, mannigfaltige, unbillige Ansprüche, ist so halsstarrig in seinen Eigenheiten und Wunderlichkeiten.'

Sir Hugh is never directly accused of arrogance, since Elizabethan times a recognized characteristic of the English.⁵ He is nevertheless guilty of one supremely arrogant remark, which induces the hero of the tale, a rough diamond, to refer to him as an 'unverschämter Esel!'

1. Münchhausen, ed.cit., Book 3, chap.9, pp.65-66.

2. Lewald, op.cit., part 1, p.246; cf. August Lewald, Die Mappe, pp.240-41.

3. II,2,356-57. He declares it to be 'eine infame fremdländische Eigentümlichkeit'.

4. p.205.

5. v. Robson-Scott, p.122, & cf. the use of the word 'stolz' in connection with Britain and the British in Georg Weerth's Englische Reisen, ed. cit., pp.75 & 84; in Spielhagen's Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.191, & vol.2, p.282; and in Raabe's poem 'Des Königs Ritt' (III,6,405-07).

Pechlin offers to introduce Sir Hugh to his friends, 'lauter schöne Leute, sehr schöne Damen und ... Baron Ripppen aus Dresden':

"Sehr schöne Damen? Ueinen Baron?"

"Yes! ... Einen lebendigen deutschen Baron ..."

"A - h! Ualso uendlich uein uanständiger Mensch!" rief Sir Hugh...¹

The exclusiveness of the English, and particularly of English officers on half pay on the continent, had caught the attention of "P.Q.O.", the author of the Sittenbuch der englischen Gesellschaft, many years before. His comments illustrate just how typical Sir Hugh's reaction in the above situation was. These officers will mix

'mit i h r e s G l e i c h e n ... keineswegs aber mit emporgekommenen Schnurrbärten auf dem Continent ... Nur wenn letztere Barone, Grafen, Fürsten und dergleichen sind, lassen sich die Engländer eine derlei Brüderschaft gefallen.'²

↓

The strange German spoken by Sir Hugh reflects not only Raabe's own limitations but also those of the Englishman in attaining proficiency in a foreign tongue. This weakness has been attributed both to a fault inherent in the English language and to a congenital inadequacy in the English themselves. 'Niemand ist so wenig fähig, fremde Sprachen zu lernen wie der Engländer, niemand gibt sich so wenig Mühe, es zu tun, wie er.'³ This sums up, with a bluntness attributable to a strongly anti-English context, a fairly general opinion among Raabe's contemporaries. Whether Raabe felt as strongly on these matters as his Stuttgart acquaintance F. Th. Vischer is

1. II, 2, 390.

2. p. 251.

3. Das Englische Gesicht, p. 55; v. also *ibid.*, p. 17.

uncertain. In Auch Einer, Vischer writes that Cordelia spoke Italian 'nicht völlig rein; der Vokal a nahm eine Färbung gegen ae an, aber ... weit entfernt von der Quetschung, die dieser reine Laut in der englischen Aussprache erfahren muß'.¹ And he later maintains: 'In der lächerlichsten aller Kultursprachen hat Shakespeare geschrieben'.² A similar attitude to the English language is reflected in Holtei's Die Vagabunden:

'Eine Menge von Buchstaben klingen ganz anders, wie sie geschrieben werden; derer nicht zu gedenken, die man im Munde behalten, mit der Zunge zerdrücken und halb hinunterwürgen soll wie reife Erdbeeren; halb wieder herausgeben wie Kirschkerne.'³

Miss Eddish's German is reasonably accurate and there is no indication of any oddity in her pronunciation. The mouthings of Sir Hugh are evidently intended as a burlesque of German as spoken by an Englishman. Perhaps English itself sounded equally odd to Raabe. He would probably have sympathized with Anton Wohlfahrt in Soll und Haben,⁴ for whom the learning of English involved pronouncing 'das A und andere ehrliche Buchstaben auf jede Weise ..., welche dem Menschen möglich ist, wenn er einen Buchstaben anders ausspricht, als sich mit der Natur und dem Charakter desselben verträgt'.

1. vol.1, p.61; cf. Bismarck, Briefe 27.5.51; Sittenbuch, p.161; & Kohl, part 1, p.194.

2. Auch Einer, vol.2, p.185; cf. *ibid.*, vol.1, pp.55 & 62.

3. *ed.cit.*, vol.2, p.110.

4. vol.1, p.9.

Miss Eddish is a prude,¹ and her prudery - in view of her far from blameless past - is, tacitly at least, condemned as hypocritical.

Pechlin is carried away by his enthusiasm for his native Swabia:

'O gnädiges Fräulein, wenn Sie jetzt drunten im Tal stünden so würde ich sagen: Fräulein, Sie stehen mitten im Nabel der Welt! Hier auf der Höhe kann ich, um nicht aus dem Bilde herauszufallen, nur bemerken, daß Sie sich unbedingt auf seinem Rande befinden.'

The metaphor is too much for Miss Eddish, who blushes furiously:

'... um sofort um so bleicher werden zu können. ... Oh - Miß Christabel Eddish hatte noch niemals in der Mitte eines Nabels oder an dem Rande eines solchen gestanden. Es war abscheulich, shocking, zu abscheulich! Man konnte sich fest vorgenommen haben, vieles der Seelen- und Völkerkunde wegen zu ertragen; aber dieses ging doch über das Duldungsvermögen reinlicher Weiblichkeit hinaus!'²

This is not the only manifestation of her exaggerated sense of propriety.

1. cf. Pückler-Muskau's reference (Briefe eines Verstorbenen, part 1, p.164) to a 'prude Engländerin', in a context which implies that the adjective is very generally applicable. Heinrich Laube (v. Muncker, p.40) had come to the conclusion that, despite many sterling qualities, the English remained a 'prüdes Krämervolk'.
2. II,2,336-37; cf. Kohl, part 2, p.16: '.. wenn ein Engländer seine große "continental tour" .. antritt, so macht er sich darauf gefaßt, so viele in seinem Lande unerhörte continentale Dinge zu schauen, als nur möglich'. The incident described by Raabe is reminiscent of that in Martin Chuzzlewit, chap.22 (v. The Works of Charles Dickens, National Edition, vol.14, London, 1907, p.453), where Mrs. Hominy is almost overwhelmed by Martin's use of the expression 'with his naked eye'. The term 'Navel of the Earth' occurs in Bulwer Lytton's Ernest Maltravers (v. Novels of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Edinburgh & London, 1859-74: Novels of Life and Manners, vols.8-11) part 2, book 6, chap.5 (i.e. vol.11, p.51). As will be seen later (v. pp.330&345 below), Raabe knew both novels by this time. References below to Martin Chuzzlewit and Ernest Maltravers are to the editions specified.

She reacts sharply to Pechlin's hobby of playing on the Jew's harp ('Oh, that is horrible! ... that is indelicate! ...'¹) and she refuses to have an announcement of her engagement put 'in die Papers ... weil ich es fand undelikat.'² In the former instance the idyllic setting in which Miss Eddish and Pechlin find themselves effectively heightens the impact of her sudden outburst. Spielhagen creates a comparable anti-climax in Oldenburg's anecdote about his short-lived romance with Mary Brown:

'... wir saßen im Mondschein ... und blickten träumend über den stillen Fluß und leerten Tropfen um Tropfen den diamantgeränderten Becher der Liebe. ... Adalbert, sagte sie. - Was, Holde, sagte ich. - Adalbert, pray, dearest love, cut off your horrible beard - it's so vulgar.'³

The contrast between the sublime scene and the ridiculous request is also evidence of the undemonstrative nature of the English, which Raabe shows to be another of Miss Eddish's characteristics. Not until she is finally unmasked towards the end of the tale does she exhibit true emotion, although it was already clear, from her purposeful indignation at being refused admission to the chapel on the Rothemberg, that she was capable of it. August Lewald had maintained that the English are so

1. II, 2, 450.

2. II, 2, 455. In retrospect her refusal is understandable, although it is based on a sense not of delicacy but of diplomacy: publicity might lead to her fiancé's discovering her guilty secret (v. p. 77 below) and rejecting her.

3. Prob. Nat., vol. 1, pp. 190-91; cf. Sittenbuch, p. 272, & v. also the comparison in Ida Hahn-Hahn's Ilda Schönholm, p. 115, of national attitudes towards perfumes 'die in Deutschland und Frankreich das Zeichen der Eleganz, den Römerinnen aber verhaßt sind, und von den Engländerinnen für unanständig gehalten werden'.

enchanted by the beauties of nature that their natural reserve deserts them 'in einem solchen Augenblick ... und sie ergießen sich in Ausrufe, Vergleichen, Bemerkungen.'¹ Yet Miss Eddish, when confronted with a scene of great natural beauty which has evoked in her German companion, notwithstanding the attacks of myriads of midges, an almost rhapsodic mood, simply sighs: 'O yes, it is very fine, indeed!'²

This reserve, first encountered in the persons of Mr. Drawboddy and Inspector Cuddler, was a feature which appeared to some of Raabe's contemporaries as mere stiffness³, while to others it was a sign of indifference towards the people and things outside a purely personal sphere of interest.⁴ This indifference, in turn, could be the result of a general lack of sensitivity (Sealsfield writes: '... im Charakter des Britten ist ein Zug von gefühlloser Härte'⁵), which did not stop short at real cruelty. Even Miss Eddish 'schien ... ein kleines Übergewicht des Lebensballastes nach der Seite der Grausamkeit

1. Die Mappe, p.76.

2. II,2,325; cf. Alte Nester, II,6,172, where Vetter Just meets Ewald Sixtus (who has spent many years in Ireland) and describes him as 'einen stocktauben und stockstummen Engländer'; cf. also Georg Weerth, *op.cit.*, pp.12-13.

3. v. Bismarck, Briefe, 27.5.51; cf. Ilda Schönholm, p.57, & Der Stechlin, p.259.

4. v. pp.33-34 above, Immermann's description of Münchhausen's magnanimous saviour.

5. Das Cajütenbuch, part 2, pp.198-99.

hin nicht zu mißbilligen'.¹ Her effusive diary entry, after her maid had been 'cast off by the donkey' in Heidelberg,² does not blind the narrator to the hard fact that she and her companion 'went on to the hotel and supped', leaving both their maids at the mercy of the local mob.

None but the most prejudiced German observers would maintain that egoism was an exclusively English characteristic. But it was generally agreed that the English were past masters in its practice. The bank president in Sealsfield's Das Cajütenbuch³ was not easily taken in by British friendliness, for behind it there lurked the most inordinate self-interest:

'Euer Britte ist nie widerwärtiger, als wenn er freundlich, zutraulich wird; die Selbstsucht, der krasseste Eigennutz grinst dann so ekelhaft aus seinen harten, brutalen Roastbeefzügen heraus.'

Miss Eddish - whose only female rival in Raabe's writings in the rôle of villain is Fausta la Tedesca of Der heilige Born⁴ - can dissemble better than this, and her dupes lack the financier's perspicacity. One critic has pointed out that she is 'ihrer Nationalität gemäß kühl berechnend und selbstsüchtig, ohne jeden guten Kern'.⁵ Even the ingenuous young man whom she has ensnared into becoming her fiancé does

1. II, 2, 269.

2. II, 2, 267-68. The Drawboddys in Abu Telfan had been unfeeling to the point of cruelty. (In this connection v. Robson-Scott, pp. 132-133.)

3. Part 2, p. 204; cf. *ibid.*, part 1, pp. 120 & 191; v. also Briefe eines Verstorbenen, part 4, p. 391, & Der Stechlin, pp. 162-63; and Robson-Scott, p. 155, & Michelis, Reiseschule, p. 206.

4. I, 3, 1-366. Der heilige Born was written more than ten years before Christoph Pechlin.

5. H. Ilgner, Die Frauengestalten Wilhelm Raabes in seinen späteren Werken, Berlin, 1916, p. 80.

not enjoy her confidence - apparently she believes that her ends justify the most thoroughgoing deception. Sir Hugh is also both unscrupulous and selfish, but he is so much a caricature, so much what Muncker¹ terms the 'Theaterengländer, das vergrößerte Erbstück aus dem 18. Jahrhundert', that his manoeuvres and motives pale beside those of his former mistress. He is a rascally yet preposterous scapegrace. She, though laughable, is too nearly successful in her dire designs to be dismissed lightly. (Raabe portrays somewhat similar figures in Die Leute aus dem Walde - i.e. Aurora Pogge - and in Der gute Tag - i.e. Fräulein Adelgunde - but their malevolence is so grotesque that it is barely plausible.) Sir Hugh's non-payment of monies to support young Master Slidderreddish is his only really reprehensible action from the time he is introduced to the reader - a purely passive evil which is consistent with his evasive behaviour throughout the novel. Unlike the almost constantly flustered baronet, Miss Eddish rarely loses her self-control. Even after her unexpected and unwelcome encounter with Sir Hugh she 'faßte sich, wie eine englische Maid überall sich zu fassen versteht'; and, once she too has made the descent from the head of the Bavaria statue, having stood awhile 'sich noch immer mehr fassend', her resolution is restored.²

Miss Eddish is a determined person who refuses 'als britische

1. p.32.

2. II, 2, 298-99.

Jungfrau und königlich großbritannisches Weib' to accept a ruling of the Greek Church forbidding her entry to a tomb which she wishes to see. Such a ruling she finds 'von ihrem anglikanischkirchlichen Standpunkte¹ aus selbstverständlich im höchsten Grade shocking'. She is 'High Church² vom blonden Scheitel bis zum Absatz ihrer Pariser Stiefelchen'.³ Raabe's words do not imply that Miss Eddish's religious convictions were such as to merit respect, although his flippancy precludes anything in the nature of a serious reproach. (Occasionally one finds direct or indirect references by German writers of the mid- and late 19th century to the hypocrisy of the English,⁴ their bigotry,⁵ and their obtrusive piety.⁶ Doernenburg and Fehse⁷ suggest that 'die zweideutige Stellung, die England zu den Ereignissen in Frankreich⁸ eingenommen hatte, mag Raabe veranlaßt haben, in Miß

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1. cf. Sittenbuch, p.306: '.. glaubt jeder respektable Brite an die allein Gentleman machende englische Hochkirche'.
 2. cf. a remark concerning the Church of England in Das Englische Gesicht, p.108: 'Ein bei uns weit verbreitetes Mißverständnis ist es..., sie als Hochkirche (High Church) zu bezeichnen'.
 3. II, 2, 439-40.
 4. v. Die Leute aus dem Walde, I, 5, 365; & p.65 below; also Fontane, Der Stechlin, p.263; & cf. Robson-Scott, p.165.
 5. v. Spielhagen, Prob.Nat., vol.2, p.453.
 6. v. Louise v. François, Zu Füßen des Monarchen, p.167, & Georg Weerth, Englische Reisen, ed.cit., p.35 et seq.; cf. Fontane, Der Stechlin, pp.145, 259, & 299.
 7. Raabe und Dickens, Magdeburg, 1921, p.47.
 8. 1870-71. Christoph Pechlin was written between 1.8.71. & 17.9.72.

Christabel Eddish die englische Scheinheiligkeit zu geißeln'. This is not unlikely, but confirmatory evidence has yet to be found. Similarly, it seems likely that Raabe shared the conventional German view of the English sabbath, but the only relevant reference - to 'Sabbatsruhe'¹ - also leaves room for doubt.) Miss Eddish's reaction to Greek Church regulations is one of imperious petulance:

'... sie rief den Gott ihres eigenen Volkes zum Zeugen auf, zitierte die Genesis wie ein bestbesoldeter Bischof der Hochkirche und bestand auf ihrem Recht, das heißt auf ihrem Willen. ... "Je le veux! I will! Ich will es, und ich will es!" sprach Christabel mit unheimlichster Charakterfestigkeit.'²

Little wonder that the good-natured Pechlin should succumb to a woman of such determination - even though her antagonist in this particular scene (the Russian priest Michael Alexandrowitsch Tumboffski, an equally determined alien) happens to win the day. Mr. Robinson, in Der Stechlin, was always inclined 'als ein verwöhnter Engländer ... alles Deutsche, wenn auch nur andeutungsweise, zu bemängeln'.³ No doubt the critical attitude of many English visitors towards Germany, and particularly the habit of making unsolicited comparisons between what they saw and what they were accustomed to, created much ill feeling among the inhabitants of the country visited. By Tumboffski's stolid refusal even Miss Eddish (who, as a token of her cosmopolitanism, had earlier induced Pechlin to kiss her hand⁴) is moved to exclaim:

1. Christoph Pechlin, II, 2, 326-27.

2. II, 2, 439-41.

3. pp. 168-69; cf. Muncker, pp. 16-17 & 37.

4. II, 2, 403-04; cf. Pückler-Muskau, Briefe eines Verstorbenen, part 3, pp. 113-114.

'Yes, Sir, in old England sollte mir dieses begegnen! ... O Mr. Pichlin, in Ihrem Deutschland bekommt man doch alles, alles in die Erfahrung!'¹

When the need arises, this purposeful person² can adapt herself to the mood, mien and mode of expression of those whose favour she seeks. She is clearly no sentimentalist, yet she identifies herself with the gushing Baroness to the extent of being able to comment in her diary on 'Lucy's sublime and unaffected behaviour ... Sublimity of mind - true greatness of soul etc.'³ It is not unreasonable to assume that this particular entry at least was not allowed to escape the notice of her soul-mate. She speaks effusively to the artless Pechlin of their prospects of 'an everlasting happiness';⁴ and finally she writes with cool conviction of her intention of going to New South Wales 'zur Bekehrung der d o r t i g e n Eingeborenen' in the company of her beloved husband, the Reverend Mr. Snodderly.⁵

1. II, 2, 443.

2. v. II, 2, 293 - the confident determination with which she follows Baroness Ripppen's summons.

3. II, 2, 267-68; cf. II, 2, 327.

4. II, 2, 437.

5. II, 2, 523-24. Since Miss Eddish's letter comes from New York, and since we have no further indication of Snodderly's identity, it seems reasonable to assume that he also comes from the U.S.A. If Miss Eddish is telling the truth and has actually married him, he is an uncommon figure in 19th century German prose fiction: a gullible American (v. pp. 104 & 106 below). The Rev. Mr. Shambling, who is mentioned in connection with the phrase 'britische Eifersucht auf Frankreich' in Die Leute aus dem Walde (v. p. 16 above) is presumably British, although the scene is set in San Francisco.

In a birthday letter to Marie Jensen,¹ written a year after he had finished Christoph Pechlin, Raabe's opinion of Miss Eddish's integrity is revealed once more. He writes, with reference to the pilgrims at Paray-le-Monial: 'Miß Christabel Eddish ist auch dort; aber wirklich und wahrhaftig als Mrs. Snodderly, man sollte es kaum für möglich halten'. His surprise that she should truly be married eclipses all his doubts as to the authenticity of her proposed mission to the antipodes.

Christoph Pechlin was completed in 1872. In Raabe's later work comments on the English are few, and English characters fewer still. In Deutscher Adel we read of a young English visitor to Germany who, together with a pick-pocket, makes a brief appearance at the police station. The young man is drunk. Apart from a fleeting reference to the fact that care has been taken of the 'Gentleman' we learn no more of him.² It is not possible to infer from this that Raabe considered over-indulgence in alcohol to be a feature peculiar to the English - the figures of Paul Ferrari (in the same tale) and Felix Lippoldes (in Pfisters Mühle³) point to his having regarded it as a weakness which was not particularly pronounced in any one country. At the same time it is remarkable how widespread was German

1. In Alls gedultig, 7.9.73.

2. II, 5, 338-39.

3. III, 2, 297 et seq.

condemnation of drunkenness among the English.¹

The popular belief in the prodigious wealth of the English had, by Raabe's time, waned considerably² in the light of the knowledge that many English people came to the continent in order to live cheaply. In Ilda Schönholm³ Ida Hahn-Hahn tells, for example, how young Lord Killarney came over 'des wohlfeileren Lebens wegen'; Bismarck,⁴ August Lewald,⁵ and the author of the Sittenbuch der englischen Gesellschaft⁶ make similar observations. Bulwer Lytton's Pelham - a novel which enjoyed great popularity in Germany and which Raabe may have read⁷ - was published in 1828. From the description given of a

1. Robson-Scott mentions the views of a number of German travellers on this point (v. pp.154,165-66, & 178); v.also Muncker, p.19, & J.A. Kelly, England and the Englishman in German literature of the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1921; and cf.: Kohl, part 2, p.13; Sittenbuch, p.197; Georg Weerth, Englische Reisen, ed.cit., p.68; J.C. Mämpel, Der junge Feldjäger in französischen und englischen Diensten..., Leipzig & Brunswick, 1826-31, vol.4, pp.203, 213-14, & vol.5, p.208; and Das Englische Gesicht, p.126.
2. But v. Ida Hahn-Hahn, Ilda Schönholm, p.171; Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.2, p.265, & vol.3, p.491; Keller, Der grüne Heinrich, vol.2, p.18 (i.e. part 3, chapter 2); Spielhagen, Prob.Nat., vol.1, pp.190-91; Louise v. François, Zu Füßen des Monarchen, pp.141, 156, 168, 180, & 235; Fontane, Frau Jenny Treibel, p.496, and Der Stechlin, p.299; v. also Wilhelm Busch, Plisch und Plum, ed.cit. p.59.
3. p.44.
4. Bismarck, Briefe, 9.10.64.
5. Die Mappe, pp.45-46 & 81.
6. pp.250-51.
7. v.pp.330-32 below.

gathering at the Palais Royal, it is clear that even then the mad Englishmen who could and would buy anything were outnumbered. It was, as Pelham put it:

'a motley congregation; country esquires..., half-pay officers; city clerks in frogged coats and mustaches; two or three of a better-looking description, but in reality half-swindlers, half-gentlemen: all, in short, fit specimens of that wandering tribe, which spread over the Continent the renown and ridicule of good old England.'¹

Whether Sir Hugh Slidderly's reluctance to support his illegitimate child was the result of meanness or of poverty is nowhere stated. But it is safe to assume that Miss Eddish's financial position was not really sound, even though we are assured 'daß sie ein wohlhabendes Mädchen war und zu leben hatte'. Though she retains her composure upon hearing of Pechlin's spurious windfall 'Baroneß Burdet-Coutts würde freilich ... noch bedeutend weniger zusammengefahren sein'.² Economic considerations may also have persuaded English parents to continue sending their children to school in Germany, a lucrative practice from the German standpoint.³ This is reflected in Vetter Just's

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1. Pelham or Adventures of a Gentleman (in Novels of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Edinburgh & London, 1859-74; Novels of Life and Manners, vols. 1 & 2) vol.1, pp.56-57. (References below to Pelham are to this edition.) For further acrid comments on the English v. Pelham, vol.1, pp.72, 73, 120, & 132, and vol.2, pp.124 & 144.
 2. II,2,487-88. Michelis' Rhenish hôtelier (Reiseschule, p.205) condemned the English as 'knickerig'. Miss Eddish, though not markedly parsimonious, disappoints the custodian of the Bavaria statue in Munich, who retires 'über die nicht über die Taxe zahlende Touristin sich ... ärgernd' (II,2,299); cf. Louise v. François, Zu Füßen des Monarchen, p.235, & Muncker, p.52.
 3. v. Spielhagen, Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.431; also Gabriele Reuter, Aus guter Familie, 13th edition, Berlin, 1904, pp.48-50.

suggestion to Fritz Langreuter at the end of Alte Nester. Fritz is advised to turn the derelict Schloß Werden into 'so 'ne Erziehungsanstalt für unverbesserliche Jungen aus den besten Familien'. The success of the enterprise would depend to some extent on a supply of 'gut zahlende junge Engländer', to be arranged by their common friend Ewald.¹

Last of the contemporary English in Raabe's writings² - mentioned, once again, merely in passing - is a faintly ridiculous family on a visit to the newly popularized spa of Ilmenthal:

'... die englische Familie, die uns ... gegenüber wohnt ... und welche die sechs Töchter hat wie die Orgelpfeifen, geht ... jetzt eben gerade in einer langen Reihe spazieren. Sie tragen sich alle gleich, die sechs Mädchen - graue Jacke mit Pelz, dunkelblaue Röcke und rote Strümpfe und ponceau Taubenflügel auf dem Barett.'³

The passage appears in a letter written - as the attention to details of dress might suggest - by a young girl. Like Sir Hugh Sliddery (who claims to be going to Florence 'Ueil ouich mir uab uerkuältet, und

1. II,6,293. This is reminiscent of the purpose behind K.F. Bahrds visit to England in 1777 (v. Robson-Scott, p.159).
2. In the first draft of Raabe's Frau Salome one of the leading characters was an eccentric Englishman of German origins, Sir William Salfeld, who once served as an English officer. His only close friend was a rather shadowy figure, 'Mr. Thomas Forrester M.A., seinerzeit Senior Wrangler zu Oxford'. (The draft is printed in the Krit. Ausgabe, vol.12, pp.459-477.)
3. II,6,483-84; cf. references in Fontane's Der Stechlin, p.298, & Fanny Lewald's Italienisches Bilderbuch, ed.cit., part 1, p.242, to the fecundity of Englishwomen.

weil es uist serr ueiß in Florence in die Sömmer, und weil ouich ouill swouitze -'),¹ the English visitors 'haben alle den Schnupfen trotz unseres gesunden Klimas'. In the writings of his contemporaries Raabe might have found a wealth of comment on the English climate (which was held to be responsible for spleen and suicides, amongst other things²). It is possible that the reference to the healthy climate of Ilmenthal is an innuendo to the effect that the cold-ridden family simply exemplified a national, climatically conditioned predisposition.

P.Q.O., the author of the Sittenbuch der englischen Gesellschaft, draws up a list of the English types most frequently encountered on the continent in his day.³ It is interesting to see the extent to which some of these types coincide with those we come across in Raabe's writings. To every thousand English people who visit the continent there are allegedly '333 Offiziere auf halbem Sold'. Whether Captain Sir Hugh Slidery is actually on half pay is uncertain, but his army connections, however loose, are stressed both by himself and by the

1. II,2,370. Later he complains: '... ich lueid an die Katarrh und die Rheumatism!' (II,2,389.)

2. v. Der Stechlin, p.298; Kohl, part 1, p.240; & Die Mappe, p.45.

3. p.250 et seq. He synthesises much that had been said before him - e.g. by Pückler-Muskau, to whom he pays tribute (v. p.342). The English themselves, he concludes (p.300), know 'daß kein Land der Welt eine solche Menge halbbegüterter Taugenichtse auf die Wanderung schickt, als das ihrige'; v. pp. 17, note 1, & 29, note 6, above; and cf. Enthüllung, p.86, where the view is expressed that only the truly noble representatives of the English visit Germany.

narrator.¹ P.Q.O.'s soldiers - like the former member of the German Legion, Leutnant Bart, in Raabe's Nach dem großen Kriege, who is also 'on half pay'² - are veterans of the war in Spain: Sir Hugh dubs himself 'an old soldier' ('Ich war auch in die Crimea, in die Krimm..' ³). Among P.Q.O.'s officers there are many 'die ... dennoch kein Pulver gerechen', a feature which recalls Sir Hugh's fate at Inkerman.⁴ 'Englische Lieutenants ... trifft man selten an, weil sie alle durch den usus, bei ihrer Ueberfahrt auf den Continent, zu Hauptleuten avanciren'. Not only Sir Hugh but also the narrator is reassuringly specific about the captaincy.⁵

P.Q.O.'s thousand visitors from England include:

'60 Kranke, welche der englischen Nebelluft entfliehen', people who are seldom encountered in Germany, since they seek the sunnier climes of Southern France, Naples, and - like Sir Hugh - Florence.

'40 nicht mehr neue Mädchen, deren Mütter nicht genug Vermögen besitzen, eine Londoner Saison mitzumachen'. As far as is known, the relative clause is not applicable to Miss Eddish, but she might otherwise be numbered among the forty by virtue of her age⁶ and her past.

1. v.II,2,294, 376, 387-88.

2. v.I,3,393.

3. II,2,390.

4. v. p. 33 above.

5. v.note 1 above.

6. II,2,291-92: '.. dreißig wohlgezählte Jahre, offiziell war sie jedoch ... auf dem fünfundzwanzigsten stehengeblieben'.

'26 Mädchen aus dem vermöglichen Mittelstande, welche gerne einen deutschen Baron, einen französischen Grafen oder einen italienischen Herzog heirathen möchten'. Miss Eddish's finances, we have seen,¹ leave something to be desired, but she is not poor. Her matrimonial ambitions are unmistakable, her field less limited.

'20 verabschiedete (cast off) Maitressen'.²

Also on the list are '100 Kammermädchen, Gouvernanten etc.', a category which calls to mind not only Miss Eddish's maid, Virginy, but also a phrase used by Graf Basil Conexionsky in Der Schüdderump to describe his tender respect for Antonie Häußler:

'Eine verschüchterte galizische Landbaronesse von sechzehn Jahren kann ihrer superior Finishing-Governess gegenüber nichts empfinden, was ich nicht ebenfalls zu den Füßen dieses holden Wunders empfinde.'³

1. v. p. 47 above.

2. The following comments by P.Q.O. (loc.cit.) could, with slight variations, also be applied to Miss Eddish: 'Große schlanke Engländerinnen, besonders wenn sie blond sind, und schöne, dunkelblaue Augen haben, sind oft sehr liebenswürdig, selbst wenn sie an der Auszehrung leiden ... Die meisten ... an der Auszehrung kranken Engländerinnen sind leidenschaftliche Verehrerinnen der Poesie ...'. True, Miss Eddish has 'blaugrüne Augen', and her leanness is not the result of a phthisical condition. But she can at least affect both a love of poetry (sufficient to win the confidence of Baroness Rippgen (II, 2, 286-89)) and an amiability to which the Baroness and Pechlin fall victim. P.Q.O. adds that the English girls who come to the continent with the aim of finding a husband 'wissen sich einen gewissen Schein von Romantik anzueignen, wodurch es ihnen nicht selten gelingt, ihre nächste Umgebung so sehr für sich zu gewinnen, daß sie ... das ... vorgesteckte Ziel erreichen...'.³

3. III, 1, 357. (Pfisters Mühle, III, 2, 299, tells of Albertine Lippoldes' return from England, 'wohin sie als Gouvernante gegangen war'.)

Another group - '30 junge Leute' whose aim is simply 'auf dem Continente angenehm und ungenirt leben zu können' - calls to mind the intoxicated young man in Deutscher Adel.

Finally, Raabe's note on the English 'Schuster und Schneider',¹ suggests that P.Q.O.'s '52 Handwerker und Krämer' were still in evidence, whatever their motives for travel abroad. (P.Q.O. claims that they were people 'welche, da sie zu Hause hiezu keine Gelegenheit hatten, ihre Landsleute in Fremden Ländern zu bestehlen suchen.')2

A natural adjunct to Raabe's incontrovertible patriotism (and to a sequestered life spent very largely within the confines of provincial Lower Saxony) was a rather critical attitude towards the outside (i.e. non-German) world. This had nothing much to do with the primitive Franco- or Anglophobia of some of his compatriots - if only because such unbalanced and purely negative sentiments must have repelled a man of Raabe's discernment and charity. At the same time, the attitude was unmistakable and the feeling behind it quite strong. A letter from Raabe to the editor of Über Land und Meer, Eduard Hallberger, serves perhaps as the best illustration of his views:³

1. v. p. 17 above.

2. P.Q.O. has the grace to record, as the last of the thousand, '1 um seinen Geist und sein Herz auszubilden'. This is a type of whom he has 'nicht nur sehr viel Gutes gehört, sondern auch ... sehr viel Schönes gelesen' - a type conspicuously absent from Raabe's writings.

3. In aller gedultig, 10.4.1867. The date is significant. Raabe was still in the relatively cosmopolitan town of Stuttgart, where he was painfully aware of the lack of enthusiasm for the North German Confederation. On January 24th of that year, Schleswig-Holstein had finally been annexed to Prussia. Nationalism, as Raabe understood it, was flourishing, and with good reason. To direct attention away from internal tensions was expedient.

'Sie, welche ... das ganze Deutschland zu gewinnen und zu vertreten wünschen, haben sich ... nach einem für das ganze Deutschland gültigen Gegensatz umzusehen, und das kann nur das Ausland sein. Ich würde jedem Artikel ... eine dahin bezügliche Wendung zu geben versuchen ... überall in Parallelen und Antithesen das Nationalgefühl gegen das Ausland so scharf als möglich hervortreten lassen; freilich nicht in der Art der früheren Franzosenfresserei, sondern in einer würdigen Hervorhebung unseres eigenen Werthes auf jedem Felde.'

Fourteen years later Raabe wrote to the editor of the international review Auf der Höhe.¹ The circumstances which occasioned the letter made the tone sharper, but the underlying sentiment is much the same. He expresses resentful indignation at the cosmopolitan sympathies represented by the proposed review:

'... glauben Sie wirklich, daß eine solche Zeitschrift ... jetzt für uns möglich ist? Ich bezweifle es und kann das nicht einmal bedauern. Ich bezweifle, daß gerade unser draußen so dumm gehaßtes und thöricht verketzertes Volk wieder einmal verpflichtet sein soll, seine Sprache und litterarischen Kräfte zu einer Vermittelung unter den Nationen herzugeben, für welche diese ihm doch keinen Danck wissen. Für's erste ist es besser, wir bleiben einmal unter uns ... ohne uns um die Sympathien und Antipathien des Auslandes im Geringsten zu kümmern.'

Naturally Raabe's attitude towards England and the English was determined not only by his familiarity with the types described above, but also by a wide range of less individual impressions. In his narrative writings some of these impressions find an echo in incidental comments made either by the narrator or by a figure with whom the author can in some degree be identified. Characteristic is a certain undertone

1. In alls gedultig, 20.9.81. The letter is addressed to Leopold Ritter von Sacher-Masoch, 20.9.1881. The editor of the letters comments: 'Der Brief zeigt Raabes scharfe Ablehnung des international eingestellten literarischen Judentums'.

of resentment, irritation, or disapproval. This can be clearly detected, for example, in his first work (Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse), when the narrator, Hans Wacholder, says that in English writings Germany is often referred to

'als "the fatherland" Das wird zwar mit einem gewissen "sneer" gesagt, aber es ist eine Ehre für unsere Nation, und wir können stolz darauf sein.'¹

This is a comment which reflects primarily an annoyance (felt by many Germans for many years²) at the Englishman's disparagement of foreigners and foreign lands. It is also symptomatic of a more general feeling for which Raabe's knowledge of history was at least partly responsible. The historical events to which Raabe refers or which go to form the settings of his stories, the historical figures who represented English aims and interests, and finally the happenings of the mid- and late 19th century had done little to dispose him favourably

1. I,1,169. The lines quoted are the prelude to a patriotic exhortation which culminates in the slogan: 'Vergesse ich dein, Deutschland großes Vaterland: so werde meiner Rechten vergessen!' (These words were taken as the motto of the Wilhelm Raabe-Gedenkbuch produced by the "Raabe-Stiftung in der NS-Kulturgemeinde", Berlin 1935.) In connection with Wacholder's preliminary remarks, v. Arthur von Wallpach's poem 'Fatherland' (Deutsche Literatur Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen: Reihe Politische Dichtung, vol.7, Leipzig, 1932, p.205; v. also *ibid.*, pp.8 & 326. The title of this series is abbreviated below to 'Politische Dichtung'. According to the editor of the volume in question, Wallpach's poem appeared in Sturmglöck!, p.35. This work is not readily available.); & cf. Kohl, part 2, p.19, on the Englishman's use of the word "fatherland".
2. v. Robson-Scott, pp.158 & 206; Sittenbuch, pp.151 & 215; and p. 61, below.

towards his 'Herren Vettern'.¹ Whether he was influenced by what he had learned of pre-18th century history is not known. It is certainly not possible to infer any particular prejudice from the few relevant passages in his published writings. He mentions with wry amusement Richard Coeur de Lion's participation in the third crusade in his poem "Gespräch in der Wüste": 'Der König Richard Löwenherz / Schaut dem Sultan ins Gesicht / Sie sprachen von - mancher schönen Frau, / Vom heiligen Grabe nicht!'² (A reference in Des Reiches Krone³ to 'diesem schandervollen Kriege gegen den Glauben der Wiclefiten' reflects Raabe's attitude to the Hussites rather than to the English.) The writer expresses sympathy with the tragic fate of Lady Jane Grey in Unseres Herrgotts Kanzlei, and gratitude for the help she sent to the beleaguered town of Magdeburg;⁴ and he seems to have held Oliver Cromwell in awed esteem. The words 'der großmächtige, grausame Tyrann

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1. The term occurs in a letter to Sigmund Schott, 29.12.94. (v. Mitteilungen der Raabe-Gesellschaft, Brunswick, 1951, p.19), in which Raabe expresses doubts as to the impression made by the English translations of Abu Telfan and Der Hungerpastor: 'Welche Wirkung die Bücher bei den Herren Vettern gemacht haben, weiß ich nicht. Wahrscheinlich gar keine'. (Frequent reference is made below to Mitteilungen für die Gesellschaft der Freunde Wilhelm Raabes, Berlin & Wolfenbüttel, 1911-44, and to Mitteilungen der Raabe-Gesellschaft, Goslar, 1948, & Brunswick, 1949- . The titles are abbreviated to 'Mitteilungen' and are followed by the relevant year of publication.)
 2. III,6,407.
 3. II,3,339.
 4. I,4,219.

und verruchte Königsmörder' in Gedelöcke¹ indicate, it is true, a certain revulsion at the Lord Protector's record, but they occur in a whimsical context which renders them far less vituperative than they might otherwise have been. Other references to Cromwell² are, at worst, non-committal. Non-committal, too, are the occasional references to the Duke of Marlborough: 'la chanson burlesque dont il est le héros, sous le nom dénaturé de Malbrough'³ appears both in French and German (the name being spelt 'Marlbrouck', 'Malbrouck' and 'Malbrough'⁴), and mention is made of his victory at Höchstädt.⁵

Raabe's opinion of George Sackville was justifiably low. When court-martialled in 1760, Sackville was found 'unfit to serve in any military capacity whatsoever'.⁶ His disobedience at Minden (1.8.1758),⁷

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1. I,6,450. Raabe mentions that, when Cromwell died, there arose 'ein erschrecklich Unwetter'. A footnote to part 3, canto 2, line 215 of Samuel Butler's Hudibras (London, 1826) reads: 'At Oliver's death was a most furious tempest...'. Raabe acquired a copy of this edition in 1899, long after he had written Gedelöcke. Whether he was familiar with Hudibras before 1899 is not known. He may well have read of the tempest elsewhere.
 2. v. Der Schüdderump, III,1,185-86; In alls gedultig, 4.1.92 & 29.12.1901; and a message to Fontane on his seventieth birthday (Mitteilungen, 1927, p.88).
 3. Nouveau petit Larousse illustré, Paris, 1948, p.1526.
 4. I,5,590; II,5,12-13 & III,6,141; and I,5,572 respectively.
 5. I,5,541.
 6. Encyclopaedia Britannica: the words are taken from the verdict pronounced at Sackville's court-martial.
 7. v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol.12, p.517.

together with his generally unpleasant manner, had made his name hated among his German allies, so that it is not unnatural to find Joachim Brand, in Die Innerste, suggesting that Albrecht Bodenhagen call his dog by the same name:

'Feig und niederträchtig genug sieht die Kreatur zu dem Namen aus!'

About to break with Bodenhagen he adds:

'... laß dich beim Sackville unter die englische Kavallerie anwerben, und deinem Hundevieh tu' ich Abbitte, das ist viel zu gut für den Namen.'¹

Possibly Raabe was also familiar with Sackville's rôle in the crushing of the American insurgents in 1775 - a fact which would have made him think still less kindly of the Englishman.

Das Odfeld opens with a quotation from an article written by Raabe's grandfather in the Holzmindisches Wochenblatt some twenty years after the Seven Years' War. It expresses anger at the way in which, in the past, Germany had been used by foreign powers as a battlefield for the settlement of disputes in which she herself had not the slightest interest:²

1. II,4,443-44; cf. II,4,462, 465, 481, & 509.

2. III,4,title-page; cf. Raabe's outburst against his own people (In alls gedultig, 26.2.87): 'Deutsches Volk? Ach was! Deutsch redender oder Schwätzensder Bevölkerungsbrei, für einen kurzen Augenblick von ein paar großen Männern in eine staatliche Form gepreßt. Morgen vielleicht schon sind sie todt, diese Männer, und der Brei fließt wieder auseinander, und die Fremden mögen dreist wieder von allen Seiten mit ihren Löffeln anrücken...!'

'So ist es also das Schicksal Deutschlands immer gewesen ... Daß, wenn über die Grenzen am Oronoco/Zwist entstand, er in Deutschland mußte ausgemacht, Kanada auf unserm Boden erobert werden.'

Though they had officially espoused the Prussian cause and were fighting side by side with the Hanoverians, the British were unwelcome self-seekers in the eyes of many. Raabe does not, however, expatiate on this theme. His main objection is to the turmoil, the misery and the destruction caused by such wars, no matter who the participants may be:

'Es ist auch ganz einerlei, ob man's mit den Franzosen oder den Engländern zu tun kriegt, und unsere Braunschweigischen und die aus 'm Hannöverschen und die Bückeburger und die Hessen, na, es ist, als würde Ein Sack voll Flegel ausgeschüttelt.'¹

For the purpose of this tale the Scots are identified with the English (in much the same way as 'England' and 'Engländer' had been among the terms used in Alte Nester in connection with the German-Irishman Ewald Sixtus²):

'Und seine englischen Bergvölker mit den nackten Beinen und Dudelsäcken sind ... vernommen worden'.³

Amazed at what he finds in the knapsack of one of these 'unbehosete Tartanträger', the young hero of Das Odfeld, Thedel von Münchhausen, exclaims: 'Ja, diese verdammten Englischen! sie haben immer das Horn des Überflusses mit sich...'⁴ - an utterance reminiscent of the once popular belief, mentioned above, that the English were all richly endowed

1. III, 4, 200.

2. v. II, 6, 132, 144, 203, 207-08, 293, 296.

3. III, 4, 48.

4. III, 4, 158-59.

with worldly goods. Thedel and his companions, in dire straits, benefit greatly from the treasure they have found and therefore ('unter "sotanen Umständen", wie Magister Buchius sich doch entschuldigte'¹) they turn a blind eye to the marauding activities² of its deceased owner.

Another figure of the Seven Years' War for whom Raabe entertained an understandable dislike was William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland ('Kummerland')³, whose defeat at Hastenbeck in 1757 caused far more distress and did far more damage to the German cause than did Sackville's inefficiency in the following year:

'... Und wie Schottland ihm nachsang: "Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn!" so klang ihm jetzt ein anderer Jammerruf nach. Der aber lautete: "Weh, Niedersachsen, weh!"

Aber es war doch ein anderes: das Schlächtermesser-Wetzen ... bei Culloden und der Ritt, Degen in der Scheide und die Faust auf dem Federhute, v o m Felde bei Hastenbeck.'⁴

This does not mean that Raabe regarded cowardice as a characteristic of any particular class or nation, although it is interesting at this point to recall how J.W. Eyring, the narrator in Die Gänse von Bützow,

1. III,4,159.

2. loc.cit.; cf. the reference to the British as 'höchst raubsüchtige Krieger' in Hastenbeck, III,6,208.

3. v. Hastenbeck, III,6,2,4,16,22,29,30,48,50,56,79,86-88,95,99,104,105,114,123,155,161,164,169,190,193,209,214.

4. III,6,1. Cumberland's father, George II, receives more sympathetic treatment (v.III,6,1,4,51,52,55,57,67,70,77,83,164,169,190,191), although the anomaly of dual citizenship for his Hanoverian subjects gives rise to caustic comment in Die Innerste (II,4,458).

looking back on the year 1794, points to an event which, superficially at least, has much in common with the fiasco of Hastenbeck: the routing of the Duke of York's army by General Pichegru. Here, too, an English general beat a hasty - and, by implication, ignominious - retreat: '... Wir wissen wie der Erbstatthalter mit dem Engländer schleunigst nach England ging'.¹ The somewhat waspish author of the Sittenbuch der englischen Gesellschaft admits that no-one who has read even a page of British history could question the bravery of the English on either land or sea.² Raabe's reference in Sankt Thomas to the deliberate valour of the English troops under Robert Sidney towards the end of the sixteenth century has already been noted.³ In Hastenbeck he quotes Duke Ferdinand's historiographer to the effect that the English were extremely brave in battle; and at Talavera (in Nach dem großen Kriege) 'bedecken sich die Bataillone der deutschen Legion und die englischen Garden mit ewigem Ruhm' - in a manner, moreover, which is anything but deliberate: '... so stürzt das Heer des General

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1. I,6,385. The sole noteworthy discomfort for which the English were held responsible by the narrator in that year - at least as far as his life in rustic Bützow was concerned - is summed up in the words: '... wir tranken Rheinwein, da die englische Blockade uns die roten Franzosen - und in dieser Beziehung, leider! - von unsern Seehäfen abspernte' (I,6,376).
 2. p.361. He adds that 'diese Nationaltugend hauptsächlich das Resultat einer guten, reichlichen animalischen Nahrung und vielleicht auch des mäßigen Genusses von geistigen Getränken ist; denn der Engländer besitzt den Mut eines bull-dog, welcher egoistisch für sich selber kämpft, nicht den eines Franzosen, der sich für eine bloße Idee enthusiasmiert'; cf. Muncker, p.20.
 3. v. p.24 above.

Wellesley gegen den Xerte - wahnsinnig - wie rasend!'.¹ The historiographer continues, however, with a harsh account of the less positive characteristics of the English troops under the Duke's command, an account which forms the major part of the lengthy passage quoted,² and in which a number of already familiar traits are stressed: pride, egoism, and an arrogant disdain for foreigners being the most strongly condemned.³

In the North American struggle for independence Raabe's sympathies lay fairly clearly with the men and motives of the Philadelphia Congress, although the principal record of his views on that particular period is in the form of outraged comments on the trade in German troops which developed between England and his own country.⁴ To this he refers on several occasions (in Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse,⁵ Nach dem großen Kriege, Abu Telfan⁶ and Hastenbeck), and his wrath is naturally directed in the main at the vendors rather than at their

1. I,3,404 & 400 respectively.

2. III,6,207-08.

3. Examples of the German view of the English attitude towards foreigners are to be found in Kohl, part 1, p.132; in the Sittenbuch, p.328; & in Das Englische Gesicht, p.55; v.also Muncker, p.32.

4. Fehse, Raabe, p.24, points out that one of Raabe's forbears was among those 'die für die Schulden ihres Landes und für die überseeischen Interessen Englands .. ihre Haut zu Markte zu tragen hatten'.

5. I,1,151.

6. II,1,140.

customers. Leutnant Bart, for example, tells how he 'fiel den hessischen Werbern in die Hände und schwamm später auf den Schiffen der Engländer über das Weltmeer nach Amerika, damit der Kurfürst von Kassel sein Schloß Wilhelmshöhe bezahlen konnte'.¹ At the same time, the very fact that Germans were being sold 'an die Engländer für ihren Bedarf gegen den Kongreß zu Philadelphia',² cannot have redounded to the credit of the purchasers in Raabe's eyes.

Raabe tended to regard the members of the clergy with some suspicion, and a number of those whom he portrays appear in a highly unfavourable light.³ On the other hand, however, there are also many for whom he displays so much sympathy and respect⁴ that it would be a gross exaggeration to say that he condemned the cloth in toto. He would appear to have judged the representatives of the church - as he judged the members of most other professions - on their human merits. The development of these merits, he implies, is not wholly independent

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1. Nach dem großen Kriege, I,3,415-16; cf. Die Leute aus dem Walde, I,5,64.
 2. Hastenbeck, III,6,40. The writer adds a comment here in defence of the recruiting system of the time.
 3. Outstanding examples are: the unbalanced Bruder Festus (Der Heilige Born), Pfarrer Buschmann (Der Schüdderump), Pfarrer Vollbort (Höxter und Corvey), Prudens Hahnemeyer (Unruhige Gäste), & Oberkonsistorialrat Kleynkauer (Kloster Lugau).
 4. e.g. Arnold Rohwold (Die Kinder von Finkenrode), Pastor Adam Cellarius (Die alte Universität), Pfarrer Tillenius (Der Hungerpastor), **E**hrn Leutenbacher (Else von der Tanne), Bruder Henrikus (Höxter und Corvey), Pastor Winckler (Horacker), **E**hrn Holtnicker and **E**hrn Störenfreden (Hastenbeck).

of a man's chosen calling, but has little to do either with religious denomination or with nationality; both the English and the Germans were prominent, for example, in the missionary field, and Raabe's scepticism as to the worth of the work done by both is suggested by Hagebucher's ironical confession:

'Ich muß leider gestehen, daß ich in einem Jahre mehr Fetische in der Gegend ... verbreitete, als die deutschen und englischen Missionare in zehn Jahren abschaffen werden.'¹

Relatively small religious denominations or sects (e.g. the Society of Friends, the Mormons²) Raabe regarded with dry amusement, and in Die Gänge von Bützow, the action of which takes place at the end of the 18th century, it is the Methodism of John Wesley which occasions the following banter: 'Die Lehre von der seligmachenden Gnade, der zufolge ein Mensch augenblicklich aus einem Sünder ein guter Christ werden kann, erschien mir recht plausibel und kommode, und wären die Verzückungen, die epileptischen Zufälle, das Zubodenstürzen, das Geschrei, welches alles den Durchbruch der Gnade begleitet, nicht gewesen, ich würde mich ... nach diesem geistigen Zahnen geseht haben. So aber blieb ich ... ein unangezündeter Leuchter'.³

In the account of the battle of Talavera mentioned earlier,⁴ in which the troops under Sir Arthur Wellesley played so distinguished a

1. II,1,22. Miss Eddish's letter from New York (Christoph Pechlin, II,2,523-524) may also reflect Raabe's scepticism about such activities; v. H.Freytag, Wilhelm Raabes Erzählung "Meister Autor", Jena, 1931, p.43.

2. v. p.119 below.

3. I,6,388.

4. v. p.60 above.

rôle, a note of envy is struck when the narrator reflects on the difference in situation between the English and their German allies. 'Im Lager der Franzosen kann man singen, - schnarchen im Lager von Alt-England...', for the English know that those near and dear to them are safe at home.¹ It is the selfsame Wellesley who - several years later, as Duke of Wellington - incurs the displeasure of Meister Autor (in the tale of that name). Autor recalls with bitterness his experiences as a member of the victorious allied armies, inveighing against the Duke for having prevented his enjoying the fruits of victory in Paris:²

'Da war das rotfrackigte, reitende Käkebein, der Herzog von Wellington - und was tat die Kanaille? ... Sie hielt auf Anstand ...! An die ganze ... Armee ließ die fischblütige Bestie Filzsocken verteilen ... und die unsterblichen britannischen Helden haben, wenn sie zu fest auftraten, über mehr Stockprügel ihrer eigenen Profossen ... als über französische Säbelhiebe ... in der Battel, wie sie es nennen, zu quittieren gehabt. ... und was taten die edeln, hochherzigen Siegesbrüder ...? Sie ließen uns in den Bratenduft von Paris hineinriechen ... schoben uns in den Schloßhof von Saint Cloud und verriegelten sämtliche Tore hinter uns!'

Of the events which took place during Raabe's own lifetime, the first which has any bearing on the present theme was the dismissal in 1837 of the recalcitrant 'Göttinger Sieben', to which, in the unfinished novel Altershausen, the author refers at some length. The blame lay with London-born Ernst August, the 'alten hannöverschen Engländer',³

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1. I,3,401. Among those taking part in the battle 'der grimmigste ... Haß kocht doch in den Herzen dieser Deutschen!'
 2. II,3,413-14.
 3. Altershausen, III,6,384.

whose unpopularity at the time Raabe echoes with the quotation: 'Herunter mit dem Englishman! es leben Deutschlands Sieben.'¹ British hypocrisy over the question of the opium trade with China² is the theme of a brief anecdote in Der Lar, according to which, in answer to Chinese protests, Queen Victoria sent a tearful note to the Empress^{Dowager} of China stating that 'sie, ihre chinesische Majestät, solle dem lieben Gott danken, daß sie dereinst nur mit ihrem Teetopf in der Hand vor seinem letzten Richterstuhl zur Verantwortung zu erscheinen brauche. "Tien erbarme sich über dich!" hatte die Chinesin ... zurücktelegraphiert.'³

British opposition, for selfish reasons, to the construction of the Suez canal ('"Schwindel!" grunzte John Bull, welchem wenig oder nichts an dem Graben gelegen ist') and Britain's abashment once the feasibility of the canal scheme had been proved ('Europa saß wieder beruhigt in der Überzeugung, daß eine Durchgrabung der ... Landenge ihr nicht jene von großbritannischer Seite angedrohte Überschwemmung bedeute; John Bull fühlte sich sehr auf den Mund geschlagen'⁴) form part of the background of Hagebucher's adventures on the African continent. Gutmanns Reisen, written in 1890-91, by which time the Schleswig-Holstein question had long

1. *ibid.*, loc.cit.

2. v.Muncker, p.52, and cf. *ibid.*, pp.19,20 & 41; cf. also Sittenbuch, p.177.

3. III,3,280; cf. p.16 above, the behaviour of Mr. Shambling. Nikola von Einstein (Abu Telfan, II,1,32) makes a flippant reference to Queen Victoria's piety with the words: 'wir... erbauen uns an Zschokkes "Stunden der Andacht" gleich der Cousine zu Windsor'. The action takes place in the 1860's.

4. II,1,19-20.

been settled to the Germans' satisfaction, reflects the sentiments of those attending the meeting of the Nationalverein in 1862.¹ Resentment at foreign intervention and at the subsequent Treaty of London (1852) was still strong, as can be seen from the reference to 'ein französisches, britisches, russisches unverschämtes Veto',² and from the jovial pugnacity of Herr Gutmann's words to Major Blume:

'Major, nun eine recht gemütliche Ecke, und dann meinetwegen laß sie kommen: Russen, Franzosen, Engländer und was sonst noch Lust hat, sich an uns zu reiben. Ich meine, wenn wir so dabei bleiben, werden wir es ihnen schon zeigen!'³

Raabe's first work, Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse, was written and published while the Crimean War was in progress, and the opening words:

1. Raabe was a member of the Nationalverein and attended the Coburg meeting described in the novel.
2. III,4,370.
3. III,4,333-34; cf. Geibel's acrimonious lines in his 'Conferenz von London' (1852): 'Wo Franzmann, Brit' und Russe/Nach i h r e m Sinn getagt,/Da ziemt's, daß man zum Schlusse/Gehorsamst Amen sagt. - - - Was sind zwei Herzogshüte,/Die man vom Reiche bricht,/Wenn seiner Lordschaft Güte/Ein Lächeln uns verspricht?' (Gesammelte Werke, Stuttgart, 1883, vol.4, pp.197-98); cf. also Klaus Groth's 'Denksprüche vaer John Bull, 1865', which concludes: 'Dütschland belacht John Bull'; and his 'Times, Globe und Konsorten' (1864), which reflects a German reaction to the anti-German attitude of the English press during the Schleswig-Holstein conflict (Gesammelte Werke, Kiel & Leipzig, 1893, vol.2, p.20, and vol.4, pp.292-93). Raabe refers, without comment, to the 'Londoner Protokoll' in Im alten Eisen, III,3,74.

- 'Es ist eigentlich eine böse Zeit! ... Auf der Ferne liegen blutig dunkel die Donnerwolken des Krieges' - suggest that the distant struggle was in his mind at the time of writing. From this and later references to the Crimea it can be inferred that - as, in a historical setting on German soil, certain passages in Das Odfeld seem to indicate¹ - Raabe paid greater heed to the horror and futility than to the rights and wrongs of the conflict in question. Towards the end of the Chronik a remark made by Strobel points to this futility; although it seems to be directed primarily at the English, the censure which his words imply is mild. He contemplates a trip to the East, in order to laugh 'über das Bemühen ..., einen neu eintretenden Faktor der Menschheitsentwicklung durch Lancasterkanonen und Kriegsschiffe aufhalten zu wollen'.²

When, in Abu Telfan, Leutnant Kind mentions the time that 'die Engländer, Türken und Franzosen ihren großen Krieg gegen die Russen anfangen'³; or when we read, in Altershausen, of how the 'Russen, Türken, Engländer und Franzosen raufte sich ... in der Krim',⁴ the stricture is rather on the war as a whole than on any of the participants in particular. Nevertheless, Raabe had few illusions about the predatory imperialism of which

1. v. p.58 above.

2. I,1,167.

3. II,1,225.

4. III,6,287. In his preface to the 1864 edition of the Chronik (v. I,1,1) Raabe again alludes to the war in a manner which does not suggest disapproval of any one nation.

Britain has been accused from time to time. There is a distinct innuendo in the remark in Sankt Thomas that the 'Engländer und Niederländer behandelten seine Küsten und Kolonien nicht anders als alles übrige spanische Eigentum, auf welches sie die Hand legen konnten',¹ and the sentiments behind a comment in an earlier work, Die Leute aus dem Walde, also spring from a belief in British rapacity.

One of the guests at a social gathering is characterized in the following words:²

'Das war das silberne Gelächter - mehr doch Britannia - oder Christoffelgelächter - unserer Witwe Everilda von Stippelmann. Die Dame ist doch der wahre Pirat und Flibustier des Ballsaals!'

The Boer War, and the events leading up to it, can hardly have astounded Raabe, however great his anger may have been. His last complete work had been published before the war itself started, and the fragmentary Altershausen contains no reference to it. But his interest in the happenings in Africa is reflected to some extent in Stopfkuchen (written between 4.12.1888 and 9.5.1890), to a greater extent in his diaries and correspondence. He seems to have sympathized with the Zulu leader 'Ketschwayo' (i.e. Cetywayo or Cetewayo), but did not expressly lay his fate at the door of the British alone:

'... was habt ihr dem Manne auf sein Heldengrab gesetzt, nachdem der brave Kaffer sein stolzes Königsleben aus- und sich durch euch Englishmen, Dutchmen und Deutsche Burengesellschaft durchgefressen hatte?'³

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1. I,4,291.
 2. I,5,64.
 3. III,5,116.

In a letter written to Paul Gerber in 1900,¹ Raabe claims the distinction of having 'die Transvaal-Buren, den Oom Krüger und seine Stadt Prätoria zuerst in die deutsche Litteratur eingeführt', and this with some pride, although his sole reference to the Transvaal President - it occurs in Stopfkuchen² - is very brief and Krüger's name is not mentioned. The references to Pretoria and the Boers - they are confined to the same novel - are few and of no significance in the present context. During the war itself Raabe evidently shared the feelings of many pro-Boer observers on the continent. From the Transvaal ultimatum in 1899 until the death of Krüger in 1904 there are at least twenty entries in Raabe's diary³ which bear witness to his preoccupation with the Boer question.⁴ His letters leave no doubt as to where his sympathies lay. Writing in 1899, shortly before the

1. In alls gedultig, 4.1.1900.

2. III,5,2.

3. Raabe's diaries, which are unpublished, are in the possession of his heirs; v. p.452, note 1, below.

4. Further evidence of Raabe's interest in English affairs is furnished by such entries as:- 14.12.61: 'In der Nacht Tod des Prinz Albert'; 11.7.82: 'Bombardem. v. Alexandrien durch die Engländer'; 22.1.01: '† Viktoria Königin von England geb. 24 Mai 1819'; 7.5.10: '† Eduard VII König von England Geb. 9 Novemb. 1841'. Raabe's interest in those who bore the name of Cumberland (v. p. 59 above) remained unabated. It was Ernst August, King of Hanover († 1851), for whom the title of Duke of Cumberland had been created for the fifth time. Both his reactionary son (George V of Hanover) and his grandson (Ernst August) were Dukes of Cumberland. The failure of the latter's attempts to assert his professed rights in Brunswick is recorded by Raabe in entries dated 21.5.85, 2.7.85, 10.10.1906, & 28.2.1907.

outbreak of hostilities, to Edmund Sträter he exclaims:

'Daß es Ihnen zu Hause behaglich ergeht, ist die Hauptsache: lassen Sie Dreyfus und Transvaal ihr Schicksal der Welt Canaillerie und Schuftenthum gegenüber hinnehmen...'.¹

By the end of that year his bitterness, however mildly expressed, seems to have grown considerably. Not only the immediate occasion of the letter but also that he felt strongly about the situation in South Africa may in fact explain a relative temperateness of expression. He writes to his old friend Schönhardt:

'Daß das tausendjährige Reich mit dem ersten Januar 1900 anhebe, glaube ich gerade nicht: Die Herren Chamberlain, Rhodes und Consorten würde unser Herr Jesus Christus wohl nicht als Posaunenengel seiner Wiederkunft vorausgeschickt haben, um Frieden auf Erden und den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen zu verkündigen!'²

(Raabe's interest in South Africa is further evidenced by an invoice from the Ramdohr'sche Buchhandlung in Brunswick, on which one of the items listed is a 'Karte v. Süd-Afrika'.³ The invoice bears the date 19.12.99. Moreover, a passage in his copy of Essays and Treatises on several subjects⁴ is marked 'Transvaal 1899: 7/XII' - a passage in which Hume refers to ancient states whose population and territory were small, but which maintained large armies and used them effectively against countries larger than themselves.) The author of a book in Raabe's library declares: 'Die ganze zivilisierte Welt verabscheut und

1. In alls gedultig, 13.9.99.
2. In alls gedultig, 27.12.99. The English, the Boers 'und dergleichen' are mentioned in a letter written on the previous day (ibid. 26.12.99).
3. This is in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10, Nr.27, Varia II'.
4. ed.cit., vol.2, p.6 (the seventh paragraph of "Of Commerce").

verdammt Englands Raubtierpolitik und barbarische Kriegsführung und ist voll von Bewunderung, ja Begeisterung für die wackeren Buren'.¹

But despite the anti-English feeling in Germany, which was particularly strong at this time and which Raabe evidently shared to some extent, he considered British political supremacy desirable. This he states quite unequivocally in the letter to Paul Gerber quoted above:²

'Realpolitiker bin ich doch seit Otto Bismarcks Conflictszeitkämpfen. Ich würde es für ein furchtbares Weltunglück, und für unser Volk ganz insbesondere, halten, wenn England von seinem Stuhl im Rath der Völker heruntersteigen müßte! Gottlob ist dazu für's Erste doch noch keine Aussicht, und - Kannegießerei wollen wir jetzt auch nicht weiter treiben.'

Unlike the English, the Scots and the Irish play an almost negligible part in Raabe's writings.³ As soldiers the Scots acquit themselves well, both in the Netherlands against the Spaniards ('... Mit wildem Ungestüm ...'⁴) and at Talavera.⁵ They appear in a slightly less favourable light in Das Odfeld, where their presence on German soil is as welcome as that of the English; but on the whole Raabe seems to have found the kilted warriors amusing rather than displeasing. Again the word 'wild' is used, with varying connotations, to describe them ('Die überseeischen Wilden', 'der wilde Kaledonier'). But they laugh quite

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1. H. von Lenk, Die Wanderungen der Buren bis zur Gründung ihrer Staaten 1652-1854, Leipzig, n.d., preface. The preface is dated 1901.
 2. v. p. 69 above.
 3. The Welsh play no part at all, although there is mention of 'the welsh fusiliers' in Das Odfeld (III,4,189).
 4. Sankt Thomas, I,6,298; v. p. 24 above.
 5. Nach dem großen Kriege, I,3,399 & 472; v. p.60 above.

good-naturedly even when violently abused by the distraught yet ridiculous Selinde Fegebanck ('So'n verzotteltes, hosenloses, rothaariges Lumpenvolk? ... ihr Waldteufel, ihr Uriane, ihr Grobiane, ihr indianisches, dudelsackkrattenfängerisches Taterngesindel!' ¹). Only when evidence is unearthed which leads them to believe that one of their comrades has been slain by Magister Buchius' party, do they appear truly dangerous. Apart from these direct appearances in historical settings, the Scots are referred to only obliquely. In Die Leute aus dem Walde, an American of Scottish parentage, old Josua Warner, appears briefly in the reminiscences of his foster-son, Fritz Wolf. The latter wonders at one stage ² whether Warner had something of the gift of second sight attributed to his forbears. ³ It is open to question whether, in Raabe's view, 'der gute Sir Patrick Spence' of ballad fame, ⁴ whose loyalty had meant his death, was an example of 'der ganzen romantischen Treue, die ein schottischer Clanman für seinen Häuptling hat' - words with which Spielhagen later seeks to characterize Fritz Gutmann's love for his friend and benefactor in In Reih' und Glied. ⁵ And that a character in Raabe's Fabian und Sebastian, ⁶ referring to the grim

1. III,4,177-78; v. p. 58 above.

2. I,5,125.

3. v. J.C.A.Heyse, Fremdwörterbuch, Hanover, 1879, under 'Deuteroskop'.

4. He is mentioned in passing in Der Hungerpastor, I,1,396.

5. vol.2, p.39.

6. II,5,502-03.

countenance of the embittered shepherd of Schielau, should speak of his 'schottischen Covenantergesicht' is neither very surprising nor very significant: the dour gravity of the adherents of what was, after all, a Solemn League and Covenant had become proverbial.¹

The Irishman is also rare in Raabe's writings. In Die Leute aus dem Walde, amidst the throng of Chilians, Hindus, Germans, Mexicans, Englishmen, Yankees, Jews, Italians, Spaniards, Russians and Frenchmen in San Francisco, Hauptmann Faber points out 'Paddy vom grünen Erin Arm in Arm mit Chinese-John, dem Ausreißer des himmlischen Reiches'.² Van der Mook's London cab-driver in Abu Telfan is Irish, and he seems to illustrate what Fückler-Muskau terms the Irishman's 'gänzliche Unfähigkeit dem "Todtenwasser" (dem Branntwein) zu widerstehen':³ as van der Mook puts it, 'Erin ist natürlich wieder mal dreiviertel über Bord' and he and his fare soon part company.⁴ Ewald Sixtus in Alte

1. cf. Kohl, part 2, p.233. Neither in Kohl nor in Raabe is there any implication that the Scots were hypocritical and unpleasant, such as we find in Hackländer's Europäisches Sklavenleben, vol.4, p.139. Nor does Raabe (unlike Kohl, part 2, p.201, and the author of the Sittenbuch, p.60) allude to the thrift or parsimony of the Scots.

2. I,5,365.

3. Briefe eines Verstorbenen, part 1, p.224.

4. II,1,393. In van der Mook's letter Raabe displays a certain knowledge of London street-names. The writer's question on one occasion in conversation (v. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.11, p.510) may throw some light on this: in Eulenpfingsten (II,4,212-313) he gives the impression that he knew Frankfurt a.M. well. When he admitted having spent only a few hours in the town, an acquaintance expressed surprise. "'Wozu gibt's denn Stadt-pläne?" antwortete er mir gleichmütig.' Raabe is known to have bought a plan of London in 1878, i.e. long after he had completed Abu Telfan. It is not unlikely that he was familiar with a similar plan at an earlier date, although he doubtless came across London street-names in newspapers and in a number of literary contexts.

Nester, described variously as 'der Irländer', 'der irländische Ingenieur', 'dieser vollkommen irländische Land- und Wasserbaukünstler'¹ etc., returns to his native Germany after a number of years in Belfast. He speaks English, now allegedly second nature to him, with a touch of Irish - a touch termed 'spaßhaft'.² His bluff and boyish banter at a time when it seems least appropriate persuades the narrator that he 'hätte wirklich schon von Geburt aus als Irländer in diese ... Welt hineingesetzt werden können';³ and what he himself describes as his 'Devil-may-care-Stimmung'⁴ - though at that juncture he claims to have lost it - is presumably a further symptom of his Irish disposition. More than once Raabe uses the adjective 'wild' to qualify 'Irländer'⁵ - the Irish, it seems, had at least this much in common with the Scots. Other 19th century writers use the same term in similar contexts. In Sealsfield's Das Cajütenbuch⁶ there is something 'eigenthümlich irisch Wildes' in Phelim's tale of Kishogue's curse; and before Sealsfield, Pückler-Muskau had found that in many respects the Irish were 'wirklich noch den Wilden zu vergleichen',⁷ although here the term - with the primary meaning of 'barbaric' - is reminiscent of that applied to the Scottish soldiers in Das Odfeld, rather than of that which describes

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1. II,6,182,191, & 167 respectively; cf. II,6,170, 172, 187, 203, 231, 240,259,260,272,285,287 & 293.
 2. II,6,30.
 3. II,6,289.
 4. II,6,191.
 5. II,6,170 & 260.
 6. vol.2, p.144.
 7. op. et loc.cit.

Ewald Sixtus. A little later, Pückler-Muskau writes of the 'wilden, jeden Augenblick ausbrechenden Streitigkeiten'¹ for which the Irish were notorious. It is to this pugilistic contentiousness that Sixtus alludes so roguishly when he says:

'... Cool as a cucumber, sagt drüben auf der Smaragdinsel Blarney O'Shaughnessy, wenn er Tim O'Connor mit dem Knüppel zu Leibe gehen will, weil der ihn an Großartigkeit und Heroentum übertroffen hat.'²

'O'Shaughnessy' and 'O'Connor' are used here in a generic sense comparable to that of 'Paddy', 'John Bull' and 'Bruder Jonathan'. Ida and J.G. Kohl sum up the characteristics of the Irish by describing them³ as 'dieses gutmüthige und leicht aufgebrachte, arme und zufriedene, poetische und bettelhaftige, höfliche und uncivilisirbar scheinende, faule und schnell arbeitende, gescheite und abergläubische, an schönen Tugenden reiche und mörderische Gedanken hegende, tanzende, prügelnde, lachende, weinende, kurz dieses capriciöse Volk!' While Raabe's characterisation of the Irish is not as detailed as this, it is possible to recognise some of these traits by inference. Capricious would be one word to apply to Sixtus' Dublin acquaintance, Maloney,⁴ who suddenly confronts his father with an unorthodox birthday present of truly rare

1. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*

2. II,6,168; cf. the hot-headed O'Toole in Gerstäcker's Die Flußpiraten des Mississippi (Gesammelte Schriften, Jena, 1873, vol.8) p.383, of whom it is said he 'ging keck und unverzagt, ein ächter Sohn der "grünen Insel", seinem Abenteuer entgegen'. (References below to Gerstäcker's novel are to this edition. The title is abbreviated to 'Flußpiraten'.)

3. part 3, pp.130-131.

4. II,6,184-85.

dimensions. It is an elephant. And something of the laughter, tears and poetry of the Irish is to be sensed in the reference to one of the 'lustigmelancholischen irischen Weisen',¹ which Ewald hums to himself.

It is reasonable to conclude that, whereas he was relatively impartial if not indifferent towards the Scots and the Irish, Raabe, unlike so many Lower Saxons before him,² looked very much askance at the English. Their literature, as we shall see, he knew and loved well. Certain English writers he admired, though not unnaturally for their works and the figures they had created rather than for themselves. Nationality cannot be said to have influenced these predilections. But outside the literary sphere the impressions made by the English he had seen and read about - politicians, soldiers, colonisers, and tourists of all descriptions - had been substantially unfavourable.³ In this connection words spoken towards the end of Christoph Pechlin by the hero of the novel are perhaps significant. They appear, despite their

1. II,6,222; cf. II,6,186, Ewald's description of the melody 'Rocky Road to Dublin' as 'melancholisch und spaßhaft'. With the possible exception of Ewald's statement (II,6,236) 'Ich habe mein frei Atmen schon drüben jenseits des Kanals diskontiert', Raabe does not allude to social or political conditions in Ireland. (In this connection v.Kohl, part 3, p.135.) Since it is the heat, dust and cobwebs in the airless rooms of a deserted mansion which provoke Ewald's remark, it might well be directed simply at the respiratory difficulties sometimes occasioned by the climate 'across the Channel'.

2. v. Robson-Scott, pp.202-03.

3. According to H. Pongs, Wilhelm Raabe Leben und Werk, Heidelberg, 1958, p.511, the pure, self-sacrificing Phöbe in Unruhige Gäste (III,2,409-592) may be a reflection of Raabe's impressions of Florence Nightingale. (The name 'Pongs' below is an abbreviation of the title specified.)

ridiculous context, to sum up many of Raabe's reactions to the English, particularly his reactions to the nefarious, multifarious activities which characterize England's rôle in history. The assembled gathering has been confronted - to their complete surprise - with Master Christopher Slidderreddish, an illegitimate child hitherto carefully concealed by his mother, Miss Eddish. He is a welcome sight for Pechlin, whose ardour for Miss Eddish has long since cooled and who sees in the boy's existence a valid reason for withdrawing his proposal of marriage. Baroness Rippgen sweeps out in righteous indignation, taking her husband with her. Pechlin is left with Miss Eddish, his 'internationalen Taufnamensvetter' Master Christopher, and the French dancing-master Faustin de St.-Vit. Faustin, in a manner and with an accent worthy of a Riccaut de la Marlinière, informs Pechlin that he, too, had at one stage intended marrying Miss Eddish. At this the shaken Swabian soliloquises:

'Oui! ... Es ist wahrhaftig, als hätte man in Schlossers oder Rottecks Welthistorie die ganze englische Geschichte von Anfang bis zum Ende vor sich! ... es fehlt bloß noch ein Vertreter von Nordamerika und Hinterindien - nachher haben wir alles beieinander!'¹

1. II, 2, 520.

Chapter 2. The Americans.

'In einer Porträtstudie, die er in den sechziger Jahren niederschrieb, gibt Julius Eckardt die Erinnerung an einen Augustabend in Riga 1853: Freunde seines Vaters saßen beisammen, der siebzehnjährige Schüler geriet in den Kreis, wurde wohlwollend gelitten. Der dimittierte Landmarschall Baron Hamilkar Fölkersahm zog ihn ins Gespräch, was denn die jungen Menschen heute bewege. "Amerika", war die kecke Antwort.'

(Theodor Heuss, 'Der livländische Mirabeau',
in Schattenbeschwörung, Frankfurt a.M.,
1956, p.160.)

"Aber wie kann ich Amerikanische Lebensbilder schreiben, ich, der nie ..."

"In Amerika war? - ... sind Sie des gutmüthigen Glaubens, die Leute, welche die deutsche Lesewelt mit ihren Münchhausiaden aus Mosquitien und Hinterindien ... unterhalten, seien wirklich da gewesen ... credat Judaeus Apella..."

These words are part of a conversation in Schücking's Verschlungene Wege.¹ They are clearly directed against writers who, like Ferdinand Kürnberger, chose to describe at length a country and a people of which they had had no direct experience.² Kürnberger's ill-natured and ill-founded account of life in America, Der Amerika-Müde,³ was one which left its mark. Dickens had given a comparable account some ten years before in Martin Chuzzlewit, a work with which Raabe was familiar.⁴ On the other hand, a large number of works by better

1. ed.cit., vol.1, pp.218-19.

2. v. G.A. Mulfinger, Ferdinand Kürnbergers Roman "Der Amerikamüde", dessen Quellen und Verhältnis zu Lenaus Amerikareise, Philadelphia, 1903, p.51.

3. Frankfurt a.M., 1855. The name 'Kürnberger' below is an abbreviation of the title of this work. References are to the edition specified.

4. v. pp.93 & 345 below. (The title of this novel is abbreviated in subsequent footnotes to 'Chuzz.'.)

informed and less prejudiced writers helped - together with non-literary sources - to provide a more balanced picture than such sociologists could offer. To a large extent through the writings of James Fenimore Cooper¹ and those of his more or less worthy successors (notably Sealsfield² and such writers as Gerstäcker³), Germans in the latter half of the 19th century were familiar with many supposedly typical aspects of life in America. The novelist could confidently refer to that country in some detail.⁴ In several of Raabe's works (Die Leute aus dem Walde, Eulenpfingsten, Alte Nester, and Die Akten des Vogelsangs)⁵ such references are frequent, and in one of them five chapters are set in the America of the eighteen-forties.

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1. v. pp. 322-29 below.
 2. In this connection v. M.Djordjewitsch, Charles Sealsfields Auffassung des Amerikanertums und seine literarhistorische Stellung, Weimar, 1931.
 3. Gerstäcker's Flußpiraten first appeared in 1848. In 1859, while touring, Raabe met Gerstäcker, Freytag, Gutzkow, and - in Stuttgart - Hackländer. Later Raabe spent eight years in Stuttgart (1862-70) and came to know Hackländer quite well. Gerstäcker died in Brunswick in 1872. Raabe settled there in 1870, and the two men allegedly met again (v. Pongs, p.299).
 4. The picture of America as seen by writers during the latter half of the 19th century is sketched by S.Schroeder, Amerika in der deutschen Dichtung von 1850 bis 1890, Wertheim a.M., 1936. P.C.Weber, America in Imaginative German Literature in the first half of the nineteenth century, New York, 1926, gives a clear survey of the situation immediately prior to the period in question.
 5. The titles Die Leute aus dem Walde and Die Akten des Vogelsangs are abbreviated below to 'Leute' and 'Akten'.

There is no evidence to suggest that Raabe's knowledge of American geography was in any way exceptional.¹ But, even in Die Leute aus dem Walde, where America is the background of an essential part of the story, geographical features are not particularly important. The author largely confines himself to the simple use of place-names in suitable contexts. For example, although he might have named others, the town mentioned in the statement 'wir haben viel Geld verloren beim Bankerott einer Bank in Philadelphia'² is not an inappropriate choice. (For Kürnberger Philadelphia was not only 'die wahre Zionsburg der geistlichen Heuchelei'³ but also a place where the banks were arrantly dishonest.⁴) Most of the relevant names in Raabe's writings were probably familiar to people who read newspapers - names of states and of well known rivers and towns, including those with some greater historical significance such as Bull Run, Gettysburg and Richmond; also names of one or two noted features of local geography.⁵

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1. His interest in America may have been stimulated by a work which his wife's grandfather, Christian Leiste, produced: Beschreibung des Britischen Amerika zur Ersparung der englischen Karten, Brunswick, 1778.
 2. I, 5, 291. Such losses were apparently not uncommon and could, of course, be suffered elsewhere in America: v. Fontane, Quitt, p.139; & Dickens, Chuzz., chap.13 (vol.1, p.269).
 3. p.266; cf. Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, p.253.
 4. v. pp.269-74.
 5. e.g. Central Park, the White House.

The lesser known or fanciful names,¹ which are generally either explained or self-explanatory, may reflect a more particular knowledge on the part of the writer, but in the main they do not necessarily reflect anything other than a certain inventiveness and an ability to use a large-scale atlas.

American history is also relatively unimportant in Raabe's writings, but it is interesting at times to see where the author's sympathies lay, particularly with regard to contemporary happenings. No special significance can be attached either to Fritz Langreuter's mentioning the discovery of America² or, for that matter, to comments in connection with the War of Independence,³ although the following reference to Karl von Braunschweig suggests some understanding for the rebel cause:

'Bei ihm zu Lande weiß man heute wenig anderes von ihm, als daß auch er seines Landes Kinder ... zum höchsten Preise an die Engländer für ihren Bedarf gegen den Kongreß zu Philadelphia und den General Washington losgeschlagen habe.'⁴

Evidence of Washington's popularity is to be found in the form of

1. e.g. Hikorihausen, Neu-Minden, Tuscaloosa, Fort Laramie, the names of the tributaries and environs of the Sacramento River, etc.
2. Alte Nester, II,6,11.
3. e.g. Wunnigel, II,5,9, & Die Gänse von Bützow, I,6,497. A respectful reference to Jefferson occurs in Leute, I,5,398.
4. Hastenbeck, III,6,40; cf. Pongs, pp.195-96: '... am 4. Juli 1865 hatte Raabe im Freundeskreis die Feier der amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitserklärung mitgefeiert.'

pictures - in Drei Federn ('ich kannte den Seehundkoffer in der Ecke und den General Washington über dem Bette'¹), and in Zum wilden Mann. In the latter tale the apothecary's collection of pictures includes 'ein Porträt von Washington'.² It seems that such portraits were hung in many places. Pelham, for example, says of his hotel room in Cheltenham: 'Over the chimney-piece, where I had fondly hoped to find a looking-glass, was a grave print of General Washington, with one hand stuck out like the spout of a tea-pot.'³

In his struggle with the Southern Confederacy, Lincoln had Raabe's whole-hearted support and admiration.⁴ The writer's view of American intervention in Mexico shortly afterwards may have been less admiring: the rascally Alexander Rodburg, in Prinzessin Fisch, refers to his participation in the 'nordamerikanischen Sklavenkrieg samt anhängender Farce'.⁵ But since Raabe was not in the habit of voicing his opinions directly through such negative characters, and since Tieffenbacher, who had fought for Maximilian and who is a positive if secondary figure in

1. I,6,94.

2. II,4,6.

3. E.Bulwer Lytton, Pelham, vol.1, p.235. In an American setting such signs of popularity are, of course, less unexpected: v. Kürnberger, p.302; & Fontane, Quitt, p.169. Complimentary allusions to Washington were apparently quite common in Raabe's day: v.Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.3, p.85; & Spielhagen, In Reih' und Glied, vol.2, p.508.

4. v.Im alten Eisen, III,3,46-47 & 86; cf. Abu Telfan, II,1,306,341,396, & 410; also Drei Federn, I,6,160. In his diary (v. p.452, note 1, below) Raabe noted both the arrival of the news of Gettysburg (entry for 20.7.63) and Lincoln's death (v.Fehse, Raabe, p.268).

the novel, makes no critical reference to the affair, it seems possible that Raabe's attitude was one of indifference.

American interest in Cuba had been apparent for several years when the author wrote of Lina Nebelung in Eulenpfingsten (24.5.74.-29.6.74.):

'Sie setzte sich nieder ... und es war, als ob sämtliche Staaten der großen nordamerikanischen Republik (Utah nicht ausgeschlossen) sich mit ihr setzten. Sie nahm das Käthchen zwischen ihre Knie, ungefähr wie Uncle Sam die schöne Insel Kuba, wenn er es irgend möglich machen könnte, zwischen die seinigen nehmen würde.'¹

Finally, the fact that woman suffrage had shortly before been introduced in America seems to be reflected in Lina's words:

'Wenn der Mann Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika werden will, so gebe ich ihm nicht nur meine Stimme, sondern ich verschaffe ihm überhaupt die Majorität!'²

Passages relating to the history and geography of America, therefore, do little more in Raabe's writings than provide, from time to time, unobtrusive and more or less appropriate local colour. Occasionally references to historical or contemporary events also reveal something of Raabe's own views.

Raabe depicts America first and foremost as a refuge. At the time

1. II,4,243; v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.11, p.517, editor's note on Utah: 'Seit 1848 amerikanisches Territorium, erst 1895 als Staat in die Union aufgenommen. Galt im 19. Jh. als besonders wildes Land. Westermanns Monatshefte brachten 1873 den Aufsatz "Eine Woche in Utah".' Raabe was also conscious of the fact that Utah was 'im Mormonenlande' (Abu Telfan, II,1,64) - v. p.119 below.
2. II,4,78. Woman suffrage was first introduced in 1869, in Wyoming. Wyoming was followed by Colorado in 1883. Lina Nebelung is from New York; the action takes place in 1858.

when he began to write, a great number of people were leaving Germany to start a new life in the New World. This circumstance is reflected in the literature of the time - in poems¹ and prose fiction,² in more or less factual accounts of life in America,³ in guides for prospective migrants,⁴ and so on.⁵ Raabe's writings are no exception.⁶ Many of his characters go or have been to America, and several more at least toy with the idea of emigrating. Raabe himself allegedly told Wilhelm

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1. e.g. Th.Kerner's 'Auswandererslied' (v. Deutsches Dichterbuch aus Schwaben, ed. L.Seeger, Stuttgart, 1864, p.234).
 2. e.g. in Immermann, Die Epigonen (Werke, ed. H.Maync, Leipzig & Vienna, 1906(?), vols.3 & 4), vol.3, p.414; Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, p.233; Keller, Der grüne Heinrich, part 3, chap.8 (vol.2, p.92); & Spielhagen, In Reih' und Glied, vol.2, p.408.
 3. e.g. Treue Schilderungen des amerikanischen Lebens...sowie der Schicksale Ausgewanderter. Nach brieflichen Mittheilungen..., ed. 'Wilhelm R...' (i.e. Wilhelm Raible), Ulm, 1852. (The title of this work is abbreviated below to 'Treue Schilderungen'. References are to the edition specified.) Raible contends (p.1): '...es gibt nicht leicht eine Familie, welche nicht einen Bruder, einen Vetter oder irgend einen Freund in der neuen Welt hätte'.
 4. e.g. Der neue Amerikaner Ein Dollmetscher für Auswanderer nach Nord-Amerika und Australien..., Friedberg, 1855, from which the emigrant could learn to pronounce 'It is said that you speak very well english', 'I have head-ache', 'Adieu; remember me at house', 'Are you a bed still?', 'If you please I like better coffee than chocolate', 'How go business?', etc.
 5. In this connection v. J.Sabin, Dictionary of Books relating to America, New York, 1868, vol.1, pp.160-61.
 6. General comments on and allusions to emigration are to be found in: Chronik, I,1,68 & 150; Die Kinder von Finkenrode, II,2,58-59; Der Heilige Born, I,3,225; Drei Federn, I,6,61; Leute, I,5,387-88,397-98, & 399-400; Der Schüdderump, III,1,386; and Frau Salome, II,4,322. On 11.4.59 Raabe noted in his diary 'Der Lärm der Auswanderer u das kranke Kind in der Nacht'. In 'Wilhelm Raabe's treatment of the emigrant', Studies in Philology, vol.34, Chapel Hill, 1937, pp.612-26, F.E.Coenen sketches his impressions of characters in Raabe's writings 'who leave Germany permanently or temporarily'.

Brandes of the following childhood memory:¹

'Da lag ich einmal spät abends noch wach im Bett in der Nebenkammer und hörte meinen Vater: "Auguste, ich halte es nicht mehr aus, ich gehe zugrunde bei dieser endlosen, schauerhaften Arbeit". Da hörte sie auf mit dem Nähen und sagte: "Gustav, ich bitte dich; dann wirf doch lieber alles weg und laß uns nach Amerika gehen; es gehen ja jetzt so viele dahin".'

The vast majority of German settlers in America in the mid-19th century left their homeland simply in order to escape poverty or near-poverty. A number of the emigrants portrayed or mentioned in Raabe's novels leave Germany for similar reasons: the shoemaker Burger and his family in the Chronik,² the Tellerling family in Leute,³ Hamelmann's grandfather in Villa Schönow,⁴ and Vetter Just in Alte Nester.⁵ Probably Bernhard Grünhage's uncle in Das Horn von Wanza⁶ was also pressed for money when he took the same step. In the minds of many, America was one vast El Dorado,⁷ and the fabulous good fortune

1. v. Pongs, pp.63-64.

2. I,1,168-69.

3. I,5,278-79 & 292. For Ludwig Tellerling there is the added incentive that he will be able to rejoin Marie Heil.

4. III,2,5.

5. II,6,101; cf. Ernst Willkomm, Die Europamüden, Leipzig, 1838, vol.2, p.104; Spielhagen, In Reih' und Glied, vol.1, p.157, & Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.286. (References below to Die Europamüden are to the edition specified.)

6. III,1,453.

7. The lure of sudden wealth 'in dem neuentdeckten Goldlande Kalifornien' (Leute, I,5,321) was largely responsible for these illusions; cf. Leute, I,5,374-75; also Storm, Bötjer Basch (Sämmtliche Werke, vol.7), Brunswick, 1907, p.30; & Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, p.145.

of some who had left home often sufficed to change vague yearnings into pressing needs.¹ Nevertheless, wealth was not always uppermost in the thoughts of the emigrant. Fritz Wolf, in Leute, goes to America, and Horacker (in the tale of that name²) admits to having thought of doing so - each, like young Martin Chuzzlewit,³ in order to earn money for the sake of the girl of his choice. Quite unmaterialistic are the motives of those who have in one way or another been disappointed in love. Their main desire is simply to 'get away from it all',⁴ and America is one of several possibilities. Robert Wolf, in Leute,⁵ exclaims: 'Ich will nach Frankreich, nach Algier zur Fremdenlegion. Nach Amerika will ich, wie mein Bruder'. (It is for quite different reasons and not until much later that he actually makes the trip.) These are also the possibilities which Casimir envisages in

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1. v. Leute, I,5,357, & Der Schüdderump, III,1,233-34; cf. Akten, III, 5,258.
 2. II,1,497.
 3. Dickens, Chuzz., chap.14 (vol.1, p.294). Even Velten Andres, who 'sich wenig aus den Herrlichkeiten der Zeitlichkeit machte' (Akten, III,5,333), turns his attention to money-earning for a similar purpose, though in so doing he is clearly making a great concession.
 4. Obviously young Theodor's daydreams at the beginning of Prinzessin Fisch (II,6,321), which include the idea of joining his brother in America, are simply childish escapism. An older escapist is Fehleysen, alias van der Mook, in Abu Telfan (II,1,396). A similar desire to escape is expressed in one of Bismarck's letters to his young wife - v. Bismarck, Briefe, I,5,51.
 5. I,5,11.

Ida Hahn-Hahn's Ilda Schönholm:¹ 'Sieh, ich gehe fort, weiß Gott wohin, nach Algier, nach Amerika ...'. And Irma, in Auerbach's Auf der Höhe,² writes in her diary: 'Ich will fort, nach Italien, nach Spanien, nach Paris, nach dem Orient, nach Amerika ...'. Raabe's Christoph Pechlin,³ after his entanglement with Miss Eddish, rejects the idea of emigrating: "Unsterblich blamiert!" sagte er. "Sich den Hals abzuschneiden, wäre dumm; - sich zu ersäufen, wäre dümmer; - sich zu erschießen wäre am dümmsten, und nach Amerika durchzubrennen, mir - ungeschickt! ..."

Greater firmness of purpose on the part of some lovelorn swain apparently inspired the anonymous note on the park bench in Der Hungerpastor⁴ - 'Da ich es von wegen Louwisen nicht aushalten kann, so will ich nach Amerikah ...'. And in Die alte Universität⁵ it was love, together with the unfortunate outcome of a duel, which drove Siegfried Hartriegel across the Atlantic. Indeed, among those who emigrated or wished to emigrate, law-breakers and undesirables abounded. Willkomm mentions 'die grau gewordenen Laster ..., die in Europa nicht mehr hinlänglichen Spielraum finden für ihr lüsternes Leben'.⁶ In Raabe's

1. p.80.

2. Stuttgart, 1868 (vol.2, 6th edition) & 1870 (vol.1, 8th edition), vol.2, p.191.

3. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,523 (Krit.Ausgabe, vol.10, p.448, has 'wär' instead of 'mir'); cf. Der Hungerpastor, I,1,536; Christoph Pechlin, II,2,464; & Gutmanns Reisen, III,4,318.

4. I,1,487; cf. Hackländer, Europäisches Sklavenleben, vol.5, p.271; Spielhagen, In Reih' und Glied, vol.1, p.19; & Fontane, Der Stechlin, p.232.

5. I,4,363-89.

6. Die Europamüden, vol.2, p.83.

writings those who leave Europe for America include the disreputable figures of Pinnemann in Drei Federn,¹ the miller's daughter in Abu Telfan,² Doktor Schleimer in Alte Nester,³ Alexander Rodburg in Prinzessin Fisch, and Miss Eddish in Christoph Pechlin.⁴ And in the novels of Raabe's contemporaries the journey is made by a formidable number of rogues and malefactors - the Knips brothers in Freytag's Die Verlorene Handschrift,⁵ Hippus in Freytag's Soll und Haben⁶ and Ehrenthal's partner in the timber swindle in the same work;⁷ Medon in Immermann's Die Epigonen,⁸ Baum in Auerbach's Auf der Höhe,⁹ 'der unzufriedene Beamte' who lodged with Frau Lee in Keller's Der grüne Heinrich,¹⁰ and Lehnert Menz, the principal character in Fontane's Quitt.¹¹ Frau von Kosegarten's eldest son, in Gabriele Reuter's Der Amerikaner,¹² is a later (and more engaging) specimen of the same class. Far less suspect were the adventurous 'Amerikafahrer' to whom the author refers in Abu Telfan¹³ - such restless individuals as Felix Götz, the soldier of fortune in Der Hungerpastor.¹⁴ The term may also be applicable to the

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1. I,6,103 & 167.
 2. II,1,63-64.
 3. II,6,84; cf. II,6,107-08.
 4. II,2,523.
 5. Leipzig, 1905, vol.2, pp.244 & 426.
 6. vol.2, p.345.
 7. vol.1, p.530.
 8. ed.cit., vol.4, p.143.
 9. ed.cit., vol.2, p.82.
 10. part 4, chap.4 (vol.3, p.58).
 11. p.138.
 12. Berlin, 1924, p.14; cf. Dickens, Chuzz., chap.15 (vol.1, p.313).
References below to Der Amerikaner are to the edition specified.
 13. II,1,35 (cf. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.7, p.395); v.also Leute, I,5,397.
 14. I,1,386.

upright Peter Uhusen in Im alten Eisen,¹ the worthy Hauptmann Faber in Leute, and the eccentric Paul Ferrari in Deutscher Adel² - people who were not likely to settle. The same is true of some who apparently either emigrated to or simply visited America for business or professional reasons. Whether, like Karl Trotzendorff in Akten,³ they chose to stay, depended very largely on the degree of success with which they met. Trotzendorff's success was due almost entirely to his lack of scruple, a feature not necessarily common to the other members of this group.⁴

Finally, there were those who fled Germany for political reasons. Raabe mentions actual refugees such as Karl Heinzen⁵ and Karl Schurz,⁶ and of the German inn in St. Louis he writes:

'Alles, was es unter des durchlauchtigsten deutschen Bundes schützenden Privilegien nicht mehr aushalten konnte, schien sich hierher geflüchtet zu haben ...

... Daß der Wirt statt der Porträts der heimatlichen Potentaten und Potentatinnen ein Bild Robert Blums ... mit einem Blumenkranze geschmückt hatte, zeugte freilich von einem sehr schlechten Herzen und höchst verderbten politischen Anschauungen.'⁷

Roder, a mild primary school teacher in the Chronik,⁸ has to leave

' - sie haben ihn im Jahr Achtzehnhundertundneunundvierzig nach Amerika gejagt, sie fürchteten sich gewaltig vor ihm.'

1. III,3,46-47.

2. II,5,251-52.

3. III,5,235-36.

4. e.g. Mutter Cruse (Im alten Eisen, III,3,42) & Joseph Leppel (Leute, I,5,120-21); v. also Altershausen, III,6,250; & Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.1, p.132. The exact purpose of Vater Gutmann's visit to New York (Gutmanns Reisen, III,4,255) is not stated. The ridiculous Schminkert (Leute, I,5,408-420) is impelled to emigrate by his domestic débâcle and by his own native frivolousness.

5. Alte Nester, II,6,107.

6. Akten, III,5,340.

7. Leute, I,5,406-07.

8. I,1,123.

The German-American in Altershausen¹ had been rusticated 'in perpetuum' in connection with the protest of the 'Göttinger Sieben' in 1837. Even Lina Nebelung, the German-American in Eulenpfingsten, is, in a sense, a victim of political intolerance. (Carl Günter, in Eduard von Bauernfeld's Die Freigelassenen,² and Tusky, in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied,³ yield to similar pressures.)

For the European, America was the land of the free. One of the contributors to the above-mentioned Treue Schilderungen confirmed the hopes entertained by so many in the Old World when he wrote: '... hier weht ein Geist der Freiheit, welchen ich gegen kein volles Königreich umtauschen möchte'.⁴ For enthusiasts such as the author of Die Europamüden this freedom was of supreme importance. Auguste writes to Sigismund of her 'amerikanische Freiheitslust',⁵ and Burton, 'dieser freie, starke Mann',⁶ explains that Europe has 'seine mächtig süßen Reize ... aber Amerika's Freiheit überstrahlt doch alle'.⁷ His is 'die

1. III,6,284.

2. Günter also seeks to escape from social prejudice: v. Die Freigelassenen, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1875, vol.1, pp.236-37, and vol.2, pp.121-22 & 245.

3. Tusky, himself oppressed in Germany, plans to relieve oppression in America: v. vol.2, p.596.

4. p.72.

5. vol.2, p.139. Willkomm himself did not visit America.

6. vol.2, p.168; v. also vol.2, pp.116&162, and cf. Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.3, p.331: '...Ackermann war in Amerika-! ...Er wird sich dem Gesetz der Freiheit nicht entziehen.'

7. vol.2, p.116.

unerschütterliche Tugendhaftigkeit eines wahrhaftigen Republikaners ..., das heißt eines Menschen, der frei ist in politischer, sozialer und religiöser Beziehung; und solche Menschen kennt nur Amerika.¹

Nevertheless, a large number of writers were extremely sceptical about conditions in what Dickens ironically terms 'the land of liberty'.²

Laube³ and Kürnberger are among the most outspoken of the earlier 19th century critics. Incidental remarks made later by other writers

suggest that disillusion was widespread: Irma's father, in Auerbach's

Auf der Höhe,⁴ is not impressed by what he has seen: 'Ich fand die

Zukunftswelt in Amerika nicht'; Leo, in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied,⁵

is highly critical; and comments in Fontane's Der Stechlin⁶ and Quitt⁷

are decidedly uncomplimentary. Raabe was by no means blind to the deficiencies of the Americans or to the drawbacks of life in America.

At the same time he gave credit where he felt credit was due. His use

of the expression 'we are in a free country!'⁸, though flippant, betrays

1. vol.2, p.106 (cf. vol.2, pp.277-78: Willkomm says that he intends to write a sequel - 'Dann verlege ich die Scene an den Mississippi (sic), und dort, unter dem Schirm der sternbesäten Flagge, wird jeder Zwiespalt vollends ausgeglichen werden'). The lure of republicanism is also reflected in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied, vol.1, p.510; cf. Kürnberger, p.67.

2. Chuzz., chap.16 (vol.1, p.315).

3. v. Das junge Europa (Gesammelte Werke, vols.1-3), Leipzig, 1908, vol.3, pp.149-52.

4. ed.cit., vol.1, p.186.

5. vol.1, p.294.

6. p.347.

7. pp.9-10, 35, & 160.

8. Leute, I,5,414.

none of the cynicism with which Kürnberger invariably informed it.¹

In words reminiscent of the passage quoted from the Treue Schilderungen above,² Fritz Wolf writes with conviction:

'Es weht hier eine ungemein gesunde Luft ... man verliert dabei nicht so leicht den Mut. Die eigene Kraft, die in Europa so manches Mal nur eine Phrase ist für ein von tausenderlei Staatsgewalten gezügeltes, zurückgehaltenes, niedergedrücktes, vergebliches Abkämpfen, ist hier für den echten Mann noch immer eine Wahrheit ...'³

And the lyrics of Faber's first song⁴ might well be taken as a paean in praise of the freedom to be enjoyed in the country in which the scene is set.

Slavery, however, was a feature of American life which the enlightened writer of the mid-19th century was not ready to defend. Dickens' Martin Chuzzlewit,⁵ to which Raabe refers as a source of information about America,⁶ contains some very plain speaking on the slave

1. e.g. pp.111,190,209,286,367, & 500; Kürnberger likewise mocks the expression 'All men are equal!' - v. pp.263-64,277,343, & 484.

2. v. p. 91 above.

3. Leute, I,5,287-88; cf.I,5,410, where Fritz's brother echoes this sentiment.

4. Leute, I,5,372: 'Stand up, man, stand!/Free heart, free tongue, free hand,/Firm foot upon the sod!'. Pongs, pp.80-81, writes of K.L. Michelet: 'Die Erfüllung der freien Persönlichkeit im Einklang mit dem allgemeinen Geist erscheint ihm erreicht in Amerika.' Raabe attended lectures by Michelet in Berlin in 1854-55. According to Pongs the figure of Faber 'wäre wohl nicht ohne Michelet möglich'.

5. chaps.16,17, & 21 (vol.1, pp.325-26,348, & 443-44).

6. Leute, I,5,90.

question; and the impact of Harriet Beecher-Stowe's famous novel, with which Raabe was probably familiar,¹ is well known. His reference to the War of Secession as 'einem der edelsten Kriege der Welt'² speaks for itself. Other allusions in his writings to slaves and coloured servants underline his awareness of the freedom-slavery paradox: '... jetzt bin ich ... eine freie Republikanerin und Amerikanerin, und ... werde auch meine Salons haben und Bediente, schwarze und weiße.'³ The malcontent young Helene Trotzendorff is not amused when, a little later, Velten asks her:⁴

'Was? schwarz sollten wir uns hier auch wohl noch färben ..., um dir deine verflossenen Livreenigger ganz zu ersetzen?'

(Kürnberger⁵ observes at one point: 'Der neue Gebrauch der Livree in der Newyorker haute Finance schmiegte sich ... als eine pikante Illustration um die Devise: all men are equal'.)

Hand in hand with the freedom which characterized mid-19th century America went a lawlessness which also had no parallel in contemporary

1. v. pp. 335-36 below.

2. Im alten Eisen, III,3,86.

3. Akten, III,5,265-66; cf. III,5,240; & Kürnberger, p.73.

4. III,5,269. Other relevant passages are to be found in Leute, I,5,90, & Prinzessin Fisch, II,6,410. In this connection v. also: Auerbach, op. cit., vol.2, p.365; Kürnberger, pp.202-09; Gutzkow, op.cit., vol.1, pp.254-55, & vol.3, p.255; Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.2, pp.188-89; Schücking, op.cit., vol.1, p.203; and Gabriele Reuter, Der Amerikaner, p.12.

5. p.484.

Germany. Ludwig Tellering, an active member of the San Francisco vigilance committee of 'old forty-nine',¹ explains that they have 'etwas zu wenig von dem, was wir daheim zu viel haben, Polizeigesetz!'² Vater Krumhardt prophesies that the rascally Karl Trotzendorff, who has thus far managed to avoid detention in Sing-Sing,³ will die a violent death in America: '... hier hatte er doch nur mit den ordentlichen Behörden, Gerichten und nicht mit dem Lynchsystem zu tun.'⁴ While, therefore, the new arrivals found that certain aspects of life in the New World did not differ greatly from what they had left behind - Fink refers to this sameness in Soll und Haben⁵ - they were not unnaturally impressed first and foremost by those features which were quite foreign to their experience. (At the same time, to come across things which were essentially European also surprised the newcomer. Thus it seems to Robert Wolf 'wie ein traumhaftes Wunder' when he finds 'ein vollkommen deutsches Dorf ... Im Drachen zu Hikorihausen in Missouri ging's eben nicht anders zu als im Drachen zu Poppenhagen im Winzelwalde'.⁶)

1. Leute, I,5,360.

2. I,5,395.

3. Akten, III,5,237.

4. III,5,241. References to lynching and lynch law were apparently not uncommon during the period under discussion: v. Laube, Das junge Europa, ed.cit., vol.3, pp.151-52; Dickens, Chuzz., chap.33 (vol.2, p.125); and M.Wagner & C.Scherzer, Reisen in Nordamerika in den Jahren 1852 und 1853, Leipzig, 1854, vol.3, p.101. (The title of the last named work is abbreviated below to 'Reisen in Nordamerika'. References are to the edition specified.) Kürnberger, p.166, mentions 'die hiesige Lynchcensur'.

5. vol.2, p.176; cf. Freytag, Die verlorene Handschrift, ed.cit., vol.1, p.270.

6. Leute, I,5,400.

The vastness of the country,¹ the virgin forests,² the prairie,³ the redskins⁴ and the negroes⁵ - these and many other phenomena were new to the immigrant. New, too, was the bewildering variety of people from other countries with whom he was confronted upon arrival.⁶ Moreover, they were people who were 'nur mit sich selbst beschäftigt ... Selten fand der Strauchelnde eine barmherzige hilfreiche Hand'.⁷ And this was but one of the factors which made life hard.⁸

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1. v.Leute, I,5,90 & 287; cf.Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.1, p.169; Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, pp.252-53; & Sealsfield, Das Cajütenbuch, vol. 1, pp.31-32. In such vastnesses the unusual and the miraculous could easily be found - or, in the telling, invented: v.Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, p.252, & vol.3, p.361.
 2. v.Leute, I,5,90 & 287; Prinzessin Fisch, II,6,421; cf.Willkomm, op.cit., vol.1, pp.166-67, 181, & 353.
 3. v.Leute, I,5,16,287, & 379.
 4. v.Leute, I,5,90,122-23,390-91, & 400.
 5. v.Leute, I,5,122-23; also I,5,90: '.. Quadronenball zu New-Orleans'. Schminkert's reaction to Robert Wolf's appearance when they meet in America (I,5,414) is expressed largely in transatlantic terms: 'Ganz backwoodsmanhaft!... Etwas schmutzig, aber mokassinhaft praktisch! Neueste Urwaldsfaçon - büffelartig elegant!'. In this connection v. the use of the following terms elsewhere in Raabe's writings: 'Backwoodsmen' & 'Urwald' (II,2,18), 'Hinterwäldler' (II,2,88), 'hinterwäldlerisch' (I,5,101), 'Pedlar' & 'Farmer' (I,5,103), and 'Squatter' (II,4,532; cf.Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.2, p.161).
 6. v.Leute, I,5,360-61,365, & 372-74; Zum wilden Mann, II,4,63; Akten, III, 5,379; cf.Storm, Bötjer Basch, ed.cit., p.37; & Handbüchlein für Auswanderer nach Nordamerika, 2nd edition, Bâle, 1855, p.19. (The title of the last named work is abbreviated below to 'Handbüchlein'. References are to the edition specified.)
 7. Leute, I,5,360.
 8. v.ibid., I,5,397-98, & Alte Nester, II,6,128.

Among the difficulties with which the settler had to contend were rough living conditions,¹ bitter weather,² inadequate equipment³ and, above all, illness.⁴ For those who won through, such trials and tribulations could prove salutary. In Alte Nester Vetter Just admits: 'Für mich ... ist da diese glorreiche Republik der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika eine unbezahlbare Schulmeisterin gewesen'.⁵ Ackermann in Gutzkow's Die Ritter vom Geiste⁶ had hoped for much the same thing. He speaks of his decision 'mir eine große, starke, lebenerschütternde Läuterung aufzuerlegen. Ich ging nach Amerika.' And it is Faber's surmise, in Leute, that life in the wide open spaces is the answer to Robert Wolf's problems.⁷

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1. v.Leute, I,5,382-83; cf.Sealsfield, Nathan, p.303. Kürnberger, p.195, contends 'kein Luxus ist den Amerikanern zu luxuriös, aber jede Form zu formell.'
 2. v.Leute, I,5,386.
 3. v.Alte Nester, II,6,106; cf.Treue Schilderungen, p.36. The authors of Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.2, p.181, mention 'die Vortrefflichkeit der amerikanischen Ackerwerkzeuge'.
 4. v.Leute, I,5,405-06, & Alte Nester, II,6,106 & 147; cf.Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.1, pp.496-97; and Dickens, Chuzz., chap.23 (vol.1, pp. 462-69) & chap.33 (vol.2, p.120 et seq.).
 5. II,6,103.
 6. vol.3, p.59.
 7. v.Leute, I,5,16; cf.Keller, Der grüne Heinrich, part 4, chap.11 (vol. 3, p.175).

Nevertheless, the strangeness of their new surroundings caused many settlers to suffer from a complaint for which there was no satisfactory cure: homesickness. Fritz, the main figure in Gabriele Reuter's Der Amerikaner, explains:

'Kriegte plötzlich Heimweh, richtiges, sentimentales, deutsches Heimweh. Habe das oft beobachtet ...'¹

Similar feelings are expressed by several characters in Raabe's tales. In Leute, Eva Wolf writes wistfully about 'die alten bekannten Bilder';² Lina Nebelung, in Eulenpfingsten, admits to Nürrenberg: 'Nach Ihnen hab ich Heimweh gehabt!';³ by which she means: '... das Ideal eines deutschen gemütlichen Nachbars, der nicht zu weit ab wohnt, stand mir doch stets dicht daneben vor der Seele';⁴ and Just exclaims in Alte Nester:⁵ 'Ach Gott, wie habe ich mir da drüben so oft nach dem Erker und des Großvaters Wissenschaftsschranke das Herz abgeseht!' (He later maintains:⁶ 'Ein bißchen Heimweh dann und wann in der Fremde schadet keinem Menschen'.)

1. p.67; cf. Holtei's words 'verzehrte sich in deutschem Heimweh' (Die Vagabunden, ed.cit., vol.2, p.130). Louise v. François writes of 'Heimweh': 'Wir Deutschen haben das Wort ausdrucksvoller als jede andere Sprache...' (Zu Füßen des Monarchen, pp.214-16). Bismarck, on the other hand, wrote: '...ich bin homesick nach unserm Häuschen' (Bismarck, Briefe, 14.6.52).
2. I,5,291; cf. Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.1, p.312, & vol.2, p.163.
3. II,4,299.
4. II,4,301; cf. Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.1, pp.20 & 22.
5. II,6,96.
6. II,6,132; cf. ibid., II,6,227.

Referring to German immigrants in America, Lenau once wrote:

'Anfangs dünkt ihnen das fremde Land unerträglich, und sie werden ergriffen von einem mächtigen Heimweh. Aber wie bald ist dieß Heimweh verloren!'¹

None of Raabe's characters is stated to have lost his affection for the homeland. But Ewald Sixtus in Alte Nester, who settles in Ireland, is guilty of a fault which was apparently very common: he neglects to write to the folk at home.² Nevertheless, he does eventually, at least in some measure, make good his sins of omission.

Raabe leaves little doubt in the reader's mind that, as he saw it, commercialism was one of the dominant features of life in America. In Leute,³ Faber's speech at the graves of Fritz and Eva Wolf is couched in terms which evidently reflect this opinion:

'... Ihr Part am Welt-business ist vorüber. Ihr Konto ist geschlossen ... Aber wenn sie auch in Sicherheit sind; der große Ladenhalter - shopkeeper der Welt schließt darum sein Geschäft noch nicht; hat's auch fürs erste nicht nötig, denn die Fonds sind gut, und aufs Spekulieren versteht er sich...'

It is an awareness of this commercialism which persuades Velten Andres to abandon his studies in favour of a more lucrative occupation.⁴ The grudging praise of Vater Krumhardt when he hears of Velten's temporary

1. Briefe an einen Freund, 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1853, p.102. The letter includes (p.103) the observation: 'Als Schule der Entbehrung ist Amerika wirklich sehr zu empfehlen'.
2. v.II,6,144 & 174; v.also Der Hungerpastor, I,1,386; and cf.Auerbach, op.cit., vol.2, p.82, & Handbüchlein, p.96. Treue Schilderungen opens with a letter 'von Eurem schon längst todt geglaubten Bruder'.
3. I,5,387-88.
4. v.Akten, III,5,317.

success in America also reveals some such awareness: Velten seems, he says, to have made the acquaintance and gained the respect 'eines ihrer Allergrößten dorten, nämlich was das Geld anbetrifft'.¹ Comparable comments are to be found in works by Freytag,² Gutzkow,³ Dickens,⁴ Sealsfield,⁵ Kürnberger⁶ and Fontane.⁷ An American colonel in Sealsfield's Morton, for example, admits 'das ist ein Nationalfehler, Alles rennt wie wahnsinnig dem Gelde nach'.⁸ In Akten the Trotzendorffs - mother, father and daughter - are, in their various ways, products of American commercialism. Sudden wealth and congenital silliness lead to arrogance and pretentiousness on the part of the former millionairess.⁹ Her husband's shady activities go virtually unchecked in the New World. Had he remained in Germany, he might perhaps have ended poor but penitent. When we last hear of him he is rich and evidently still a scoundrel. His daughter, Helene, spends the latter part of her childhood in Germany,

1. III,5,334.

2. v.Soll und Haben, vol.1, pp.110-11.

3. v.Ritter, vol.3, p.263.

4. v.Chuzz., chap.16 (vol.1, pp.319 & 337).

5. v.Nathan, p.329, and Das Cajütenbuch, vol.2, pp.189 & 197-98.

6. v. pp.282 & 297.

7. v.Quitt, pp.140 & 175.

8. vol.1, p.97.

9. It is these characteristics which, understandably, make her unpopular. Krumhardt's father and mother, Hartleben, young Velten, and even the temperate Krumhardt himself, find her a trial - v.III,5,232, 237-38, 241,242,251, & 255-256.

but having returned to America she quickly succumbs to the atmosphere in which her father's values rule supreme. Velten soon begins to realize what has happened: 'Das arme Wurm scheinen sie drüben schon sauber eingeseift zu haben'.¹ Later, as the rich, middle-aged 'Widow Mungo',² she shows that she is conscious of the meaning of her wealth in terms of influence:

'Unsere Gesandtin hat mir heute morgen geschrieben und mich dringend gebeten, den heutigen Abend bei ihr nicht zu versäumen. ... Mr. Irving ... ist aus London inkognito hier. Willst Du den Monolog "To be, or not to be" von ihm hören? Der Herr wird mir einer Tournee drüben bei uns zuliebe gewiß gern den Gefallen tun.'³

The Americans, or at least those who had any contact with the European continent, were popularly considered to be rich.⁴ Clearly, those who had emigrated and who then returned to their homeland had, in the main, met with some measure of success.⁵ (The arrival of some sort of 'Onkel aus Amerika'⁶ was never totally unexpected.) Responsible

1. III,5,302.

2. III,5,221. She is described (III,5,417) as 'eigentumslos, besitzes- müde in der Welt, sie, die in New York zu den reichsten Bürgerinnen der Vereinigten Staaten gerechnet wurde!'. Possibly Raabe was familiar with two now obsolete meanings of 'mungo': (a) A person of position, a 'swell'; & (b) A typical name for a black slave (v. O.E.D.).

3. III,5,426-27; v. p.⁴⁴⁶ below.

4. v. Fontane, Der Stechlin, p.218.

5. Exceptions seem relatively rare. Paul Ferrari (Deutscher Adel, II,5, 233 et seq.) is one. Gabriele Reuter, Der Amerikaner, p.33, indicates that to fail and return home a pauper was the fate of many.

6. v. H.Jants, 'Amerika im deutschen Dichten und Denken', Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß, ed. W.Stammler, Berlin, Bielefeld, Munich, 1952-59, vol.3, column 165; cf. Altershausen, III,6,340; also Heinrich Seidel, Leberecht Hühnchen (Gesamtausgabe), Stuttgart & Berlin, 1932, p.121.

to a certain extent for this belief in the American's opulence was the difference between the European and the American idea of what constituted wealth. Thus when Robert Wolf finds himself in possession of what the Americans termed 'a competency' the narrative continues: 'Für deutsche Begriffe war Robert Wolf ein reicher Mann geworden ...'.¹ Similarly it is said of Harry Rodewald in Gutzkow's Die Ritter vom Geiste:² 'Harry wurde wohlhabend, für den Kontinent vermögend'.

A suggestion that the American penchant for commercial speculation manifested itself even in the very young is to be found in Raabe's brief description of the 'Yankeekinder' in Leute,³ 'die ... von den Armen ihrer Mütter und Wärterinnen die Ankommenden mit nußknackerhaft-spekulierendem Augenzwinkern anstarrten'. One of the many things which Vetter Just (in Alte Nester) learns in America is that it is a country 'wo jedes Kind, sowie es das Licht der Welt erblickt hat, sofort sich auf das Praktische legt und mit seinen Eltern über seine ersten natürlichen Geschäfte an zu

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1. Leute, I,5,391; cf. Alte Nester, II,6,96. In this connection v. W. Scharrer, Wilhelm Raabes literarische Symbolik, dargestellt an Prinzessin Fisch, Munich, 1927, p.56: in the first version of Prinzessin Fisch the figure of Heinrich was 'ein rasch reich gewordener Deutsch-amerikaner, der einen "Schweif von Anbetern seines transatlantischen Mammons" hinter sich herzieht'. (Heinrich was a relatively harmless fellow. His rôle was transformed into that of the knavish Alexander Rodburg in the final version.)
 2. vol.3, p.395; cf. Fontane, Der Stechlin, p.278.
 3. I,5,405; cf. comments on American business-mindedness in Schücking's Verschlungene Wege, ed.cit., vol.1, p.223, & Freytag's Soll und Haben, vol.1, pp.552-53.

handeln fängt'.¹ And in Kürnberger's Der Amerika-Müde a long tirade by Dr. Channing includes the words: 'Der Amerikaner soll baldmöglichst ein Dollar erzeugendes Automat werden'.²

There was evidence that, with a similar aim in mind, a number of Americans had no regard for even the most rudimentary business ethics.³ Kürnberger asserts 'Einem Amerikaner ist jedes Mittel recht',⁴ a view which had been implied in Dickens' Martin Chuzzlewit,⁵ and which Raabe evidently shared: in Drei Federn⁶ the selling of emigrants 'an amerikanische Güterspekulanten' is one of the former pursuits of the villainous Pinnemann; and in Leute an attempt is made to rob Faber and Robert Wolf as they leave the goldfields.⁷

With such business-mindedness went a practical, rational and business-like attitude to life in general. Faber greets Robert Wolf with the words: '... seid Ihr nach Kalifornien gekommen, um auf offener Straße ein germanisch Tagträumen zu beginnen? Beim Plutus und Mammon,

1. II,6,105.

2. p.215; cf. *ibid.*, pp.19-21, & Sealsfield, Nathan, p.410. Fortune-hunting, however, to judge by a passage in Gabriele Reuter's Der Amerikaner, p.72, was frowned on by the Americans.

3. v. Akten, III,5,237, a reference to two notorious American scoundrels, James Fisk (1834-72) & William M. Tweed (1823-71), perpetrators of gigantic swindles (v. *Krit.Ausgabe*, vol.19, p.470).

4. p.399.

5. chap.16 (vol.1, pp.326 & 330-31).

6. I,6,61.

7. I,5,393-94: the robbers are not necessarily Americans of English descent; nevertheless they are called 'Gentlemen'.

kein Platz dafür hier ...'¹ Even the enthusiastic author of Die Europamüden realises this. Burton explains: '... Nur thätig muß Jedermann sein, das Träumen darf er nicht mit herüberschiffen über den Ozean.'² If the newcomer was prepared to buckle to, he was likely to prosper.³

In Alte Nester America is described by Just as a country 'wo die Leute in jedem Moment ganz genau wissen, was sie sagen und was sie fragen'.⁴ The narrator refers to the speaker as a 'Bürger der nüchternen Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika'.⁵ Small wonder that Paul Ferrari, who - in Deutscher Adel - returns to his native Germany a poor man, was no match for such hard-headedness. A friend declares:

'... daß die Amerikaner auf dein letztes Phantasma, dein neues ... Universalpulver nicht anleckten, habe ich im voraus gewußt.'⁶

While the negative effects of this sobriety in cultural matters⁷ were deplored even by the most well-disposed of writers, in certain other respects it was commonly regarded with something approaching admiration.

1. Leute, I,5,362.

2. vol.2, p.84.

3. v.Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.3, p.28.

4. II,6,93.

5. II,6,120; cf. Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, pp.252-53, & editor's note on vol.2, p.112.

6. II,5,251.

7. v. p. 117 below.

It is no surprise to find the narrator in Die Europamüden¹ envious of Burton, the man of action. People like Burton are impatient of long discussions -

'Sie begreifen kaum, daß der Zwang der Verhältnisse uns allen nur die Rede als Schmerzensstillen, statt der entrissenen That in die krampfhaft zuckenden Hände gegeben hat...'

But it is striking to find one of the characters in Kürnberger's novel expressing what can only be approval of the Americans' sensible attitude towards work - a concept dissociated from the idea of service ('Der Amerikaner achtet jede Arbeit, denn keine ist ihm ein Dienst.²)

There is a strong suggestion in Alte Nester that a man in America was judged solely according to what he achieved with 'seinen zwei groben Fäusten'³ - a suggestion borne out by the anonymous Handbüchlein.⁴

On his return to Germany Just confesses:

'... Mit meiner Vorfahren Ackerboden habe ich auch mit allen meinen amerikanischen Erfahrungen wenig anzufangen gewußt';

but he gives himself the lie when he continues:

'aber an eine rationelle Ausnutzung unseres Wiesenlandes hatte vor mir keiner gedacht; ich aber habe manchen guten Morgen zugekauft, und es trägt sich aus.'⁵

Here Just has something in common with Ackermann who, in Die Ritter vom

1. vol.2, p.198; cf. *ibid.*, vol.2, p.147; and Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.1, p.193 et seq.

2. p.131.

3. II,6,105.

4. p.21.

5. II,6,251.

Geiste, pleads with Schlurck for the lease of the Hohenberg farmlands:

'Es ist mir nur um die Gelegenheit zu tun, eine große Wirtschaft zu führen und den deutschen Landwirten amerikanische Erfahrungen zu zeigen.'¹

Important adjuncts of this realistic and purposeful approach to life are mentioned by Raabe in passing. The Americans in Leute are determined: 'Die Kerle haben sich in den Kopf gesetzt, einen ... Nebenarm des Wassers abzuleiten, und es wird ihnen mit ihrem never give up gelingen'.² (Some twenty-five years after he had completed Leute, Raabe scribbled a note to his daughter Gretchen: 'Die Amerikaner sagen in großen Drangsalen Keep a stiff upperlip! Thue nach ihrem Exempel!'³) The Americans are crafty ('Vetter Just, der sich so lange unter den schlaunen Amerikanern aufgehalten hatte ...'⁴), and they are self-controlled. They fight shy of emotional situations. Vetter Just was glad of Stakemann's banal chatter when the time came to move back to the Steinhof: '... die Sache hätte sich sonst wirklich für einen Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika zu sehr ins Gerührte verlaufen'.⁵ He compares his own loquacity with the reticence of the true American: 'Ein echt eingeborener Nordamerikaner hätte dir einfach gesagt: Ich habe

1. vol.1, p.441. (Ackermann's experience includes, however, the use of agricultural machinery with which Just was quite unfamiliar: v. *ibid.*, vol.2, p.108.)

2. I, 5, 373.

3. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr.2': the words are written on the back of an 'Abschnitt zur Post-Packetadresse', dated 8.7.87 (v.p. 140 below); cf. Sealsfield, Nathan, p.304, & Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.2, p.297.

4. Alte Nester, II, 6, 167; cf. Kürnberger, pp.135, 221, & 305.

5. Alte Nester, II, 6, 116.

den Steinhof wieder; wenn du Lust hast, male dir alles übrige dazu oder laß es bleiben.'¹ In Eulenzpöngsten Lina Nebelung's calm in circumstances in which all the true Germans concerned are highly agitated is felt to be truly American. Despite the unusual situation, she gives her niece 'einen ruhigen Kuß'² when met at the station, and on the way to her brother's house reflects:

'Na, ein Gutes hat es doch: da behält man eben seinen mühsam errungenen Gleichmut und verschiebt seine Rührung auf eine unbestimmte passendere Gelegenheit.'³

She consoles the weeping Käthchen:

'... als ich so jung war wie du, wurde ich mir auch häufig genug selber interessanter durch die hydrodynamischen Erscheinungen meiner Natur; aber jetzt bin ich Lehrerin der Physik und der Physiologie am Vassar College ... gewesen ... Was ist die Träne? Eine serös-schleimige Feuchtigkeit...'⁴

- she continues with a detailed definition which coincides with that given in the 1836 edition of Brockhaus, Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie. She does not, as might be expected, set off in hot pursuit of her brother: 'Fürs erste ... wollen wir ruhig hier in der Hanauer Straße bleiben'.⁵ And even her reactions in the final emotional scene are not unrestrained.⁶

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1. II,6,117; cf. Willkomm, Die Europamüden, vol.2, p.198; & Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.3, pp.164-65.
 2. II,4,213-14.
 3. II,4,218.
 4. II,4,222; 'Vassar' is spelt 'Vassor' in the edition in question.
 5. II,4,243; v. also II,4,306, and cf. Sealsfield, Das Cajütenbuch, vol.1, p.255, & vol.2, pp.35,196, & 216; Gerstäcker, Flußpiraten, p.35; & Fontane, Quitt, p.144; cf. further Dickens, Chuzz., chap.21 (vol.1, p.419).
 6. II,4,312.

In Sealsfield's Das Cajütenbuch the Texan Colonel Morse is a man 'der seine Gemüths- sowohl, als körperlichen Bewegungen vollkommen zu beherrschen weiß'.¹ In Leute it is simply a sign that Fritz Wolf is not completely Americanized when he appears 'mit seiner Yankeeselbstbeherrschung zu Ende zu sein'.² A little later we read: 'Trotz seiner Selbstbeherrschung stand der Bürger der amerikanischen Republik auf dem Punkte, sich ungeheuer lächerlich zu machen'.³ But when Leo von Poppen refuses to duel with him ('Merci, ich schieße mich nicht für ein Weib'), Wolf's reaction is that of an American: "'All right!" sagte der Amerikaner kalt ...'.⁴

In the light of this evidence it is not surprising that the Americans should have been accused of heartlessness. Here Willkomm and Kürnberger agree. A conversation in Die Europamüden - between Rosalie and Felix - reads in part:⁵

'... "dort ist alles jung, neu und frisch; aber die Menschen haben keine Herzen."

"Wie fangen sie's denn da mit dem Leben an? ..."

Equally harsh but by no means as unexpected is the opinion expressed in a conversation in Der Amerika-Müde - between Moorfeld and Benthal - which reads in part:⁶

"... Wie existirt hier das Herz?"

"Das Herz existirt nicht in Amerika" ...

"Das ist ja nicht möglich..."

1. vol.1, p.18.

2. I,5,91.

3. I,5,97.

4. I,5,103.

5. vol.1, p.263.

6. p.136; cf. Gabriele Reuter, Der Amerikaner, p.13.

Eva Wolf (in Leute) writes from America: 'Wir leben hier in einem herzlosen, lieblosen Getümmel';¹ and Velten Andres' letter (in Akten) concerning the fate of Helene Trotzendorff² implies that there is little room for qualities of the heart in her new surroundings:

'Mit ihrem tückischen Glanz haben sie auch unser liebes Singvögelchen aus dem Vogelsang hernieder in ihr Netz stürzen machen und ihr nicht nur das arme, dumme, kleine Schädelchen und Gehirnchen, sondern auch das schöne, weite Herz eingedrückt.'

While visiting America, Velten finds, in the Trotzendorffs'

'Renommiertischexemplar', the opening lines of Goethe's third ode to Behrisch: 'Sei gefühllos!/Ein leichtbewegtes Herz/Ist ein elend Gut/Auf der wankenden Erde'.³

Behaviour which might strike the European as brutally unfeeling found an advocate, however, in a German whose views and character are presented by Raabe as wholly admirable - Hauptmann Faber. As has been seen,⁴ Faber believed that life in America would be a salutary experience for Robert Wolf. Apparently he was also convinced that a good school is a hard school. Describing life in the diggings in California he says that when a prospector dies 'die Kameraden werfen den Sand und das Gestein, welche Ihr mit so viel Schweiß ... aus der Grube herausgebracht habt, wieder auf Euch, und dann - dann jeder an sein Geschäft; - go ahead! Aber es ist doch ein glorioses Treiben!'⁵ As Ramberg explains in

1. I, 5, 292.

2. Akten, III, 5, 339.

3. III, 5, 368-69; cf. Drei Federn, I, 6, 114.

4. v.p. 97 above.

5. I, 5, 363.

Schücking's Verschlungene Wege: '... Sie wissen, go ahead ist unser Wahlspruch drüben'.¹ Kürnberger confirms this with his habitual

acerbity: Moorfeld claims that the term 'Humbug' is

'der erschöpfendste für den amerikanischen Nationalgeist ... werden wir die hiesige Zukunftsreligion ohne alle Frivolität Humbug nennen dürfen. Sie wird eine Religion des Unternehmungsgeistes, der Eroberung, eine Religion go ahead sein.'²

Life in America was hard and hurried,³ and the weakest went to the wall. Vetter Just, in Alte Nester, found that the national authorities made no provision for the education of the German settlers' children in Neu-Minden. They had to make their own arrangements, and it was their good fortune 'daß es immer noch etwas auf sich hat mit dem deutschen Gewissen, nämlich soweit es sich um Vaterpflichten und Muttersorgen handelt ...'.⁴

That the Germans tended to regard themselves to a certain extent as a group apart may have been due in some measure to the fact that many Americans in the mid-19th century were resentful of the immigrant, whom they regarded as an intruder. This was not a specifically anti-German sentiment, but since the Germans formed one of the largest immigrant contingents they were naturally exposed to criticism and abuse. Fritz

1. ed.cit., vol.1, p.207.

2. p.392.

3. v.Treue Schilderungen, p.41; Kürnberger, p.446; & Schücking, op.cit., vol.2, p.7.

4. II,6,108; cf.Sealsfield, Das Cajütenbuch, vol.2, p.242: '...Weib und Kinder berühren die Eisenseele des Amerikaners an der tiefsten, zartesten Seite!'

Wolf mentions the 'Natives' and the 'Knownothings' in Leute¹ - people who belonged to movements which were symptomatic of this resentment. The children who, much later in the novel, stared at the new arrivals in St. Louis, are described as 'diese ... kalomelfarbigen Natives' who seemed to want to poison 'das eindringende deutsche Element durch Blicke'.² And it is with the pride of achievement that Vetter Just, in Alte Nester,³ relates: '... so habe ich selbst als Deutscher den lieben Leuten da drüben ganz devilish imponiert'. Further evidence of German unpopularity may be found in the following circumstance: in Leute, after their unsuccessful attempt to rob Faber and Robert, the thwarted 'Gentlemen' withdraw 'fluchend über die damned Dutchmen'.⁴ The negative connotations of this term⁵ were similar to those of words such as 'pommy' or 'limey', which are likewise often qualified by some abusive epithet.

As has been seen,⁶ Raabe evidently thought well of American fortitude and determination. The positive American characteristics

1. I, 5, 90. The reference to Knownothings would seem to be an anachronism. The movement did not come into being until the early fifties. Wolf's subsequent letter from America is dated (I, 5, 288) 'am 28. Februar 184-'.
2. I, 5, 405-06.
3. II, 6, 99.
4. I, 5, 393-94; cf. Altershausen, III, 6, 284.
5. v. J. Goebel, 'Zur Geschichte der Scheltnamen D u t c h m a n und D u t c h', Der Kampf um deutsche Kultur in Amerika, Leipzig, 1914; cf. Kürnberger, pp. 127, 131, 288, 338, 341, 346, 350, & 366.
6. v. p. 106 above.

which he sees fit to mention are few. Vetter Just returns to Germany 'mit einem gewissen, völlig undefinierbaren Anstrich von Exotischem, einem ihm ganz sonderbar gut passenden Anflug von Amerikanertum. ... Es war wundervoll!'.¹ But we already know Just to be a good fellow. The time spent in America has helped him to regain and reorganize the farm of his forefathers in Germany, but his character seems little changed. Possibly his manner has become more expansive. Possibly he also owes this to America - to the confidence based on money earned and lessons learned there. But it seems not unlikely that, no matter where he had gone, he would, given time, have developed in much the same way. One small but important virtue of his does, however, appear to be American in origin. Fritz Langreuter is late for a breakfast appointment, and is greeted by Just: 'Du bist lange ausgeblieben, Fritz! Aber so seid ihr einmal hier, und man muß euch nehmen, wie ihr seid!'.² That the Americans attached great importance to punctuality is strongly suggested by the word 'hier'. (There is nothing to indicate that the tolerance behind the concluding words is American in origin.) The narrator, however, stressing later that Just is a man who keeps his word 'pünktlich', insists that this has always been the case. Moreover, he does so in

1. Alte Nester, II,6,92. Just's experiences in America are reflected in his speech. He is reported as saying, for example, '...so reiche doch endlich deine Hand (your fist, sagte er) her'. Raabe may well have come across such English vocabulary in the novels of Fenimore Cooper (v.pp.322 et seq., below). The words 'give us your fist' occur, for instance, in The Pioneers, chap.24.

2. II,6,127.

words which, for America, are at best a left-handed compliment: 'Dieses war selbst in seinen Traumjahren auf dem Steinhofe der Fall, und sein Aufenthalt in Amerika hatte nichts daran geändert'.¹

It is hard to say whether the jaunty way in which George Hartriegel introduces himself in Die alte Universität is intended to convey any peculiarly American impression: ' - heiße Hartriegel - George Hartriegel aus Tuscaloosa - United States of North-America! Doktor der Medizin, gegenwärtig Student im alten deutschen Vaterland!'² (The omission of the first person pronoun was commonly used to characterise American speech.³) His ebullience subsequent to this introduction is evidently due, in the main, to his discovery that the friendly Pastor Cellarius is none other than his father-in-law in spe - and to his re-discovering a little later 'die gute Erhardine'. The author does not condemn the young man's behaviour,⁴ but there is no reason to assume that it is anything other than the cosmopolitan exuberance of young love.

Despite their reputation for self-control, a number of Americans, according to Kürnberger,⁵ did not observe 'jene stillbewußte Zurückhaltung ..., womit in Europa der Mann von Verdienst sich bekleidet'. Apparently Kürnberger's objection was to a mild exhibitionism which also gave rise to

1. II,6,134.

2. I,4,387.

3. v. Leute, I,5,365; cf. Pongs, p.92.

4. The final pages of the tale (I,4,387-89) are so unusually cloying that it is well to stress this.

5. p.201.

comment in later novels of the period.¹ The showman certainly flourished in America.² But perhaps this lack of restraint was simply artlessness: Gabriele Reuter describes the average American as 'viel einfacher und unkomplizierter in seinem Denken und Empfinden und deshalb auch viel froher'.³

Gay abandon was certainly not foreign to the American scene, although the lyrics of Faber's 'tolles amerikanisches Tanzlied' in Leute leave much to the imagination: 'Here we go up, up, up,/Here we go down, down, down,/Here we go backwards and forwards/And here we go round, round, round.'⁴ Neither this song nor that mentioned earlier⁵ would serve to refute the opinion which is implicit in Kürnberger's phrase 'das sangesarme Volk der Yankees'.⁶ As usual, Kürnberger goes too far: 'Das ganze Volk hat keine einzige musikalische Note in seiner Kehle.'⁷ He maintains that music in America is generally left to the negroes, for 'die Niggers haben mehr Talent dafür als die weißen Natives'.⁸ (In this

1. v. Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, p.521; & Gabriele Reuter, Der Amerikaner, pp.84 & 121-22.
2. v. Leute, I,5,98: '...gleich einem Eingeweihten, gleich dem großen Barnum selber, redete er über managers, über actors und actresses...'. The members of the 'Théâtre-Variété' in Akten (III,5,394) include 'Miß Athleta', 'John Arden', & the 'Sisters Larsen'.
3. Der Amerikaner, p.116.
4. I,5,382.
5. v. p.⁹³, note 4, above. (References to Yankee Doodle - in the Chronik, I,1,124, & Leute, I,5,374-75 - are non-committal.)
6. p.383.
7. p.379.
8. p.10.

connection it is interesting to note that when the hero of Gabriele Reuter's Der Amerikaner bursts into song, it is to sing 'einen drolligen Niggersong'.¹⁾

There are a number of comments in Raabe's writings which suggest that his opinion of cultural values in America was much the same as that held by many of his contemporaries. Apart from Vassar College,² the only American institutions with even remotely cultural connections to which he refers are theatres and newspapers. The names 'Neuyorker Staatszeitung',³ and 'New-Yorker Tribüne',⁴ are mentioned, but without comment. In Akten Velten Andres, in a letter from America, touches on his journalistic activities there and alludes to the ease with which public opinion can be swayed.⁵ But he does not suggest that the public is any more gullible in America than it is elsewhere. In Leute⁶ Fritz Wolf speaks of the theatre in general terms 'gleich einem Eingeweihten'. The reader learns very little except that 'er selbst habe ... als Sänger

1. pp.78-79.

2. v.Eulenpdingsten, II,4,222; & Akten, III,5,422: '...die ganze Gelehrsamkeit von Poughkeepsie...'.
 3. Alte Nester, II,6,135. A collection of articles from this newspaper was published under the title Bilder aus dem amerikanischen Leben, New York, 1884 (vol.1) & 1886 (vol.2).

4. Leute, I,5,122.

5. III,5,340 (Velten writes here in inelegant and incorrect German. That the incorrectness was deliberate seems unlikely.); cf. Fontane, Der Stechlin, p.360; & Dickens, Chuzz., chap.16 (vol.1, pp.315-17 & 321).

6. I,5,97-98.

money gemacht und großen Beifall errungen auf mehr als einem deutschen Theater unter dem Sternenbanner'. That show business could be lucrative is seen, in the same novel, from the career of Joseph Leppel: in Germany the owner of an itinerant puppet-show, he becomes 'zu New York manager eines vielbesuchten Vorstadttheaters', and is 'auf dem Wege, ein reicher Mann zu werden'.¹ The popularity of such theatres is no indication of the standard of their repertoires. Nevertheless the public evidently had certain - unspecified - standards which could not be flouted: while on tour Wolf was 'furchtbar ausgezischt'.² Peter Uhusen, in Im alten Eisen, had a similar reception when he played Hamlet, as Mutter Cruse reminds him. Her words imply that, in her view, the audience in question was not hard to please, but that really bad acting was not tolerated: '... Sie fielen mir glänzend damit durch, selbst vor dem Publikum von Brooklyn'.³

We have it on the authority of a Roman Catholic missionary that the 'Yenkee' - the term is used here with particular reference to the inhabitants of New England - was 'sehr lern- und wißbegierig',⁴ but the kind of knowledge for which he thirsted is not specified. Probably it

1. I,5,121.

2. I,5,122.

3. III,3,169; a similar catastrophe, it seems, occurred when Uhusen had the rôle of Leicester in Maria Stuart, but whether in America or elsewhere is not clear (v. loc.cit.).

4. Skizzen aus Nord-Amerika. Schilderungen aus der Natur, dem religiösen, politischen und socialen Leben. In Briefen eines katholischen Missionärs, Augsburg, 1845, pp.109-11. (The title of this work is abbreviated below to 'Skizzen aus Nord-Amerika'. References are to the edition specified.)

was knowledge of a practical nature which would serve materialistic interests.¹ The American attitude to virtually all cultural activities is perhaps best expressed by Gerstäcker's Mr. Smart:² 'Ein Yankee und Verse machen? ... prächtige Idee das. Nein, Mrs. Dayton, damit befasse ich mich weniger; Verse bringen nichts ein ...' Fritz Wolf's admission 'er selbst habe ... als Sänger money gemacht'³ may also be taken as a reflection of this attitude. Even the flattering picture of Burton in Willkomm's Die Europamüden is not flawless: he has 'für vieles keinen Sinn, womit des Europäers ganzes Dasein auf das Engste zusammengewachsen ist. Die Kunst schien ihm ein völlig thörichter Tand zu sein'.⁴ Velten Andres' decision - in Akten - to give up his studies and turn to tailoring is prompted by an awareness of these values:

'Er will nämlich versuchen, in den Vereinigten Staaten sein Glück zu machen ... Mit unserm deutschen Doktor der Philosophie würde es

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1. O.Ladendorf, Historisches Schlagwörterbuch, Strasbourg & Berlin, 1906, defines 'Amerikanismus' as 'Stichwort zur Charakterisierung einer von materiellen Erwägungen beherrschten und offen zur Schau getragenen Sinnesrichtung'.
 2. Flußpiraten, p.66.
 3. Leute, I,5,98.
 4. vol.2, pp.81-82; cf. Dickens, Chuzz., chap.16 (vol.1, p.338); & Kürnberger, pp.27,77, & 132. Despite his strictures, Kürnberger concedes (pp.226-27): '...der Yankee liebt die erhabene Natur und hat einen angeborenen poetischen Sinn für sie. Er .. läßt sich seine geliebten Dollars nicht reuen, um einen Wasserfall, oder einen Löwen zu sehen'. But he continues: 'Freilich würde es seinen Genuß wunderbar erhöhen, wenn der Wasserfall zugleich eine Mühle triebe und der Löwe einen Bratspieß drehte'. He is equally critical of the German-American population in Harrisburg (pp.278-82), although a note of hope is struck by one of the characters in the novel (p.197): 'Der Reichthum hat seine Flegeljahre jetzt in Amerika. Er ist in einem Stadium der Abgeschmacktheit begriffen, aber es is nur ein Stadium. Denn G e l d wird immer zu G e i s t ...'.

da drüben in dieser Hinsicht wohl etwas langsam gehen.
Dergleichen geistigen Überfluß schickt ihnen das alte Vaterland
schon etwas sehr reichlich hinüber ...'¹

An illustration of the fate of the educated immigrant is given in the Treue Schilderungen:² the talented and industrious 'Dr. St', who had mastered at least eight languages, found it impossible, after four years in the New World, 'sich eine gesicherte Existenz zu erwerben'. The German society which sought to help immigrants to settle announced on numbers of occasions that employment was easily found for farmers and artisans (cabinet-makers, shoemakers, tailors, etc.), 'daß sie ... mit gebildeten Leuten ... aber nichts anzufangen wisse'.³ Certainly, if the immigrant was adaptable his chances of survival and success were high. Thus in Freytag's Die Verlorene Handschrift⁴ a theologian who emigrated to America with a brewer's daughter settles in Wisconsin as an apothecary. That this particular immigrant strayed so far from his original calling is, in point of fact, a little surprising. We are not told his motives. Yet of the learned professions his, at least, was evidently flourishing.

Raabe does not appear to have had any particularly marked views on American sectarianism. (The Handbüchlein⁵ lists twenty-four religious

1. III,5,317; cf. *ibid.*, III,5,313 & 322.

2. pp.28-29.

3. *ibid.*, p.14.

4. *ed.cit.*, vol.2, pp.84-86.

5. p.19; cf. Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.2, p.183. In Heinrich Seidel's Leberecht Hühnchen, *ed.cit.*, p.91, the major, telling one of his pointless stories, mentions a former acquaintance: '...Später ist er nach Amerika ausgewandert und soll dort eine kleine neue, ganz nette Religion gestiftet haben. Ja!'

sects in the United States.) He probably thought it rather ridiculous. One sect which achieved prominence and notoriety during Raabe's lifetime was that of the Mormons.¹ For most people Mormonism was little more than a synonym for polygamy. Thus it is that when the disgruntled young Lehnert Menz - in Fontane's Quitt² - toys with the idea of emigrating, he declares he will go 'zu den Heiligen am Salzsee, da hätte jeder sieben Frauen ...'. Thus it is that when, in Abu Telfan, Vetter Wassertreter tells the story of the miller's daughter, he finds it plausible that she should have emigrated, 'die Bestimmung des Weibes zu Utah im Mormonenlande zu erfüllen'.³ (The slightly ludicrous entry in Täubrich-Pascha's 'Wanderbuch' - signed "J.J. Johnstaff, / J.W. Smithfield, / Beide Sendboten und Geheiligte / der Kirche des letzten Tages"⁴ - and the ironical comment in the Chronik⁵ that 'der Domprediger ist noch immer nicht zum Mormonentum übergetreten' are further evidence that Raabe did not take the movement seriously.) A second rumour as to the fate of Karoline, the miller's daughter, is that she has married a Quaker in America.⁶ This reference to the Quakers can scarcely be interpreted as a value judgment, although Karoline has spent eight years in prison for infanticide and might therefore be regarded as an undesirable creature whom only a fool or

1. v. Skizzen aus Nord-Amerika, p.256, & Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.3, pp. 153,188-89, & 232-42. (The Book of Mormon appeared in German translation in 1851.)

2. p.80.

3. II,1,64.

4. *ibid.*, II,1,153.

5. I,1,141.

6. *loc.cit.*

a rogue would marry. Critical remarks about the Quakers are relatively common in other novels of the period. Generally the context is, in some sense, American.¹

Raabe is a little less reserved when he alludes to a quality at which, again, some of his contemporaries - including writers with first-hand experience of America - evidently looked askance:² American piety. In Keltische Knochen one of the factors which marred Zuckriegel's stay at Ischl was the presence of 'einem amerikanischen Reverend nebst Familie, welche, nur durch eine dünne Wand von ihm getrennt, ihn durch nächtliche unendliche Gebete und näselnden Lobgesang sehr erbost hatten ...'³ Not the clergyman alone, but the entire family practised this ritual. (The word 'näselnd' is readily applicable to a clergyman's chanting. The fact that it is used to describe the sound of several voices, only one of which is that of a clergyman but all of which presumably belong to Americans singing in their own tongue, may imply some awareness and criticism of the American accent. Rowson, the double-dealing Methodist preacher in Gerstäcker's Die Regulatoren in Arkansas, speaks 'mit etwas näselnder

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1. v.Sealsfield, Das Cajütenbuch, vol.2, p.267; Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, p.449, & vol.3, pp.43-44 & 465-66; Kürnberger, pp.76,116,226,265,297, & 312; and Fontane, Quitt, p.144.
 2. v.Sealsfield, Morton, pp.262-63; Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, p.253 (later, vol.3, pp.468-69, America is compared favourably with Europe); Kürnberger, pp.24,70,103,215 & 386; and Dickens, Chuzz., chap.17 (vol.1, pp. 361-362).
 3. I,6,249. An entry in Raabe's diary, dated 15.6.59, mentions 'Das Gebet der Engländer (Amerikaner)...'. Raabe was in Ischl at the time.

Stimme',¹ and later 'mit ... scharfer, abstoßender Stimme'.² Kürnberger³ describes 'das Yankee-Englisch' as 'mißtönig'; and later in his novel⁴ someone 'näselte ... mit einer sentimentalenen Quäckerstimme'.)

The reputation of the American clergy was naturally based to some extent on the missionary activities of its members. It was therefore not an improbable tale which Hackert (in Gutzkow's Die Ritter vom Geiste) told Pauline's scheming confidante Ludmer about Murray - 'daß jener Fremde ein harmloser Emissär amerikanischer religiöser Vereine wäre ...'.⁵ It has already been seen that Raabe tended to be sceptical towards missionary activities in general,⁶ and as far as is known this was still his attitude when he wrote Christoph Pechlin. At the end of the tale the ridiculous, notorious Christabel writes from New York⁷ that she is to accompany the Rev. Mr. Snodderly - who is presumably an American⁸ - 'nach Neu-Süd-Wales zur Bekehrung der dortigen Eingeborenen'. This plan is evidently considered absurd - and a reflection on the characters involved. The author does not make it clear that Christabel is telling the truth. The words quoted are perhaps more of a jibe at Snodderly and his kind if she is than if she is not.

1. Gerstäcker, Gesammelte Schriften, Jena, 1873, vol.7, p.11.

2. *ibid.*, p.44.

3. p.28.

4. p.60.

5. vol.3, pp.465-66.

6. v. Abu Telfan, II,1,22, & p. 63 above.

7. II,2,524.

8. v.p. 44 above.

Whether Raabe had a similar attitude towards total abstinence from intoxicants is debatable. No abstainer himself, he seems to have regarded teetotalism as a peculiarly American movement,¹ but does not comment on it. Some of his contemporaries were less reticent: Wagner and Scherzer describe the 'Yankees' as 'diese wassertrinkenden Temperance-Männer',² and Benthal, in Kürnberger's novel,³ speaks of 'Mäßigkeitsheuchelei'.

Another object of some criticism was the combination - allegedly very common in America - of piety and prosperity. For certain writers, such piety was synonymous with religious hypocrisy, and prosperity was simply the result of sharp practice. Under the heading 'Der "Yankee"', the Roman Catholic author of the Skizzen aus Nord-Amerika,⁴ after deploring the religious intolerance of the New England Puritans, goes on to explain:

'... Daß diese Yankees bei ihrer religiösen Frömmerei die raffiniertesten Speculanten und durchtriebensten, "anständigen" Geschäftsmacher sind, die es auf dem Erdenrunde gibt, ist bereits hinreichend bekannt, so daß nun jeder andere kniffige Amerikaner, wenn er auch nicht gerade aus diesen Neu-England Staaten abstammt, ein "Yankee" gescholten wird.'

Raabe points mildly and in all fairness to the universality of this combination:

'Daß Religiosität und Geschäftssinn nicht feindliche Geschwister sind, hat nicht allein das Haus Israel bewiesen; auch die frommen Vertriebenen, die auf der Mayflower "drüben" landeten, haben das

1. v. Leute, I, 5, 90.

2. Reisen in Nordamerika, vol. 1, p. 198; cf. Kürnberger, p. 132.

3. p. 130.

4. pp. 106-07; cf. *ibid.*, p. 109.

ebensowohl bewiesen wie diese alten Hugenotten ... Und sie reichen sich auch heute noch die Hand durch die ganze Welt: Synagoge, Kirche und Börse!'¹

On one occasion Vetter Just (in Alte Nester²) refers to yet another topic on which, because of its breadth, there were inevitably many opinions. His remark is a tribute to German womenfolk and, by implication, a criticism not only of the American women whom he has met but of American women in general. With dogged constancy Kürnberger, once again, is scathing.³ He concludes: '... Von allen dummen Streichen, die der Deutsche in Amerika macht, ist es sicher der dümmste und unverzeihlichste, eine amerikanische Frau zu heirathen'.⁴ None of Raabe's characters makes this mistake, although praise for the domestic virtues of the American housewife was unstinted elsewhere. The missionary author of the Skizzen aus Nord-Amerika lauds her skill in the preserving and salting down of foodstuffs. She is, he says, far better at this than 'die vielfach gerühmte Gattin des Vicar of Wakefield'.⁵ And Fink, in Freytag's Soll und Haben,⁶ finds her practical, since she does not become sentimentally attached to household articles. He assures his audience: 'Die Amerikanerin ist kein schlechteres Weib als

1. Akten, III,5,332-33; cf. Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.3, p.188: '.. die Mormonen..., die business von ihrem Gottesdienste nicht ausschließen'.

2. II,6,113.

3. v.pp.30,70,138,192,193 & 261. In Kürnberger's eyes American women were prudes. (A very different view is expressed in Gabriele Reuter's Der Amerikaner, p.83.) He also claims (p.193) that 'in Amerika der Cultus der Frauen so hoch wie in keinem Lande der Welt getrieben wird'; the authors of Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.3, p.86, are of much the same opinion.

4. p.341.

5. pp.108-09.

6. vol.1, p.308.

die Deutsche'. In the light of Vetter Just's disparaging words, one wonders whether, when Frau Romana Tieffenbacher is described in Prinzessin Fisch as 'das erbarmenswürdigste Weib, die nichtsnutzigste Person von ganz Amerika',¹ the vastness of the area in question is all that is in the speaker's mind. There is a suggestion here of some correlation between the area itself and the frequency of female good-for-nothings.

In Eulenpfingsten,² Kommerzienrat Nürrenberg's misgivings before meeting Lina Nebelung, who has just returned to Germany after many years in America, may also reflect certain preconceptions about national characteristics. He is afraid that Lina will not react kindly to the splendid bouquet which he is about to send her by way of introduction, and he muses: 'Wenn nun die Alte als eine alte Schachtel ausfällt, und gar noch mit Yankee-Verschluß und Lackanstrich, dann erklär ich mich gleichfalls für lackiert'. A 'Schachtel' from America was more than likely to have a 'Yankee-Verschluß' (Sealsfield writes in Nathan:

1. II,6,503. That Frau Romana is not a North American is of no consequence. The term 'Amerika' was used loosely - e.g. by Dorette Kristeller in Zum wilden Mann (II,4,94) who baulks at the idea of following the villainous Dom Agonista to Brazil: 'Für alle Freibilletts in der Welt geh ich mit ihm nicht nach seinem Amerika'; cf. L.Kientz, "Raabe et l'américanisme", Revue germanique, Paris, 1931, p.376: Kientz refers to Dom Agonista as 'L'Américain'. The critic compares Zum wilden Mann with Eulenpfingsten and, with reference to the latter, writes 'ce sont au contraire les avantages de l'esprit américain que Raabe oppose aux défauts européens'. (Discussing Akten, Kientz is reminded of 'la désillusion de Lenau'.)

2. II,4,274.

'... lieben wir Amerikaner unsern eigenen Verschluß'¹), but to interpret this and the complementary 'Lackanstrich' as a comment on American taciturnity, unapproachability, and hardness is perhaps extravagant.

Lina has taught and Helene Trotzendorff (in Akten) has studied in America. Possibly their learning was considered in some degree typical. In Spielhagen's Die schönen Amerikanerinnen,² discussing with the narrator the excellence of Miss Ellen's German, Egbert remarks: '... diese amerikanischen Damen sollen ja manchmal erstaunlich viel wissen'. And Herr Wander, in Hackländer's Europäisches Sklavenleben,³ mentions 'die gescheidten Amerikanerinnen'. On the other hand, neither Helene nor Lina is truly American. Nor was the woman who probably prompted Raabe to refer to Poughkeepsie.⁴

It seems strange at first that Raabe nowhere indicates what were the distinctive physical characteristics of the Americans, particularly in view of the attention paid to such details in the picture he paints of the English. But the heterogeneity of the American people doubtless made this difficult. No American of British descent is described and none makes a direct appearance in Raabe's writings.⁵ The current image

1. pp.55-56.

2. Stuttgart, 1902, p.100. Earlier in the tale, however, the narrator makes it clear (p.92) that he has no high opinion of the 'Orthographie junger Damen aus den amerikanischen Südstaaten'. (Die schönen Amerikanerinnen first appeared in 1868 in the collection Unter Tannen.)

3. vol.1, pp.218-19.

4. v.pp.457-60 below.

5. Josua Warner in Leute (I,5,103 & 125), the clergyman in Keltische Knochen (I,6,249), and Snodderly in Christoph Pechlin (II,2,523-24) are given no visible physical attributes.

of this type of American not unnaturally resembled that of the English in a number of ways,¹ and had Raabe portrayed such a character the result - which would clearly depend in some measure upon the character's function - would perhaps have been little more than a half-familiar hybrid. As it is, apart from a comment in Leute² on the prematurely old faces of the children in St. Louis, and a passage in the same novel signifying that a certain individual is very sturdy, Raabe does not attempt physical characterization. This latter passage, which, if the man in question is to be regarded as typical, is at variance with the observations of Kürnberger and the author of the Skizzen aus Nordamerika, reads: '... die breite Schulter eines Iowa-Farmers, der sich einen vom donnernden Lachen erschütterten respektabeln Bauch hielt'. The context strongly suggests that the Iowa farmer is of German stock.

From a footnote in the Skizzen aus Nordamerika the reader learns: 'Auch die elendste Hütte in Nordamerika ist mit einem Wiegen-Stuhle (Rocking-Chair) versehen'.³ Dickens, writing at about the same time, also seems to have regarded this piece of furniture as proper to scenes of American domesticity;⁴ and Lehnert Menz, the hero of Fontane's

1. v. Skizzen aus Nord-Amerika, p.107; Kürnberger, pp.25,112,303, & 382; Willkomm, Die Europamüden, vol.2, p.76; Gabriele Reuter, Der Amerikaner, p.63; and Dickens, Chuzz., chap.16 (vol.1, p.334).

2. I,5,405.

3. p.205.

4. v. Chuzz., chaps.16,17, & 21 (vol.1, pp.329, 351, & 433).

Quitt,¹ is not surprised to find such a chair in his new room in Nogat-Ehre. In Germany, too, the rocking-chair was apparently popular. In Christoph Pechlin² we find Baroness Ripppen sinking limply 'in einen amerikanischen Schaukelstuhl' - and Bogislaus Blech 'sich ... in einem "Amerikaner" bequem einnestelnd' in Der Lar.³ What Raabe thought of the manners of the Americans is not known, but perhaps one can assume that here, as elsewhere, he subscribed to then popular opinions. Rather unseemly - in Fontane's Der Stechlin⁴ - is 'der etwas weitgehende Ungeniertheitston, in dem der Doktor seiner Natur wie seiner Newyorker Schulung nach zu sprechen liebte'; Dickens' is far more outspoken;⁵ and one of the very first entries in Raabe's diary reads: 'Grobheit des Amerikaners'.⁶ The situation which gave rise to this remark is not known. It is therefore uncertain whether the definite article can be taken as generic.

Together with a number of his contemporaries, Raabe seems to have thought at least one allegedly American habit was ill-mannered. Bogislaus Blech has settled down in his '"Amerikaner"'. The author continues: 'Als anständiger Germane legte er die Füße jedoch nur auf den Tisch und nicht auf die Fensterbank'.⁷ Wagner and Scherzer

1. p.169.

2. II, 2, 414.

3. III, 3, 262.

4. pp.347-48.

5. v.Chuzz., chap.33 (vol.2, p.127).

6. Entry dated 4.10.57. (The diaries were begun on 1.10.57.)

7. III, 3, 262; cf. P.Q.O., Sittenbuch, p.185: to place 'aus Gemächlichkeitsliebe die Beine auf das Sofa' is considered an English habit.

describe the American as 'Tabak kauend und die langen Beine möglichst hoch aufwärts streckend';¹ Ramberg, in Schücking's Verschlungene Wege, incurs his wife's displeasure 'wegen des gar zu amerikanischen Ausstreckens seiner Beine';² Dickens makes several references to the habit;³ and one of the occasions on which Kürnberger's hero, Moorfeld, is disturbed by such alien behaviour is described as follows: an 'Indian-Trader' has just entered the coach in which Moorfeld is travelling -

'Als er dann saß, legte er seine zwei langen Beine wie Greif-
scheeren auseinander und zwar auf meine Schultern. Dagegen
durfte ich eigentlich nichts einwenden, denn das Recht der Bein-
ausstreckung gehört in jeder Lage des Körpers zu den wichtigsten
Privilegien des Yankee...'⁴

While apparently prepared to accept the importation of the rocking-
chair, Raabe - or rather Vetter Just in Alte Nester - objects to another
concrete and supposedly typical phenomenon of American life: the fence.
Fink, in Freytag's Soll und Haben⁵, expresses approval of

'was Sie die Gemüthlosigkeit des Amerikaners nennen ... er wird
sich nie in seine Hütte, seine Fenz, in seine Zugthiere verlieben.'

Kürnberger contrasts 'grüne lebendige Hecken' and 'jene abscheulichen
Fenzenzäune des amerikanischen Styls'.⁶ Vetter Just makes a subtler

1. Reisen in Nordamerika, vol.1, p.206.

2. ed.cit., vol.2, p.170.

3. v. Chuzz., chap.21 (vol.1, pp.429 & 433) and chap.34 (vol.2, pp.137 & 140).

4. p.275; v.also ibid., pp.14-15 & 79.

5. vol.1, pp.307-08.

6. p.287.

distinction but expresses much the same disapproval: '... Und dann unsere Ankunft auf dem alten ... Haferacker - weißt du, an der Fenz - nein, Gott sei Dank, an der echten, richtigen Weißdornhecke und dem Plankenzaun'.¹ The objection seems to have been, on the whole, an irrational one to the purely functional, readily erected (barbed) wire fence, to something which was felt to be unattractive, impermanent, unfriendly, and un-German.

It would be inaccurate to say that this was also the way Raabe felt about America and the Americans in general. He leaves no doubt in the attentive reader's mind that America had a large and permanent part to play in the world as he knew it, and some of the things for which America stood he found attractive. But he did not portray it as a friendly country, nor did he have much sympathy for certain allegedly national characteristics. Germany, for all her faults, was Raabe's greatest love - and America, for all that she had to offer, was un-German.

1. II, 6, 113.

Chapter 3. The English language.

Raabe's knowledge of English literature, which is discussed elsewhere,¹ was based to some extent on his reading of literature in English. Even if all their sources had been established,² quotations in English in his published writings, and in his correspondence, diary, and notebooks, would probably point to only a few of those works which he knew - at least in part - in the original. (The vast majority of Raabe's references to works of English literature are in German and therefore rarely furnish evidence of his knowledge of the English language.) At the same time, many of his quotations, including one or two in English, were the common property of the age in which he lived.³ It would thus be ridiculous, for instance, to assume that since the writer uses the term 'John Bull' he was necessarily acquainted with Arbuthnot's History of John Bull. Similarly, he may well have learned the proverb 'Love me, love my dog' - which appears as 'love my dog, love myself' in Deutscher Adel⁴ - either from a German source or from a work

1. v. pp. 220 et seq., below.

2. Raabe occasionally uses English which is clearly not improvised but whose source is not known - e.g. Das Odfeld, III,4,176: 'Stop, laddie! Lal de daudle, lal de daudle ... What, toddling hame?', & III,4,178: 'Deil tak the hindmost! Guid speed the wark!'

3. v. pp. 164 et seq., below.

4. II,5,258.

written in English: it is quoted both by Fenimore Cooper¹ and by Pückler-Muskau.² Nevertheless, when we know that on two occasions in the nineties³ Raabe uses the phrase 'My shame in crowds, my solitary pride', and that on the second occasion he specifies its source in English; when we know, moreover, that he acquired a copy of Goldsmith's Select Works⁴ in January, 1874, (and before the first appearance of the quotation had probably acquired another work in which the words quoted constitute the sixth of ten lines from the poem in question⁵) it would seem reasonable to assume that he knew - if not the entire Select Works - at least more than this one line from The Deserted Village in the original English. Similarly, we can take it that he was also acquainted with English excerpts from Ossian, and with English texts not only of works by Byron and Shakespeare, but also of Boswell's Life of Johnson, Burns' "Auld lang syne", Coleridge's Christabel, Fitzgerald's Life of Sterne, Smollett's "The Tears of Scotland", and Sterne's Tristram Shandy. Over a period of more than fifty years Raabe acquired a considerable number of books in English or relating to English. A glance at these books, which are listed below,⁶ suggests that his

1. v. The Pathfinder, chap.19.

2. v. Briefe eines Verstorbenen, part 2, pp.211-13.

3. v. In alls gedultig, 12.9.94 & 19.9.98.

4. Berlin, 1803.

5. v. pp. 160 & 294 below.

6. v. pp. 159-63 below. The books are referred to henceforth by their list numbers.

knowledge of the language was probably even greater than is implied by the above-mentioned names and titles. In his well-known letter to W. Kosch,¹ the writer claims to have learned English as a youth in Magdeburg in order to be able to read Thackeray, and adds that Pendennis was the only book 'der Art' which he bought during his time there.² (He does not mention a copy of Hamlet in English which he also acquired - but perhaps did not buy - during that period.³) Some of the books listed were acquired after 1898 - i.e. after he had written his last complete novel, Hastenbeck - and his familiarity with them could not, therefore, be reflected in his work.⁴ Nevertheless, while it seems unlikely that he should have read them all - they represent only a small fraction of his library - evidence in the form of bookmarks, marginal markings, etc., indicates that his reading in English was sustained throughout his life. Whether he did more than cast a glance at the pious writings of his nephew-in-law, Ambrose White Vernon,⁵ is a matter for conjecture. But he evidently read, for example, a number of Stevenson's letters in a volume sent to him anonymously from the United States in 1901.⁶

1. In alls gedultig, 27.2.99.

2. This may be no.68, p. 162 below.

3. The book (no.59, p. 162 below) bears the date 12.9.52. Raabe was twenty-one on 8.9.52.

4. The fragmentary Altershausen offers virtually nothing new in this connection; v. p. 362 below.

5. i.e. nos.70 & 71, p. 162 below.

6. i.e. no.66, p. 162 below. (Diary entry for 4.9.1901.)

At the same time, Raabe read much English literature in translation, and it is perhaps significant that those works most quoted in his writings he possessed in the original and also in translation. Indeed his knowledge of certain authors - including several to whom he refers in some way in his writings¹ - may have been derived entirely from translations,² or from other German sources. In all likelihood translations were often more readily available than English texts. Nevertheless, in view of the evidence already presented, his ability to read the original English can scarcely be questioned, although he probably found the language of older writers difficult at times. (That he bought an edition of the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare³ clearly need not be regarded as a sign of inadequacy. Although, because of its relative modernity, the translators' German is more easily understood than Shakespeare's English - even, no doubt, by a reader with an equally sound command of both English and German - the translation is a work of such distinction that Raabe's purchase has in itself no bearing on his knowledge of English.)

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1. e.g. John Webster, T.C. Haliburton, Margaret Oliphant, Ouida, Jemima Tautpheous, Anne Thackeray (v. Ein Frühling, I, 2, 199; Leute, I, 5, 90; Deutscher Adel, II, 5, 298). Raabe does not appear to have owned works by these writers, and his familiarity with them is not reflected in the biographical material which has been examined in connection with this thesis.
 2. v. pp. 449-50 below.
 3. Berlin, 1853-55. On the same day he bought an edition of Shakespeare's plays in English (i.e. no. 58, p. 162 below).

An omnivorous reader, Raabe naturally did not confine his reading to the books he owned. Between 1859 and 1862, for example, according to Wilhelm Brandes,¹ he borrowed more than forty books from the Herzogliche Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Brandes' list includes the titles in English: 'Fielding, history of Tom Jones' and 'The man of feeling. Hamburg 1794'. (The latter work was presumably that by Henry Mackenzie.²) And in addition to the knowledge of the language which he must have acquired through his reading of English literature, the writer clearly learned a certain amount of English from other sources. His contacts with English-speaking people were relatively few and superficial.³ But he was an avid reader of journals and newspapers. He mentions The Economist in Abu Telfan⁴ and pays an ambiguous compliment to The Times in Drei Federn.⁵ The phrase 'our own correspondent', which occurs in Der Lar,⁶ is probably one of the lesser fruits of his familiarity with such publications. On 10.6.60 he wrote in his diary 'Bei Schmidtphiseldeck:⁷ Punschkarikaturen' - an interesting entry in view of the caricature figures later portrayed in

1. v. Mitteilungen, 1913, pp.34-35.

2. v. M.B. Price & L.M. Price, The Publication of English Literature in Germany in the eighteenth century (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol.17), Berkeley, 1934, p.150.

3. v. pp. 452 et seq., below.

4. II, 2, 393.

5. I, 6, 146.

6. III, 3, 269.

7. Schmidt-Phiseldeck was one of the writer's friends in Wolfenbüttel; v. Fehse, Raabe, p.77.

Abu Telfan. Two years later, on 13.6.62, he received 'Nachricht von gut. englischer Rezension' of Unseres Herrgotts Kanzlei. His natural interest in the reception in England of the translations of Abu Telfan¹ and Der Hungerpastor² is also reflected in his diary. On 2.10.82 he recorded: 'In Times u Daily News das Erschein. v. Abu Telfan angezeigt'. Subsequent entries³ indicate that he saw reviews of the translation in The Times, The Queen, The Spectator, and the Illustrated London News, and that he at least read about the reviews of The Hunger-Pastor which appeared in the Athenaeum and the Academy.⁴

Despite the large amount of predominantly good printed English with which Raabe seems to have been familiar, the English which appears in his writings is a strange mixture of good and bad. Quite apart from the common borrowings⁵ and the English quotations, it is apparent

1. v. p. 162 below, no. 53.

2. The Hunger-Pastor, translated by Arnold, London, 1885.

3. Entries for 27.10.82, 3.11.82, 18.12.82, 15.4.83, 23.4.83, 13.6.83, & 6.12.85. The critics' reactions to the two translations are discussed by E.V.K.Brill, 'Raabe's reception in England', German Life and Letters, vol.8, Oxford, 1954-55, pp.304-12. (Brill mentions several reviews which Raabe does not appear to have known.) The diary entry for 6.12.85 reads: '.. Abds Klub. Blätt. f. litt. Unterhalt: Hungerpastor in englischer Übersetzung von "Arnold!?" - Urtheile d. Academy" u des "Athenaeum".'; that for 7.12.85 reads: '.. Abds bei Kallmeier Klub. Illustrat. Lond. News, 21 Novemb. Times 4 Dec: Anzeig.'.

4. He also appears to have received one or two literary journals from the United States, and from London either a literary year-book or communications from a person connected with one - diary entries for 21.10.01, 22.11.01, 6.9.02, & 25.9.03.

5. v. p. 143 below.

that Raabe's English vocabulary was large and varied. But he makes indifferent use of it. The quotations are frequently apt and usually accurate.¹ Perhaps he was in the habit of checking them. The slight inaccuracies which do occur indicate that he relied on memory at times, and that where memory played him false he knew enough English not to make glaring mistakes. Thus he misquotes Francisco's 'Not a mouse stirring' (Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 1)² - a simple enough phrase, but one which could doubtless be grossly distorted. Raabe merely writes 'No' instead of 'Not a'.

The writer uses an impressive number of words and phrases which were perhaps not generally at the command of the well-read German during the latter part of the 19th century (e.g. 'a flitch of bacon',³ 'higglepiggedy',⁴ 'at latter Lammas',⁵ 'pitched battle',⁶ 'German tinder',⁷ 'Ticket of leave',⁸ 'superior Finishing-Governess'⁹). It cannot be said, however, that they simply sprang to mind when he was

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1. v. Akten, III,5,419; Kloster Lugau, III,3,557; Stopfkuchen, III,5,101; & Der Dräumling, II,3,168.
 2. Im alten Eisen, III,3,121; v. pp.435-36 below.
 3. v. Das Odfeld, III,4,158.
 4. v. Leute, I,5,290; Kohl, part 2, pp.203-11, includes 'Hickeldy, pickeIdy' in 'Eine Kleine Sammlung häufig wiederkehrender englischer Redensarten'.
 5. v. Eulenpfeingsten, II,4,292.
 6. v. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,388; cf. Meister Autor, II,3,413: 'Kolbenstöße in der Battel'.
 7. v. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,505.
 8. v. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,493. Raabe originally wrote 'Passe-partout-Billet' (v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol.10, p.503).
 9. v. Der Schüdderump, III,1,356.

writing. The expression 'at latter Lammas', for instance, smacks of the dictionary, particularly since it appears together with its French and Latin equivalents. Raabe ignores the fact that the construction he uses calls for a change of preposition in the English:

'... redet die Welt in allen Zungen von Eulenpfingsten ... verschiebt das Behagen am Erdenleben at latter Lammas, ad graecas Calendas, aux calendes grecques, auf die Pfingsten, wenn die Gans auf dem Eise geht'

Some expressions evidently struck Raabe with sufficient force to make him jot them down in his notebooks - for future use. A case in point is the address which he noted down on 18.7.65,¹ while writing Abu Telfan, and which reappears in a slightly different form towards the end of the novel. Van der Mook describes his journey to England. Passing through Paris he meets with a Mr. Robinson, whose wife has established there 'ein sehr nützlich und gewinnreiches Institut ... Adresse: Lying-in Villa, rue Chateaubriand, No 44 (No sign).² Raabe also made a note of 'old German-text-writing',³ to which he then gave a symbolical meaning in Alte Nester.⁴ Of Just Everstein's hard-won success, which enabled him to return to Germany and buy back his farm, the narrator,

1. Notebook copies: Notizbuch Nr.2, p.69.

2. II,1,390; cf.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.7, p.363.

3. This is on p.3 of what appears to be the remains of a notebook, which is in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III 10 Nr.26 sonstige Varia'. Raabe also recorded the date on which he made the jotting ('12 März 77') and that on which he used it ('ben 4 Mai 1878'). Alte Nester was written between 28.8.77 & 13.2.79.

4. II,6,111.

Fritz Langreuter, writes:

'... so hatte dieser Mensch in seinem Leben ein echtes und gerechtes Kunstwerk hingestellt, zum Trost und zur Nachahmung für alle, die das Glück hatten, ihn kennenzulernen. Das war old German-text-writing¹ in der vollsten Bedeutung des Wortes! eine leserliche, dauerhafte Schrift mit allen ihren kuriosen Schnörkeln und Verzierungen! Wer darin seine Autobiographie niedersetzte, der konnte gewiß sein, daß sie manchem kommenden Geschlecht ... merkwürdig, rührend und ermutigend sich in das Gedächtnis prägte. Und das deutsche Volk hat wahrlich dergleichen monumenta germanica recht sehr nötig...'

Similarly we find notes of 'in the offing' (used in Prinzessin Fisch²), and of what were allegedly Dickens' last words: 'Down at last!' (used in Deutscher Adel³).

The more or less fanciful English proper names scattered throughout Raabe's works bear witness not only to his inventiveness - or to the influence of writers whom he is known to have read⁴ - but also to a certain feeling for the language. They include 'Miß Bilha Baldgable aus Birmingham',⁵ 'Mr. Augustus Drawboddy' and 'Mrs. Lavinia Drawboddy',

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1. The figurative use in Deutscher Adel, II,5,236, of a more common word is also rather unusual, though not inappropriate: 'So bist du .. Inhaber dieses Sammelsuriums von bubbles und bouteilles des Menschengeistes geworden und leihst sie weiter aus'. The remark is addressed to the proprietor of a lending library.
 2. II,6,329. The words occur in Notebook copies: Notizbuch Nr.6, p.12.
 3. II,5,353. The words occur on p.14 of what appears to be the remains of a notebook - v.p.¹³⁷, note 3, above - and are dated '25 Juni 1877' & 'ben. 10 August'. Deutscher Adel was written between 15.8.76 & 21.8.77. The sources from which Raabe took these notes are not known. In this connection v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.139: 'Ich habe einige Male von einem Stück Makulatur, das mir der Zufall in die Hände wehte, mehr Anregung gehabt als von jahrelangem Studio sämtlicher Klassiker aller Nationen, soweit meine Sprachkenntnis reichte'.
 4. v. pp.^{220 et seq.} below.
 5. Orthodox place names (e.g. 'Bethnal Green', 'Belgravia', 'Blackfriars', 'Bowstreet', 'Drurylane', 'Marylebone', 'Pimlico', etc.) and terms such as 'Habeas Corpus', 'Bathorden' etc., are no doubt also evidence of Raabe's reading, but they hardly reflect his knowledge of the language.

'Mr. Cuddler', 'Mr. Thomas Giblets', 'J.J. Johnstaff', 'Reverend Mr. Shambling', 'Reverend Mr. Snodderly', and 'Aaron Toothache'. Probably the fact that Raabe gives the name of Peter Blessing to a German pastor is also more than a coincidence. As can be seen elsewhere in his writings, he knew the principal meaning of 'to bless'.¹

Most of Raabe's English occurs in direct or reported speech, which is either that of English-speaking characters or - more commonly - of characters who have spent some time in English-speaking countries. The oddness of the English used by German characters might be thought of as deliberate - the result of a naturalistic attempt ^{on Raabe's part} to complement the inadequacy of the German spoken by the foreigners he portrays. But nationality does not appear to affect his characters' skill at languages other than German. The most plausible explanation of this phenomenon lies in the author's own limitations. Although he could probably read it quite fluently, the syntactical niceties which are involved in the writing of connected English appear to have escaped him, and he was obviously unaware of the inappropriateness of certain words and phrases in certain contexts.

The first work in which English words and phrases are used to any great extent is Die Leute aus dem Walde (21.10.61 - 1.11.62), part of which is set in America. The young author was clearly keen to give a

1. v. Die Gänse von Bützow, I, 6, 407; Abu Telfan, II, 1, 88; and Christoph Pechlin, II, 2, 347 & 449.

transatlantic air to a number of situations and characters, and the examples set by writers such as Sealsfield and Gerstäcker no doubt encouraged him in this. These snippets of English are at times displeasingly artificial, at times a little puzzling. When Fritz Wolf returns to Germany from America he is led to believe that Eva, his childhood sweetheart, has been unfaithful to him. Outwardly he manages to retain his composure, but: "Ah, clear the wrack!" stöhnte er dabei in der Tiefe seiner Seele'.¹ The meaning of the English words is not clear. If they are a quotation, their source is still unidentified. Fritz continues: "Es ist alles aus, aber es wird sich finden...", so that possibly they express a wish to brush aside the past, to abandon what is considered irrevocably lost. Later, Hauptmann Faber, a much travelled man, is moved to an audible exclamation in English which, though less obscure in meaning, also rings slightly false. Robert Wolf is hastening to Eva's death-bed in America and has just arrived in San Francisco. He is met by Faber:²

"Und Eva? ..." rief Robert ...
 Ein schmerzliches Zucken ging über das Gesicht des Reisenden
 ... "Stand firm at your post!" murmelte er, dann rief er
 laut: "O Wolf...".'

The words are apparently meant as a self-exhortation to steadfastness, to the keeping of what Raabe refers to elsewhere as 'a stiff upperlip'.³

1. I,5,97.

2. I,5,363.

3. v. p.¹⁰⁶ above; in 1887 Raabe wrote to his daughter Gretchen: 'L.Gr. Die Amerikaner sagen in großen Drangsalen: Keep a stiff upperlip! Thue nach ihrem Exempel.' The expression 'To keep a stiff upper lip' is included in K.F.Köhler's Wörterbuch der Americanismen..., Leipzig, 1866.

A phrase which had clearly impressed itself on Raabe's mind was 'go ahead', which occurs twice in Die Leute aus dem Walde and twice elsewhere.¹ Fritz Wolf uses it in the sense of 'also - los!', when he is about to begin singing again to the company assembled around Eva. But the fact that he can only be addressing himself makes the imperative seem somewhat improbable:

"Ein guter Kompaß und eine gute Seekarte sind besser und treuer als alle Leiern, Löwen, Kreuze und Jungfrauen am Firmament! go ahead!" Und wieder begann er mit voller Stimme ...²

Similarly, when Faber is telling Robert Wolf of the merciless bustle of life in America, he explains that, when someone dies:

"die Kameraden werfen den Sand und das Gestein, welche Ihr mit so viel Schweiß ... aus der Grube herausgebracht habt, wieder auf Euch, und dann - dann jeder an sein Geschäft; - go ahead! Aber es ist doch ein glorioses Treiben!"³

The word 'los!' could be substituted here too, whereas the English phrase is essentially addressed to others⁴ and therefore out of place. The inappropriateness of the phrase in Drei Federn⁵ is of a different order. On a small boat called the Groden, the captain - who is apparently a German - addresses Inspektor Taube as follows:

1. v. pp. 109-10 above; v. also D. Sanders, Fremdwörterbuch, Leipzig, 1871.

2. I, 5, 100. The expression 'all right!' might be more appropriate, and is perhaps what is meant. According to O.E.D., it was stated in 1869 that 'Go-ahead is of American origin, and is used where the British would say "all right"'.
 3. I, 5, 363.

4. It is used correctly in Eulenpfingsten, II, 4, 218.

5. I, 6, 111.

"Da geht Miß Assy Barley von Liverpool! ... Hurra für Sie, Inspektor! go ahead, Sir!"".

Taube hopes to catch up with the Miss Assy Barley, a ship on its way to England, and to do this he intends to board another ship, called the Rantipole, in Cuxhaven. (Raabe presumably knew the meaning of 'rantipole'.) A quarter of an hour is to elapse before the Groden is due to dock there. Immediate action is therefore not possible, although the English words seem to imply that such action could be taken. (Another sea captain, in Stopfkuchen,¹ is characterized by English tags, although it is not clear whether his native tongue is English or German.)

The use of the expression 'the whole hog' in the following passage suggests that Raabe failed to realize that it could scarcely be used except in conjunction with the verb 'to go', and that he did not fully understand its meaning. At Eva's grave Faber describes his vision of the future development of America:

"Ich sage, Gentlemen, dies ist eine gute Stelle, um zu liegen und ... auf die Tritte der Kommenden zu horchen. Hört ihr die Schritte? Einzelnen, zu Zweien, Zwanzigen - Tausenden, Millionen - the whole hog! ..."²

Faber later refers 'ingrimmig und ironisch' to the trail of bones, graves, wagon-wheels and débris which marks the passage of the immigrants

1. v. III,5,167, 201, & 214. In this connection v. W.Brandes, 'Wilhelm Raabe und die Kleiderseller', Raabe-Gedächtnisschrift, ed. H.Goebel, Hildesheim & Leipzig, 1931, pp.32-33.

2. I,5,388.

across the desert, as 'Foot and Walker's line'.¹ The irony is perhaps concealed in an artless word-play on the Mason-Dixon line (known also as 'Mason and Dixon's line'), which must have been very much in people's minds at the time the novel was being written. Since the success of word-play depends very largely on the individual's proficiency in the language in question - even if he decides to make capital out of his incompetence - the subtlety of Faber's words might be taken as symptomatic of the author's insight into the singularities of the English language.

Scattered throughout Raabe's writings there are a great number of words and expressions denoting, as a rule, people, objects, institutions and abstract concepts which are or were originally peculiar to an English-speaking country. Reference to the Fremdwörterbuch of Sanders (Leipzig, 1871) and to that of Heyse (Hanover, 1879) shows that many of these terms had become fairly common in German by the time Raabe reached middle age:

Abolitionisten, attorney, Baby, Backwoodsmen, Boardinghaus, Bowiemesser, Brigg, Claim, Clown, Cab, Cottage, Erin, Fact, Farm, Farmer, fashionable, Fenz, Grog, Gentlemanlike, Humbug, Interview, Jockeiklub, Lastingrock, Locofocos, Lynchsystem, makadamisiert, manager, Meeting, mob, mokassinhaft, money, Natives, nuisance, on half pay, Pedlar, Plumpudding, Ponys, Robber, Ruffian, Rum, shocking, Speech, Stewart,² Squaw, Skalp, Squatter, second sight, sneer, Speech, Teatotaller, Toaste, Whist, Wigwam, Yankee

1. I,5,397.

2. In Alte Nester, II,6,293, 'Stewardess' is used - legitimately - in the sense of 'caterer-housekeeper'.

- these are some of the more obvious examples, and Raabe generally uses them correctly. Also correct is his use of lesser known, primarily American terms such as 'buffalo-chips',¹ 'marooning party',² 'out of fix',³ and 'flap-jack'.⁴ And certain English words which may now seem rather odd - 'Drawingmaster',⁵ and 'dancing-room',⁶ are strongly reminiscent of the German 'Zeichenlehrer' and 'Tanzsaal', with which they appear - in fact were quite unexceptionable in the 19th century. It is therefore all the more striking when common terms are used ineptly. The word 'Gentleman', for example, occurs in a number of contexts, not only on its own but also in combination with other nouns - 'die Laufbahn des ... Gentleman-Gelehrten', 'Gentleman-Sozialist', '... dem Gentleman-Vagabunden'.⁷ In the case of these compounds, quite properly, some indication is given of the behaviour or character of the persons in question. Each is a gentleman in his way. The term 'Gentleman-taylor',⁸ on the other hand, appears to refer simply to a person who tailors for men of rank, i.e. a gentleman's (or gentlemen's) tailor. Raabe's 'Gentleman-taylor', a figure of no consequence, is not

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1. Leute, I,5,399; v.K.F.Köhler, Wörterbuch der Americanismen..., ed.cit.
 2. Leute, I,5,287; v.K.F.Köhler, op.cit.
 3. Leute, I,5,287; v.K.F.Köhler, op.cit; cf.Leute, I,5,288: apparently 'fixings' is not used in the sense defined by Köhler as 'Einrichtungen, Zeug, Aufputz, Schmuck, Kleider, etc.', but means 'trouble, muddle, sorry plight' - echoing 'out of fix', which Köhler defines as 'in Unordnung'.
 4. Leute, I,5,382; v.O.E.D.
 5. Horacker, II,1,444; v.O.E.D.
 6. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,389; v.O.E.D.
 7. v.Unruhige Gäste, III,2,438 & 494, and Deutscher Adel, II,5,248.
 8. v.Vom alten Proteus, II,4,601.

depicted as someone who warrants the characterization implied in the term as it stands.

According to Sanders¹ the word 'Nigger' was recognized as a pejorative. When Raabe writes of a 'Niggerpiraten'² there is therefore perhaps some justification for the use of the term, particularly since the character who uses it is the villain of the piece. The term 'Plantagennigger' occurs in another tale³ in a speech by a similar villain; and the narrator in Stopfkuchen, a German South African named Eduard, writes:

'... es freut einen doch, grade bei der Hitze und unter dem exotischen, heidnischen Niggerpack, daß man in kühlerer Zeit mal mit dem heimatländischen, germanischen Christen zu tun gehabt hat.'⁴

But whether Raabe was fully aware of the pejorative connotations of these terms is questionable. Fritz Wolf, like Eduard, is an estimable fellow. Yet in his account of his experiences in America,⁵ 'Neger' and 'Nigger' are virtually equivalents. This may be a reflection of a then common American attitude towards negroes, but since Wolf uses both words indiscriminately and since he - like the author - is not known to have

1. Fremdwörterbuch, ed.cit.

2. v. Zum wilden Mann, II,4,49.

3. v. Prinzessin Fisch, II,6,410.

4. III,5,4; v.also *ibid.*, III,5,93: 'Der nichtsnutzige Nigger...', and III,5,101: 'Niggersteward besoffen'.

5. v. Leute, I,5,124-25; cf. Akten, III,5,269.

shared this attitude, his lack of discrimination evidently stems from a misapprehension. Wolf is neither ignorant nor stupid. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Raabe failed to distinguish between the two words. One wonders, too, whether he realized the vituperative significance in those days of the intensive 'bloody':

'... und der Kommandant ... wird ... von dem U.S. Ehrenlegionär auf englisch a bloody scoundrel und auf ilmenthalisch ein armer Hammel betitulierte'.¹

Certainly the translation given is unexpected. The significance of this passage depends to a great extent on what is understood by the English quoted. If, for example, 'a bloody scoundrel' is merely regarded as rather disrespectful, its equivalent in Ilmenthal terminology is not particularly euphemistic. (There is no suggestion that 'ein armer Hammel' is really offensive.)

In Abu Telfan² an oddity of construction rather than of meaning appears to reflect more clearly a certain confusion in the writer's mind. He was familiar with the term 'Knownothings',³ and it was perhaps some theory as to its etymology which persuaded him to use the word's two basic components in the following passage: Hagebucher, who is displaying his recently acquired knowledge, asks -

1. Prinzessin Fisch, II, 6, 458.

2. II, 1, 168.

3. v. p. III above; Heyse, Fremdwörterbuch, ed. cit., says that the word was formed 'angeblich nach den Worten to know nothing, nichts zu wissen, die in dem von ihnen abzulegenden Eide vorkommen sollen'.

"... wollt ihr meine Ansichten über euer Drama haben, - know nothing, aber dessenungeachtet surgit orator ... Wie hieß der erste Engländer, welcher im Kriege gegen Rußland fiel, Herr Major?"

"Know nothing", antwortete der Major lachend.'

Major Wildberg's answer can be explained as a humorous repetition of the elliptic phrase used by Hagebucher. But the omission of the first person pronoun (which Raabe - having read, for example, Pendennis - doubtless knew to be not uncommon) rings true in neither case.

Raabe seems to have been to some extent aware of the gaps in his knowledge, for he rarely writes anything in a foreign tongue (other than grammatically unexceptionable quotations) which involves a familiarity with complicated constructions. Christabel Eddish's diary entry in Christoph Pechlin,¹ which is largely in the telegram style common to many such personal records, supports this view. When the writer does launch into connected English the results are very indifferent. In Der Dräumling, for example, Knackstert contemplates renewing his acquaintance with an English girl. He reflects:

'Look, George, what trouble you might have spared yourself, if you at that time did propose for that most reasonable girl.'²

1. II,2,267-68: 'Virginy cast off by the donkey - shocking accident; - dreadful conduct of the Heidelberghian mob - shrieking and screaming - Lucy's sublime and unaffected behaviour - went on to the hotel and supped. Sublimity of mind - true greatness of soul etc.'

2. II,3,180.

And at the end of Christoph Pechlin, when Miss Eddish has been unmasked as an adventuress, she screams at Dr. Dachreuter, who has unwittingly been a party to her undoing:

"There, you nauseous german fool, you are welcome to all, what you have got! Da, Sie widerlicher deutscher Dummkopf, behalten Sie ganz ruhig und ungestört alles, was man Ihnen aufgeladen hat!"¹

The small 'g' of 'german' may have been a printer's error,² but the words 'German tinder' and 'a german baron' appear in the same edition,³ and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that the form 'german' for the adjective 'German' also occurs in one of Raabe's published letters.⁴ Similarly the comma preceding the dependent clause may not have been intended by the writer, but there can be little doubt that the original phrasing was that quoted above.

Christoph Pechlin (1.8.71 - 17.9.72) is interesting in the present context, since two of the principal characters are English. Raabe's lack of serious purpose in writing the novel - which he is anxious to stress in his preface to the second edition⁵ - does not explain the imperfections of the English used by Christabel Eddish and Sir Hugh Slidery. In the language they speak - particularly in that spoken by

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1. II,2,522. A similar instance of fluency in translation is quoted below, p.¹⁵³. In the case of Miss Eddish, whose German is occasionally clumsy (v. II,2,337) but otherwise quite good, the linguistic skill demonstrated in the translation is not particularly incongruous.
 2. The MS of Christoph Pechlin has not been preserved; v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.10, pp.447 & 504.
 3. II,2,390 & 505.
 4. v.In alls gedultig, 3.4.91; the original letter has not been examined.
 5. v.II,2,247-48.

Sir Hugh - the writer also attempts to convey the impression of German being spoken by an English person. Slidderly, who used to be Miss Eddish's lover, meets his lawyer, Dr. Schmolke, by accident, and expresses his surprise as follows:

"Mr. S'molke! o very ... now, indeed! ... Herr Doktor Smolk!"¹

He assures Schmolke that he and Miss Eddish are 'fertig for all the life'.² (Raabe presumably bases this idiom both on the phrase 'all the summer', used shortly before,³ and on the German.) Miss Eddish, confronted with evidence of her murky past, abuses those around her as 'traitorrrrrrs!', a spelling evidently intended to indicate an explosive pronunciation resulting from the extreme agitation of the speaker. The stress, however, is thereby shifted to the second syllable of the word, which would thus be barely recognizable if spoken. Raabe employs such visual impressions elsewhere, but as a rule pronunciation would scarcely be affected by the forms chosen (e.g. 'Ya', and 'schokking'). Baroness Rippgen is credited with the spelling 'Kolleritsch' for 'Coleridge' which, in its context, is improbable: it occurs in a letter, a letter in which Coleridge is quoted in flawless English.⁴ Nevertheless, the Baroness might well have pronounced the name in the way indicated. In the case of Miss Eddish, only ignorance or carelessness can explain the rolling of the second 'r' in 'traitors'.

1. II,2,369.

2. II,2,372.

3. II,2,370.

4. II,2,286-87.

The ejaculation 'Bless me' appears in the first edition of Christoph Pechlin as 'Bless my'.¹ In view of the correct spelling of 'Damn me!' in the later Deutscher Adel² this may have been a printer's error. But in Abu Telfan the writer also had 'bless my'.³ Possibly he was misled by the word 'Dammy', which he subsequently uses on at least four occasions.⁴ 'Juny' instead of 'June'⁵ is quite likely to have been in the original manuscript. In German the spelling was evidently not uncommon at the time.⁶

To their amazement and discomfiture, Christabel Eddish and Sir Hugh meet by chance in the head of the Bavaria statue in Munich. Christabel almost faints. 'Als sie dann das Auge ... wieder aufschlug und sich allein sah, sprang sie mit einem Wutschrei in den Vorderkopf: "Hau! Nau! o dear me! o the wretch! Der Schuft...!"'⁷ There is reason to believe that the expression 'o dear me!', even at the time

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1. v.II,2,347, & Krit.Ausgabe, vol.10, p.499.
 2. II,5,283; in the first edition, however, the expression appears as 'Dammy', which Raabe then changed to 'Damme' (v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.13, pp.258 & 449).
 3. II,1,88 reads 'bless me' (cf. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.7, pp.86,407, & 419), but the MS in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr.9', reads 'bless my'.
 4. v.Alte Nester, II,6,227, and Prinzessin Fisch, II,6,386, 417, & 463. A simple omission may also explain the apparent misuse of 'my'. Raabe had no doubt encountered the expression 'Bless my life!', which occurs, for example, in Dickens, Chuzz., chap.5 (vol.1, p.99).
 5. v.Christoph Pechlin, II,2,301, & Krit.Ausgabe, vol.10, pp.254 & 498.
 6. v.Heyse, Fredmwörterbuch, ed.cit.
 7. II,2,297.

depicted, would hardly have been used with conviction in a cry of rage.¹ The first two ejaculations do not seem to be German, and the generally mild, interrogative English 'How now' - if that is what is meant - would also be inappropriate. (The situation described is basically not unlike that to which Sanders alludes² in connection with 'Pai-mariri-Fanatismus':

'Das Wort Hau (kurz u. so ausgesprochen, wie wenn ein Hund bellend anschlägt) ist das heilige Erkennungswort. Wer dasselbe recht schnell herausstößt, wendet dadurch alle Gefahren von sich ab...'.)

Christabel ensnares the story's easy-going Swabian hero. The couple, we are told,

'verpflichteten sich gegenseitig einander für das irdische Leben und, wie Christabel meinte, for an everlasting happiness, also ziemlich weit über das Erdenleben hinaus'.³

Under the circumstances, a caricature figure such as Miss Eddish might well resort to hyperbole, but she would hardly be satisfied with mere grammatical feasibility. Similarly, when expressing her horror at Christoph's hobby - he plays the Jew's harp - Miss Eddish cries out:

"Oh! that is horrible! fürchterlich ist das! that is indelicate! Oh, he performs on the Jew's harp! ..."⁴

The two are alone, the reference to Christoph in the third person indicates that at least this part of the exclamation is virtually an aside, that the speaker is thinking aloud. It seems reasonable to

1. v. O.E.D.

2. Fremdwörterbuch, ed.cit.

3. II, 2, 437.

4. II, 2, 450.

assume that an Englishman, even if he were thinking of Paganini, would normally have said 'he plays ...', unless the context really demanded the more specific term. No such term is called for in the scene described. A little earlier Christabel is reported to have taken leave of Christoph, saying that they might not see each other for a number of weeks and assuring him 'daß sie es sehr, very, very, sehr bedauere'.¹

Failure to render a foreign accent in writing may be partly the result of ignorance of the foreigner's native tongue. Apart from a few malapropisms and ungainly expressions, Miss Eddish's German is good. Sir Hugh's, on the other hand, is not far removed from gibberish. Nowhere in the other novels examined in connection with this thesis is a really comparable attempt made to reproduce an Englishman's German. Raabe adopts a fairly simple formula: genders, cases, and word-order are confused, endings are omitted, verbs are wrongly conjugated, English words are scattered here and there, and occasionally English phrases are translated literally into German (e.g. 'Sie sind recht ...'²). Spellings such as 'Donnär! Wettär', 'aus-ge-seichnet', 'grüngeslagen', and 'Sömmer' indicate pronunciation as does the random insertion of the letters 'u' or 'o', or both. These letters are also prefixed to certain words, a number of which already begin with a vowel. This last

1. II, 2, 435.

2. II, 2, 401.

device is quite acceptable as a rough phonetic representation of an English 'w' (e.g. 'ouiedereinmal', 'ueil', 'ouill'), but vocables like 'ouich' for 'ich', 'ueiß' for 'heiß', 'duas' for 'das', and 'Kuopf' for 'Kopf' convey virtually no impression of accent, except that they are unusual and might offend the ear if spoken. There is evidence which points to Raabe's interest in the pronunciation of English,¹ and to his having heard German spoken by English people from time to time.² Perhaps he really knew of Englishmen who, although they could pronounce such words as 'Ohnmacht', 'Regenschirm', and 'Gütigkeit', said 'Fueind' instead of 'Feind', 'uaber' instead of 'aber', and who were defeated by other vowels which have exact or close equivalents in English. But the inconsistency of Sir Hugh's accent is implausible. We find the baronet saying both 'Kopf' and 'Kuopf', 'gefallen' and 'gefuallen', 'ist' and 'ouist'; and on discovering the loss of his guidebook he mutters:

"By Gad, where have I lost my Murray? Wenn ich zum Teufel nur wüßte, wo mein Murray geblieben ist?"³

The translation is, of course, for the benefit of the uninformed German reader. But its inclusion in Sir Hugh's remark indicates - contrary, it would seem, to the author's intention - that he speaks German fluently and with no accent. From the relative complexity of the translation one can perhaps infer again that Raabe's ability to write English was

1. v. p. 420 below.

2. v. pp. 8-10 above, & pp. 452 et seq., below.

3. II, 2, 371; v. also p. 148 above, & cf. Auf dunkelm Grunde, III, 6, 445.

rather limited. And in view of the evidence presented above, the correctness of Sir Hugh's original query might imply that the correctness of Raabe's English depended, at least to some extent, on the degree to which English and German tally. One final feature of Sir Hugh's speech is of interest in the present context: he drops the first letter of 'Herr' and 'historisch'. Perhaps the writer had in mind a characteristic of correct spoken English such as the mute 'h' in 'hour'. Perhaps when he read the words "'at", "'ouse", etc. in Pendennis, he failed to realise that they are spoken by socially inferior characters, i.e. not by people like Sir Hugh. It is also possible, however, that the omission of the 'h' is determined by another feature which has little bearing on Raabe's knowledge of English: Sir Hugh's language is made up of English, German, and occasional snatches of French. Whether the writer would have introduced the French if he had known more English is a moot point.

In Eulenpfingsten (25.4.74 - 29.6.74) we read:

'Er war in die Laube eingetreten und zwar in his nightgowne, das heißt nicht in der Uniform seines Leibbataillons, sondern im schwarzen Frack, den Zylinderhut in der Hand und den Großkordon seines Hausordens samt dem Stern über der Brust ...'¹

In a later work, Im alten Eisen, Raabe combines this English phrase with a quotation from Hamlet: Albin Brokenkorb sits up in bed and stares at Uhusen ' - selber ein ganz anderer Mann sowohl in his night gowne als

1. II, 4, 228.

wie in complete steel, d.h. im Gesellschaftsanzuge.¹ The author evidently understood the words 'in his night gowne' in this latter instance; but to regard the earlier passage merely as an obscure piece of humour would be to disregard the imperfections to which attention has been drawn above.

Vetter Just, in Alte Nester (28.8.77 - 13.2.79), is one of the many characters in Raabe's works who, having spent a number of years abroad, return to their native Germany. By chance, not long after his homecoming, Just meets his old friend Fritz Langreuter, the story's narrator. Fritz recognizes Just first and speaks to him. Just slowly realizes who the speaker is, and he cries: "'Now? ...!'"² In other contexts Raabe makes liberal use of the introductory 'well':³ here he appears to have translated the German 'nun' literally, with the result that the query - which evidently has nothing to do with the time at which the meeting takes place - means very little. (It would mean more if the author had written "'Now ...!?'".) Later Just tells Fritz of his meeting with their good friend Ewald Sixtus, who has left home to make his fortune as an engineer in Ireland:

'... Und als ich ihm sagte, daß ich dich jedenfalls aufzufinden suchen würde, fand er das uncommon obliging für dich.'⁴

The meaning of the English phrase is confused by the addition of the

1. III,3,91; v. p. 432 below.

2. II,6,92.

3. v. I,5,100; II,2,401; II,5,428; II,6,93,130,371, & 375; and III,5,201.

4. II,6,132.

words 'für dich'. In his answer, Fritz translates and adapts the phrase:

'Von dir, Vetter Just, war das freilich ungewöhnlich zuvorkommend und freundlich!'

Presumably when he wrote 'obliging für dich' Raabe had in mind expressions such as 'gnädig für', 'freundlich für', 'liebenswert für' - Bismarck uses these expressions in his letters¹ - but no record has been found of the use of "obliging" in an English construction comparable with that quoted. When Ewald also arrives back in Germany, he is depicted as one who has thoroughly absorbed the language and atmosphere of his adopted country, as 'dieser vollkommen irländische Land- und Wasserbaukünstler'. This transformation is illustrated in Ewald's speech primarily through his use of four words or expletives: 'och', 'faix', 'arrah' and, as a vocative, 'honey'. They are repeated, in various combinations, with a frequency which seems to underline the paucity of the writer's resources.² Nevertheless, he shows that he was familiar with a number of other words and phrases of Irish origin (e.g. 'Begorra', 'sheebeen'), as well as with certain Irish names ('Paddy', 'Blarney O'Shaughnessy', 'Tim O'Connor', 'Maloney')³ and when Fritz

1. e.g. Bismarck, Briefe, 4.4.59: 'Er ist außerordentlich gnädig für mich'; v. also ibid., 8.5.49 & 4.8.62.
 2. v. II, 6, 167, 168, 182, 184, 195, 218, 226, 230, 232.
 3. The name Paddy also occurs in Leute, I, 5, 365, and is listed by Sanders, Fremdwörterbuch, ed. cit., and Heyse, Fremdwörterbuch, ed. cit. The latter describes it as a 'Spottnamen', but Raabe does not appear to use it as such. Kohl, part 3, pp. 161-64, quotes 'Das Lied von St. Patrick dem Vertreiber der Kröten und Schlangen': '.. His aunt was an O'Shaughnessy ... His mother kept a shebeen house'.

remarks on a tune which Ewald is whistling - 'Rocky Road to Dublin' - the latter claims that it is so well known in Ireland that 'jeder illegante blinde Fiedler greift sie im Schläfe bei uns'. The word 'illegant' has been plausibly interpreted as the Irish pronunciation of the English 'elegant', meaning 'trefflich'.¹ The German Irishman also uses several more generally current English phrases, e.g. 'Cool as a cucumber', 'by Jove', 'by Jingo',² 'Devil-may-care-Stimmung'. How he arrived at the vocative 'Mrs. Ragtail' is not known; it is reminiscent of a number of terms - such as 'rag-bag', 'wagtail', 'ragamuffin', and 'rag-tag and bob-tail'.³

Raabe's knowledge of English was first and foremost a reading knowledge. He was self-taught, it appears, and - perhaps because he started learning the language with a limited aim in view (i.e. to read Thackeray) - he neglected the finer points of grammar and overlooked certain shades of meaning. He read English from time to time throughout

1. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.14, p.482.

2. Other English exclamations in Raabe's writings are: 'by Gad' (v.II,2, 295,371, & 388; and I,5,30), 'by God' (v.I,5,381), 'God gracious' (sic - v.III,5,274, & Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, pp.264,465, & 472), 'Oh heaven' (III,5,242), 'for heaven's sake' (v.II,2,396), 'Law, bless me, what a horror' (v.II,1,88), 'oh dear, dear, dear' (v.II,2,450), 'O dear me' (v.II,4,246), 'It is an abomination' (v.II,2,442), etc. It is possible that Raabe wrote 'God gracious' deliberately, in the belief that the normal 'Good...' was a substitute for 'God...'. It seems unlikely that he had encountered the obsolete form 'god' for 'good'.

3. v.II,6,192; Kohl, part 2, pp.203-11, includes 'Tag-rag and bobtail' in 'Eine kleine Sammlung häufig wiederkehrender englischer Redensarten'.

his adult life, acquiring a very considerable knowledge of English literature in the original and, incidentally, a large English vocabulary.¹ The disadvantages of learning a language in this way can be seen from the unevenness of the English he uses. The confidence of the self-taught man often precludes his paying attention to what he wrongly considers unimportant details. And quite frequently, as Karl Gutzkow puts it, 'der Autodidakt kann vor Ungeduld, das neue, ungewohnte Wissen anzubringen, sich nicht lassen'.² Raabe was proud of his learning, and with good reason. But with more humility he might have taken greater pains with his English.

1. His writings contain approximately five hundred different English words.

2. Dionysius Longinus, Stuttgart, 1878, p.40.

BOOKS IN ENGLISH IN RAABE'S LIBRARY:

(The figures in the second column below are abbreviations of dates which are written at the beginning of the books themselves, and which are evidently the dates on which the books were acquired. The diaries frequently confirm these dates, and also indicate when some of the undated books were acquired.)

X = there is evidence which suggests that Raabe may have read the copy in question, at least in part.

S = the copy bears Raabe's signature but no date is entered. Raabe does not seem to have made a habit of entering dates until he went to Stuttgart in 1862. Books which simply bear his signature were therefore perhaps acquired relatively early.)

1. Currer Bell, <u>Jane Eyre</u> , Leipzig, 1850 ⁽¹⁾		
2. James Boswell, <u>Life of Johnson</u> , London, 1851	27.1.69	X
3. Robert Burns, <u>The complete works</u> , London, 1842	17.5.67	
4. Samuel Butler, <u>Hudibras</u> , London, 1826	10.11.99	
5. Byron, <u>The poetical works</u> with a memoir by Henry Lytton Bulwer, London, 1849		S
6. Byron, <u>The works</u> , Leipzig, 1866 (Tauchnitz edition, vol.2 only)	17.10.98	X
7. Byron, <u>Don Juan</u> , London, 1839		
8. Thomas Carlyle, <u>On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History</u> , London, n.d.	15.12.77	X
9. Thomas Carlyle, <u>The Life of Friedrich Schiller</u> , Leipzig, 1869	6.10.79	
10. Thomas Carlyle, <u>The French Revolution</u> , London, n.d.	15.2.99	X
11. W. & R. Chambers, <u>History of the English Language and Literature</u> , Edinburgh, 1847		S
12. Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats, <u>The poetical works</u> , Paris, 1829	14.4.69	

(1) According to his diary Raabe ordered Jane Eyre on 28.10.61 and received it eight days later.

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| 13. J. Fenimore Cooper, <u>The Last of the Mohicans</u> ,
Zwickau, 1827 | | S |
| 14. J. Fenimore Cooper, <u>The Pathfinder</u> , Paris, 1840 | | S |
| 15. Daniel Defoe, <u>Robinson Crusoe</u> , Leipzig, 1845 | | S |
| 16. Dickens, <u>A Christmas Carol</u> , Leipzig, 1843 ⁽¹⁾ | | |
| 17. Dickens, <u>David Copperfield</u> , Leipzig, 1849-50 | | XS |
| 18. Dickens, <u>Dombey and Son</u> , Berlin, 1878 | 14.2.80 | |
| 19. Dickens, <u>Martin Chuzzlewit</u> , Leipzig, 1844 | | S |
| 20. Dickens, <u>Master Humphrey's Clock</u> , Leipzig, 1846 | 10.11.99 | |
| 21. Dickens, <u>Nicholas Nickleby</u> , Leipzig, 1843 | 3.6.99 | X |
| 22. Dickens, <u>Oliver Twist</u> , London, n.d. | 16.12.78 | |
| 23. Dickens, <u>Pickwick Papers</u> , Leipzig, 1842 | | S |
| 24. I.D'Israeli, <u>Curiosities of Literature</u> , London,
1838 | 10.11.99 | |
| 25. R.W. Emerson, <u>Representative Men</u> , Leipzig, 1856 | 23.9.82 | |
| 26. Fielding, <u>Tom Jones</u> , Basil, 1791 | | S |
| 27. P. Fitzgerald, <u>The Life of Laurence Sterne</u> ,
London, 1864 | 28.1.69 | X |
| 28. A. Forbes, <u>My experiences of the war between
France and Germany</u> , Leipzig, 1871 | 19.8.71 | X |
| 29. J. Forster, <u>Oliver Goldsmith</u> , Leipzig, 1873 | 17.8.73 ⁽²⁾ | X |
| 30. Goldsmith, <u>Select Works</u> , Berlin, 1803 | 26.1.74 | X |
| 31. Goldsmith, <u>Letters from a citizen of the world</u> ,
London, n.d. | 10.11.91 or 99 | |
| 32. ? .v.Hamel, <u>Description of the mechanical horse</u> ,
Stuttgart, 1863 (?) | | |
| 33. <u>Handbuch der englischen Sprache und Literatur...</u> ⁽³⁾
Berlin, 1802 | | X |

(1) This is included in a typescript catalogue of Raabe's books which is in the possession of Mr. E.V.K. Brill, Department of German, St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. It was not among the books accessible when the above list was being compiled.

(2) Later date on flyleaf: 21.10.75.

(3) An anthology containing prose extracts from 45 writers and poetry by 66 writers.

34. David Hume, Essays and Treatises on several subjects, Basil, 1793 10.11.99 X
35. The humour of Germany,⁽¹⁾ selected and translated by H.Müller-Casenov, London, 1892 12.3.93
36. Leigh Hunt, Lord Byron and some of his contemporaries, Paris, 1828 4.2.69
37. D. Jerrold, The story of a feather, London, 1844 26.11.68
38. Samuel Johnson, Lives of the most eminent English poets, London, 1783 . .64 X
39. Washington Irving, Oliver Goldsmith, Leipzig, 1850 XS
40. Keats - v. no.12 (Coleridge) above.
41. Diedrich Knickerbocker, A History of New York, London, 1877 4.1.79
42. Charles Lamb, The Essays of Elia and Eliana, Leipzig, 1869 23.12.76⁽²⁾
43. H. Leo, Altsächsische und angelsächsische Sprachproben, Halle, 1838
44. E. Bulwer Lytton, Pelham: or the Adventures of a Gentleman, Leipzig, 1842 S
45. Macaulay, Biographical Essays, Leipzig, 1857 1.12.93
46. Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays, Leipzig, 1850 19.11.93⁽³⁾ X
47. F. Marryat, The dog fiend or Snarleyyow, London, n.d.
48. Th. Moore, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, London, 1860 15.12.77 X
49. The Observer, London, n.d. (vol.1)⁽⁴⁾

(1) An anthology containing a very free translation of passages from Der Hungerpastor.

(2) Later date on first page: 13.1.77.

(3) The essays are in three separate volumes, the second and third of which bear the date 17.10.98.

(4) v. p.160, note 1, above.

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| 50. Edgar Allan Poe, <u>The Select Works</u> , Leipzig, 1856 | 23.9.82 | |
| 51. Edgar Allan Poe, <u>The Poetical Works</u> , Edinburgh, 1872 | 12.1.76 | |
| 52. <u>Punch</u> , London, 1878-79 (vols.74-77) | 12.3.81 | |
| 53. Raabe, <u>Abu Telfan</u> translated by S.Delffs, London, 1881 | 30.6.82 | X |
| 54. <u>The Rambler</u> , Dublin, 1752 (vols.1-6) | 19.11.93 | X |
| 55. J.V. v.Scheffel, <u>Ekkehard</u> translated by S.Delffs, Leipzig, 1872 | 3.2.76 | |
| 56. Walter Scott, <u>Lives of the Novelists</u> , Zwickau, 1826 | 16.2.69 | |
| 57. Shakespeare, <u>Works</u> (Globe edition), London, 1874 | 28.11.77 | |
| 58. Shakespeare, <u>The Plays</u> , Leipzig, 1843-44 | 19.2.63 | X |
| 59. Shakespeare, <u>Hamlet</u> , Leipzig, 1843 | 12.9.52 | X |
| 60. Shelley - v. no.12 (Coleridge) above | | |
| 61. Smollett, <u>The Miscellaneous Works</u> , London, 1796 (vols. 2 & 3) | | XS |
| 62. Smollett, <u>Humphrey Clinker</u> , Leipzig, 1846 | | S |
| 63. Robert Southey, <u>Works</u> , Zwickau, 1820 (vol.1) | | S |
| 64. <u>The Spectator</u> , London, 1729, & Dublin 1778 (vols. 1-8) | 26.12.70 | X |
| 65. Sterne, <u>Tristram Shandy</u> , London, n.d. | | XS |
| 66. R.L. Stevenson, <u>Letters...</u> , New York, 1901 | 31.10.01 | X |
| 67. Swift, <u>A Tale of a Tub</u> , London, 1727 | 22.8.85 | |
| 68. W.M. Thackeray, <u>Pendennis</u> , Leipzig, 1849-50 | | S |
| 69. A.W. Tuer, <u>Old London Street Cries</u> , London, 1885 | 14.6.85 | |
| 70. A.W. Vernon, <u>Sermon</u> , East Orange, New Jersey, 1899 | | |
| 71. A.W. Vernon, <u>The religious value of the Old Testament in the light of modern scholarship</u> , New York, 1907 | | |
| 72. S. Warren, <u>Ten thousand a-year</u> , Leipzig, 1845 | 1.2.1900 | |
| 73. ?. Wyld, <u>New Plan of London</u> , London, 1851 | 12.10.78 | |

Also in Raabe's library, and to some extent indicative of his interest in the English language, are:

74. Schlüssel zu den Aufgaben in P.Gands Englischer Grammatik, Frankfurt a.M., 1850
75. J.C.A. Heyse, Fremdwörterbuch, Hanover, 1865 8.11.67
76. A.E. Klausning, A Compleat English Dictionary oder vollständig Englisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1783 22.12.73

Chapter 4. Household words.

"Pour que la citation d'un vers soit faite avec toute justesse, il est bon, selon moi, que le citateur paraisse bien pénétré de l'esprit général de l'ouvrage où rayonne le poétique axiome."

(Édouard Fournier, L'Esprit des Autres, Paris, 1855, p.19.)

German writers of travel journals in the mid-18th century presupposed in their readers an intimate knowledge of Shakespeare and of English literature generally.¹ German novelists of the mid-19th century also expected much of their readers, evidently with some justification. At that time possibly more than at others, people who were in a position to do so liked to quote. Their reasons were many,² and it is well to remember that, as Bernard Darwin points out,³ a quotation or allusion with which the individual reader is not familiar, and which he may therefore consider pretentious, is not necessarily unfamiliar to the majority. Nevertheless, the urge to make a display of learning is not infrequent among the self-educated; and in Raabe's case, while other factors are sure to have played their part,⁴ this

1. v. Robson-Scott, pp.135 & 146.

2. v. E. Fournier, L'Esprit des Autres, ed.cit., p.8; H.W. Fowler, A Dictionary of Modern English Usage, Oxford, 1926, under 'Quotation'; J. Günther, 'Über die Kunst des Zitierens', Die Literatur (Das literarische Echo, vol.38), Stuttgart, 1936, pp.205-08.

3. The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, London, 1941, preface.

4. O. Ladendorf, Historisches Schlagwörterbuch, ed.cit., p.XI, points, for example, to the particular attraction exerted by 'ausländisches Sprachgut, das seine fremde Herkunft nicht verleugnet'. A. Leitzmann, 'Liscows Zitate', Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, vol.50, Stuttgart, 1926, p.83, shows that although quoting can strike the reader as ostentatious, this ostentation may be more apparent than real.

particular urge was probably quite strong.¹ It was stimulated by a social convention of the time and by the practice both of earlier writers and of his contemporaries.

During the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth, a book by Bogumil Goltz appeared under the title Die Bildung und die Gebildeten. In his peculiarly blunt fashion the author makes the following comment:²

'Eine zahme Ziege kann ... wie ein Gemsbock aussehen, wenn sie im Schweizer-Gebirge auf schroffen Felsen steht; und ein Literat, der sich auf eine Pyramide von Büchern stellt, wird vom ungelehrten Publikum für den Erbauer einer gelehrten Pyramide angesehen'.

In theory Raabe disapproved of this type of literature. To Marie Jensen he wrote, in 1869,³ that her husband 'soll weiter schreiben und womöglich nur das Erbteil seiner ausgebreiteten Lektüre und seines Enthusiasmus für andere Leute ein wenig beiseite legen ... Er soll schreiben - er - Wilhelm Jensen - Wilhelm Jensen aus Kiel'. In practice - particularly but not exclusively during the early part of his career⁴ - Raabe showed, in his tendency to quote, a weakness similar to that which he criticized in Jensen.

Also during the Shakespeare tercentenary there appeared the first

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1. In this connection v.Pongs, pp.73 & 74; also p. 158 above.
 2. Berlin, 1864, vol.2, p.88; cf. ibid., vol.1, p.1.
 3. v.Fehse, Raabe, p.305.
 4. From a glance at F.Jensch, Wilhelm Raabes Zitatenschatz, Wolfenbüttel, 1925, one can see that quoting was one of Raabe's lifelong habits. Pongs, p.193, writes that the tendency 'seine Prosa mit Bildungsanspielungen zu überschweben im oberflächlichsten Eklektizismus, war eine verhängnisvolle Jugendsünde Raabes'; v.also ibid., pp.306,356, & 374.

edition of Büchmann's Geflügelte Worte.¹ Büchmann realized that a further edition might be called for, and he asked his public to contribute what they held to be household words. An account of the response to his request - 'eine wahre Fluth von Beiträgen brach in Folge dieser Bitte auf ihn herein' - appeared in Die Gartenlaube in 1873.² Several years later, in an article entitled 'Sechshundert Correspondenten',³ Büchmann himself categorized the contributors. They included 122 doctors of philosophy, 52 professors, 49 teachers, 26 clergymen, 20 writers, a number of librarians, booksellers, students, doctors, soldiers, businessmen, landowners, and 12 women. (In Raabe's writings, the figures who are in some measure characterized by their quoting habits belong for the most part to these - largely occupational - categories.) It is open to question⁴ whether, as was claimed in Die Gartenlaube, Büchmann's book could be described as 'ein Zeugniß von der hohen Bildungsstufe, zu welcher die deutsche Nation sich erhoben hat'. But there can be no doubt about the reasons

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1. Berlin, 1864. For want of a neater, more precise English equivalent, 'household word' is used below to translate 'geflügeltes Wort'. That it is extremely difficult to define 'Zitat', 'geflügeltes Wort', 'Modewort', 'Schlagwort', 'Sentenz', & 'Redensart' is shown by R. Zoozmann, Zitaten- und Sentenzenschatz der Weltliteratur, Leipzig, 1911, preface to the first edition of 1910, and by O.Ladendorf, op. cit., pp.V & XIII.
 2. H.Scheube, 'Ein glücklicher Griff', Die Gartenlaube, Leipzig, 1873, pp.113-115.
 3. Die Gegenwart, vol.16, Berlin, 1879, pp.198-200.
 4. v. H.Meyer, Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst, Stuttgart, 1961, p.172; cf. G.Steinhausen, Deutsche Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte von 1870 bis zur Gegenwart, Halle, 1931, p.461.

for its popularity. In the preface to the second edition (1865) Büchmann writes: 'Die Citate des vorliegenden BÜchleins sind nicht solche, die citirt werden k ö n n t e n, sondern solche, die wirklich citirt w e r d e n.' The reading and listening public was likely to encounter quotations in foreign tongues:

'... der Redner ... wird in Stand gesetzt, sich für einen effektvollen Schluß seiner Rede aus diesem Buche mit einem gelehrten lateinischen Citate zu versehen, welches durch dies Buch wiederum dem ungeschulten Zuhörer verdeutscht wird, der auch über französische und englische Aussprüche, die seine Lektüre hemmen, hier Aufklärung erhält'.¹

In all likelihood the public's curiosity as to the meanings and the sources of common quotations contributed most to the book's success.

The 1950 edition of Geflügelte Worte allegedly 'bleibt ... bei den von Büchmann und seinen Mitarbeitern bis zur Jahrhundertwende gesammelten ... Zitaten'. But: 'Sie erweitert nicht, sondern kürzt, wenn es sich um nicht mehr voll geläufige Worte oder nicht unbedingt nötige, allzu weitschweifige und veraltete Wendungen handelt'. Earlier editions² show that a great many of Raabe's quotations were relatively

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1. In part Büchmann owed his interest in quotations to an English Handbook of Quotations, by J.R.P., London, 1853. According to H.Bohn's preface to A Dictionary of Quotations from the English poets, London, 1867, there had, within 'the last few years ... been a perfect deluge of Quotation books of every kind'.
 2. Editions which appeared in 1865, 1874, 1882, 1884, 1900, 1903, 1905, 1907, & 1915 have been consulted. Other early editions are not readily accessible. Henceforth a date in brackets following an item from Geflügelte Worte is that of the first available edition to contain the household word in question.

common during his lifetime - many more than the 1950 edition suggests. In the prose narrative writings of his contemporaries¹ there is evidence which supports the view that, when quoting, he was in some measure simply doing what was done. He was, on occasion, prepared to conform, as Heim² has shown, and here conformance can have meant no inner struggle. In fact, in the matter of quotation he may well have considered himself in a class apart. In the second version of Ein Frühling (1871) he describes an old tower as 'ein prachtvolles Stück Mittelalter, welches in dem langweiligen modernen Häusermeer sich ausnimmt wie ein Citat aus einem Classiker in einem - interessanten modernen Romane'.³ That this was meant as self-criticism is unlikely. The tale in its new form retains practically all the learned and literary references of the first version, and although Raabe later expressed dissatisfaction with what he had re-written, there is nothing to suggest that he was dissatisfied with this particular aspect of the book.

There is a tendency among some critics to assume not only that a large number of the literary references in Raabe's writings are of

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1. Occasionally reference is made below to writers outside this field - e.g. to Schopenhauer, whom Raabe is known to have read.
 2. op.cit., pp.16-17, 36-37, 43, 53-54; cf. Pongs, pp.91-92, on the Chronik.
 3. Deutsche Roman-Zeitung, Berlin, 1871, vol.3, column 908.

profound significance but also that, when he makes these references, the author is often tacitly quoting their original context.¹ This assumption can easily lead to fanciful interpretation. Clearly there are times when things are said by implication. Thus when Raabe learned of R. M. Meyer's disparagement of him in Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,² he wrote to Robert Lange: '... ich habe mich gefreut, daß die deutsche Welt doch durchgängig für den "armen kleinen Kegel, der sich nicht besonders regt" mit Schild und Schwert auf den Plan gesprungen ist'.³ The full force of the quotation only becomes apparent when one remembers Goethe's lines: 'Einem armen kleinen Kegel,/Der sich nicht besonders regt,/Hat ein ungeheurer Flegel/Heute grob sich aufgelegt'.⁴ But when, for example, E. Bulwer Lytton writes, in a serious context: '... a faint flush passed over her sunken and faded cheek, and the bosom heaved beneath the robe, "a world too wide for its shrunk" proportions',⁵

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1. v. W.Scharrer, op.cit., passim; H.Boekhoff, Wilhelm Raabes Weltverhältnis in der Entwicklung seiner literarhistorischen und geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen, (unpublished thesis) Kiel, 1948-49, pp.37 & 187; and Pongs, pp.595-96. (Scharrer gives an interesting survey of the various functions of the quotation in Raabe's work; the book is slightly marred by generalizations and over-simplification.)
 2. Berlin, 1900, particularly pp.566-73.
 3. In alls gedultig, 3.1.1901.
 4. 'Rechenschaft', 1810. For other examples of this type of quotation v. Pongs, p.622; & Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, pp.475 & 476 (notes to pp.296 & 327); and cf. A.Seebass, 'Raabe und Schiller', Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, vol.40, Heidelberg, 1959, pp.26-29.
 5. Ernest Maltravers, Part 1, Book 9, chap.4 (vol.11, p.272).

the reader's familiarity with As You Like It is not helpful. The young lady in question is dying, it is true, but there is only the most tenuous connection between her career and the seven ages of man.

The other extreme view, which is roundly condemned by Pongs,¹ is that which dismisses Raabe's quotations and allusions as tiresome and superfluous: the question of his familiarity with sources does not arise.

The original context of a really common quotation seldom has any bearing on the new context - as can be seen to-day in the use of such phrases as 'perchance to dream', 'salad days', 'blithe spirit', etc. They are simply words which have a familiar ring about them and are frequently treated as playthings. Modern headlines provide countless examples of the manipulation and free adaptation² of similar tags.

In a work of literature misquotation serves various purposes. As a means of characterization in direct speech it can, for example, have an effect similar to that produced by the malapropism. H.Meyer shows that it has many such functions, and with reference to Dubslav in Fontane's Der Stechlin points out:

1. pp.30 & 244.

2. The practice of adapting and manipulating quotations in some way is, of course, an old one: v. F.Panzer, 'Vom mittelalterlichen Zitieren', Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Heidelberg, 1950, 2. Abhandlung, pp.13-14; & H.Meyer, 'Das Zitat als Strukturelement in Rabelais' Erzählwerk', Gestaltprobleme der Dichtung, Bonn, 1957, pp.55-59.

'Weil es wirklich sein persönlicher Geistesbesitz ist, kann er frei mit dem Zitat schalten, er kann es dem Fluidum seines Sprechens ... anpassen'.¹

As Staiger demonstrates in his essay 'Entstellte Zitate',² this is equally true of the creative writer. Rarely is it possible to prove that inaccuracy in the quotation either of familiar or of unfamiliar words is due to ignorance.³ Nor, on the other hand, does exact wording necessarily bespeak an awareness of the source of a quotation. Uncommon quotations in themselves suggest that the person who uses them knows something of the works from which they are taken.⁴ Their new contexts can provide further evidence to this effect. Common quotations, in themselves unrevealing, can also be used in such a way as to indicate familiarity with the original contexts, but such use is relatively unusual.

Despite their intrinsic interest a number of Büchmann's 'Zitate aus englischen Schriftstellern' are of only minor importance here. Thus

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1. Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst, ed.cit., p.181.
 2. Trivium, vol.3, Zürich, 1945, pp.1-17; C.C.D.Vail, Lessing's relation to the English Language and Literature, New York, 1936, p.73, makes a similar point when he contends that inaccuracies in Lessing's English quotations reflect his facility in handling English.
 3. Opinions differ greatly as to whether accuracy and an awareness of the original context of the quotation used are desirable: v. W.Robert-tornow, Geflügelte Worte, Berlin, 1889, p.XVI; H.Nehry, Citatenschatz, 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1895, p.VI; M.Bernays, 'Zur Lehre von den Citaten und Noten', Schriften zur Kritik und Litteraturgeschichte, vol.4, Berlin, 1899, p.257; J.Günther, op.cit., p.206; E.Fournier, op.cit., pp.11-25, 50, 57, & 130-31; H.W. Fowler, op.cit., under 'Mis-quotation'; & B.Darwin, op.cit., p.XVI; and cf. F.Panzer, op.cit., p.14 et seq.
 4. In this connection v. Bulwer Lytton, Ernest Maltravers, Part 2, Book 4, chap.3 (vol.10, p.225).

Büchmann begins with the word 'Utopien' (1874), a word which, as 'Utopia', occurs in Raabe's writings on two occasions.¹ An awareness of the exact origin of the term is apparent in neither case. This is not, however, surprising: the term was adopted on the continent as soon as it was coined, and Raabe's contexts in no way call for the expression of such an awareness. Both the characters who refer to 'Utopia' are quite well educated, but neither inclines to pedantry or ostentation. The source of the saying 'My house is my castle' (1874) - commonly quoted in English, according to Büchmann - is so obscure that only by an exceptional display of learning could it be made apparent in a literary context. No mention of Sir Edward Coke's Institutes of the Laws of England has been found either in Raabe's writings² or elsewhere in 19th century German prose fiction, although even when the saying is in German, the fact that it is English in origin is often stressed. This is the case, for instance, in Tieck's Des Lebens Überfluß,³ in Louise von François' Zu Füßen des Monarchen,⁴ and in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied.⁵ Gustav Kühne mentions the sanctity of the house 'eines britischen Bürgers' in Die Rebellen von Irland;⁶ and L. Noiré, in his Zwölf Briefe eines Shakespearomanen,⁷

1. Leute, I,5,403, & Abu Telfan, II,1,58.

2. v. I,1,90; I,1,652; I,5,381; II,6,163; and III,5,41 & 58.

3. Gesammelte Novellen, Berlin, 1854, vol.10, p.62.

4. p.216.

5. vol.2, pp.204-05 & 402.

6. Gesammelte Schriften, Leipzig, 1862-67, vol.3, p.219.

7. Leipzig, 1874, p.16.

refers to 'das Bild des grabenumgebenen Hauses, eine Sitte, die noch heute mit dem schönen Spruch My house is my castle in England gilt'. (In Sealsfield's Nathan¹ the hero says it is the motto of the Americans.) Raabe's pleasant little digression on 'die nichtige dumme Phrase: Mein Haus ist meine Burg!' in Alte Nester² has, in fact, been interpreted as an illustration of how 'angelsächsisches und deutsches Wesen gegeneinander gesetzt werden'.³ But apart from Stopfkuchen's use of the English words,⁴ there is only a very faint suggestion, in two instances, that Raabe was consciously expressing a foreign concept.⁵ The term 'John Bull' (1882) is another household word of whose source probably few 19th century writers⁶ were aware. Similar in this respect is the description of the Germans as a 'Volk der Dichter und Denker' (1882), which Büchmann attributes tentatively to E. Bulwer Lytton⁷ and which Raabe uses or adapts on several occasions.⁸ It is safe, as it happens, to assume that Raabe had read the novel in question, but this assumption can only be made in the light of other

1. pp.55-56.

2. II,6,163.

3. W. Stapel, 'Raabes Deutschheit', Raabe-Gedenkbuch, Berlin, 1921, p.99; cf. Michelis, Reiseschule, p.205.

4. III,5,58.

5. v. Chronik, I,1,90, & Leute, I,5,381.

6. v. Abu Telfan, II,1,19; cf. A. Lewald, Die Mappe, p.166; Sealsfield, Morton, introduction, p.V, & Das Cajütenbuch, p.197; and Klaus Groth's poem 'Denksprüche vaer John Bull', 1865.

7. The words on which, it is alleged, the German phrase is based - 'a race of thinkers and critics' - occur in the dedication of Ernest Maltravers (and not in the 'Vorrede', as stated in several editions of Büchmann).

8. v. In alls gedultig, 7.9.98; Jahrbuch, 1960, p.111; Pfisters Mühle, III,2,313; and Kloster Lugau, III,3,413 & 414.

evidence.¹ 'Long, long ago' (1882) also seems to have enjoyed widespread anonymity. In Auerbach's Auf der Höhe, Irma writes: 'Ich weiß nun nicht mehr, wann ich das geschrieben. Lang ist es her! heißt es in dem schönen schottischen Liede'.² The narrator in Spielhagen's Die schönen Amerikanerinnen calls it 'das bekannte amerikanische Volkslied'.³ The phrase occurs in Oskar Linke's biographical study of Adolf Glaser;⁴ Czako, in Fontane's Der Stechlin, apologizes for using 'die abgedudelte Phrase';⁵ and in Raabe's Leute we read: '"So trug man sich, als Fräulein Pogge ein junges Mädchen war; lang, lang ist's her!" sprach und sang der Schauspieler'.⁶ Büchmann attributes the phrase 'Kampf ums Dasein' (1874) to Darwin ('struggle for life'), but points out that Malthus had written of the 'struggle for existence' some sixty years earlier. Raabe's loose use of the tag in Leute⁷ is essentially similar to that of his contemporaries,⁸ for one of whom, Adolf Wilbrandt, it served in 1874 as the title of a comedy. Again, it is only on the basis of other evidence that Raabe can be said to have

1. v. p.330 below.

2. ed.cit., vol.1, p.104.

3. ed.cit., p.71.

4. Die moderne Litteratur in biographischen Einzel-Darstellungen, vol.3, Leipzig, 1891, p.49.

5. pp.87-88; the song is sung in L'Adultera, Breslau, 1882, p.100: '... und immer wenn der Refrain kam, summte Melanie mit'.

6. I,5,285. Büchmann attributes the words and the melody to T.H. Bayly.

7. I,5,340; v.also Jahrbuch, 1960, p.106: '... Schlacht des Daseins'.

8. v. L.Noiré, op.cit., p.18; Freytag, Die verlorene Handschrift, ed.cit., vol.1, p.92; & Sudermann, Heimat, Act 1, sc.5; v.also O.Ladendorf, op.cit., pp.160-61.

known a little about Darwin.¹ Also used freely and with no reference to their source (e.g. by Gutzkow,² Raabe³ and Schopenhauer⁴) are the words 'bellum omnium contra omnes',⁵ which Büchmann (1874) traces to Hobbes' Leviathan. And in his comment on the saying 'Alles, was ist, ist vernünftig' - a popular form of a pronouncement by Hegel - Büchmann (1865) draws attention to a similar utterance in English literature, although he does not expressly include it among his 'geflügelte Worte':

'Alles ist schon einmal dagewesen ... denn schon Pope in seinem "Essay on Man" v. 295, hat gesagt:
 What ever is, is right;
 Alles was ist, ist in der Ordnung.'

Pope's words are among the addenda to Jensch's Wilhelm Raabes Zitatenschatz.⁶ The relevant passage, in Leute, reads as follows:

"Sie haben recht, Herr von Faber," sagte Robert seufzend. "Aber es ist doch sehr traurig."
 "Bah, das sagt Ihr jetzt, wo Herr Leon von Poppen die Oberhand, die beste Karte im Spiel hat; träte das Gegenteil ein ... so würde es freilich heißen: Was ist, ist gut ...".⁷

That Raabe had Pope in mind rather than Hegel seems a little unlikely.

1. v. Akten, III, 5, 394 & 398.

2. v. Ritter, vol. 2, pp. 210-11.

3. v. I, 1, 425, & III, 4, 209.

4. v. Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik, 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1860, p. 199.

5. L. Noiré, op. cit., p. 18, makes an oblique reference to the original context. The expression occurs both in German ('Krieg aller gegen alle') and in Latin. Büchmann points out that the form 'bellum omnium in omnes' appears in Hobbes' De cive; cf. Schopenhauer, Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, Leipzig, 1851, part 1, p. 393.

6. Mitteilungen, 1926, 1928, 1929, & 1931.

7. I, 5, 391-92; cf. E. R. A. Grisebach, Edita und Inedita Schopenhaueriana, Leipzig, 1888, p. 115.

He is not known to have read Pope, whereas before he wrote Leute he attended lectures by K.L. Michelet, 'von dem er sich das übliche Quantum Hegel in die Feder diktieren ließ'.¹ Moreover, Büchmann's reference to Pope - which is omitted after 1889 - is merely incidental to his comments on the household word in question. Faber, the speaker in the passage from Leute, is an educated man but no scholar. Since it was not Raabe's habit to put improbable quotations into the mouths of his characters,² Faber's use of this quotation may be taken as evidence of its commonness.

Most 'geflügelte Worte' from English literature are, not unnaturally, taken from Shakespeare.³ Raabe's knowledge of Shakespeare was considerable, and perhaps one sign of this is the profusion of common quotations from Shakespeare in his work. The commonness of these quotations must, however, be taken into account in any attempt to estimate the extent of this knowledge. Towards the end of the 19th century F.A. Leo published one hundred pages of 'Geflügelte Worte und volksthümlich gewordene Aussprüche aus Shakespeare's dramatischen Werken',⁴ a collection whose value in this context is mildly but adequately summed up in L.M. Price's comment: 'Not all "geflügelt" and

1. Fehse, Raabe, p.60.

2. Pongs, pp.306,356,374,458-59,489,558,565,572,579,582-83, & 598 comments on Raabe's quotations, particularly as they affect characterization. In this connection v. also E.Weniger, "Wilhelm Raabe und die Bildung", Die Sammlung, vol.7, Göttingen, 1952, pp.527-28 & 530; and cf. H.Meyer, "Das Zitat als Strukturelement in Rabelais' Erzählkunst", Gestaltprobleme der Dichtung, Bonn, 1957, pp.49-66; and Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst, ed.cit., pp.155-185.

3. J.R. Benedix, Die Shakespearomanie. Zur Abwehr, Stuttgart, 1873, gives some indication of the popularity of Shakespeare during the latter half of the 19th century.

4. Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Weimar, 1892, pp. 4-107.

not all "volksthümlich".¹ Büchmann makes no extravagant claims. Of the most common Shakespearean tags he wrote, in 1865, that they were quoted 'ganz wie die unsrigen, deutsch, und zwar in der Form der Schlegel-Tieck'schen Übersetzung'. The first of these was from Hamlet (Act 1, Scene 2):

Er war ein Mann, nehmt alles nur in allem,
Ich werde nimmer seines Gleichen sehn.

Here as elsewhere the words were often adapted, at times flippantly, to the new context. Thus, referring to Hans Unwirrsch's new but dismal lodgings, the author writes in Der Hungerpastor:² 'Es war ein Loch, nehmt alles nur in allem'. And in Prinzessin Fisch³ the tense is changed: '... Er ist ein Mann, nehmt alles nur in allem!'. The speaker, an adolescent referring to his elder brother, Alexander, is clearly not mindful of the original context or, indeed, of the next line. The middle-aged bookbinder with whom he is talking points out the inappropriateness of the quotation: '"Das ist aus einem von Shakespeares Theaterstücken und bezieht sich auf einen ganz anderen Charakter...". One wonders whether the author himself had the next line in mind at the time of writing. Both Unwirrsch's lodgings and Alexander's character would have merited some allusion to it. In In

1. English Literature in Germany, (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol.37) Berkely & Los Angeles, 1953, p.447.

2. I,1,308.

3. II,6,428.

Reih' und Glied¹ Spielhagen facetiously adapts both lines. Speaking of someone who has died, Ferdinand says to the dead man's cousin:

"... Er war, nimmt Alles man in Allem, kein Mann, Ihr armer Vetter, und man wird wohl noch Seinesgleichen seh'n!". Büchmann continues: 'Auch Antonius sagt vom Brutus, 'Cäsar', Akt 5, Sc. 5:

This was a man!
Dies war ein Mann.'

In Raabe's Eulenzungen² the tense is again changed to suit the new situation, and there is some play on the preceding lines of the speech.

Raabe writes:

'... Wonne und Verblüffung mischten sich auf eine Weise in ihm, daß in diesem Augenblicke die Natur wahrlich nicht seinetwegen aufgestanden wäre, um der Welt zu verkünden: dies ist ein Mann!'

Schlegel's translation³ runs as follows:

'... und so mischten sich
Die Element' in ihm, daß die Natur
Aufstehen durfte, und der Welt verkünden:
Dieß war ein Mann!'

Equally common according to Büchmann were the lines from Hamlet (Act 1, Scene 5):

Es giebt mehr Ding' im Himmel und auf Erden,
Als eure Schulweisheit sich träumen läßt.⁴

1. vol.2, p.428.

2. II,4,261.

3. Early in 1863 Raabe acquired an edition of the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare (ed. T.Mommsen, Berlin, 1853-55; v. p.361 below). Unless otherwise stated, quotations from Shakespeare below are taken from this edition.

4. This was the form commonly quoted. Schlegel (v. note 3 above) wrote: 'Als eure Schulweisheit sich träumt, Horatio'. Büchmann (1874) suggests that it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the lines were 'selbst von Leuten angewendet..., die kaum eine Ahnung von der Existenz Shakespeare's haben'.

Rarely are they quoted verbatim. Bismarck writes of 'Hamlets plattgetretenen Worten'¹ and then adapts them slightly. In Sealsfield's Morton,² and in Solitaire's Bella Donna³ they are treated in much the same way. Spielhagen alludes to the second line - and thus, by implication, to both lines - in Die schönen Amerikanerinnen.⁴ Schopenhauer⁵ quotes the first line as follows: '... o, die sollen sehn, "dass es mehr Dinge im Himmel und auf Erden giebt, - - !"'. Gutzkow makes a radical adaptation: '"Ich sage Dir, Horatio, es gibt mehr Dinge im Himmel und auf Erden, als wovon die Zeitungen und die Staatsanwälte sich träumen lassen."⁶ Raabe's use of the tag - in Abu Telfan⁷ and Vom alten Proteus⁸ - is lighthearted; the liberties taken with the wording are small. (Immediately after the speaker in Vom alten Proteus - a young man who claims to have studied at three universities - has delivered himself of the quotation, the narrator begins a new paragraph with the following comment:

'Nomina sunt odiosa, aber Zitate sind oft noch viel odioser: kein Gott hilft uns davon, das von neuem drucken lassen zu müssen, was die klügsten Leute immer wieder als etwas Frisches beibringen! ...'.)

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1. Bismarck, Briefe, 4.3.47.
 2. vol.2, pp.24-25.
 3. Erzählungen bei Mondenschein, Leipzig, 1865, p.250.
 4. ed.cit., p.172.
 5. E.O. Lindner & J. Frauenstädt, Arthur Schopenhauer, Berlin, 1863, p.589, letter dated 23.9.53.
 6. Ritter, vol.1, p.307.
 7. II,1,403.
 8. II,4,564.

One also finds echoes of Hamlet's words - some strong, some faint - which suggest that they were often used almost unthinkingly. Earlier in Abu Telfan, for example, Vetter Wassertreter says that as an inspector of roads he finds time for contemplation, 'und es kommen einem Philosophien, von denen sich andere Leute nichts träumen lassen'.¹ And in Deutscher Adel the police lieutenant is described as a man 'unter dessen Nase vorüber so manche Dinge gingen, von denen sich gottlob die meisten Leute ... nichts träumen lassen'.² On the other hand, the reference in Kloster Lugau to Franz Herberger, nicknamed 'Horatio', as 'unser Philosoph', and the words 'Die Philosophie eines Bewußten' beneath a caricature depicting his activities,³ are part of a laboured parallel between Hamlet and the events which preceded the main action of the tale.⁴

Polonius' words 'Ist dies schon Tollheit, hat es doch Methode' (Act 2, Scene 2) were also quoted 'ganz wie die unsrigen, deutsch', although an exact quotation was evidently as unusual as it is in English. As in English, the words are paraphrased and the paraphrase is applied to situations which are only remotely comparable with that in Hamlet. Examples are to be found in Grillparzer's Der arme

1. II,1,44; cf. II,1,26 & II,6,293; v. also M. Solitaire, Celestens Hochzeitsnacht, Leipzig, 1854, p.35.

2. II,5,338; cf. the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Much Ado, Act 1, sc.2: '... Neuigkeiten ..., von denen du dir nicht hättest träumen lassen'.

3. III,3,390 & 400.

4. v. pp. 439 et seq., below.

Spielmann,¹ in Raabe's Zum wilden Mann² and Frau Salome,³ and in Fontane's Frau Jenny Treibel.⁴ Possibly the following passage from Leute⁵ can be said to echo the phrase:

"Diejenigen irren, ... welche meinen, die Gesellschaft gehe durcheinander wie Mäusedreck und Koriander. Es ist Methode in allem; auch darin, wie die Infusionstiere in einem Wassertropfen sich gegenseitig auffressen. ..."

Another quotation from the same scene - 'Kürze ist des Witzes Seele' - was said to be no less common. It occurs in Kloster Lugau, which is discussed below.⁶

Only three lines from Hamlet's most famous monologue (Act 3, Scene 1) are included in this category of particularly common 'geflügelte Worte': the opening line ('Sein oder Nichtsein, das ist hier die Frage') and lines 29 and 30:

'Der angebor'nen Farbe der EntschlieÙung
Wird des Gedankens BläÙe angekränkelt'.

Raabe refers three times to the monologue as a whole.⁷ As will be seen later,⁸ these references - and the pun 'Freien oder nicht freien, das ist jetzt die Frage' in Kloster Lugau⁹ - are relatively meaningful. To travesty Shakespeare's words was nothing new. Over fifty years before Kloster Lugau appeared, for example, Gutzkow had written in Wally, die Zweiflerin:¹⁰

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1. In the 27th paragraph, beginning 'Hart an dem Gleicher...'
 2. II,4,37.
 3. II,4,390.
 4. p.410.
 5. I,5,391.
 6. III,3,402; v. pp. 437 et seq. below.
 7. II,3,512; III,5,349 & 427.
 8. v. pp. 431, 440, & 446 below.
 9. III,3,574.
 10. Werke, ed. P.Müller, Leipzig & Vienna, 1911(?), vol.2. p.233.

'Rot oder Blau zum Kleide, das ist die Frage. Ob's besser ist, die Haare zu tragen à la Madelaine oder sie zusammen zu kämmen zu chinesischem Schopfe? Tanzen - vielleicht auch Sprüchwörter aufführen - ...'.

And in 1848 Dingelstedt had been moved to write a parody entitled 'Monolog des Reichsadlers'. The phrasing of the first reference to the monologue in Raabe's Akten suggests how commonplace such references were. After a lengthy excursus on the 'Bühne des Lebens' and 'die Tragikomödie des Daseins' the narrator, Karl Krumhardt, continues:

'Leider recht bald wurde um mich her die Bühne ... sehr leer und gab ungestörten Raum zu jeglichem Monolog über Sein und Nichtsein, und ob es besser sei und so weiter und so weiter'.¹

In Fontane's Die Poggenpuhls we receive the same impression from Leo's letter to Manon:

"Trauriges Dasein und draußen Tauwetter. Ich könnte den Hamletmonolog deklamieren...".²

Raabe does not allude to lines 29 and 30 of the monologue, but there is no lack of evidence to support Büchmann's contention.³

Of Lear's words 'jeder Zoll ein König' (Act 4, Scene 6) Büchmann writes: 'Auch mit diesem Worte geht es wie mit vielen seiner Brüder. Aus seiner Herrlichkeit herausgerissen wird es je nach Bedürfnis in: "Jeder Zoll ein Parvenü, jeder Zoll ein Blaustrumpf" u.s.w. travestirt'.

1. III, 5, 349; cf. Der Hungerpastor, I, 1, 478.

2. Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1919, vol. 4, p. 91; cf. Spielhagen, Prob. Nat., vol. 1, p. 240; & F. Th. Vischer, Auch Einer, vol. 2, p. 327. (References below to Die Poggenpuhls are to the edition specified.)

3. e.g. Kürnberger, p. 403; Spielhagen, Prob. Nat., vol. 2, p. 294. Fontane's use of the term 'angekränkelt' might have its origins in Shakespeare's phrase: v. Der Stechlin, p. 53, & Frau Jenny Treibel, p. 491; cf. Lindau, Literarische Rücksichtslosigkeiten, 3rd edition, Leipzig, 1871, p. 290.

Thus we find in Hackländer's Europäisches Sklavenleben 'jeder Zoll ein vollkommener Roué' and 'jeder Zoll eine Herrscherin'.¹ In Gustav Kühne's Die Rebellen von Irland we read: "'Bei Gott, ganz Irländerin, jeder Zoll national!" applaudirte Elisabeth, um ... nur einigermaßen Entsprechendes zu äußern'.² Instead of 'ein König' the author of Auch Einer³ substitutes 'ein Geschäftsreisender' and 'ein Hämorrhoidarius'. Raabe, in Das Horn von Wanza,⁴ substitutes 'ein Nachtwächter'.

Richard III's words 'Ein Pferd! ein Pferd! mein Königreich für'n Pferd!' (Act 5, Scene 4) were treated in similar fashion. In Willkomm's Die Europamüden⁵ we find 'Eine That, ach eine That, die ganze Welt für eine That!'; and in Raabe's writings 'n Pferd!' makes way for 'einen Gedanken!',⁶ 'seine Adresse!',⁷ 'ne Tasse und 'ne altbackene Semmel...!',⁸ and 'einen freundlichraschen Schlagfluß!'.⁹ Echoes of Richard's words might be detected on three further occasions in Raabe's novels, inasmuch as a kingdom is cited as a price which the speaker would willingly pay for something he desires, or as a price too low to buy something already in his possession.¹⁰ As with Lear so with Richard III: the situation is one which is not likely to recur, and in the new situations figurative usage or some adaptation of the original words is therefore

1. vol.2, pp.25 & 114.

2. ed.cit., p.189.

3. vol.1, pp.1 & 103.

4. III,1,523.

5. vol.1, p.147.

6. I,5,243.

7. II,1,392-93.

8. III,2,146.

9. v.Jahrbuch, 1960, p.135.

10. I,5,200; III,2,369; III,3,227. These utterances do not necessarily stem from Shakespeare; cf. similar phrases in Goethe, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Book 6 (ed.cit., p.410); H.v.Paalzow, Godwie-Castle, Breslau, 1855, part 2, p.17; & Polätische Dichtung, vol.5, p.259, note: "'... mein Königreich für Lola!'".

inevitable. Even in Sealsfield's Das Cajütenbuch,¹ where a horse is in fact what is needed, the price mentioned is necessarily figurative ('... mein Königreich, meinen Himmel für ein Pferd!'). In Horacker Raabe points out:

'Über ein Schlachtfeld nach einem Gaul zu rufen und ein Königreich dafür zu bieten, klingt wohl tragischer, ist es jedoch unter Umständen für den in eigener Tragödie auf der Lebensbühne Auftretenden keineswegs. Ein Königreich für ein Pferd; - die ganze Welt für^{ein} Paar Schuhe! - '2

From Henry IV, Part 1 (Act 2, Scene 4) Büchmann also lists '(Wenn Gründe) so gemein wie Brombeeren (wären)'. An allusion to this in Ida Hahn-Hahn's Ilda Schönholm³ is in the form of a reference to the original context:

'"Ich kann nicht dafür, wenn Sie meine Gründe nicht gelten lassen. Übrigens gibt der liebe Gott keine und Falstaff keine - ..."'.

In general, however, no such reference was made: Kürnberger⁴ and Raabe⁵ both use the tag but do not acknowledge its source.

Büchmann lists a number of quotations which he seemingly regards as less common than those discussed hitherto -

'Wir Deutsche citiren die folgenden Worte nicht, finden sie aber bei der Lektüre englischer Schriftsteller als Alltagsworte unter denen, welche am häufigsten citirt werden' ⁶

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1. vol.2, p.295. In Morton, vol.1, p.1, a reference to a stage production of Richard III contains an exact quotation of the line in question.
 2. II, ~~II~~, 564.
 3. p.103.
 4. p.248.
 5. II,1,77, & II,6,420. Both Kürnberger & Raabe use 'wohlfeil' instead of 'gemein'.
 6. Büchmann (1865), pp.99-100. In later editions the quotations are no longer divided in this way.

- yet these quotations appear under the general rubric 'Citate aus anderen Sprachen, die wir in ihrem fremden Gewande benutzen'. In fact more than a few of these were widely known and used - some in German, some in the original language. They include the lines from Hamlet (Act 1, Scene 2):

How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world!¹

The first line was quoted loosely and, at times, flippantly, the second was paraphrased or implicit in the new context. For example, the projected match between Felix and Helene in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen² appears to Oswald "'Wie die Welt dem Hamlet: ekel, schal flach und unersprießlich"; and in a letter written in 1847 Bismarck admits that, at the age of twenty-three, he 'fand Welt und Leben schaal und unersprießlich'³. Raabe, in a letter to Wilhelm and Marie Jensen,⁴ writes of his attempts to resume work after an interruption: 'Auch ohne den Schnupfen im Kopfe kam mir das ganze Wesen entsetzlich dumm, höchst "ekel, schal und unersprießlich" vor'. Many years later he sends good wishes to the Jensens 'trotz allem Hamlet'schen weary, flat, stale and unprofitable der Dinge und Angelegenheiten dieser Erde'.⁵ In his diary⁶ the German words (with the omission of 'flach') occur repeatedly⁷ - e.g. '... Abds Klub. Ek. sch. u unersprießl. ...' - and clearly reflect the

1. Omitted in all later editions under review except that of 1915.

2. vol.1, p.509.

3. Bismarck, Briefe, 28.2.1847.

4. In alls gedultig, 19.10.1880.

5. ibid., 13.2.1898.

6. v. p.452 note 1, below.

7. Entries for 6.10.57, 12.7.82, 13.12.83, 2.4.86, 20.9.86, 31.7.1902; also for 11.8.68 ('Ekel, schaal und unruhig') & 9.12.68 - v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol. 8, pp.391 & 392.

writer's mood or his reaction to a particular situation. English appears to be more appropriate in the following (unusually explicit) entry: '... in der Droschke nach Viewegs Garten - flat, weary and uncomfortable! ...'.¹ In Kloster Lugau the words form part of a reference to 'Horatio'. After a formal quotation from one of Hamlet's later speeches² the narrative continues:

'Wenn nur nicht gerade solche Edle, Seltene das Ekle, Schale und Unersprießliche der Welt zu oft derartig ausgekostet hätten, daß es gar kein Vergnügen sein kann, sie als Weltweise zu seinem nächsten Umgang zu zählen!'³

From act 1, scene 5 come Hamlet's words 'Die Zeit ist aus den Fugen', which are echoed in novels by Gutzkow,⁴ Spielhagen,⁵ and Raabe.⁶ From Hamlet's monologue at the end of act 2, scene 2, the question

Was ist ihm Hekuba, was ist er ihr,
daß er um sie soll weinen?

usually appears in the abbreviated form 'Was ist ihm Hekuba?' with appropriate adaptations of tense and personal pronoun. Thus Emma Sonnenstein in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied asks: '"Was ist mir Hekuba? was Henri? was die Andern?";⁷ and in Leute⁸ a comment on

1. Entry for 10.6.58.

2. v. p.442 below.

3. III,3,453.

4. Wally, die Zweiflerin, ed.cit., p.315 (preface to the 2nd edition, 1851), and Ritter, vol.2, pp.195, 345, & 444.

5. Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.443 & vol.2, p.18, and In Reih' und Glied, vol.2, pp.67,194, & 507.

6. III,1,117, & III,3,432; cf. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.131: '...dem Herrgott seine verpfuschte Welt wieder einzurenken'. Schlegel's translation of 'out of frame' (Ham., Act 1, sc.2) is also 'aus den Fugen'.

7. vol.1, p.280.

8. I,5,252.

Leon von Poppen's unfilial behaviour reads: 'Aber was war dem Baron Hekuba? Der schlechte Sohn kümmerte sich wenig um die Migräne der Mutter'. The relative clause in the following sentence from Horacker¹ gives some indication of the commonness of the tag: '"Was ist mir Hekuba?" murmelte der Konrektor, der etwas sagen mußte' - a clause reminiscent of the passage from Die Rebellen von Irland, quoted above,² in which the speaker uses a household word 'um ... nur einigermaßen Entsprechendes zu äußern'.

The next relevant quotation from Hamlet is 'Alas, poor Yorick!' (Act 5, Scene 1).³ Raabe makes several oblique references to the gravediggers' scene which show he knew it well.⁴ Only once does he quote the household word as such: in Ein Frühling.⁵ In the second version of the tale it is omitted. To use - and to appreciate - a household word which contains a proper name it is often necessary to have a certain knowledge, however slight, of the original context.⁶ The name is a word whose meaning is determined first by the setting in which it became memorable and subsequently by the use to which it is put outside that setting. This particular phrase had become primarily an

1. II, 1, 560.

2. v. p. 184 above.

3. cf. Fournier, op.cit., 5th edition, Paris, 1879, p.101.

4. v. pp. 421, 424-25, 435, & 436 below.

5. I, 2, 251.

6. cf. pp. 202-04, 210, & 214-15 below. This does not, of course, apply merely to quotations of this kind; v. p. 170 above, & cf. F. Panzer, op.cit., p. 11.

exclamation of regret at the negative effects wrought by time on something or someone dear to the speaker. In Ein Frühling, however, while any attempt to identify the speaker with Hamlet would be foolish, the situation has much in common with that in Shakespeare. The scene is a graveyard. The speaker discovers the grave of a man whom he once knew. The dead man, Strobel, a character from the Chronik whom Raabe re-introduces in this scene only, had been a caricaturist. In the Schlegel translation Hamlet goes on to describe Yorick as 'ein Bursche von unendlichem Humor, voll von den herrlichsten Einfällen'. It seems probable that Raabe had at least these qualities in mind when he quoted.¹ This probability is all the greater in view of the writer's penchant for playing hide-and-seek with his readers. Only those who have read the Chronik know who Strobel was and can, given a knowledge of Hamlet's speech, appreciate the parallel.

At the beginning of Hastenbeck² Raabe describes the family circle in the vicarage at Boffzen: the pastor, his wife, their foster-daughter, the maid, and 'Zuletzt, doch wahrlich nicht als der letzte im Kreise ... Hauptmann Balthasar Uttenberger'. In Julius Caesar (Act 3, Scene 1) Mark Antony takes the hand of Trebonius with the words

'Though last, not least in love, yours, good Trebonius'.

In King Lear (Act 1, Scene 1) Cordelia is 'Although the last, not least'.

1. He may also have been thinking of Sterne's Yorick; v. pp. 303 et seq., below.

2. III, 6, 8.

The Schlegel-Tieck translation of the first of these is

'... reicht, Trebonius, eure mir,
Zuletzt, doch nicht der letzte meinem Herzen';

and of the second: 'Du jüngste, nicht geringste'. Clearly the words from Hastenbeck resemble the translation of Mark Antony's line, although according to Büchmann the translation of Lear's words was the more commonly quoted. Perhaps Raabe had in mind simply the original 'last, not least' which appears in both quotations. In early editions of Der Hungerpastor, this English tag took the place of 'die Krone des Ganzen' in the following sentence:¹

'Die beiden jungen Damen ... waren nicht verloren gegangen, und die Krone des Ganzen erschien, die Herrin der wandernden Horde...'

(Neither the manageress of the travelling circus nor Balthasar Uttenberger can be identified or contrasted in any significant way with either Cordelia or Trebonius.)

A misquotation which may well be deliberate occurs in Raabe's short story Der gute Tag. From act 1, scene 3, of Macbeth Büchmann lists

'Komme, was kommen mag,
Die Stunde rinnt auch durch den rauh'sten Tag'.

(In Raabe's edition of the Schlegel-Tieck translation² Macbeth says:

'Komme, was da mag!
Zeit läuft und Stund' auch durch den rauh'sten Tag'.)

The speaker in Der gute Tag, talking to himself, prefaces his quotation

1. I, 1, 557; v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6, pp.354 & 523. The comma after 'erschien' was presumably also an addition.

2. v. p. 179, note 3 above.

with "Na, wie sagt Macbeth?", and continues

" - - - - - Komm', was kommen mag,
Zeit rennt und Stund' auch durch den schlimmsten Tag!"¹

Excluded from all editions of Geflügelte Worte under review except that of 1865 are three further quotations from Shakespeare which are to be found in Raabe's writings. Chapter 24 of Der Dräumling opens abruptly as follows:

'Shall I not take mine ease in mine inn? Soll ich nicht meine Behaglichkeit in meiner Kneipe haben? Ja, natürlich sollt Ihr das, Sir John, und was uns anbetrifft, so wollen wir uns derselbigen gleichfalls bedienen, wie es uns zusteht, das heißt, wir wollen fürs erste Herrn Ahrens, den Wirt zum grünen Esel, sein Behagen in seiner Herberge nehmen lassen'.²

Falstaff's question (Henry IV, Part I, Act 3, Scene 3) - which Schlegel had translated as 'Soll ich keine Ruhe in meiner Herberge genießen können ...?' - had already found an echo in Abu Telfan:³ 'auch der Geduldigste will sein Behagen in seiner Kneipe haben'. The entire question - '... shall I not take mine ease in mine inn, but I shall have my pocket picked?' - is relevant in neither case. In Sealsfield's Morton⁴ ('"... soll ich mir in meiner Inn nicht gütlich thun?") we find the same loose usage. The second of these quotations, from The Tempest (Act 4, Scene 1), was parodied by Raabe in Die Kinder von Finkenrode⁵

1. III,6,480; v. pp.361 & 411 below.

2. II,3,168.

3. II,1,99-100.

4. vol.2, pp.153 & 205; cf. the casual reference in J.Rodenberg's Aus aller Herren Länder, Berlin, 1868, p.126, to the days of the Plantagenets 'wo Falstaff ... sich in der Taverne von Eastcheap belustigte'.

5. II,2,168; v. p.388 below.

as follows:

'We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our life
Is rounded with a - smoke'.

(The omission of 'little' before 'life' would appear to be carelessness.)

The narrator is telling of his discovery of his uncle's tobacco supply.

Only those familiar with the original wording - and Büchmann's

Geflügelte Worte suggests that in Raabe's day they were many - can,

since they expect the final word 'sleep',¹ appreciate the change made.

A somewhat different effect is produced by an addition to the end of a familiar quotation, by what might be called a retroactive addition

(e.g. 'something rotten in the state of Denmark Hill'). Raabe uses

this device elsewhere.² Here he simply makes capital not out of his

or his readers' knowledge of The Tempest but out of a literary tag,

the final word of which is a long monosyllable beginning with the letter

's'.³ More than sixteen years later, again in a humorous context, he

describes 'die Quintessenz der Seele Adelgundens' as 'ein vorüber-

flatternd Stück von dem bekannten Stoff, aus dem die Träume gemacht

werden!'.⁴ The third 'geflügeltes Wort' is taken from Ulysses' answer

1. Such expectation is probably greatest when the word which is replaced comes at the end of a quotation which has a marked rhythm. The effectiveness of such devices depends to a great extent on the seriousness of the contexts in which they are used.

2. v. p. 199 below.

3. Schopenhauer, Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, ed.cit., part 1, p. 20, includes it among examples of what great writers and thinkers have said about sleep and dreams. He writes '... made of'.

4. Der gute Tag, III,6,479. Raabe may well have had the English in mind when he wrote this. The Schlegel translation reads: 'Wir sind solcher Zeug/Wie der zu Träumen.'

to Achilles' question 'What, are my deeds forgot?' (Troilus and Cressida, Act 3, Scene 3). People forget past achievements and lavish praise on what is new, because it is new. They do not distinguish between the meritorious and the meretricious. This is a natural failing common to all:

'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin'.

The tenth chapter of Raabe's Alte Nester¹ begins with quotations in German from the final scene of The Merchant of Venice² - a scene which opens with a reference to Troilus and Cressida. The narrator continues:

'... und - one touch of nature makes the whole world kin: wer möchte nicht immer so nach Hause kommen bei Mondenlicht und wenn der Schein der heimatlichen Lampe durch die Bäume flimmert und des Hauses Musik dem Heimkehrenden ... entgegenklingt?'

Relevant additions to Geflügelte Worte in later years are comparatively few. The 1874 edition³ includes:

1. Der Rest ist Schweigen. (Hamlet, Act 5, Scene 2)
2. Gleich, Herr, gleich! (Henry IV, Part I, Act 2, Scene 4)
3. So lag ich, und so führt' ich meine Klinge. (Henry IV, Part I, Act 2, Scene 4)
4. Des Dichters Aug' in schönem Wahnsinn rollend. (A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act 5, Scene 1)
5. Ich steh' hier auf meinen Schein. (The Merchant of Venice, Act 4, Scene 1)
6. Das ist der Humor davon. (Henry V, Act 2, Scene 1⁴ and The Merry Wives of Windsor, Act 2, Scene 1⁵)

1. II,6,73; v.Pongs, p.458.

2. v. pp. 379-80 below.

3. v. p. 168, note 2 above.

4. v. also ibid., Act 2, sc.3, & Act 3, sc.1.

5. v. also ibid., Act 1, sc.3.

(Apart from these tags from Shakespeare, the only item of interest in this edition is the title of James Fenimore Cooper's Der letzte Mohikaner. This is used in novels by Hackländer,¹ Spielhagen,² and Raabe,³ in the sense of 'the last of a more or less worthy kind'. Of these references, only that in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen reveals the author's familiarity with Fenimore Cooper, a writer whom Raabe in fact knew well.⁴)

1. Franz Herberger, the 'Horatio' of Kloster Lugau, has returned to Wittenberg. Gräfin Laura, the object of his attentions, has retired to a convent. Commenting on the situation, a certain Regierungsrat Notker is reported to have said:

"... Nun sitzt der gute Horatio ... für immer fest in Wittenberg, während Gräfin Laura - doch auch hier sei der Rest Schweigen."⁵

The word 'auch' refers the reader to another situation in which the phrase was used. By putting the tag in inverted commas, Schopenhauer also refers his reader to another situation;⁶ and on a different occasion⁷ - when he is expressing his determination, in the early thirties, to publish no more - he quotes it in English. When, on the other hand, Karl von Holtei quotes the popular German translation in Die Vagabunden⁸ the reader is given no such clue.

1. op.cit., vol.1, p.224.

2. Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.16; cf. ibid., vol.1, pp.174 & 420.

3. Horacker, II,1,534, & Villa Schönau, III,2,176.

4. v. pp. 322-29 below.

5. III,3,458.

6. E.O.Lindner & J.Frauenstädt, op.cit., p.490, letter dated 2.3.49.

7. ibid., p.373.

8. ed.cit., vol.2, p.21.

2. Spielhagen, in Die schönen Amerikanerinnen,¹ writes simply that Louis, the waiter, 'enteilte: gleich! gleich! rufend'. Gaudy, in Der Sonntag des Schulmannes,² is more explicit. Of the hero of the tale we read: "Gleich! gleich!" antwortet er mit Shakespear's Küferjungen, und spritzt die Feder aus'. Raabe goes further and names the play: 'Wie der Kellner in Shakespeares Heinrich dem Vierten mußte er nach allen Seiten hin "Gleich! Gleich!" antworten'.³ The reference is to Moses Freudenstein, alias Theophile Stein, the cynical, highly successful and apparently popular villain of Der Hungerpastor. According to one critic: 'Der Vergleich mit dem Kellner Franz bei Shakespeare parodiert Moses'.⁴ There is clearly an element of parody in the passage from Gaudy, where the speaker, in the midst of his Sunday labours, has just been called for dinner. The passage in Der Hungerpastor, however, continues in terms which are not those of ridicule:

'Bald war er von einer ganzen Schar der Anwesenden umgeben; jedermann horchte mit lachendem Mund auf seine Aussprüche. Witzig, scharf zufahrend im höchsten Grade waren diese Aussprüche; niemand schien ihm auf irgend einem Felde Stand halten zu können...'

3. From his use of Falstaff's words it is clear that the king in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied is afraid of the type of rodomontade from which the words are taken:

1. ed.cit., p.76.

2. Franz Freiherrn Gaudy's poetische und prosaische Werke, Berlin, 1853-54, vol.6, p.175.

3. I,1,408.

4. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6, pp.218 & 536.

"Den Prinzen an der Spitze des Heeres, damit ich hernach mein
Lebenlang hören werde, wie er auslag und seine Klinge führte!
Nein! nein!"¹

The tag also has boastful connotations in Heine's "Im Oktober 1849".²

Raabe's Frau Cruse in Im alten Eisen,³ however, is not a boastful character. As a former actress she was probably familiar with the original context; and she may well be speaking ironically when she recalls how, after the death of her husband, she took over his theatre:

"Sie wissen, wie ich lag und wie ich meine Klinge führte als
Frau Direktor Cruse, ... auf beiden Hemisphären fest im Sattel."

The reader or writer who had lost sight of the source presumably took the familiar words to mean little more than 'I acquitted myself well'. If the speaker was a lying braggart this was revealed by the new context, not by the undertones of the quotation.

4. In Auerbach's Auf der Höhe⁴ 'in schönem Wahnsinn' appears as 'im schönen Wahnsinn', meaning 'in love'. In Raabe's Leute⁵ the expression 'der holde Wahnsinn', which seems to echo Shakespeare's phrase, has much the same meaning:

"Wir trinken, wir singen, wir tanzen, und der holde Wahnsinn
hält jedermann und jedes Fräulein mit Rosenketten gefangen."

The poet in Theseus' speech is one of three types who 'are of imagination all compact' and whose judgment is therefore suspect. He is not

1. vol.2, p.484.

2. It is the final line of the eighth stanza.

3. III,3,56.

4. ed.cit., vol.2, p.101.

5. I,5,144.

expressly in love. The poet in Raabe's burlesque Keltische Knochen¹ returns from a solitary walk anxious to declaim a poem which he has just written. From it we gather - several pages later - that he had, in fact, been enchanted by a glimpse, caught elsewhere and earlier, of a pretty girl in a window. But it is primarily with reference to his appearance before reading the poem, when he is flushed with a sense of poetic achievement, that we are told: 'Seine Sehorgane rollten in dem bekannten schönen Wahnsinn'. Here again, a knowledge of the household word in isolation was sufficient. Correspondence between the old context and the new was not necessarily the result of conscious artistry.

5. Twice in Raabe's writings a form of Shylock's words is used to express insistence on a right which is laid down in some type of document: in Pfisters Mühle² (with 'meinem' instead of 'meinen'), and in Deutscher Adel.³ (In the latter instance the accusative is retained, but the verb is changed: when a debtor has practically no property 'kann sich auch der grimmigste, abgefemtete Stadtexekutor höchstens auf seinen Schein stellen und darauf herumtrampeln'.) In Verschlungene Wege⁴ Schücking, unlike Raabe, draws attention to the source, not only by a reference to Shylock but also by quoting in English. The quotation seems to be a translation of Schlegel's translation. Shakespeare wrote 'I stay here

1. I, 6, 261.

2. III, 2, 244.

3. II, 5, 206.

4. ed.cit., vol.1, p.170; cf. p. 209 below.

on my bond'. Schücking's Hattstein, in a situation which is in some way similar to that in Shakespeare, says to himself:

"... es giebt ... keine beschämendere Rolle als die eines Mannes, der unerbittlich seine Rechte fordert! I stand upon my bond. Pfui Shylock!"

6. "... Was war der Humor von der Katzenbalgerei?..." This is the second of several questions put to Uhusen - in Im Alten Eisen¹ - by Frau Cruse, who once employed him as an actor. The vocative 'Korporal Nym', which occurs in the preceding question, indicates that the writer was aware of the identity of the character from whose lines the quotation is taken. Since Raabe is not known to have been familiar with Henry V, this may be a reflection of his familiarity with The Merry Wives of Windsor.² Uhusen does not appear to resemble Nym in any way. The question implies, perhaps, that he formerly played the part of the Corporal in Frau Cruse's productions.

The 1882 edition of Geflügelte Worte includes:

1. Ich witt're Morgenluft. (Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 5)
2. Kundiger Thebaner. (King Lear, Act 3, Scene 4)
3. Narr des Glücks. (King Lear, Act 4, Scene 6; or Romeo and Juliet, Act 3, Scene 1; or Timon of Athens, Act 3, Scene 6)
4. Es war die Nachtigall und nicht die Lerche. (Romeo and Juliet, Act 3, Scene 5)
5. Verlor'ne Liebesmüh. (Love's Labour's Lost)³

1. III,3,47.

2. v. p. 378 below.

3. The Schlegel-Tieck translation is 'Liebes Leid und Lust', a title also listed in this edition of Geflügelte Worte.

1. The ghost of Hamlet's father, about to recount the true manner of his death, realizes that he must be brief, since dawn is near and he is doomed to spend the daylight hours in purgatory. The contrast between the awful urgency of this situation and the ludicrous context in which the words occur in Raabe's Ein Frühling¹ could hardly be greater. They are part of the good-natured chatter of a young bookseller who, having intervened successfully in a brawl, suddenly realizes why the brawl took place: "'Hahaha, ich wittere Morgenluft! ...'" (In the second version of Ein Frühling Raabe writes: "'... Morgenluft und einiges Andere noch dazu!'"²) The author was doubtless familiar with the original context, and, as a humorist, may well have had it in mind at the time of writing. Moreover, as Büchmann points out, the words appear in the twenty-eighth stanza of Bürger's 'Lenore'. Raabe clearly knew the ballad.³
2. One critic has pointed out that in Raabe's day this term was students' jargon 'mit dem Nebensinn, daß es mit der Gelehrsamkeit nicht weit her ist'.⁴ There is certainly a touch of irony in Lear's description of Edgar as 'this same learned Theban'; and in both Der Hungerpastor⁵ and Altershausen⁶ Raabe's use of the term (with 'gelehrt' instead of

1. I, 2, 59.

2. cf. p. 192 above.

3. v. Jensch, op.cit., p. 13.

4. Raabe, Werke, Freiburg i. Br., 1954, vol. 2, pp. 364 & 752.

5. I, 1, 621.

6. III, 6, 284.

'kuldig') is mildly ironical.¹ On neither occasion, however, is it even faintly derogatory. Hans Unwirrsch, though no great scholar, is a noble, unpretentious fellow who has read theology: the narrator has no occasion for sarcasm when he writes that Fränzchen

'war mit noch weniger Gepäck belastet, als Hans, da sie keine Bibliothek mit sich herumschleppte, wie dieser gelehrte Thebaner'.

The middle-aged German-American in Altershausen does not hesitate to criticize the men who, we gather, were in some way responsible for his being sent down from Göttingen;² but his criticism is mild, and it is confined to events which took place in later years. The designation 'die sieben gelehrten Thebaner' is jocular, nothing more. (The very words 'die sieben Gelehrten' are as likely to have suggested 'Thebaner' to the writer as are thoughts of Lear, of Edgar's apparent madness, and of the scholarship of the 'Göttinger Bieben'.)

3. Characters thus described in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied³ and in Raabe's Pfisters Mühle⁴ and Villa Schönow⁵ are in situations which are in some way unenviable. The reader who is unfamiliar with the plays from which the words can have come is not at a great disadvantage. Romeo and Lear are not to be envied when they call themselves fools of fortune, but beyond this they and their predicaments have virtually nothing in common with the German characters and contexts. Even a

1. In 1907 Raabe apparently used the term in this sense in conversation - v. F.Hartmann, Wilhelm Raabe Wie er war und wie er dachte, 2nd edition, Hanover, 1927, p.97.

2. v. pp. 64-65 above.

3. vol.2, p.13.

4. II,6,321-22.

5. III,2,129.

specific reference to a source - such as Heine's 'Ich Narr des Glücks! könnt' ich wie Romeo sagen'¹ - does not necessarily mean that the new situation closely resembles that in Shakespeare. (Timon's use of 'Ihr Narr'n des Glücks' as a term of abuse is not repeated.) That Ernst Wichert took 'Narr des Glücks' as the title of a comedy in 1867 may reflect the commonness of the words at the time. On the other hand, just as it was the American cinema which popularized Kipling's phrase 'from here to eternity' (together with the German 'verdammt in alle Ewigkeit'), and just as the German cinema might re-popularize Hamlet's 'Der Rest ist Schweigen' - so Wichert's comedy perhaps influenced the decision to include 'Narr des Glücks' in this edition of Geflügelte Worte.

4. A short passage in Der Schüdderump² shows that the writer was familiar with these words and with the context from which they are taken. They constitute the second line of the scene in question. Raabe's allusion, which is of no particular significance, contains an echo of the fourth line of the same speech. No evidence has been found to suggest that this line was also commonly quoted during the period under discussion.
5. In Die schönen Amerikanerinnen³ Spielhagen uses the expression 'verlorene Liebesmüh' in much the same general way as Raabe writes of

1. C.F.Reinhold, Heinrich Heine, Berlin, 1947, p.412, letter dated 25.1.50.

2. III,1346; v. p.⁴¹⁶ below.

3. ed.cit., p.138.

'der Liebe Mühe' in Der Lar.¹ In the latter instance no epithet is needed: the speaker clearly considers that the efforts he has made are wasted. Nowhere else in his writings does Raabe refer or allude to Love's Labour's Lost. The play was among those discussed in 1854-55 by one of his lecturers in Berlin.²

This was the last edition for which Büchmann was wholly responsible. In it he also mentions two names from Shakespeare which were evidently among the first to become what are later called 'geflügelte Typen':³ Caliban and Othello. The name 'Caliban' had become 'für einen plumpen Gesellen sprichwörtlich', and it is used in this sense in Raabe's Weihnachtsgeister.⁴ In this passage, however, and similarly when the name occurs in Die Kinder von Finkenrode,⁵ the writer alludes quite obviously to The Tempest.⁶ In a third passage, in Abu Telfan,⁷ there is no such clear allusion. Nevertheless, Büchmann's definition is not sufficient: it does not suggest the uncivilized and mis-shapen creature whom the speaker evidently has in mind. Moreover, like Shakespeare's Caliban, Raabe's Hagebucher has undergone a process of education. His relationship with Nikola von Einstein otherwise resembles that between Caliban and Prospero - or Caliban and Miranda - in no way, although

1. III,3,283.

2. v. pp. 359-60 below.

3. v. p. 214 below.

4. I,2,342-43.

5. II,2,92-93.

6. v. pp. 388-89 below.

7. II,1,171.

there is, perhaps, some hint at the latter relationship in his explanation:

'"... Wie einen zusammengekugelten Kaliban rollte das Geschick mich ihr in den Weg und sie lehrte mich zuerst wieder aufrechten Hauptes die Sonne zu betrachten. Ich habe nie daran gedacht, sie in irgendeiner Weise zu meinem stumpfsinnigen Elend herabzuziehen; in dem, was die Gesellschaft ein Verhältnis nennt, stehe ich also nicht zu ihr. #'

Hagebucher develops well. According to Oleander in Gutzkow's Ritter¹ the development which takes place 'wenn man einmal den großen Kaliban, das Volk, aus seiner tierischen Vegetation aufweckte' can only be for the worse. Again, when we read in Holtei's Die Vagabunden:²

'Die Mönchsrobbe ... lag in ihrem Reise cubiculum; der Knecht, eine Art Caliban, neben ihr',

it is apparent that, since he is a menial, the man who is likened to Caliban has something in common with his prototype for which Büchmann does not allow. Whether in Holtei's view 'eine Art Caliban' necessarily performed some menial function is, however, an open question. Büchmann's definition of 'Othello' as 'sprichwörtlich für einen eifersüchtigen Ehemann' is equally narrow. The name - of a man or of the play - simply spells jealousy and is used (as a rule, it seems, ironically) in all manner of forms and contexts, as examples in the writings of Hackländer,³ Raabe,⁴ and Heinrich Seidel show. In Seidel's Leberecht Hühnchen,⁵ for instance, the local barber, Herr Kräutlein, is enamoured of the

1. vol.3, p.530.

2. ed.cit., vol.2, p.186.

3. op.cit., vol.2, p.43.

4. I,1,118, & I,5,328.

5. ed.cit., p.113.

narrator's widowed landlady, who in turn is angling for the affections of her lodger. Kräutlein 'warf aus rollenden Augen furchtbare Othelloblicke auf mich, wenn er mir begegnete'.

From Othello (Act 1, Scene 3) Büchmann also includes in this edition Iago's iterative advice to Roderigo: 'Tu' Geld in deinen Beutel!'. On this, according to the editor of Kloster Lugau,¹ is based Augustine Kleynkauer's injunction to her cousin Euphrosyne:

"Da sage ich nun, wie der greuliche Mensch in dem gruseligen Shakespearestück: Halt den Knopf auf dem Beutel! Halt den Knopf auf dem Beutel, Base Kleynkauer!"²

Iago's advice and that of Augustine are both brief and imperative. But they mean different things and have only one word in common. It seems reasonable, however, to suppose that, even if he did not know the context in Shakespeare, Raabe was thinking of the popular phrase and was aware of the correct wording. Augustine's speech is not out of character. She is sufficiently unread and unconcerned about such niceties to misquote with confidence. She says what is in her mind: that dreadful rascal in that play by Shakespeare told someone or other to do something about money, said something about a 'Beutel'. (K.F.W. Wander lists the phrases 'Den Knopf auf dem Beutel haben', 'Einem den Knopf auf den Beutel halten', and 'He het'n Knoop op'n Büüdl' in his Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon.³)

1. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, pp.133 & 441.

2. III,3,536.

3. Leipzig, 1870, vol.2.

Other editions of Geflügelte Worte published during Raabe's lifetime include:

1. (1884) ('s ist) ein Ziel
Aufs innigste zu wünschen. (Hamlet, Act 3, Scene 1)
2. (1889) Denn der Regen, der regnet jeglichen Tag. (King Lear, Act 3, Scene 2; or Twelfth Night, Act 5, Scene 1)¹
3. (1889) Viel Lärm(en) um Nichts. (Much Ado about Nothing.)
4. (1895) Alle Wohlgerüche Arabiens (Macbeth, Act 5, Scene 1)
5. (1900) Worte, Worte, Worte. (Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2)²
6. (1900) In Bereitschaft sein ist alles. (Hamlet, Act 5, Scene 2)
7. (1903) Reif sein ist alles.³ (King Lear, Act 5, Scene 2)
8. (1903) Königlicher Kaufmann.⁴ (The Merchant of Venice, Act 3, Scene 2, and Act 4, Scene 1)

1. Hamlet's words reappear among the unuttered reflections of a scheming clergyman in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen,⁵ and among the jovial observations of Wedehop, a professional translator, in Raabe's Villa Schönow.⁶ In neither case is the 'consummation' even remotely concerned with sleep or death, although here as elsewhere facetiousness is enhanced by an awareness of the original context of the tag in question.
2. In Kloster Lugau⁷ a reference to the bad weather in the spring and summer of 1869 concludes: '... und - der Regen regnete jeglichen Tag'.

1. The word 'Denn' translates 'Though' in Lear and 'For' in Twel.N.

2. cf. Fournier, op.cit., 5th edition, Paris, 1879, p.101.

3. This is mentioned in connection with the previous quotation: 'In Bereitschaft...'

4. The editor adds: 'Übrigens kommt der Ausdruck bei Shakespeare's Zeitgenossen öfters vor', but does ^{not} claim that the tag originated in any work other than Merch.V.

5. vol.1, p.258.

6. III,2,182.

7. III,3,541.

Jensch¹ also takes the words 'der Regen regnete immerzu' in Pfisters Mühle² as an allusion to this line - a plausible assumption, particularly in view of the unusual use of 'Regen' as the subject of 'regnen'.

Possibly - at least in Kloster Lugau - Raabe hoped 'to touch a chord of association in his reader'.³ If we are to believe Büchmann, this hope was well founded. Since the original words occur only once in King Lear - in a snatch of song by the fool - but form the refrain of four of the five stanzas sung by the clown at the conclusion of Twelfth Night, the reader who tried to recall the sources of such quotations was more likely to think of the latter play. But even had he remembered both, his understanding of the passages in Raabe would hardly have been increased. Once the chord of association has been touched, once they have been recognized as more or less well known phrases from elsewhere, household words have, as a rule, fulfilled their secondary function. The primary function in this case is to say: 'It kept on raining'. The choice of words was doubtless determined to some extent by Raabe's reluctance to express a plain fact in a humdrum way.

3. That this phrase was used quite casually is shown by one example in Gaudy's Der moderne Paris⁴ and by at least three in Hackländer's

1. op.cit., p.66. 2. III,2,246. 3. v.H.W.Fowler, op.cit., under 'Quotation'.

4. Franz Freiherrn Gaudy's poetische und prosaische Werke, ed.cit., vol. 6, p.123. This passage is a good illustration of what has been described as the 'Konversationszitat' (v.H.Meyer, Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst, ed.cit., p.159 et seq.). For further examples of conversational quoting in Der moderne Paris v.ed.cit., pp.124-26,128, & 130-34; cf. B.Goltz, Typen der Gesellschaft, Grünberg, 1860, pp.42-44. Bulwer Lytton also makes liberal use of this type of quotation: v.Ernest Maltravers, Part 1, Book 6, chap.3, Book 7, chap.4, Book 8, chaps.2 & 4, and Part 2, Book 7, chap.1.

Europäisches Sklavenleben.¹ Raabe's use of it in a letter to Karl von Bruyk is basically the same.² An elaborate reference to the play itself is made in Unruhige Gäste and will be discussed later.³

4. In Die Gänse von Bützow⁴ the reference, like that in the source, is to the inefficacy of all the perfumes of Arabia; but Raabe, unlike Shakespeare, does not use the phrase in a purely figurative context. The speaker - no Lady Macbeth but a simple, well-intentioned young teacher - has been involved in a violent scrimmage with a hated rival:

"Noch immer klebt mir der übelduftende Dunst seiner Umarmung an; alle Wohlgerüche Arabiens werden ihn fürs erste nicht aus meiner Nase spülen".

In Pfisters Mühle⁵ the reference, unlike that in Macbeth, is ironical: the 'Wohlgerüche Arabiens' are an evil mixture of smells which fill the lodging-house in which the speaker lives. The situation described in Die Gänse von Bützow is in fact the more ludicrous. In both cases the effect - for those who recall the grimness of the words' original setting - is comparable with that achieved by the cry 'Ich wittere Morgenluft!' in Ein Frühling.⁶

5. The young heroine of Ein Frühling, in great distress, goes to church:
- '... ein schwarzer Mann trat auf die Kanzel und fing an zu reden. Das Kind hielt es für eine Sünde, seinen Worten nicht zu folgen, ... aber - es vermochte es nicht! Worte, Worte, Worte!'⁷

1. vol.2, p.46, vol.3, p.180, & vol.5, p.237.

2. In alls gedultig, 4.5.91.

3. III,2,497; v.p.³⁸²⁻⁸³ below.

5. III,2,257.

7. I,2,155.

4. I,6,402-03.

6. v.p. 199 above.

Clearly these words are not the slanders which, when accosted by Polonius, Hamlet claims to be reading ('that old men have grey beards' etc.). The picture of a young person listening to a sermon might, however, have reminded Raabe of Polonius.

6. & 7. The writer makes a conversational allusion to both these phrases in a birthday greeting to Marie Jensen and her husband:¹

'Seid vergnügt! nicht bereit oder reif, sondern vergnügt sein, ist Alles. Shakespeare hat sich auch hier einmal wieder ungeheuer geirrt'.

The reference to Shakespeare may indicate the writer's familiarity with the original import of the sayings. But in view of the breeziness of the letter as a whole - which perhaps accounts for the second sentence quoted - to discuss such sombre matters would have been rather inconsistent. Similarly there is no room for serious reflection in the frolicsome Christoph Pechlin,² which Raabe had completed in the previous year. After the story's boisterous climax the author therefore plays with Edgar's words as follows:

'Reif sein ist in jeder Beziehung alles, und diesmal war man zur Umkehr reif und kehrte demgemäß um: daß man aber in diesen Tagen für vielerlei reif geworden war, das wird die Zukunft zeigen'.

8. According to RMajut³ this term became generally known through Immermann's Die Epigonen. Here the royal merchant is a business magnate whose

1. In alls gedultig, 7.9.73.

2. II, 2, 410.

3. Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß, Berlin, Bielefeld, & Munich, 1952-59, vol. 2, column 2309.

wealth and world-wide interests at least match those of Antonio.¹ For Graf Schönstetten on one occasion in Schücking's Verschlungene Wege the word 'königlich' connotes generosity as well as affluence. Schücking makes it clear that he is quoting: "'Ein Antonio - ein königlicher Kaufmann!'"² In Drei Federn Raabe, like Immermann, puts the words into inverted commas: '... niemandem konnte es einfallen, meinen Vater einen "königlichen Kaufmann" zu nennen'.³ This is no reflection on the man's generosity but simply on the size of his grocery. In Der Dräumling⁴ the term is not the compliment that it appears to be in Shakespeare, Immermann and Schücking: it is used ironically - with undertones similar to those in 'the purple of commerce' - of an insipid and priggish young merchant who is evidently very well-to-do. The juxtaposition of 'königlich' and 'Kaufmann' is made to appear slightly ridiculous:

'... und neben ihm - neben ihm, dem großen Manne und königlichen Kaufmann aus Hamburg stand her Wirt zum grünen Esel und wagte es bereits - wagte es, ihm vertraulich auf die Schulter zu klopfen'.

By 1884 another character from English literature, described as 'das Muster eines Damenhelden' (and in 1900, unequivocally, as 'das Muster eines Frauenverführers'), merited inclusion in Geflügelte Worte:

1. v. ed.cit., vol.4, pp.15 & 210.

2. ed.cit., vol.1, pp.173-74; cf. p.197 above.

3. I,6,1.

4. II,3,181; cf. II,3,116.

Lovelace. That the name was immediately understood is shown by a conversation in Gutzkow's Ritter.¹ Dankmar asks the epicurean Schlurck: "Belehren Sie mich: was steht höher als Staatsformen und Forellen? Ich weiß es nicht." - "Gehen Sie weg, Sie junger hübscher Lovelace..." - "Lovelace? Ah! Sie meinen - ?" - "Ja natürlich mein' ich! Was ist lieblicher als ein schönes Weib?"

It is a name which is generally mentioned with some disapproval: elsewhere in Ritter,² in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied³ and Die schönen Amerikanerinnen,⁴ and, by implication, in the comic despair of the narrator of Raabe's Die Kinder von Finkenrode.⁵ Stranded in the village of Sauingen at night, he would welcome anyone who could help him find accommodation, even 'einen Nachtwächter ..., irgendeinen Sauinger Lovelace, Don Juan oder sonstigen Taugenichts!' - evidently the only people he thinks that he is likely to encounter at that late hour.⁶ In none of these instances is there any mention of Richardson⁷ or Clarissa.

Several of the new entries in the 1915 edition of Geflügelte Worte are of interest here, as it seems unlikely that they had all become popular during the five years which had elapsed since Raabe's death:

1. vol.1, p.130.

2. vol.3, p.210.

3. vol.1, p.259.

4. ed.cit., p.18.

5. II, 2, 13.

6. 'Lovelace' is also the name given to an old manservant in H.v.Paalzow's Godwie-Castle, ed.cit., part 1, p.70, but this has no apparent connection with either his character or his past.

7. Büchmann (1882) mentions also that Richardson was 'für uns Urheber des Wortes "sentimental"', but this is a loan-word rather than a 'geflügeltes Wort'; v.P.F.Ganz, Der Einfluß des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz 1640-1815, Berlin, 1957. In connection with loan-words v. Pongs, pp.603 & 611, on the word 'neurasthenisch', and cf. O.E.D. & Heyse, Fremdwörterbuch, ed.cit.

1. Schreibtafel her! Ich muß mirs niederschreiben,
Daß einer lächeln kann, und immer lächeln,
Und doch ein Schurke seyn ... (Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 5)
2. Der arme Thoms friert. (King Lear, Act 4, Scene 1)
3. Wir sind sieben. (Wordsworth's poem "We are seven")
4. Heimchen am Herde. (Dickens, Cricket on the Hearth)

1. The following adaptation of Hamlet's words in Im alten Eisen¹ must be completed by the reader. The speaker either stops of his own accord or is interrupted by the person with whom he is speaking. It is an oblique reference to a worthless aesthete and 'Schönredner' named Brokenkorb:

"Schreibtafel her! Ich muß mir's niederschreiben,
Daß einer reden kann, und immer schöner reden
Und doch -"

In the next sentence the source of the tag is mentioned and there is an allusion to the adaptation.² The speaker considers that Brokenkorb, like Claudius, is a villain, but there is no suggestion of any far-reaching parallel between the two characters. The quotation appears to have been quite common before 1915. In Parerga und Paralipomena³ Schopenhauer omits the first line and quotes the remainder (i.e. one line) in English. And in the first act of Hauptmann's Gabriel Schillings Flucht,⁴ which was written during Raabe's lifetime, the first

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1. III,3,169. A subtle allusion to this scene from Hamlet is to be found in Der Lar, III,3,377 - v. pp.⁴³⁶⁻³⁷below.
 2. "Das ist annähernd aus dem Hamlet...".
 3. 2nd edition, Berlin, 1862, part 2, p.637.
 4. Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1922, vol.4, p.174.

line is quoted with reference to an artist's sketchbook. The speaker is simply stating that he is in the habit of putting his impressions on paper.

2. In Unruhige Gäste¹ Veit Bielow, who has travelled south in order to convalesce after an attack of typhus, writes from Sicily:

'"Nun hat wohl schon der Winter an Eure Tür geklopft ... Ja, den armen Tom friert auch in dieser lauen südlichen Abendluft..."'.

Jensch's original claim² was that this constituted an allusion to King Lear. The claim was later changed, for no apparent good reason, in favour of Harriet Beecher-Stowe. (Jensch had suggested that act 3, scene 4, of Lear was the source. Four times in this scene, while a storm is raging, Edgar complains 'Thoms friert'; four times he calls himself or is called 'arm'. The 'geflügeltes Wort', as the editor of Büchmann points out, occurs in act 4, scene 1.) Although Raabe's construction³ differs from that in Schlegel-Tieck, the fact that 'Der arme Thoms friert' was a household word makes Jensch's first assumption seem the more plausible. The doubts as to the source of the words quoted are an indication of its lack of significance in the new context. Possibly Bielow felt that, like Edgar and Uncle Tom, he was, in a sense, an outcast. Probably he did in fact feel cold; certainly he felt sorry for himself. And he liked to quote.

1. III, 2, 586.

2. op.cit., p.69.

3. 'Tom' is as in Shakespeare: 'Poor Tom's a-cold'.

3. The little girl in Wordsworth's poem, when asked how many brothers and sisters she has, insists on counting the two who are dead. Fifteen years after he had left Stuttgart Raabe considered that he still belonged to a particular circle there, of which Karl Schönhardt had given him news: 'Vor allen Dingen ist es nicht wahr, daß Ihr nur Sechs alle vierzehn Tage seid! We are seven! ... Himmelsakrament, ein bischen gehöre ich doch auch noch dazu!'¹ It is not known whether Raabe was familiar with the poem in question. As with the expression 'my house is my castle', the English words need only indicate that the quotation was conscious and that the writer knew the source was probably English. Nevertheless, Raabe's resentment at being relegated to limbo is not unrelated to the mood in which the words were first uttered. Very different is the use to which they are put in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied.² The writer was apparently familiar with their source. The reader cannot understand the passage in question unless he at least knows that the words occur in a poem. Whether he was expected to appreciate the contrast between the two contexts is again an open question:

"Aber für wie viel haben Sie denn gedeckt, Kind? Es fehlen noch zwei Couverts." ... "Nicht doch, nicht doch!" rief Amelie eifrig; "we are seven Miß Jones we are seven!" "Poetical child! dear girl!" murmelte Miß Jones ...'

1. In alls gedultig, 31.12.85.

2. vol.2, pp.383-84.

4. That 'Heimchen am Herde' was generally understood to denote - as the editor of Büchmann puts it - 'einen Frieden und Glück stiftenden Hausgeist' enabled Raabe to use the term ironically:

'Aus der Wand hervor drang ein schwirrender, zirpender Ton; aber der liebe Himmel bewahre jedermann vor einem derartigen Heimchen am häuslichen Herde'.

The 'cricket' in this case is a ghost in Vom alten Proteus¹ which for many years has been impaled behind the wallpaper. Evidence of Raabe's extensive knowledge of Dickens is discussed below.²

Few of the 'geflügelte Typen' listed in this edition,³ apart from those already discussed, are mentioned in Raabe's writings in a generic sense. The reference to 'Shylok' in Alte Nester⁴ is certainly to a type of person -

'Der Herr Graf hat es seiner Tochter nicht mitgeteilt, welch einem schlimmen Shylok mit Messer und Wagschale seine Existenz verpfändet war' -

yet it is not divorced from its original context as were Caliban and Othello in the examples quoted above.⁵ On the contrary, it is part of an elaborate series of allusions to The Merchant of Venice.⁶ Raabe mentions 'die Capulets und Montagues' in connection with a modern, trivial and undignified quarrel, but the reference is linked with a quotation from Romeo and Juliet.⁷ 'Romeo' and 'Julia' are clearly

1. II,4,613.

2. v. pp. 341-58 below.

3. They include: 'Falstaff', 'Shylock', 'Montecchi und Capuletti' (already in Büchmann (1884)), 'Romeo und Julia', & 'Robinson'.

4. II,6,74.

5. v. pp. 202-04 above.

6. v. pp. 374-80 below.

7. I,2,59; v.p. 413 below, and cf. Spielhagen, Die schönen Amerikanerinnen, ed.cit., p.102; & Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.2, p.495.

understood as types in Gutmanns Reisen,¹ where, as in Keller's Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe, tension has arisen between the fathers of two young lovers: "'Das bitte ich mir aus, ... daß mir keins die Julia und keins den Romeo spielt!'"'. The only reference to Falstaff is in connection with the household word 'Shall I not take mine ease in mine inn?'.² 'Robinson' is often simply a type with no express literary background,³ although occasionally the references make it clear that he is a character from a work of literature.⁴

The 1915 edition of Geflügelte Worte also lists a number of words which, like certain phrases in the 1907 edition, allegedly come from novels by James Fenimore Cooper. None of the phrases mentioned occurs in Raabe's work, but several of the words (e.g. Wigwam, Rothaut, Feuerwasser, Squaw) do occur, generally in passages which are in some way concerned with Cooper.⁵ On account of their comparatively late arrival

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1. III,4,387; cf. Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.2, p.462, & Wally, ed.cit., p.221; Spielhagen, Die schönen Amerikanerinnen, ed.cit., p.62, & Prob. Nat., vol.1, p.240; and Gabriele Reuter, Aus guter Familie, ed.cit., p.133.
 2. v. p. 191 above; cf. Kürnberger, p.248; Gutzkow, Ritter, note on vol. 3, p.491; B.Goltz, Typen der Gesellschaft, ed.cit., p.47; & E.Brachvogel's novel Ein neuer Falstaff, 1863.
 3. e.g. I,1,117; I,5,447; III,1,91; III,3,42,50,56,121, & 134 (here, in Im alten Eisen, Raabe alternates between 'Robinson', 'Crusoe', & 'Robinson Crusoe'); cf. Tieck, op.cit., p.27; Auerbach, op.cit., vol. 2, p.187; Freytag, Die verlorene Handschrift, ed.cit., vol.2, p.63; L.v.François, Zu Füßen des Monarchen, p.131; Fontane, Der Stechlin, p. 85, & Quitt, p.137; Spielhagen, In Reih' und Glied, vol.2, p.281, & Prob.Nat., vol.2, p.161; H.Seidel, op.cit., pp.148 & 330; cf. further Bismarck, Briefe, 19.8.62, & Raabe, In alls gedultig, 31.3.91.
 4. v. pp.276 et seq., below.
 5. v. pp.322 et seq., below, & cf. p.143 above.

in Germany and the essentially exotic sphere to which they pertain, they had not been absorbed to the same degree as had older and less palpably alien borrowings. To ascribe them all to James Fenimore Cooper is to generalize; and they can scarcely be regarded as 'geflügelte Worte'.

Finally, two further Shakespearean quotations should be mentioned here. They are not in Büchmann, but their inclusion in another modest collection, H. Nehry's Citatenschatz,¹ suggests that - unlike so many of the lines listed by F.A. Leo² - they were quite well known:

1. Ward je in dieser Laun' ein Weib gefreit?
Ward je in dieser Laun' ein Weib gewonnen? (Richard III, Act 1,
Scene 2)
2. Der Mann, der nicht Musik hat in ihm selbst,
Den nicht die Eintracht süßer Töne rührt,
Taugt zu Verrath, zur Räuberei und Tücken;
Die Regung seines Sinns ist dumpf wie Nacht,
Sein Trachten düster, wie der Erebus.
Trau keinem solchen! (The Merchant of Venice, Act 5,
Scene 1)

1. The word "Laun'" in its new context denotes the suitor's frame of mind, with particular reference to the difficulties which brought it about. The contrast between Gloster's loathsome 'humour' (or Anne's 'heart's extremest hate' towards her wooer) and the perplexity of the harmless young hero of Gutmans Reisen³ is patently absurd:

'Er saß still: Ward je in solcher Laun' ein Weib gewonnen? nämlich einem ahnunglosen Papa und einem noch ahnungloseren feurigen Nebenbuhler abgewonnen? ...'

1. ed.cit. (v. p.172 note 3 , above).

2. v. pp.177-78 above.

3. III,4,415.

Willi Gutmann, like Gloster, has wooed and won, but there the parallel ceases.

2. The length of a 'geflügeltes Wort' is evidently as indeterminable as is that of the Novelle. (A recent edition of Büchmann includes a seven-line quotation from Goethe's Die ungleichen Hausgenossen.¹) The plural 'Verse' in the following ironical allusion from Leute² implies that Raabe was probably thinking of at least the first three lines of the quotation recorded by Nehry:

"Eins ist sicher; als William Shakespeare seine schönen Verse über den Mann, "der nicht Musik hat in sich selbst", dichtete, da verstand er unter Musik jedenfalls nicht solche Nasallaute, wie sie der Junge hier jetzt hervorbringt. Bah, es ist besser, zu schnarchen als zu schluchzen."

The speaker is wondering whether the young unfortunate whom he has just taken under his wing will prove to be a 'Handvoll Glück oder Unglück'. At the same time he seems reasonably certain that the youth can be trusted, that he is not 'fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils'. In Vom alten Proteus³ a similar passage tells of the unhappiness of the ardent young hero - '... zwar mit viel Musik in sich selber, aber einer höchst lugubren und unheimlichen Trauermusik' - implying, it would seem, that he is not the type of man described in the remainder of Lorenzo's speech. 'Musik' here is purely figurative. Schopenhauer's free English rendering of Lorenzo's conclusion ('Shakespeare sagt: trust not

1. Geflügelte Worte, Constance & Stuttgart, 1950. p.81.

2. I,5,67.

3. II,4,619.

the man that has no music in his soul'¹) may be a further indication of the popularity which the lines enjoyed.

Possibly Nehry's Citatenschatz should be discounted in the present context: it had to compete with Büchmann and - perhaps because of this - was not confined to household words. But of Raabe's quotations and borrowed expressions, more than fifty of those from English and American sources were mentioned in Geflügelte Worte during the years 1865-1915. Naturally, some of them were in more general use than others, as evidence from the writings of his contemporaries suggests. By and large, the earlier the edition of Büchmann, the commoner the entries. But most of them belonged at least to the passive literary vocabulary of the age. They required no explanation: rarely did writers reveal an awareness of any source. Raabe did so from time to time in various more or less explicit ways (e.g. in the words which follow '"Er ist ein Mann, nehmt alles nur in allem"', the words which precede 'dies ist ein Mann!', the query '"Na, wie sagt Macbeth? ..."', the vocative 'Sir John', or the allusion to Francis 'in Shakespeares Heinrich dem Vierten').² Jensch's comments in the preface to Wilhelm Raabes Zitatenschatz are contradictory. He admits³

'daß man vielleicht die Hälfte des Raabeschen Zitatenschatzes zum Abfall werfen müßte, wenn man ... alle lose Scheidemünze vom Tisch

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1. J.Frauenstädt, Aus Schopenhauers handschriftlichem Nachlaß, Leipzig, 1864, pp.135-36.
 2. v. pp. 178,179,190-91, & 195 above.
 3. ed.cit., p.VII; cf. E.Weniger, 'Wilhelm Raabe und die Bildung', op.cit., pp.525-26.

auf den Erdboden fegen würde. Ich habe ... auch die abgegriffensten Schlagwörter aufgenommen, sofern sich nur irgend eine literarische Quelle nachweisen läßt'.

Pointing out that most of the quotations listed are not immediately discernible as such in Raabe's writings, Jensch continues:¹

'... Ob es sich um eine beabsichtigte oder eine unbewußte Entlehnung, vielleicht nur um eine zufällige Übereinstimmung im Wortlaut handelt .. muß oft das Gefühl entscheiden'.

In his opening remarks he has already explained² that the writer

'des erborgten Flitters fremder Geistesschätze nicht bedarf ... daß die literarische Anspielung ein wichtiges Ausdrucksmittel seiner Darstellungskunst ist und daß er sich eines Zitats fast ausnahmslos nur da bedient, wo er uns wichtige Dinge unter einem Symbol verhüllt zu sagen hat'.

It is suggested that the reader with a knowledge of the quotations' original contexts is at an advantage: his ability to fathom Raabe's real intentions and thus to appreciate his work is greater than that of those less well informed. If the author also knew these contexts, this opinion would seem reasonable. The common quotations and expressions discussed above may be taken as evidence of Raabe's knowledge of English and American literature when they are coupled with some reference to their sources. Otherwise they can, at the most, strengthen impressions gained from the occurrence of less common quotations or allusions and from meaningful biographical information.

1. *ibid.*, p.VIII.

2. *ibid.*, p.IV.

Chapter 5. English and American literature.

There is a wealth of evidence relating to Raabe's knowledge of English and American literature. Since this evidence is fragmentary, the conclusions which can be drawn are bound to be tentative. Very little is known, for example, of the books which Raabe borrowed from libraries. The dates of publication of the books in Raabe's own library are not necessarily significant. (Details of books in English in the library have already been given.¹) The Handbuch der englischen Sprache und Literatur² (Berlin, 1802) is a case in point. A two-volume anthology of English prose and poetry, with biographical sketches of the writers represented, it is only occasionally of interest in the present context, but it includes writers and writings quoted or mentioned in some way by Raabe. Whether it came into his possession in his youth is, however, not known.³ Conversely, Raabe owned a copy of

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1. v. pp. 159-63 above. References below to Raabe's English books are generally to the editions listed, but quotations have been adjusted in a number of instances to more readily available editions, and attention is drawn to these changes.
 2. The title of this work is abbreviated below to 'Handbuch'; references are to the edition specified.
 3. The dates on which many of the books in Raabe's library were acquired are entered in the books themselves, and some of these dates are confirmed by diary entries (v. pp. 159 et seq., above). Raabe may well have been familiar with a book before the date entered, unless the copy in question is a first edition acquired immediately after publication.

E. Engel's Geschichte der englischen Litteratur (Leipzig, 1888) - an indication of his interest in the subject.¹ But nothing has been found to show at what stage between 1888 and 1910 - the year of his death - he acquired the book. How well Raabe knew the books he owned it is often impossible to say. For instance, there is nothing in his writings - except for one common quotation, which is discussed elsewhere² - to suggest that he knew Pope. Yet he possessed Johnson's The Lives of the most eminent English Poets and the Handbuch, the latter containing: a short biography of Pope; letters from Pope to Steele and Cromwell; and six poems or excerpts from poems. Similarly, apart from a reference in Das Odfeld to 'Professor Gottscheds ... Bearbeitung von Addison's Cato',³ there is no evidence in Raabe's writings to show that he knew anything of Addison. Yet at various stages he acquired not only the Handbuch and Johnson's Lives of the Poets, but also Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays⁴ and several volumes of The Spectator - in all of which Addison figures quite prominently. The obverse of such instances is even commoner. Raabe mentions or alludes to, or quotes on occasion, various more or less well known writers and writings - but virtually nothing is known of the sources or extent of the information on which these passages are based. Thus he describes in some detail in Ein Frühling (1.10.56 -

1. Appended to Engel's history is 'Die amerikanische Litteratur'. Raabe also possessed A.Schönbach's Über die Humoristische Prosa des 19. Jahrhunderts, Graz, 1875; date of acquisition unknown.

2. v. pp.176-77 above.

3. III, 4, 41.

4. References below to these essays, unless otherwise stated, are to The Works of Lord Macaulay complete, London, 1866, vol.5.

27.5.57) 'ein altes, englisches Trauerspiel, die "Herzogin von Malfy"'.¹ He quotes one of John Owen's epigrams,² alludes several times to Newton's theory of colour,³ once to Malthus and his views on population,⁴ and once to T.C. Haliburton;⁵ and he repeatedly echoes the title of Charles Kingsley's Westward Ho!.⁶ He refers to Kipling in one of his letters,⁷ and - derisively - to Sir John Lubbock's 'hundert Lieblingsschriftstellern' both in Gutmans Reisen⁸ (9.6.90 - 3.10.91) and, at least by implication, in his Gedanken und Einfälle.⁹ Very little more is to be learned from or about certain interesting but laconic entries in the writer's diary.¹⁰ A few of these refer to book purchases (e.g. 'Tennyson Gedicht ... bestellt',¹¹); most of them evidently concern visits to the theatre (e.g. 'Stille Wasser sind tief, nach Beaumont u Fletcher: Rule a wife and have a wife',¹² 'Theat: Der Jude, von Cumberland',¹³). Nevertheless, these names are merely

1. I,2,199. One of the lectures he may have attended in Berlin was entitled 'Die Geschichte der englischen Litteratur von dem 17. Jahrhundert an'. This is listed, and lightly marked in pencil, in Raabe's 'Vorlesungsverzeichnis' (in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr.26 Varia I') for the summer semester 1854 & again for the following semester.

2. I,6,356.

3. I,6,409, III,4,379, & III,6,465. These are all humorous references to Newton's theory. The latter instances include allusions to Goethe's views on colour. The first passage (which is in Die Gänse von Bützow) does not contain such an allusion: the tale is set in 1794; Goethe's theory appeared in 1810.

4. I,1,392.

5. I,5,90.

6. I,5,116,123,124, & 130. Raabe's friend Wilhelm Jensen later published a tale called Westwardhome, Schleswig, 1868.

7. In alls gedultig, 4.1.1900.

8. III,4,231-32; v. Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books, London, 1891 etc., vol.1, introduction, pp.3-4.

9. III,6,581; v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.123.

10. e.g. entries for 7.12.58, 9.5.59, 19.3.61, 25.12.62, 26.2.63, 22.4.63, & 30.4.63; v.p.452, note 1, below.

11. Entry for 8.9.62.

12. Entry for 22.11.59.

13. Entry for 3.12.61.

incidental in a consideration of Raabe's knowledge and appreciation of English and American literature.

Much has been written about the influence of English and American writers on Raabe¹ - particularly of the 18th and 19th century English novelists - but, as was recently pointed out,² very little has been proved. In general, Boekhoff's observations with regard to certain aspects of Raabe's earlier writings³ would seem to be applicable to Raabe's writings as a whole. While specific echoes and parallels can be detected with a reasonable degree of certainty in a number of instances, the similarities between various features of Raabe's work and those found in the work of his English predecessors rarely point of necessity to specific influences:

'Wo nun ... die bei Raabe immer wiederkehrenden redenden Namen einmal zu Jean Paul, einmal zu Dickens und schließlich, wie bei R.M. Meyer, zu den "technischen Hilfsmitteln der Romantik" führen sollen, da erhebt sich die Notwendigkeit, zunächst einmal nach dem Verhältnis Raabes zu der, allen diesen Erscheinungen zweifellos gemeinsamen Wurzel zu fragen ... Diese ... Wurzel nun ist im englischen Roman des 18. Jahrhunderts zu suchen... Überblickt man im Frühwerk die ereignisreichen, betont wechsellvollen Geschehnisse und ihre Verknüpfung, die Häufung der Haupt- und Nebenfiguren in ihrer Ausgestaltung und Gruppierung und schließlich die erzählerische Grundhaltung, so wird man über Dickens und Jean Paul hinaus den Typus des englischen humoristischen Romans überhaupt ins Auge fassen müssen.'

1. v. pp. 479-82 below, nos 1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 23, 30, 31a, 36, 40, 41, 47, 59, 63, & 64;

v. also the 'Anhänge' to Wilhelm Raabe, Sämtliche Werke, Freiburg i. Br. and Brunswick, 1951-.

2. v. K. Heim, op.cit., p. 137.

3. op.cit., p. 8 et seq.

Possibly some of the influences which have been postulated would repay further study - a series of studies which would involve an exhaustive examination of the writers in question. (It is not known, for example, whether Fielding had any notable influence on Raabe. Perhaps it is no mere chance that Julius Schminkert's tantalizing mode of narration and the young hero's consequent exasperation in Leute¹ are reminiscent of a scene between Partridge and Tom Jones (Book 15, Chapter 12). Certainly the aging lieutenant in Tom Jones (Book 7, Chapter 12) has something in common with the hoary Leutnant Götz in Der Hungerpastor.² Leute was completed and Der Hungerpastor begun in November 1862, after Raabe had, in all likelihood, read Fielding's novel.³) Where the evidence presented by earlier critics is of particular interest, it is discussed below. Otherwise the question of influences is largely disregarded. The account which is given of Raabe's knowledge and appreciation of English and American literature is perhaps none the less valid.

Apart from certain unrelated and comparatively minor figures (i.e. Bunyan, Hogarth, Burke, Charles Lamb, and Samuel Johnson, who are considered first), the writers are grouped according to the forms of literature in which they are commonly known to have excelled. Of the six poets, five - Milton, Gay, Burns, Coleridge, and Longfellow - are

1. I,5,414 et seq.

2. I,1,380 et seq.

3. v. pp. 288-89 below.

of secondary interest here. Ossian calls for somewhat fuller treatment; but the most important poet in the present context is Byron. As a novelist, Raabe was naturally drawn to the narrative, particularly to the English and American prose narrative. Discussion of his familiarity with writings by Defoe, Swift, Richardson, Fielding, and Goldsmith is relatively brief. Raabe's favourite English novelist in the 18th century was clearly Laurence Sterne. The early 19th century novelists (Scott,¹ Irving, Marryat, and James Fenimore Cooper) merit rather more attention than most of their younger contemporaries (E. Bulwer Lytton, Edgar Allan Poe, Harriet Beecher-Stowe, Charlotte Yonge). Thackeray is a possible exception, but Raabe appears to have found Dickens by far the most congenial author of the period. Finally, a section is devoted to Shakespeare, who is the only dramatist of significance in this investigation and who contributed more to Raabe's writings in the form of quotations and allusions than all the writers mentioned above - and far more than any single writer except Goethe and, perhaps, Schiller.

1. Appended to the section on Scott is a brief account of Raabe's knowledge of Smollett.

JOHN BUNYAN:

In a letter from America to his mother, the young hero of Akten,¹ Velten Andres, writes of himself: '... aus dem nichtsnutzigsten Schlingel des Vogelsangs wird (wenigstens was ich da zu tun kann) the most glorious tramp, der glorioseste Landstreicher'. This tramp he sees as a man who 'vielleicht auch erst in irgend einem Bedford gaol als alter Kesselflicker anfangen wird, sich über the Pilgrims progress, über seines Lebens Pilgerfahrt die letzte Rechnung abzulegen'. The context suggests - rather vaguely - that, when he uses and translates the words 'the most glorious tramp', Velten is already likening himself to Bunyan. He obviously knew that Bunyan was a 'Kesselflicker' by trade. It is not improbable that, having perhaps come across the term 'tramp' in connection with Bunyan, the writer had failed to realize that it did not have to be translated as 'Landstreicher' - i.e. that it could be defined as 'an itinerant tinker'. In this context the word 'alter' is not entirely clear either: whether it is to be understood as 'one-time', or whether it is an allusion to Bunyan's age. (Bunyan was a little over thirty when he was first imprisoned, and, as far as is known, no more than forty-seven when he began to write The Pilgrim's Progress.)

Towards the end of 1893, the year in which Raabe began work on Akten, he acquired Macaulay's Biographical Essays² and some of the

1. III, 5, 342.

2. References below to these essays, unless otherwise stated, are to The Works of Lord Macaulay complete, London, 1866, vol. 7; v. p. ²³⁴ below.

Critical and Historical Essays. (The latter collection includes an essay on 'The Pilgrim's Progress, with a Life of John Bunyan' By Robert Southey, London, 1830', but this has no direct bearing on the passage under discussion.) Raabe's knowledge of the circumstances in which Bunyan's work arose may have been gleaned from the Biographical Essays. Macaulay writes: 'He may be said to have been born a tinker';¹ and 'In November 1660 he was flung into Bedford gaol';² and 'Before he left his prison he had begun the book which has made his name immortal'.³

Although neither the passage in Akten⁴ nor a brief reference to The Pilgrim's Progress in Abu Telfan⁵ reveals any real familiarity with the work itself, Raabe evidently knew it to be an edifying and in a sense autobiographical book of considerable merit and repute.

1. p.297.

2. *ibid.*, p.302.

3. *ibid.*, p.305.

4. The note in *Krit.Ausgabe*, vol.19, pp.476-77, is misleading: 'Anspielung auf John Bunyan und seine Erbauungsschrift "The pilgrims progress..." ..., 1678-84. B. war ursprünglich Kesselflicker und wurde später wegen seiner, in jenem Werk verkündeten Lehre in Bedford ins Gefängnis (gaol) geworfen'. The fact that, as Raabe implies, Bunyan began The Pilgrim's Progress in gaol is ignored, and the reader might infer that its author was not imprisoned until after 1684.

5. II, *ibid.*, 88. In a note in *Krit.Ausgabe*, vol.7, p.419, the editor points out that, like the novel's hero Hagebucher, Bunyan had suffered 'das Los einer zwölfjährigen Gefangenschaft'.

HOGARTH:

'Es war ... der große Punschnapf auf den Tisch ... gesetzt, und vom Fürsten der Männer ... wacker in die Gläser des Kreises ausgelöffelt worden. Wir waren ein Vorwurf für Hogarths Grabstichel...'.¹

From this and the preceding pages² in Die Gänse von Bützow one learns that the gathering took place at the end of the 18th century and was made up of prominent members of the local community, men who, in their leisure hours, met, talked, argued, and drank quite heavily. The narrator, J.W. Eyring, was in the habit of attending such meetings and in this way, smoking his clay pipe, 'ging mit nicht geringem Vergnügen dem Hange nach Mitteilung und geselliger Anmut im Kreise der Tabakswolkenumwogten Honoratioren von Bützow nach'. The 'Honoratioren' include an advocate, a clergyman, and a doctor. The account of this particular evening contains such terms as 'Kniehosen', 'Beutelperücke', and 'Dreimaster'; the punch-bowl is described as 'buntbemalt' and 'chinesisch'. It was an evening on which those present drank 'mehr als gewöhnlich und sprach natürlich mehr und in höherem Ton als gewöhnlich'. Eyring describes, amongst other things, how one of the intoxicated men began to weep; and how, on the other hand, a less prominent member of the group remained silent in the background, reluctant to thrust himself 'in das Licht und unter die Augen unserer Wohlbehaglichkeiten'. The scene is remarkably like that depicted in Hogarth's "A Midnight Modern Conversation". Among the books in Raabe's father's library³ was a

1. I,6,358.

2. I,6,348 et seq.

3. v. Mitteilungen 1926, p.122.

collection of Hogarth engravings 'nebst Beschreibung von Lichtenstein' (sic). Presumably the work in question was Lichtenberg's Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche¹ (in which the author also points to the presence of an advocate, a clergyman, and a doctor²) - or some later edition of it.

The only other explicit reference to Hogarth in Raabe's work suggests that he might also have known something of the artist's aesthetic theories. Certainly the words 'eine Spur, welche der Hogarthschen Schönheitslinie gleicht, aber wie ein Fragezeichen aussehen würde, wenn du einen Punkt darunter machtest'³ show that he was able to recognise the famous 'line of beauty'. This ability could, however, have been derived from some source other than Hogarth's own writing⁴ - e.g. from his well-known self-portrait "Hogarth and Trump" (1745) or from Lichtenberg.⁵ References to the line may indeed have been common in other works known to Raabe. At least he is likely to have come across one such reference in Sterne's Tristram Shandy,⁶ where Corporal Trim's knee is described as 'bent, but that not violently - but so as to fall within the limits of the line of beauty'.

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1. Göttingen, 1794-1835; Lichtenberg's own 'explanations' ceased in 1799.
 2. op.cit., first number, pp.90,102, & 130.
 3. Fabian und Sebastian, II,5,456; cf. II,2,154.
 4. v.The Analysis of Beauty, London, 1753, chap.7.
 5. Lichtenberg himself did not discuss The Analysis of Beauty. But it is discussed, and 'die Schönheitslinie' is mentioned, in W.Hogarth's Zeichnungen ... Mit der vollständigen Erklärung derselben von G.C. Lichtenberg, hrsg. und fortgesetzt von Dr. Franz Kottenkamp, Stuttgart, 1840, part 2, pp.933-975. This may well have been the edition which belonged to Raabe's father (†1845).
 6. vol.2, chap.17. (i.e. p.122 in the edition by J.A.Work, New York, 1940. References below to Tristram Shandy are to this edition, unless otherwise stated.)

EDMUND BURKE:

The narrator of Die Gänse von Bützow explains that on the day about which he is writing, November 4th, 1794, the distribution of the local firewood supplies had become the subject of violent controversy in Bützow. It was later learned

'daß an diesem Tage Suwarow Praga mit Sturm nahm und zwölftausend Bürger, Weiber und Kinder niedermetzelte ... In Anbetracht aber, daß ich mein Deputatholz eingezogen hatte, und in Anbetracht, daß der bekannte Mister Edmund Burke in seinem Buche Vindication of Natural Society berechnet, daß seit Anfang der Historie sechsund-dreißigtausend Millionen Menschen durch Kriege der Könige und Eroberer umgekommen seien, saß ich den Tag über ruhig ... und ließ mich nichts anfechten.'¹

Whether Raabe was in fact familiar with the Vindication is not known.

The figure quoted tallies only roughly with one of the two estimates which Burke gives towards the beginning of the letter.² The Handbuch³ mentions Burke's 'kleine Abhandlung', but gives no account of its contents.

1. I,6,351.

2. A Vindication of Natural Society, London, 1756, pp.29-31; the two totals are 40,000 million and 80,000 million.

3. vol.1, p.449.

CHARLES LAMB:

Valerie's animated, sophisticated chatter at the beginning of chapter 13 of Unruhige Gäste¹ contains an allusion to a little essay by Lamb, an allusion which appears meaningful only if one is aware of the essay's purport. Describing some of the people who infest the watering-place at which she is staying, the young lady exclaims: 'O Himmel, da haben wir ... unsern großen Seelenschilderer XXX der seit gestern morgen, wo ich ihm meines Freundes Charles Lambs Versuch über Geistesgesundheit des wirklichen Genius unter die Nase rieb, mit den schwärzesten Tintenabsichten um mich herum geht'. The essay in question - 'Sanity of True Genius'² - is included in The Essays of Elia, a copy of which Raabe acquired several years before he wrote Unruhige Gäste.³ The essayist contends in the opening sentence that 'the greatest wits ... will ever be found to be the sanest writers'. Presumably Valerie is waggishly suggesting that 'Seelenschilderer XXX' intends to write something in order to prove his sanity and the greatness of his wit, and that he has singled her out as a suitable subject.

1. III, 2, 503.

2. This was originally one of Lamb's 'Popular Fallacies', entitled 'That great wit is allied to Madness'.

3. Raabe also owned a translation of the Tales from Shakespeare (v. p. 361 below), but they seem to find no echo in his writings.

SAMUEL JOHNSON:

Apart from the passage in the Chronik concerning the manuscript of The Vicar of Wakefield, which is treated elsewhere,¹ Raabe mentions Johnson in his writings on two occasions only: in Die Innerste² (5.10.74 - 20.12.74) and in Unruhige Gäste³ (21.5.84 - 22.10.84). He refers to two episodes from Johnson's life which seem to vie in popularity with the scene mentioned in the Chronik.

Die Innerste takes place during the Seven Years' War. A certain professor from Göttingen is proud of being not only a Hanoverian but also a British subject, "zumal da er vielleicht wirklich einmal in London war und den großen Mimen David Garrick auf den Brettern von Drury Lane "tragieren" sah. Wie dem auch sei, er nimmt seinen Tabak mit mehr Grazie als der große Doktor Samuel Johnson'. The professor has, it is said, pooh-poohed the belief that on certain occasions the local river, the Innerste, screams. As the writer explains - after his sidelong glance at the unkempt Dr. Johnson - the sceptical scholar '

'ist nicht ganz in der Verehrung des großen britischen Doktors aufgegangen; der Voltaireaner Fritz sitzt in Berlin ... und der deutsche Professor glaubt selbst als königlich großbritannischer Untertan nicht an den Geist in Cock-Lane: er glaubt überhaupt nicht an Gespenster'.

The final words refer to a story which is told or mentioned in Boswell's Life of Johnson,⁴ in Macaulay's Biographical Essays (as well as in the

1. v. pp. 290-91 below.

2. II, 4, 458.

3. III, 2, 424.

4. References below to this work, unless otherwise stated, are to Boswell's Life of Johnson, Oxford, 1934.

Critical and Historical Essays), and in Forster's biography of Goldsmith.¹ Boswell deplures the popular version according to which Johnson was 'one of the believers of the story of a Ghost in Cock-lane'.² This is the version repeated by Macaulay.³ Forster writes of Goldsmith's 'pamphlet on the Cock Lane Ghost'. Since the pamphlet cannot be identified, it is not clear 'whether, with Johnson, he thought the impudent imposture worth grave enquiry'.⁴ (In Raabe's copy of Irving's Oliver Goldsmith three passages in which the ghost is mentioned have been marked - possibly by Raabe - but no reference is made to Johnson. Conversely, in Lebensgemälde,⁵ Baur mentions Johnson's fear of ghosts and his belief in 'Ahndungen', but no reference is made to the Cock Lane episode.) Raabe may well have known all these books - except perhaps Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays - at the time of writing.

Recalling, in Unruhige Gäste, the proud rage with which, as a needy student, Prudens Hahnemeyer had on one occasion spurned a well-meant gift, Veit Bielow makes one of his apt literary comparisons:⁶

'Weiland Dr. Samuel Johnson konnte auf der Universität Oxford die neuen Schuhe, die man ihm vor die Tür setzte, gewiß nicht grimmiger

1. v. p. 160 above.

2. vol.1, p.406.

3. Biographical Essays, p.343, & Critical and Historical Essays, p.527.

4. v. Oliver Goldsmith, London, 1903, p.175.

5. S.Baur, Interessante Lebensgemälde der denkwürdigsten Personen des 18. Jahrhunderts,^{Leipzig, 1853-54} vol.1, p.247. (The title of this work is abbreviated below to 'Lebensgemälde'. References are to the edition specified.) Raabe owned a copy of vols. 1,2,4,5, & 6; date of acquisition unknown.

6. cf. p.299 below.

aus dem Fenster werfen, als wie dieser ... mich in Halle aus der Tür beförderte'.

Boswell,¹ Baur,² Macaulay in his Biographical Essays,³ and Carlyle in On Heroes... all refer to the incident, and a mark has been made in Raabe's copy of On Heroes... beside one of two such references.⁴

Carlyle's work was added to Raabe's library several years before Unruhige Gäste was written. The dates on which two of the other books mentioned in the above paragraph were acquired are demonstrably deceptive. A diary entry for 13.11.57 clearly refers to Macaulay's Biographical Essays, although a copy of the collection evidently did not come into Raabe's possession until 1.12.93. Similarly the diaries show that Raabe borrowed Boswell's Life of Johnson in 1862,⁵ although his own copy bears the date 27.1.69. Of course, Raabe's acquaintance with Johnson may in fact date back still further. (In this connection it is interesting to note that the popular tag from King Lear which Veit quotes at the end of the novel⁶ also occurs in Boswell's work.⁷) Certainly one Johnsonian utterance impressed the writer at a relatively

1. op.cit., vol.1, pp.76-77.

2. op.cit., vol.1, p.225.

3. p.326.

4. i.e. that beginning 'It is a type of the man's life, this pitching away of the shoes...'; v.The Works of Thomas Carlyle, London, 1896-99, vol.5, p.179. References below to On Heroes..., unless otherwise stated, are to this edition.

5. Entries for 2.4.62 ('Auf d. Biblioth. Johnsons Leben') & 27.6.62 ('Auf d. Biblioth. Ablieferung von Boswell Johnson's Leben'); according to W. Brandes, Mitteilungen, 1913, pp.34-35, the year was 1861.

6. v. p.212 above.

7. vol.3, p.249.

early age. In his Biographical Essays¹ Macaulay wrote of Johnson: 'No saying was oftener in his mouth than that fine apophthegm of Bentley, that no man was ever written down but by himself'. On 4.6.58, about six months after evidently reading Macaulay, Raabe noted this saying in his diary. On 11.9.65² he jotted it down again. Fehse³ implies - unwittingly, it would seem - that Raabe misunderstood the words 'written down' (i.e. disparaged, depreciated, decried, condemned), although Macaulay⁴ and Boswell⁵ make their meaning reasonably clear (as does Forster in his biography of Goldsmith,⁶ a book which Raabe did not, however, acquire until after 1865). Heim⁷ regards these jottings as a reflection of Raabe's lack of tolerance towards his critics in those years. Apparently Heim takes Johnson's words to mean: 'An adequate account of a man and his work was never given^{except} by that man himself' - an unjustifiable interpretation, particularly since Raabe knew Macaulay by 1858 and Boswell by 1862, and since there is no ground for assuming that he did not understand them. A late letter (dated 22.9.97)⁸ in which Raabe declined to write an autobiographical essay contradicts Heim but not Johnson:

'Es ist mir immer ein Behagen, wenn andere über mich zu Gericht sitzen: einerlei wie! Aber selber? Wer sitzt gerecht über sich selber zu Gericht?'

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|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. p.351. | 2. v. K.Heim, op.cit., p.131. |
| 3. Raabe, pp.14-15. | 4. loc.cit. |
| 5. vol.1, p.381, note 3; vol.2, p.61, note 4; & vol.5, p.274. | |
| 6. ed.cit., p.105, footnote. | 7. op.cit., p.131. |
| 8. <u>In alls gedultig</u> , 22.9.97. | |

Perhaps in this context sincerity was subordinated to diplomacy.¹

Perhaps Raabe had modified his views with the years. But the contrast between the view of 1897 and the above-mentioned interpretation is nevertheless implausibly sharp.

Raabe's copy of Boswell's work was probably second-hand when he acquired it, and such evidence as it provides must therefore be treated with caution. It is, however, interesting and perhaps significant that among the many passages marked in this copy several - apart from the story of the new shoes² - are reminiscent of episodes, situations or views expressed in his writings:

Raabe may at one time have seen his own mood mirrored in Johnson's 'hypochondria, with perpetual irritation, fretfulness and impatience...'.³

If one bears in mind that Raabe borrowed the Life of Johnson a few months before he began work on Der Hungerpastor, the passage in which the hero of the novel rents a room, thereby becoming, for his new landlady and her family, 'Unser Herr',⁴ could well be an expansion of the situation which Goldsmith describes: 'He said he believed the farmer's family thought him an odd character, similar to that in which

1. In 1890 the writer jotted down the query: 'Hat es jemals einen Menschen gegeben, der berechtigt gewesen wäre, über das Leben eines andern abzuurteilen?' (v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.126); cf. Jahrbuch, 1960, pp.134 ('Es hat noch hiemals auf der Erde ein Mensch von dem anderen "was gewußt"') & 135 ('Alles was wir von der Welt "wissen", sind Umschreibungen unserer Unwissenheit').

2. v. vol.1, pp.76-77.

3. v. vol.1, pp.63-64, concluding '... the ways of God!'.³

4. I,1,520-524.

the Spectator appeared to his landlady and her children: he was The Gentleman'.¹

Raabe's views on America and the Americans, particularly as reflected in Leute, are milder than those expressed by Johnson.² But despite the difference in attitude, one passage in the novel,³ in which a vast increase in the country's population and the concomitant decline of Europe are cheerfully foretold, bears a certain resemblance to Johnson's dire prophecy that the Americans 'will, in a century and a quarter, be more than equal to the inhabitants of Europe. When the Whigs of America are thus multiplied, let the Princes of the earth tremble in their palaces'.⁴

Johnson's question 'Would not a gentleman be disgraced by having his wife sing publicly for hire?',⁵ stems from an attitude similar to that adopted in Der Dräumling⁶ by George Knackstert and Dr. Mühlenhoff towards the plan that the latter's daughter should recite in public - an attitude which appears extremely foolish in Raabe's novel, particularly since the young lady performed once only and gratis.

And Raabe doubtless sympathized⁷ with the man whom Johnson observed in Bedlam 'who, while beating his straw, supposed it was William Duke of Cumberland, whom he was punishing for his cruelties in Scotland, in 1746'.⁸

1. v. vol.2, p.182.

2. v. vol.2, p.312.

3. I,5,388.

4. v. vol.2, p.314-15.

5. v. vol.2, p.369.

6. II,3,60,62-63,81-82, 87-88,180-182.

7. v. pp. 314-15 below.

8. v. vol.2, pp.374-75.

The most obvious sign of Raabe's familiarity with Boswell's Life of Johnson is, however, to be seen in a letter written in 1892.¹ The writer asks Professor Edmund Sträter, referring to an experience which the latter had found disagreeable, 'ob Sie auch Ihre Goethe-Mädchen-Vorlesungen vollständig los sind':

'Mein sehr intimer Freund, der alte Dr. Samuel Johnson sprach bei solchen Gelegenheiten von: leaving his social friends, to go and sit with a set of wretched un-idea'd girls. (Bitte, zeigen Sie aber diese Stelle Ihrer Frau Gemahlin nicht!)-'.

That Raabe quoted entirely from memory is unlikely, especially in view of the accuracy of the quotation. Presumably he remembered the passage, perhaps from recent reading,² and checked the wording when he wrote.³

Of Johnson's writings - apart from the preface to his edition of Shakespeare's plays (1765), contained in the Handbuch⁴ - Raabe possessed an early edition of The Lives of the most eminent English Poets, purchased in 1864,⁵ and The Rambler, acquired in 1893. His knowledge of one or two English authors may have been due in some small measure to his reading of Johnson's Lives; but although there is evidence which

1. In alls gedultig, 27.4.92.

2. In Raabe's copy (v. p.159 above) there is evidence of his having read Boswell a few years before this letter was written: a leaflet, presumably used as a bookmark, between pp.216 & 217 of vol.2, bearing the pencilled date '4 December 1888'; a similar leaflet between pp.168 & 169 of vol.3, similarly dated '5 Decemb. 1888'; and the date '18/3 85' at the bottom of p.225 of vol.3. In this connection v. F.Hartmann, Wilhelm Raabe Wie er war und wie er dachte, ed.cit., p.32: 'Um 1907 habe ich mir notiert, daß er als gegenwärtige Lieblingslektüre bezeichnete: Die Synoptiker, Boswells Leben von Johnson, Carlyles Helden und Heldenverehrung...'

3. The words quoted (v. vol.1, p.251), which are not marked in Raabe's copy, occur in a context which is not comparable with the situation to which Raabe applies them. It was not a habitual utterance of Johnson. He was 43 at the time in question.

4. v. p.420 below.

5. Diary entry for 2.2.64.

strongly suggests that he had at least been struck by certain passages, the work does not appear to have affected his writing. For example, in his account of the life of Richard Savage, Johnson states that he 'formed a tragedy, which, if the circumstances in which he wrote it be considered, will afford at once an uncommon proof of strength of genius, and evenness of mind, of a serenity not to be ruffled, and an imagination not to be suppressed.'¹

These words are marked in Raabe's copy, and dated '7/XII 78', but apparently have no bearing on Alte Nester, which Raabe was then writing. Perhaps when reading he was reminded of the difficulties which he himself had experienced and overcome as a writer, or possibly the passage simply tallied in some way with his mood at the time - although it is said that he was under no special strain while at work on this novel.² Similarly, Savage sold something he had written 'for ten guineas, of which he afterwards returned two, that the last two sheets of the work might be reprinted, of which he had in his absence intrusted the correction to a friend, who was too indolent to perform it with accuracy'.³ The words are marked in Raabe's copy, but at most the marking seems merely to reflect the reader's dislike of such irresponsibility. A passage which may shed some light on Raabe's domestic situation is also marked:

'The freaks, and humours, and spleen, and vanity of women, as they embroil families in discord, and fill houses with disquiet, do more to obstruct the happiness of life in a year than the ambition of the clergy in many centuries. It has been well observed, that the

1. ed.cit., vol.3, pp.196-97.

2. v. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.14, p.453 et seq.; cf. p. 295 below.

3. ed.cit., vol.3, p.237.

misery of man proceeds not from any single crush of overwhelming evil, but from small vexations continually repeated.¹

That Raabe read The Rambler is not certain. Vocabulary noted down in volumes 1 to 4 shows that a German reader was at pains to understand the text, but the reader was not necessarily Raabe. Moreover, since he acquired it towards the end of his literary career it can be of no great significance in the present context.

While Raabe's knowledge of these writings may therefore have been slight, the dates of their acquisition, and the various markings (at least in the Lives), are sure signs of a prolonged if fitful interest in Johnson. His familiarity with Boswell's biography, particularly in view of the letter to Sträter quoted above, but also in the light of the evidence to be found in his writings, diaries, and library, was no doubt considerable. His right to profess intimacy with Johnson was thus well-founded.

.....

1. ed.cit., vol.4, p.187. Marked in the same volume, pp.112-13, is the passage 'Those indeed who attain any excellence, commonly spend life in one pursuit ... some accident which excited ardour and emulation'. A quotation from Alte Nester pencilled on the back of an envelope and dated 27.8.78 lies between pp.110 & 111 of vol.2. The envelope bears the date 30.1.77, but in a hand unlike that of Raabe.

Lyric poetry appears to have played a minor part in Raabe's life. His own poetic talents were relatively modest,¹ and the success of the poems scattered throughout his tales and novels does not generally depend upon lyric or melodic qualities. The writer no doubt appreciated these qualities, but it seems probable that he was interested primarily in poetry with a distinct narrative element. This and other features which clearly appealed to him he found in Byron's epic poems - poems which not only tell a story in colourful language but which also contain a comparatively rare and pleasing mixture of sentiment and satire. Among the themes in these poems which presumably attracted Raabe were those associated with travel, adventure in distant parts, and the return home. The arrival of persons from outside the milieu in which the action takes place is a theme which figures in no less than fifty of Raabe's novels and Novellen, and in many of these the action is determined to a large extent by a character who returns to his place of origin, having spent a considerable time - not always voluntarily - abroad. Don Juan's flight from Spain and Lara's return would have evoked an immediate response, and the fact

1. v. III, 6, 352-422.

that Alp is an exile may well have some bearing on the novelist's familiarity with The Siege of Corinth.

In view of Byron's continued renown in Germany during the latter part of the 19th century, most people concerned with literature at that time had in all likelihood read at least some of his work. (Many of them - including Raabe - are sure to have known of Goethe's enthusiasm for the poet, and were perhaps affected by this enthusiasm.) It would be no exaggeration to say that Raabe's writings as a whole would be the poorer had he not read and appreciated several of the poems (and some of the biographical works) discussed below. Had he written more verse this might even be an understatement.

.....

MILTON:

'Die kleine Kirche war gar feierlich heilig, als der junge Maler - er dachte in dem Augenblick gewiß nicht an sein gefeiertes Bild, Milton den Galilei im Gefängnis zu Rom besuchend - als der junge Maler seine schöne Braut hineinführte...'.¹

One critic, commenting² on this passage from the Chronik, states that the visit to which the writer refers is not known to have taken place. Nevertheless, since it is mentioned both in the Handbuch³ and in Johnson's The Lives of the most eminent English Poets,⁴ there is reason to assume that Raabe had in mind a generally accepted if apocryphal story. He may indeed have learned it from the Handbuch. (Johnson's Lives were not acquired until 1864.)

Only once does Raabe apparently quote Milton. In the first of his notebooks⁵ we find the words 'das Auge ist das "große Thor der Weisheit" sagt Milton', words which appear in a slightly different form in Leute⁶ (21.10.61 - 1.11.62). It has not, however, been possible to discover their source either in Milton's works or in Raabe's library. The only books in the library (apart from those mentioned above) which have any bearing on Milton are a verse anthology,⁷ acquired in 1884, which includes a few of his poems, and Macaulay's Critical and

1. I, 2, 172.

2. Raabe, Werke, Freiburg i. Br., 1954, vol. 1,

3. vol. 2, p. 147.

4. ed. cit., vol. 1, p. 133.

p. 725.

5. Notebook copies: Notizbuch Nr. 1, p. 72.

6. I, 5, 165.

7. F. Notter, Gott und Seele, Berlin & Stuttgart, 1885; acquired 17.11.84., & mentioned in the diary on 23.10.86: 'F. Notters G. u S.'.

Historical Essays,¹ acquired on 19.11.93. This was five months after the completion of Kloster Lugau. It is in this novel that the name of Milton occurs again and for the last time in Raabe's writings. From the context - a list consisting of Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, Schiller, and Goethe² - it is evident that he had a high opinion of Milton. But in spite of his known familiarity with the other poets listed, it would be rash, in view of the lack of corroborative evidence, to suggest that this opinion was based on extensive reading of Milton's work.

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1. There is an old bookmark in Raabe's copy between pp.20 & 21 of the essay on Milton.
 2. III,3,577.

JOHN GAY:

The nymphlike heroine of Nach dem großen Kriege, a young girl who has spent at least five months in England,¹ suddenly bursts into song:

'All in the downs the fleet lay moored,
When blackeyed Susan came on board -'.²

The words are taken from 'Sweet William's Farewell to Black-ey'd Susan',³ a song which occurs in neither of the relevant books in Raabe's library.⁴ The original context has nothing in common with the situation depicted by Raabe, except that Gay's is a love poem ('Oh! where shall I my true love find!') and the character in Raabe's novel who describes the scene in question falls in love with Annie, the young singer. No evidence has been found to suggest that 'Sweet William's Farewell' enjoyed any great popularity among Raabe's contemporaries. During Annie's lifetime - she was in England in 1811, at the age of twelve, and the scene takes place in 1816 - it may, however, have been popular.⁵ Whether Raabe knew the entire poem, and whether it was commonly sung or quoted at the time of writing, are therefore questions which have still to be answered. It seems likely that his reasons for quoting it were, at least in part, historical.

1. I,3,404.

2. I,3,435.

3. v. John Gay, Works, Dublin, 1770, vol.2, p.104: 'All in the Downs the fleet was moor'd,/The streamers waving in the wind,/When black-ey'd Susan came aboard'.

4. Gay figures in both Johnson's Lives, ed.cit., & the Handbuch.

5. v. Black-ey'd Susan's garland: Composed of several Excellent New Songs, (Newcastle? 1750?), p.2; Black Eyed Susan's Garland: Composed of Four Excellent New Songs, (Worcester, 1770?), p.2; Black-Eyed Susan, Waterford, (1830?), p.2; Black Eyed Susan, Boston, (1835?). These are in the library of the British Museum.

BURNS:

I. and J.G. Kohl¹ include in 'Eine kleine Sammlung häufig wiederkehrender englischer Redensarten' the words 'Auld long syne', adding 'Es gibt ein recht hübsches Lied hierüber ...'. Part of the song is then quoted, but no author is mentioned. Forty years later, in Raabe's Im alten Eisen,² a character sings the final two lines of Burns' poem to himself while on his way to visit an old acquaintance. He continues: '... na, warte, miin Jung, mit dir werde ich bei einem guten alten Tropfen hoffentlich auf die gute alte Zeit anstoßen'. Without this the lines might not, it seems, have been readily understood by the average reader - although, as a rule, Raabe paid little heed to his readers' problems. Clearly, however, no explanation was needed when he wrote to Marie Jensen in 1906: '... wenn Ihr in der Stille sitzt, möchte ich gern bei Euch hocken und old lang syne bereden'.³ (Possibly the phrase had become more familiar by that time. Bismarck uses it in much the same way in a letter written in 1852.⁴) Raabe would no doubt have come across the words 'auld lang syne' in a number of contexts - in Byron's Don Juan,⁵ for example, and in Fenimore Cooper's The Pathfinder.⁶ He may in fact, however, have known the poem in its entirety. Although it

1. Kohl, part 2, pp.203-11.

2. III,3,39-40.

3. In alls gedultig, 6.9.1906; Fehse, Raabe, p.617, reads 'long'.

4. Bismarck, Briefe, 23.6.52; Bismarck writes 'auld'.

5. Canto 10, stanza 16, et seq; v.pp.258 et seq, below.

6. Chap.10; v.pp.324 et seq, below.

appears neither in the Handbuch¹ nor in Carlyle's On Heroes..., it is naturally included in The Complete Works of Robert Burns² which the writer had acquired on 17.5.67, many years before he wrote Im alten Eisen.

1. v. p. 220 above.

2. v. p. 159 above; a second title-page reads: The Entire Works..., London & Glasgow, 1842.

COLERIDGE:

Raabe acquired The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats on 14.4.69. In Christoph Pechlin¹ (1.8.71 - 17.9.72) lines 81 and 82 and lines 184 and 185 of 'Christabel' are quoted by Baroness Rippgen, a precious and unpleasant person, when she writes in dire distress to her soul-mate Miss Christabel Eddish. Both the plight of Geraldine and Christabel's rôle of helper at the beginning of Coleridge's poem are reflected in this absurdly effusive appeal. Coleridge's Christabel, it will be remembered, hears a moaning before she discovers Geraldine.

Lucy Rippgen begins:

'... Dearest! Hast Du keinen Ruf vernommen? Keinen leis und fern herhallenden Angstruf in den letzten Tagen und Nächten? ... Christabel, i c h war es, die rief! ...'.

She reminds Miss Eddish of the time when they

'jenes herrliche, aus Mondenschein und Deinem süßen Namen gewebte, leider unvollendete Gedicht eures herrlichen Dichters Kolleritsch zusammen lasen'.

That the baroness identifies herself with Geraldine - the first couplet quoted is originally spoken by Geraldine when she starts to tell Christabel of her distress - is potentially significant: it appears that either she had forgotten what a horrid creature Geraldine proved to be, or she had not read the entire fragment, in which case the words 'leider unvollendet' are rather hollow. In either case it would seem

1. II, 2, 286-87.

that the letter-writer unwittingly hints at her own imperfection.

That Raabe was sufficiently familiar with the poem to be aware of these connotations is not improbable.

LONGFELLOW:

Only one clear indication of Raabe's interest in Longfellow has been found: very early diary entries¹ show that in October 1857 he probably read at least part of Hyperion, as well as some of the poems. There appears to be no cogent reason for naming 'The Skeleton in Armour' as the source of the words 'dark blue and tender', which were used three years later to describe the eyes of Annchen in Nach dem großen Kriege.² Longfellow's ballad contains the words 'Soft eyes did gaze on me, / Burning yet tender' (stanza 8); 'the blue-eyed maid' (stanza 9); and 'her mild blue eyes' (stanza 18). But for that matter Byron had written in The Corsair³ of 'that deep-blue eye' (canto 1, stanza 14) and 'The tender blue of that large loving eye' (canto 1, stanza 15), while Tennyson had long since described the north as 'dark and true and tender'.⁴

1. Entries for 3.10.57 & 13.10.57.

2. I,3,406; v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.4, p.499, & Jensch, op.cit., p.64.

3. v.pp.260-61 below.

4. The Princess, section 4, line 80; v. p.222 above.

JAMES MACPHERSON, OSSIAN:

In his essay Der alte Musäus¹ Raabe mentions, a little sourly perhaps, the popularity of Ossian in Germany towards the end of the 18th century. And in Die Kinder von Finkenrode² the familiar term 'ossianisch'³ is used ironically to characterize the song of a night-watchman. A knowledge of Ossian is implicit in neither passage. At least two years before he wrote Der alte Musäus, however, Raabe had put the following words into the mouth of Leon von Poppen, the aristocratic villain of Leute:⁴ '... ich bin ein großer Sünder gewesen - ... ein impertinenter Gesell, forlorn on the hill of the storm, wie Ossian es nennen würde'. The English phrase is evidently taken from the first sentence of Colma's lament in 'The Songs of Selma'. Unlike the quotation with which the speaker continues ('Aber hier stehe ich, in meines Nichts durchbohrendem Gefühl ...'⁵) Colma's words do not appear to have been in common use. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Raabe was probably familiar with the original text (and was aware of the ridiculous contrast between the rascally Leon and the bereaved songstress).

Two further quotations from 'The Songs of Selma', in a tale which

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1. III,6,536 (the essay was written between 26.2.65 & 2.5.65); cf. p. 309 below.
 2. Written between 3.12.57 & 12.7.58.
 3. II,2,14; v.Ganz, op.cit., p.162; and cf. Spielhagen, Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.411, & vol.2, p.171; Kürnberger, p.349; and Fontane, Der Stechlin, pp.352-54.
 4. I,5,301.
 5. Schiller, Don Carlos, Act 2, scenes 1 & 5.

Raabe began some twenty months after completing Leute, clearly stem from a knowledge either of an English version or of a German translation of Ossian. The action of Die Gänse von Bützow takes place in the year 1794. Asked one day by Julia Hornborstel whether he will help avenge an injustice, Magister Albus, a hot-headed young schoolteacher, replies with ardour¹ that he will do as she wishes that very evening, no matter whether he lose his post as a result:

'Stern der dämmernden Nacht, erwarte die Dämmerung! ... ich pfeife auf das Ober-Schul-Kollegium. Auf, Winde des Winters, auf, blast über die graue Heide; brüllt, ihr Ströme des Gebirgs; heult, ihr Stürme und bestellt meine besten Komplimente an die Herren zu Schwerin! Saget ihnen, Julia sei mein, und sie möchten einen andern Narren schicken, der dumm genug sei, auf solche Weise langsam zu verhungern.'

(Although the first four words are the same as those found in Werther and in Petersen's Die Gedichte Ossians,² the adapted invocation of the 'winds of autumn' etc. differs considerably from Goethe's and Petersen's translations.³ Raabe himself may have been the translator. The English version in the Handbuch⁴ corresponds quite closely to the translation in Raabe's tale.) These two quotations are joined by adapted snippets from the first book of 'Fingal', the poem which normally follows 'The Songs of Selma':

'... Cathbat fällt durch Duchomars Schwert, ich gebe Ihr mein Wort darauf, Mamsell Hornborstel ! Liebliche Tochter von Cormac, ich

1. I, 6, 387-88.

2. Tübingen, 1782.

3. The quotations do not tally with the translations by Denis, von Harold, Stollberg, Ahlwardt, Rhode, Förster, or Böttger.

4. v. p. 254 below.

liebe dich wie meine Seele, und Turas Höhle, scilicet die Honortierenstube im Erbherzog wird widerhallen vom Geächz der Gefallenen.'

The incongruity of the speech - of which the speaker can hardly be aware - is heightened when one recalls the events and relationships depicted in Fergus' tale. For example, the lovesick teacher equates himself with Duchomar, who slew and was slain by Morna, the lovely daughter of Cormac. (Later Albus finds that he has been shabbily treated by Mamsell Hornborstel, but is in no position to take revenge.) Similarly he equates Dr. Hane, who no longer enjoys Mamsell Hornborstel's affection, with Cathbat, whom Morna loved. And it was to the sighs of the dying maid that Tura's cave re-echoed. Again, as in the case of Leon von Poppen, the writer may well have had the original situation clearly in mind. Memories of the cave of Tura, if not of specific happenings there, certainly appear to underlie Raabe's final reference to Ossian, which occurs in Das Odfeld.¹ Towards the end of the Seven Years' War a group of German civilians flee to a cave in the Ith hills. Their baggage includes a sealskin knapsack which formerly belonged to a Scottish soldier. The refugees are discovered by a party of Scots 'in ihrer wirklichen Muttersprache. Sie fragten mit Ossian, Fingal und Duchomar auf der Heide, wie die Seehundstasche des Kriegsgenossen in die Ithhöhle ... komme?'

Apart from Werther, there is little in Raabe's library which appears to have any direct bearing on his knowledge of Ossian. He possessed the

1. III, 4, 178-79.

works of Herder,¹ whom he mentions and quotes on several occasions,² and who may well have stimulated his interest at a relatively early stage. But no evidence has been found to indicate that he knew much more about the poems than is suggested by the references discussed. The excerpts in the Handbuch include both 'The Songs of Selma' and the relevant passage from 'Fingal'.³

1. v. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.4, pp.69 & 502.

2. v. Jensch, op.cit., p.15, & Spiero, Raabe-Lexikon, Berlin, 1927, p.100.

3. vol.2, pp.503-10.

BYRON:

A passage in Akten indicates that the author considered Byron a very important figure in English literature. Young Velten Andres wishes to discover the meaning of an English word: 'Er riß mir das Lexikon aus den Händen, fand das Wort, und - von da an bis zu Shakespeare, Byron und dem übrigen Groß und Klein ist wieder einmal nur e i n Schritt gewesen'.¹

The first evidence of Raabe's lifelong interest in Byron is to be found in the early novel Ein Frühling (1.10.56 - 27.5.57). (Of the relevant books in Raabe's library, two - The Poetical Works and Sämtliche Werke² - were published before 1850, but when they were acquired is not known.) There is an air of mystery surrounding a recent arrival in the Dunkelgasse, Dr. Hagen. His landlady is alarmed by his habit of sleeping 'in einem "von der Decke baumelnden Sack"'.³ She doubts whether he does in fact sleep, for whenever she awakes at night she can hear him walking overhead. Rumours are rife in the neighbourhood, 'und das ästhetische Frauenzimmer, Fräulein Aurelie Süßmilch, hat ihn sogar für einen heimlichen Lara, einen Vampir erklärt'.⁴ Possibly Fräulein Süßmilch, having thought of Lara, was reminded by Hagen's hammock of The Vampyre, which had been attributed to Byron and to which Raabe refers in a later novel.⁵ The words quoted leave the

1. III, 5, 253.

2. Edited by Ernst Ortlepp, Stuttgart, 1839.

3. I, 2, 19.

4. loc.cit.

5. v. pp. 264-65 below.

reader in some doubt as to whether she was aware of the distinction between the two figures. There can be no doubt, however, about the appropriateness of the reference to Lara, who is not only an enigmatic figure,¹ but of whom, since

'Through night's long hours would sound his hurried tread'²
it was asked:

'Why slept he not when others were at rest?'.³

Moreover, although we are soon told that Hagen is 'kein Lara'⁴ - this is the only other relevant reference in the novel - it is later learned that he too was 'long self-exiled',⁵ having 'left in youth his fatherland'.⁶

Byron's person was an object of youthful admiration. The narrator of Akten, which was written when Raabe was in his early sixties, depicts Velten Andres 'in seiner Pracht, wie man sich in der Jugend den Lord Byron und im Alter den jungen Goethe vorstellt. Mit dem kecken, lachenden, siegessicheren Auge und dem Schelmenzug um den Mund - den Liebling der Götter und des Vogelsangs, den Weltüberwinder von Leichtsinn's Gnaden'.⁷ Less cheerful aspects of Byron's life and character were not, however, ignored. Thirty years earlier, in Der Hungerpastor,⁸ part of Moses Freudenstein's fraudulent courtship of

1. v. Lara, canto 1, stanzas 4-7 & 17.

2. Canto 1, stanza 9.

3. loc.cit.

4. I, 2, 20.

5. Canto 1, stanza 1.

6. Canto 1, stanza 3.

7. III, 5, 321.

8. I, 1, 467.

Kleophea Götz had been described in terms which, in view of the context, are naturally no compliment to the hypocritical Moses, but which may also imply a certain disapproval of Byron's unreserve, however sincere:

'Er klappte seinen Hemdkragen ä la Byron um und deutete an, daß er - lord of himself; that heritage of woe! - nicht immer den graden Pfad gegangen sei, daß es Tiefen, dunkle, schwarze Tiefen in seinem Busen gebe, Abgründe, in die er nicht hinabsehen dürfe, ohne schwindlig zu werden ...'

The editor of the critical edition of Der Hungerpastor describes the English words quoted as 'Formel für alle Heroen Byrons (Manfred, Kain)',¹ but, like Jensch,² does not draw attention to their source, Lara. It seems highly probable that the immediate context from which the words stem was in Raabe's mind at the time of writing. Samuel Freudenstein had died when his son Moses was in his late teens, leaving a sizable fortune. In his wooing, Moses tells a tale of his early struggles, of how he made his own way in life. Of Lara we read that he was 'Left by his sire, too young such loss to know,/Lord of himself, - that heritage of woe,/That fearful empire which the human breast/But holds to rob the heart within of rest! -/With none to check, and few to point in time/The thousand paths that slope the way to crime'.³

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1. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6, p.538. The editor translates the quotation as 'Herr seiner selbst; seine Erbschaft: Leiden!'; Gildemeister's translation (v. note 1 overleaf) is more appropriate: 'Herr seiner selbst, - dies Erbtheil voller Leid'.
 2. op.cit., p.64.
 3. Canto 1, stanza 2. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that the first two of these lines (beginning 'Reft of...') are quoted, without reference to their source, in the memoir on Byron which is attached to the above-mentioned edition of The Poetical Works (v.pp. 159 & 255 above).

It was not until many years later that Raabe again - and for the last time - drew upon this poem, prompted possibly by the title of the novel he was writing: Der Lar (17.11.87 - 26.9.88). Four lines are quoted from canto 1, stanza 4 (in Gildemeister's translation¹) and their source and author mentioned. The effect is an amusing contrast between the original sombre context and the prosaic situation in which Raabe's light-hearted hero finds himself. The quotation is accompanied by a remark to the effect that Byron's popularity has declined since the early decades of the 19th century, a decline which is apparently regretted even though Raabe's own enthusiasm was by then no longer strongly marked.

In 1861 the writer had borrowed a copy of Moore's biography of Byron,² a fact which may have some bearing on the allusions in Der Hungerpastor³ (6.11.62 - 3.12.63) to the Greek war of independence. Missolonghi is among the names mentioned. In 1863, nine days after completing Der Hungerpastor, Raabe noted in his diary: 'Einkauf v. Byron D. Juan',⁴ an entry which presumably refers to one or both of the editions of Don Juan - i.e. the English and a German translation - which were included in his library.⁵ The following week saw Raabe planning an epic poem in the style of Don Juan entitled Die Königin von Saba, a

1. Lord Byron's Werke, Berlin, 1838, vol.1, p.152: Raabe's quotation coincides with this translation, except that Raabe, III,3,263, writes 'Da kommt er plötzlich ...' & 'Woher weiß keiner, keiner weiß warum', whereas Gildemeister has 'Da plötzlich kömmt er ...' & 'Woher weiß Keiner, Keiner...'.
 2. v. Mitteilungen, 1913, pp.34-35; also diary entry for 2.3.61.
 3. I,1,210. 4. Entry for 12.12.63.
 5. The translation is by A.Böttger: Don Juan, n.p. or d. (probably Leipzig, 1840).

fragment of which was subsequently used in Der Dräumling.¹

Some time later, possibly before the completion of Abu Telfan (14.4.65 - 30.3.67), Raabe also acquired the 1864-65 edition of Otto Gildemeister's translation of Byron's works.² Passages relating to no fewer than four of Byron's poems are to be found in Abu Telfan. Friedrich von Glimmern is found dead, 'durch das Herz getroffen wie Alp, Venedigs Renegat'.³ In thus alluding to The Siege of Corinth - the words 'Alp, Venedigs Renegat', as Jensch⁴ points out, occur in Gildemeister's translation⁵ at the end of the third stanza - the writer appears to have forgotten 'the wound/That crashed through the brain of the infidel' (stanza 27). There are in fact few parallels between Glimmern and the Adrian renegade. The former is an utterly despicable character, and the 'flight and crimes' (stanza 15) of the latter can scarcely be likened to those of Glimmern. 'Unanel'd he pass'd away,/Without a hope from Mercy's aid' (stanza 27) are lines which could apply to Raabe's villain, but no such reflection is to be

1. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.10, p.472, & cf. Fehse, Raabe, pp.226-27. Like his model, Raabe chose a stanza of eight five-stress lines rhyming abababcc, although his metre is more regular than that of Don Juan. The following excerpt may serve to illustrate the extent to which Raabe caught something of the spirit of Byron's poem, its richness and its bathos: 'O Sonne, hohe Göttin, Zauberin,/Du schufst mein Herz, den Löwen und den Pfau,/Du schufst das Gold, das Auge, den Rubin,/Den Haß, die Liebe, so wie meine Frau' (II,3,14).

2. Werke, Berlin, 1864-65; date of acquisition unknown; v.p. 258 above.

3. II,1,394.

4. op.cit., p.63.

5. They do not occur in Ortlepp's edition (v. p.255, note 2, above); Raabe originally wrote simply 'Alp der Renegat' (v. the MS of Abu Telfan, Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III Nr.9').

found in the account of his death.

Elsewhere in Abu Telfan¹ Täubrich-Pascha, an eccentric tailor, is seen bending over the recumbent form of his friend Hagebucher 'wie Gülnare über den zum Tode verurteilten Konrad'. Hagebucher is to undergo a severe ordeal later that day, and Täubrich-Pascha has spent a restless night:

'...da liegt er sanft und süß und unschuldig wie ein Kind im Schlummer und weiß nicht, was er vor sich hat!"
Ein tiefes Ächzen antwortete ihm ...'

Of the doomed Conrad in The Corsair we read (in canto 2, stanzas 12 and 13) 'He slept in calmest seeming, for his breath/Was hushed so deep ..'; Gulnare appears and 'o'er his placid slumber bends':

'She gazed in wonder, "Can he calmly sleep,/While other eyes his fall or ravage weep?/And mine in restlessness are wandering here-/
... How heavily he sighs! ..."'

Conrad, unlike Hagebucher, escapes the fate to which he has been condemned. In view of the lines quoted above, however, Raabe's simile and the context in which it occurs may be said to reflect an intimate acquaintance with at least one scene from The Corsair. Possibly this was one of the 'Szenen aus dem Corsair, "ein Gedicht von Lord Byron"' which are among Philipp Kristeller's pictures in Zum wilden Mann (18.7.73 - 29.9.73).² (Their inclusion in the apothecary's gallery is perhaps some indication of the poem's popularity towards the middle of the 19th

1. II,1,186.

2. II,4,6.

century. A passage in the Kohls' Englische Skizzen¹ in which The Corsair is described as 'mein erstes englisches Buch' might be regarded as further evidence of this.)

The young heroine of Abu Telfan, Nikola von Einstein, tends to make a display of her learning. She asserts that Hagebucher will cope with life as soon as he has buried his idealistic notions - 'sobald er begriffen hat, daß Childe Harold nichts weiter als ein Bädker in Spenserstanzen ist',² a pretentious bon mot which at most reveals an awareness of the form of Byron's romaunt and a very superficial view of its contents. There is only one other passage in Raabe's writings which may be taken as a reference to Childe Harold, and this also sheds little light on the writer's knowledge of the poem. In Pfisters Mühle³ (7.4.83 - 8.5.84) a young lady, Albertine Lippoldes, asks Eberhard, then a lad of about eighteen, to deliver a message:

'"Mit dem größten Vergnügen, Fräulein! Alles, was Sie wünschen ... mein Herzblut würde ich -"

"Das nicht, Sir Childe," sagte das Fräulein und lächelte ... dabei.'

The contexts in which Byron uses the vocative 'Sir Childe'⁴ have nothing in common with the passage quoted. At the same time, Eberhard, who is soon to attend a university, might be likened to 'Self-exiled Harold' (canto 3, stanza 16) inasmuch as he is about to leave home 'um

1. Kohl, part 3, p.204.

2. II,1,131.

3. III,2,344.

4. Canto 1: stanzas 4 & 6 of 'Adieu, adieu! my native shore', which follows stanza 13.

in die Ferne ... zu ziehen'.¹ Albertine knows this. If she is indeed alluding to Childe Harold, however, it seems more probable that Eberhard's youth, impulsive gallantry and extravagant mode of expression brought Byron's hero to mind. To interpret her words as a waggish suggestion that Eberhard was a potential libertine would seem over-subtle.

The fourth passage of interest in Abu Telfan is a slightly adapted quotation from Don Juan. Nikola is giving an account of herself and her family. In the draft of this chapter² she says of her father 'Was er in seiner Jugend gewesen ist, weiß ich nicht'. This was written in October 1865. Between then and the beginning of April 1867,³ when Raabe read his manuscript through, a change was made which - particularly in view of the other references in this novel - confirms the impression that the writer's interest in Byron at that time was strong. Nikola's remark now reads: 'Was er war in his hot youth, when George the Third was king, weiß ich nicht'.⁴ Possibly Raabe thought of General von Einstein as having been 'most ready to return a blow'⁵ when a young man. The general in fact had no opportunity to prove his mettle as a soldier, and became a petty martinet. Lost youth is the only bond between him and the aging, thirty-year-old narrator of Don Juan.

1. III,2,342.

2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.7, p.392.

3. v. ibid., p.388.

4. II,1,30.

5. v. Don Juan, canto 1, stanza 212.

There is no evidence in Der Schüdderump (22.10.67 - 8.9.69) to support the contention that during the latter months of 1868 Raabe read Byron.¹ (The next tale to furnish fresh evidence of his reading is Christoph Pechlin (1.8.71 - 17.9.72), which is discussed below.) At the beginning of 1869, according to Hoppe,² very few works of literature are mentioned in the diaries, 'hauptsächlich Biographien englischer Autoren (Byron, S. Johnson, Sterne)'. The copy of Hunt's Byron in Raabe's library is dated 'Stuttg. 4 Februar 1869', and Medwin's Gespräche mit Lord Byron³ was evidently acquired a few days later ('St. 9/II 69'). Raabe's knowledge of Byron's private life is reflected in the draft of Deutscher Adel:⁴

'Nun ist es uns, daß wir wieder einmal bei dem ganz gewöhnlichen bleiben können, und die Exekution in eine der engsten Gassen der Stadt legen können und nicht z. Exempel St. Jamesstreet Nr. ???, wo man Lord Byron im Laufe eines Jahres 9 mal pfändet, und ihm selbst die Gardinen von den Fenstern nimmt. -'

More than seven years had elapsed since the acquisition of Hunt's biography and the Gespräche, and it was fifteen years since he had come to know Moore's Life of Byron.⁵ Neither Medwin nor Hunt appears to dwell in any detail on Byron's financial difficulties during the year of his marriage, although Hunt does mention that 'he had an execution in his house',⁶ while Medwin's Byron had reminisced: '... die Gerichts-

1. v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol. 8, pp. 390-91. 2. v. ibid., loc. cit.

3. Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1824.

4. v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol. 13, p. 418.

5. v. p. 258 above; Raabe may, of course, have read Moore before 1861.

6. ed. cit., vol. 1, p. 7.

diener nahmen sogar die Betten in Beschlag, auf welchen wir schliefen'.¹ Moore, on the other hand, refers to the 'eight or nine executions in his house within that period',² to the fact that the house was 'nine times during that year in possession of bailiffs', and again to the poet's having 'in the course of one short year ... seen his hearth eight or nine times profaned by the visitations of the law'.³ Byron was then no longer living at 8 St. James's Street - an address which is given repeatedly in Moore - but Raabe's forgetfulness is in a sense a further indication that he had read at least part of Moore's book quite closely, even though he may not have read it recently. (In April and December 1879 - i.e. while he was writing Das Horn von Wanza - Raabe was particularly struck by certain passages in Byron's letters, as markings in his own copy show.⁴)

Raabe seems to have believed the fiction that Byron was the author

1. ed.cit., p.40.

2. ed.cit., chap.25 (p.292). Raabe did not acquire his own copy until after the conclusion of Deutscher Adel.

3. ibid., chap.26 (pp.305-06).

4. ed.cit., p.294, beside the passage 'It is nothing to bear the privations of adversity ... more afflicting than these' (letter to Moore, 8.3.1816) is written '14. Apr.79. 11½ Mit';

& p.457, beside a line marking the passage 'As for your own offer ... you probably have' (letter to Murray, 8.10.1820) is written '21 Decemb. 1879'.

Marginal markings are also found on p.473 beside 'What is the reason ... the possession of their senses.' (Byron's diary, 6.1.1821); & on p.475 beside 'The infinite variety of lives ... little but existence.' (Byron's diary, 9.1.1821).

There are bookmarks between pp.494 & 495 (letters 407-411), and pp.708 & 709 (Observations upon 'Observations'), i.e. from 'In page 14 ...' to '... edited an "assassin"'.

of The Vampyre,¹ despite letters and comments to the contrary in Moore's biography.² In Christoph Pechlin (1.8.71 - 17.9.72) Baroness Ripppen, enraged at her husband's friend 'Pechle',³ writes to Miss Eddish as follows:

'... P e c h l e heißt der Alp, der Nightmare, der bei Tage und bei Nacht auf meiner Existenz liegt, - P e c h l e!! - Christabel, wir haben den Byron zusammen gelesen ... in die furchtbaren Geheimnisse der Menschenseele und der Natur hineingesehen; wir haben uns für den Schrecken, die Angst, die Qual zu wappnen gesucht und - wir haben vergessen ... wie alltäglich-abgeschmactt-gewöhnlich der Vampir sein kann, der uns ... das Herzblut aussaugt.'

It would perhaps be fanciful to suggest that the writer was reminded of Byron by the word 'Alp'. But the connection in the baroness' mind between Byron and the vampire is clear. Such an error could have been introduced in order further to characterize this singularly unpleasant woman. In view of the accurate quotations from Coleridge⁴ and Byron elsewhere in the letter, however, it appears rather to stem from the author's own ignorance.

(The words 'Der Mond schien bleich in Ruthvens Angesicht' in Leute⁵ (21.10.61 - 1.11.62) are allegedly an echo of the lines 'Ach, gräßlich war es anzusehen, wie/Der Mond das blasse Antlitz hell beschien' from Heinrich Marschner's Der Vampyr (Act 3, scene 16).⁶

Marschner's opera is based in some small measure on Byron's The Giaour,⁷

1. By Byron's travelling companion and medical adviser, John William Polidori; London, 1819.

2. ed.cit., pp.394-95 & 687.

3. II,2,288.

4. v. pp.248-49 above.

5. I,5,217.

6. v. Mitteilungen, 1928, p.41. The critic states that Marschner's libretto is based on a novel by Scott.

7. v. Hans Gaartz, Die Opern Heinrich Marschners, Leipzig, 1912, p.25.

but primarily on The Vampyre, in which the main character is Lord Ruthven. A distinctive feature of the evil man is 'the deadly hue of his face, which never gained a warmer tint'.¹ The humour of Raabe's allusion lies in an implied comparison between the vampire Ruthven and the harmless chatterbox Schminkert.)

The final manifestation of Baroness Rippgen's love of literature, a quotation in English of the last two lines of 'Jephtha's Daughter' from the Hebrew Melodies, is in keeping with the ridiculously exaggerated tone of the rest of her letter. The further one compares the original context with that in which the lines now occur, the more absurd does she appear.

That Raabe's reading was not confined to the better known poems is also apparent from the advice given in a letter to Wilhelm and Marie Jensen² some two years later, in connection with Jensen's Die Insel: 'Nur den Anfang des Gedichts muß Du bei einer neuen Auflage ändern: er gleicht zu sehr der Byron'schen Insel'. A comparison between the picture drawn in Jensen's opening stanza and the scene at the beginning of The Island (particularly in Gildemeister's translation³) shows that Raabe's suggestion was warranted. Similarities of rhythm and stanza length are negligible. But Gildemeister begins the description of the 'Bounty':

1. ed.cit., p.28.

2. In alls gedultig, 2.10.74.

3. Berlin, 1888, vol.2, p.61; v. also E.Ortlepp's edition, Pforzheim, n.d., vol.7, p.151 (2. unveränderte Auflage.).

'..... vor dem Winde leis
 Durchglitt das Schiff sein flüssiges Geleis;
 Zurück flog die gespaltene Wog am Bug,
 Tief aufgefurcht von diesem mächt'gen Pflug'

and Jensen opens his first canto with:

'..... Nur schimmernd feuchte Spur
 Durch ungemessene Meeresflur
 Gleich Pflugesfurche zieht der Kiel.
 Des Nachtwinds träumerisch Gespiel,
 Die leichte Welle, rauscht am Bug
 Leis' murmelnd auf, und wie den Pflug,
 '1

Byron's translator subsequently rhymes 'Delphin' and 'entgegenziehn', the German poet chooses 'ziehn' and 'Delphin'. In Jensen's poem we read 'Still ist's...' and '... schweigend liegt die Nacht,/Vom Deck nur hallt gleichmäßiger Schritt der Wacht'; in Gildemeister's translation 'Es war die Frühwacht ...' and 'Die stille Nacht ... entwich'. And although Raabe refers expressly to the beginning of Jensen's epos, it is interesting to note that its final lines are a repetition of the opening stanza except for the words:

'Und nun still wird's. Im Winde flattert nur
 Des Schiff's weißleuchtende Tonsur'

- words reminiscent of Gildemeister's rather more felicitous

'Das Segel glänzte weiß im Morgenschein,
 Und flatternd blies der frische Wind hinein'.

Raabe may of course have had the original poem or some other translation in mind when he wrote to Jensen. But Gildemeister's

1. Die Insel, Berlin, 1875, p.1.

version of 'The Dream' - i.e. the repeated 'Es kam ein Wandel über meinen Traum' - is clearly the source of the words 'Da ... kam der erste "Wandel über ihren Traum"' in Der gute Tag¹ (29.1.75 - 27.2.75). (Beyond the fact that a change takes place in a dream, there is no parallel between Byron's poem and the farcical situation described in this tale.²) As has been seen from Abu Telfan, however, Raabe read at least some of Byron in the original. And as in Abu Telfan, so in Fabian und Sebastian, written some five years after Der gute Tag, he quotes Don Juan in English. In this instance, however, the source is named and the new situation is similar to that in which the words in question first occurred.³ In Don Juan when Leila, a child from Ismail, is brought to England, her benefactor - 'To make his little wild Asiatic tame' - places her in the experienced hands of Lady Pinchbeck, an amiable and witty woman described as 'the mild reprover of the young'. It is pointed out that children brought up by prudes are at a disadvantage in 'the Smithfield Show/Of vestals brought into the marriage mart'. In Fabian und Sebastian, shortly before young Konstanze arrives in Germany from the East Indies, her two uncles discuss her future. According to Sebastian 'wir beide aber sind

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1. III,6,468. Neither in Ortlepp nor, for example, in Sämtliche Werke, edited by Dr. Adrian, Frankfurt a.M., 1831, does the translation of 'The Dream' tally with the relevant sentence in Der gute Tag.
 2. cf. Marryat's use of the line, in English, in Snarleyow, London & New York, 1873, p.53.
 3. Canto 12, stanza 42 et seq.

sicherlich nicht die richtigen Pädagogen'¹ - in this he may be likened to Don Juan, who 'had found out he was no tutor'² - but his brother, the 'Attrapenonkel', rejects the suggestion that she become a pupil of one Madame Printemps. Aware of this difference of opinion, Dr. Baumsteiger, having caught sight of Mme. Printemps and her flock, describes them as 'unsere liebenswürdige geistige Engelmacherin Lady Pinchbeck mit ihrer allerliebsten, für den Heiratsmarkt auf den Faden gezogenen Hühnchenkette', and asks himself 'Was hatte der Attrapenonkel auch einzuwenden gegen Mylady Pinchbeck, Madame Printemps?'. The narrator explains:

'Was das Wort von der Lady Pinchbeck anbetrifft, so beweist es nur, daß der Hofmedikus Dr. Baumsteiger auch den Don Juan des Lord Byron, wo es heißt:

Consulting the Society for Vice
Suppression, Lady Pinchbeck was his choice,
nämlich für die "Zähmung der kleinen, wilden Asiatin" - mit
Nutzen für den täglichen Gebrauch gelesen hatte.'³

Although there is no record of Raabe's having read Don Juan before 1863, the allusion to Lara in Ein Frühling⁴ shows that he knew something of Byron as early as 1857. It is therefore perhaps more than a mere coincidence that in Nach dem großen Kriege⁵ (17.8.60 - 27.12.60) the twelve-year-old Annie, like the ten-year-old Leila, is found forlorn on a bloody battlefield; that she too is befriended by the

1. II,5,393.

2. loc.cit.

3. II,5,410-11.

4. v. pp.255-56 above.

5. I,3,404-05.

soldier who saves her; and that she too accompanies her benefactor abroad. The assumption by one critic that the term 'butcher Cumberland' in Hastenbeck¹ (15.8.95 - 18.8.98) stems from Don Juan is certainly no less incautious. Byron uses the term (with the definite article)² but does not comment on it. As Raabe explains - 'wie ihn die Schotten nach seinem einzigen Siegesfelde bei Culloden nannten' - the nickname was not coined by Byron. Moreover, since it was quite widely known, and since Raabe was well informed about the duke's later misdeeds in Germany,³ 'butcher Cumberland' may have been found in a variety of contexts.

It is in Stopfkuchen (14.12.88 - 9.5.90) that the last clear reference to a poem by Byron is made: to The Prisoner of Chillon, or at least to the accompanying sonnet. Heinrich Schaumann has spent most of his life in one very confined area. Since he has done this voluntarily he differs from Byron's prisoner, but he resembles him inasmuch as his isolation is the direct result of his beliefs. The prisoner of Chillon finds diversion in the view gained from his place of confinement in the lofty Château de Chillon. Schaumann has erected benches at certain points along a path which encircles his homestead, 'die rote Schanze', a former redoubt high above the township: "'Seine

1. III,6,1; v. additions to Jensch's Zitatenschatz in Mitteilungen, 1926-31.

2. Canto 1, stanza 2.

3. v. p. 59 above.

Aussicht in die Weite wünscht der Genügsamste in dieser Beziehung zu haben".¹ The allusion to Byron which immediately precedes this remark - unlike the above-named parallels, which may be purely coincidental - clearly reflects Raabe's familiarity with The Prisoner of Chillon. Addressing the narrator, Schaumann says: 'Du bemerkst, ich habe mir hier wie ein anderer Gefangener von Chillon einen Pfad ausgetreten'.² In a note to the line 'From Chillon's snow-white battlement' (stanza 6) Byron mentions that the footsteps of the original prisoner, François de Bonnivard, had left traces in the dungeon's pavement - a detail which is mentioned, however, not in the poem itself but in the 'Sonnet on Chillon'.

Finally, three further books in Raabe's library are of some interest in the present context: Gott und Seele³ by the writer's friend Friedrich Notter, which includes a few poems by Byron; a volume of the Tauchnitz Works; and Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays, in which Moore's biography is reviewed. Whether Raabe was impressed by Notter's translations of Byron is not known. The Tauchnitz volume, although it contains copious vocabulary jottings and a bookmark, is of no particular significance, since it was acquired on 17.10.98, i.e. after Raabe had finished his last complete work, Hastenbeck. But Macaulay's Essays, acquired on 19.11.93, may have some bearing on the

1. III, 5, 124.

2. loc.cit.

3. Berlin & Stuttgart, 1885; acquired 17.11.84; diary entry 23.10.86.

and about Byron, and thus to form a good opinion of his writings and perhaps even of his person. That Raabe had sufficient knowledge of the poet to form an opinion is apparent from the readiness with which he quotes or alludes to him, the appropriateness of most of the references mentioned, and the wide range not only of the works to which reference is made but also of the books acquired between 1863 - at the latest - and 1898.

.....

The greater the similarities between Raabe's writings and those of his predecessors, the greater the temptation to assume that the latter were the younger writer's models. As is shown below, it is extremely difficult to prove such assumptions. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Raabe had an appreciable knowledge of a number of novels and short stories by at least a dozen English and American writers, and was thoroughly familiar with several of the better known works discussed. No single English novel is of more significance in the present context than Tristram Shandy. (Indeed, no attempt to interpret Unruhige Gäste, a comparatively late work, is valid unless this is taken into account.) And on no English novelist other than Sterne is Raabe known to have expressed his views at any length or with comparable enthusiasm and sympathy. Reflections of his appreciation of Dickens, on the other hand, are less readily detected. It is quite clear that he considered Dickens a fine writer and, when young, was particularly impressed by him. That this impression was as great as some critics have suggested is not clear: in other words, many features in Raabe's prose narratives might be described as more or less Dickensian, but do not necessarily stem from Dickens or from

any specifiable English author. It is no mere coincidence, however, that Raabe possessed - and probably read - more books by Dickens than by any other English-speaking novelist except Scott. And the incontrovertible evidence of this reading is such that Dickens can justifiably be regarded as the novelist to whom Raabe was most indebted, even though the debt was relatively modest.

.....

DANIEL DEFOE:

In a letter written in his seventy-sixth year Raabe looked back upon his early childhood. When he was about five years old he was taught to read: 'Meine Mutter ist es gewesen, die mir das Lesen aus dem Robinson Crusoe unseres alten Landsmanns aus Deensen, Joachim Heinrich Campe beigebracht hat'.¹ Evidently it was through Campe's Robinson der Jüngere that Raabe first became acquainted with Defoe's famous castaway. He owned both Defoe's The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe and Campe's adaptation, but the latter work² - whose author, genially styled 'Robinson-Campe', is also mentioned in two earlier letters,³ - appears to have made the greater impression. (That the elliptical diary^{entry} for 17.10.1901 - 'Vom Buchh. Verein Robinson' - refers to Defoe, or that it reflects Raabe's interest in the story of Robinson Crusoe, is by no means certain. But that he thought well of Campe's book and considered it suitable for young readers may be deduced from his purchase of a copy shortly before Christmas 1904⁴ - possibly for his eight-year-old grandson, Kurt, for whom he later bought novels by Fenimore Cooper⁵ from the same bookshop.)

1. I,1,VII, letter dated 9.8.1906.

2. Raabe's own copy was published in Brunswick in 1812; date of acquisition unknown.

3. In alls gedultig, 2.7.1902 & 30.12.1902.

4. v. bill from the Ramdohr'sche Buchhandlung, dated 14.12.1904 (in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr.27 Varia II').

5. v. p. 32) below.

References to Robinson Crusoe occur in twelve of Raabe's works. Several of these references could well have been made by a writer who was not familiar with any relevant literary source.¹ Certain allusions of a more specific nature also reveal very little. Mention, for example, of a book called 'der Robinson' is made in Meister Autor,² Stopfkuchen,³ and Akten,⁴ and 'Robinson Crusoe' is mentioned in Das Horn von Wanza⁵ and Akten,⁶ not as a type but as an individual.⁷ In none of these instances, however, does the writer appear to have a particular work in mind. In Alte Nester,⁸ on the other hand, it is probably Campe's adaptation to which young Ewald refers when threatening Fritz Langreuter 'und wenn du mir auch hundertmal deinen Robinson und deine Campes Eroberung von Mexiko geliehen hast'. Similar words - 'Robinson Crusoe-Geschichten, Eroberung von Mexiko-Historien' - later appear in Prinzessin Fisch⁹. Only once in his writings does Raabe refer expressly to Campe and his book. The narrator of Pfisters Mühle¹⁰ wishes to go to bed, since it has grown late, although his wife is anxious to hear more of the story he is telling:

'... in diesem Augenblick schwebt mir Vater Joachim Heinrich Campe als nachahmenswertes Exempel vor. Der brach unter seinem Apfelbaum in seinen Historien von Robinson dem Jüngern und seinem Freund Frei-

1. v. pp. 214-15 above.

2. II, 3, 547.

3. III, 5, 118.

4. III, 5, 379. Equally vague references are to be found in the writings of Raabe's contemporaries: v. Marlitt, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 90, & Freitag, Soll und Haben, vol. 1, p. 349.

5. III, 1, 501.

6. III, 5, 234.

7. v. also Mutter Cruse's nickname in Im alten Eisen, III, 3, 42, 50, 56, 121, 134.

8. II, 6, 27.

9. II, 6, 320.

10. III, 2, 253-54.

tag stets dann ab, wenn's in ihnen "interessanter" wurde. Wie er, schlage ich vor: indem wir uns auf unser eigenes, sicheres Lager strecken, wollen wir unsern freudigen Dank dem guten Gotte bringen, der uns in einem Lande geboren werden ließ, wo wir unter gesitteten, uns liebenden und helfenden Menschen leben und nichts von wilden Unmenschen zu befürchten haben.'

Although the father's technique in Robinson der Jüngere of interrupting his tale at a crucial point is by no means unusual, the similarity between this situation in Pfisters Mühle and that portrayed by Campe is striking. Campe's is a spoken narrative interlarded with questions and observations from the audience. The tale is told in the evenings and generally broken off either for the evening meal or at bed-time. It is therefore not altogether strange that Raabe should think of Campe in the scene described. (The passage 'indem wir uns ... zu befürchten haben' is a quotation.¹⁾)

It seems reasonable to infer from the allusions or references in Alte Nester, Prinzessin Fisch, and Pfisters Mühle mentioned above that the other passages relating to Robinson Crusoe in these novels also refer, however obliquely, to Campe rather than to Defoe. No passage in these three works² (or in Leute,³ or Der Schüdderump⁴) refers necessarily to Defoe. Nevertheless, mention of the island of Juan Fernandez - on four occasions⁵ - shows that the writer was acquainted with the story of

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1. v. Robinson der Jüngere, Brunswick & Paris, 1835, part 2, p.31: 'indem wir uns ... zu besorgen haben'. (References below are to this edition.)
 2. Alte Nester, II,6,42; Prinzessin Fisch, II,6,321,325,329,332,379,404, 429,470,474; Pfisters Mühle, III,2,272.
 3. I,5,53 & 139.
 4. III,1,119,121,154-55.
 5. I,5,53; II,6,42; II,6,325; III,1,154.

Alexander Selkirk, to which Defoe was doubtless indebted. Raabe may have come across the story in Baur's Lebensgemälde.¹ Presumably he had Selkirk in mind when he wrote of Robinson Crusoe's discovery of the 'Tafelabhub seiner kannibalischen karaibischen Nachbarn im Stillen Ozean'.² Neither Defoe's nor Campe's story justifies the reference to the Pacific Ocean. Crusoe's island was probably somewhere near the Lesser Antilles, whereas Selkirk was stranded off the coast of Chile. (The word 'karaibisch' appears to mean simply 'wild, roh'.³)

Passages which refer necessarily to Campe are to be found in Prinzessin Fisch, in which the castaway's llamas and Friday's welcome skill at making fire are mentioned;⁴ in Der Schüdderump, where Tonie Häußler speaks of the death of Friday's father, 'Donnerstag';⁵ and in Christoph Pechlin and Der Lar, which describe the ridiculous result of Crusoe's reaction upon discovering the remains of a cannibal feast⁶ - a reaction shared in some measure by Defoe's hero, who does not, however, panic. The very words which Raabe uses in Christoph Pechlin - 'Erschöpft, betäubt, regungslos lag er dann ...' - are reminiscent of Campe's account: '... bis er ermattet, ohnmächtig und sinnlos zu Boden stürzte'.⁷ Later in Christoph Pechlin⁸ Robinson Crusoe is described

1. part 5, pp.600-09.

2. Christoph Pechlin, II,2,365.

3. v. J.C.A.Heyse, Fremdwörterbuch, ed.cit.

4. II,6,321 & 324; in Fontane's Der Stechlin, p.176, there is also an allusion to Crusoe's llama.

5. III,1,121.

6. II,2,306; & III,3,285.

7. part 2, p.28.

8. II,2,364-65.

as a compatriot of Sir Hugh Slidery, a caricature Englishman. Robinson der Jüngere, on the other hand, was evidently born in Germany, his father being 'ein Mann in der Stadt Hamburg'.¹ At this point, therefore, it seems that Raabe was not thinking specifically of Campe's version. But neither did he have Defoe clearly in mind, since it is in this sentence that he refers to Crusoe's neighbours in the Pacific. It was doubtless generally accepted - despite Campe, who does not stress his hero's nationality - that Robinson Crusoe was an Englishman. Raabe appears simply to have made use of a piece of general knowledge which suited his context.

While working on Der Schüdderump the author is said to have read Defoe's Robinson Crusoe.² This may account for the relative frequency of the above-mentioned references in that novel, but for nothing more. Only once, nearly twenty years later, does Raabe mention a book which is obviously a translation of Defoe. The library of Magister Buchius, the hero of Das Odfeld,³ includes 'des weltberühmten Engelländers Robinson Crusoe Leben und ganz ungemeyne(n) Begebenheiten, insonderheit da er 28 Jahre lang auf der Amerikanischen Küste gelebet hat, 1728'. (This is presumably a copy of the edition which appeared in Nuremberg in that year.⁴) Evidence, therefore, of Raabe's knowledge and

1. part 1, p.4.

2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol,8, p.388.

3. III,4,41.

4. v. M.B. & L.M. Price, The Publication of English Literature in Germany in the 18th Century, ed.cit., p.79.

appreciation of Defoe is very slight. Nevertheless, the presence of The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe in his library, his reading at the time the draft of Der Schüdderump was being written, and the passage in Das Odfeld suggest that he was interested in the work on which his early childhood primer was based. His familiarity with the adventures of a character whom Defoe first created was considerable.

SWIFT:

Where and when Raabe gained his knowledge of Swift is uncertain. He apparently did not possess a copy of Gulliver's Travels. He acquired an 18th century English edition of A Tale of a Tub on 22.8.85, but there is no mention of or allusion to this work in his writings. Moreover, the last ascertainable allusion to Swift is made in Vom alten Proteus,¹ written in 1875. The passage in question contains a reference to the Houyhnhms and the Yahoos which merely reflects Raabe's familiarity with the general implications of the two names and his awareness of the identity of both hero and author of the book in which they appear. According to P.F. Ganz,² 'Yahoo' and 'Houyhnhm' had become proverbial terms in Germany during the 18th century. Only one of these terms, 'Yahoo', has been found in the work of Raabe's German contemporaries, and on only one occasion, in Problematische Naturen.³ The comparative rarity of the terms does not, however, necessarily imply that they had vanished from the passive vocabulary of educated people. The contexts in which they occur do not explain them fully: such explanation was apparently considered superfluous. (Terms derived from 'Lilliput' are equally rare, and the reader's awareness of their meaning is assumed in a similar way.⁴) For the writer who uses these

1. II,4,568.

2. op.cit., pp.98 & 234.

3. vol.2, p.285.

4. v.Solitaire, Celestens Hochzeitsnacht, ed.cit., pp.85 & 86; and Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.1, pp.91 & 93; v.also Ganz, op.cit., pp. 129-31.

terms with the original figures clearly in mind their implications are naturally very vivid. But there is no evidence in Vom alten Proteus that 'Houyhnhm' - the term is applied appropriately to horses - has any further meaning than 'a good, faithful, noble creature'. The Yahoos, who for Spielhagen were manifestly quite repulsive, are contrasted in Raabe's tale, by implication only, with the Houyhnhms: they are simply undesirable, regrettable. There is one passage in Raabe's writings, however, which indicates that the author knew at least part of Gulliver's Travels.¹ The narrator of Holunderblüte¹ (25.11.62 - 25.1.63) suddenly finds himself in the presence of six old women, two of whom he describes as 'entsetzliche Gespenster' who stare at him 'wie die unglückseligen Geschöpfe, welchen Gulliver auf seinen Reisen begegnete, diese Wesen, welche mit einem schwarzen Fleck vor der Stirn geboren werden und nicht sterben können'. The wretched creatures described are the immortal, ghastly Struldbruggs, some of whom Gulliver met when in Luggnagg.² They were in fact born 'with a red circular Spot in the Forehead', a spot which changed colour with age until 'at Five and Forty it grew coal Black'. Either Raabe's memory failed him here, or he simply chose to ignore such details, possibly for the sake of conciseness. (He could, of course, have combined conciseness with accuracy had he omitted the adjective 'schwarz',

1. I, 5, 603.

2. Gulliver's Travels, part 3, chap. 10.

although his comparison would lose by the omission.) It is also conceivable that the description of the Struldbruggs which Raabe had in mind was not as detailed as is that in the first edition of Gulliver's Travels. Be that as it may, since these figures evidently did not enjoy the popularity of the Yahoos and the Houyhnhms, and since memory, as a result of familiarity, may well have led to Raabe's comparison, the passage in Holunderblüte stems in all likelihood from a closer acquaintance with Gulliver's Travels than can reasonably be inferred from the passage in Vom alten Proteus. Perhaps Raabe even remembered that Gulliver found 'the Women more horrible than the Men'.

Holunderblüte was written while Raabe was working on another tale which contains a reference to Swift, but whether one may therefore assume that Raabe took a particular interest in him at the time in question seems doubtful. In Die Hämelschen Kinder¹ a letter from the mayor of Hamelin to Bergkommissarius Burchardi tells of a wild boy who was found near the town in 1724:

'Was mit dem Jungen nachhero weiter vorgegangen, wie er vor Ihre höchstsel. Königl. Majestät Georg den Ersten nach Hannover und endlich nach London gebracht werden müssen, ist Ihnen besser als mir bekannt.'

The author adds a lengthy footnote concerning the behaviour of the boy in London, and asserts:

'... diesen wilden Jungen ... sah und beschrieb in London ein finsterner, am Schwindel und versetzten Ehrgeiz leidender Mann, der Dechant von St. Patrik, Dr. Jonathan Swift. Der geistliche Herr

1. I,6,175-76.

war damals mit der Vollendung seiner Reisen Gullivers beschäftigt, und so läßt sich mit ziemlicher Sicherheit nachweisen, welcher zufälligen Begebenheit und Begegnung die schreckliche, aber unsterbliche Schilderung des vertierten Geschlechts der Yahoos ihre Entstehung verdankt.'

Die Hämelschen Kinder was first published in 1863. In 1868 the author wrote to his brother-in-law,¹ Karl Leiste, asking him for 'eine alte Übersetzung ... von Jonathan Swifts kleineren Schriften, Briefen, etc.'.

Raabe had come across the translation in Leiste's library in 1864:

'Von diesen Briefen ist mir nun einer aus dem Jahre 1725 oder 26 unendlich wichtig. Es wird darin Bericht gegeben, wie bei einer Audienz des König's Georg I diesem ein in seinen deutschen Erbstaaten gefundener "wilder Junge" vorgestellt wird. Lieber Karl, diesen wilden Jungen oder vielmehr den Brief welcher ihn enthält, mußt Du mir schaffen. Es knüpft sich eine große literarische Entdeckung an dieses Faktum!!'

When the relevant volume of the critical edition of Raabe's works is published, it will no doubt explain the text history of Die Hämelschen Kinder. It seems highly probable that the author's footnote, and perhaps at least part of the mayor of Hamelin's letter, did not appear until the publication of the tale in the collection Der Regenbogen in 1869.² Raabe presumably succeeded in tracing the passage in question. Swift briefly mentions the wild boy in his correspondence.³ In a short piece of humorous prose entitled It cannot rain but it pours, however,

1. In alls gedultig, 13.3.68.

2. It has not been possible to obtain either this or the 1863 number of Die Maje (Wiesbaden, Jahrgang 6, pp.257-273), in which the tale was first printed. Both the author's footnote and the mayor's letter appear in the form quoted in the second edition of Der Regenbogen, Stuttgart & Leipzig, 1871. The manuscript of Die Hämelschen Kinder has not been preserved.

3. Swifts Correspondence, ed.F.E. Ball, London, 1910-14, vol.3, p.304, letter to Thomas Tickell, dated 16.4.1726.

which Scott includes among Swift's writings,¹ a description of the antics of the wild boy tallies exactly with that given by Raabe in his footnote. The wild boy was found in 1725, and It cannot rain but it pours was written in 1726. Gulliver's Travels was published in October 1726. Raabe therefore not only knew that the Yahoos figure in the final part of Gulliver's Travels, as the final sentence quoted from Die Hämelschen Kinder shows. (The conclusion drawn in this sentence presumably constitutes the 'große literarische Entdeckung' which Raabe had foretold in his letter to Leiste.) He was also correct, it would seem, when he used the word 'damals'. The source of the biographical information which precedes the words 'Dr. Jonathan Swift' is not known. Of the books in Raabe's library which give some account of Swift's life,² the Handbuch³ paints the most readily comparable picture, but the similarity is in no way conclusive.

Raabe's knowledge of Swift was perhaps not very extensive. The facts not only suggest, however, that he may have known Gulliver's Travels quite well, but also show that his reading was not confined to this one popular work. The acquisition of A Tale of a Tub,⁴ ten years after the completion of Vom alten Proteus, is in itself an indication of an interest which went beyond that reflected in the writings and correspondence.

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1. The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D., Edinburgh, 1814, vol.13, pp.195-204.
 2. Johnson, The Lives of the most eminent English Poets, ed.cit.; Baur, Lebensgemälde; & the Handbuch.
 3. vol.1, pp.110 & 112.
 4. v. pp.^{62x282} above. A reference to this work in P.Q.O.'s Sittenbuch, p. 194, might be a token of its popularity.

RICHARDSON:

Apart from a reference to Lovelace in Die Kinder von Finkenrode¹ there is only one passage in Raabe's works which indicates that he knew something of Richardson. He writes in his essay Der alte Musäus² (26.2.65 - 2.5.65) that according to the literary histories Musäus 'schrieb 1766, um den Einfluß der englischen Tugendromane auf die Deutschen zu neutralisieren, einen "Grandison den Zweiten"'. (The work was in fact written between 1760 and 1762, and remodelled between 1781 and 1782.) The Handbuch³ and Baur's Lebensgemälde,⁴ books to which Raabe may have had access by the time he wrote this essay, are both critical of Grandison. But the vague and inconsiderable opinion of Richardson's novel which is implied in the essay does not presuppose any appreciable familiarity with either Richardson or Richardson's critics.⁵

1. v.pp.209-10 above.

2. III,6,534-35.

3. vol.1, p.188.

4. vol.1, p.456.

5. III,6,535: 'Wenn der zweite Grandison mit dem ersten, der deutsche mit dem englischen ihre Zeit gehabt haben ... so lassen wir uns das Märchen auch des "alten Musäus" fürs erste gewiß noch nicht nehmen.'

FIELDING:

From Raabe's diary it can be inferred that he borrowed a copy of Tom Jones towards the end of 1861.¹ The book is mentioned a second time in mid-January 1862,² and on 2.11.63 the purchase of Tom Jones (as well as of works by Smollett) is recorded.³ It was not until more than ten years later, in Frau Salome (6.7.74 - 1.10.74), that Raabe referred to the novel. (He had acquired Scott's Lives of the Novelists in 1869, and may have had access to Baur's Lebensgemälde⁴ and to the Handbuch⁵ at the time in question, but none of these works appears to be important here.) Justizrat Scholten explains in a letter to Peter Schwanewede that he first met a certain lady 'wie die Herrschaften im Don Quixote, im Tom Jones und im Gil Blas von Santillana zusammenkommen, nämlich im Wirtshaus - in der Schenke am Wege'.⁶ In a different context the narrator subsequently refers to 'einer Schenke, die auch in einem der Bücher stehen konnte, von denen der Justizrat ... schrieb'.⁷ Raabe was no doubt thinking of the several encounters which occur in inns or alehouses⁸ between Tom's decision to go to sea (Book 7, Chapter 2) and his departure for Coventry (Book 12, Chapter 11). In his letter, Scholten describes his own meeting as follows:⁹

1. Entry for 2.11.61.

2. Entry for 14.1.62.

3. No date is written in the copy of Tom Jones in Raabe's library; v. p. 160 above. The fly-leaf at the beginning of vol.1 is missing.

4. v. p. 220 above.

5. v. p. 233 above.

6. II, 4, 368.

7. II, 4, 401.

8. Tom Jones, Book 8, chap.8; Book 9, chap.3 to Book 10, chap.7; and Book 12. chapters 5-8, 8-9, & 9-10.

9. II, 4, 369.

'My landlord oder el sennor huésped ... sieht nach seinen Gästen aus ... Wer kommt? ... Ist es Miß Sophia Western mit Mrs. Honor, oder gar der Pretender auf dem Marsche von Falkirk nach dem Feld bei Culloden? ...'

(The new arrival is Frau Salome.) The passage recalls two episodes during the journey of Sophia Western and her maid to London.¹ Fielding alludes several times to the rebellion of 1745-46² and to its leader.³ But only in connection with the second of these two episodes - the landlord mistakes Sophia for Jenny Cameron - does the word 'Pretender' occur.⁴ Despite the obvious geographical inconsistency - Fielding's scene is set in England, but Scholten is clearly indulging in a momentary reverie - it seems probable that Raabe had this incident in mind as he wrote.

The writer is said to have had a very high opinion of Fielding,⁵ but no evidence has been found to show that this opinion was based on a broader knowledge of Fielding's works than is implicit in Frau Salome.⁶

1. Book 10, chap.3, & Book 11, chap.2.

2. e.g. Book 7, chap.11; Book 12, chap.5; Book 18, chap.8.

3. e.g. Book 11, chapters 2 & 6; Book 12, chap.7.

4. Book 11, chap.8.

5. v. E. Doernenburg & W. Fehse, Raabe und Dickens, Magdeburg, 1921, p.6.

6. In this connection, however, v. p. 224 above.

GOLDSMITH:

In the opening pages of the Chronik¹ (15.11.54 - spring, 1855), Wacholder, the chronicler, insists that 'die frischesten, originellsten Schöpfungen in allen Künsten' were produced in garrets. To support his thesis he cites Goldsmith, Rousseau, and Jean Paul, although, as one critic has pointed out, the picture 'das Raabe ... vom Poetendasein entwirft, findet in den angeführten Beispielen keine Stütze'.² The episode in Goldsmith's life which Wacholder describes has in fact no express bearing on the creation of a work of art. It serves nevertheless, provided one accepts the mixture of fact and fiction, to illustrate the general idea behind the writer's contention:

'In einer Dachstube im Wineoffice Court war es, wo Oliver Goldsmith, von seiner Wirtin wegen der rückständigen Miete eingesperrt, dem Dr Johnson unter alten Papieren, abgetragenen Röcken, geleerten Madeirafflaschen und Plunder aller Art ein besudeltes Manuskript hervorsuchte mit der Überschrift: Der Landprediger von Wakefield'.

This is a very loose paraphrase of a well known anecdote, an authoritative version of which is to be found in Boswell's Life of Johnson.³

It is retold in Macaulay's Biographical Essays and mentioned in his Critical and Historical Essays. It occurs in Scott's Lives of the Novelists, in Forster's Life of Oliver Goldsmith and in Irving's Oliver Goldsmith. (Scott, Forster, and Irving simply quote Boswell.)

Raabe possessed all six books, with five of which, however, he is

1. I,1,9-10. 2. Raabe, Werke, Freiburg i.Br., 1954, vol.1, p.720.
3. vol.1, pp.415-16.

not known to have been familiar at the time of writing. Only the edition of Irving's biography (Leipzig, 1850) is likely to have been in his possession in 1854-55. Apart from Forster, only Irving mentions Wine Office Court. (Both writers draw attention to the relatively high standard of Goldsmith's lodgings.) In Raabe's novel the variations from the original scene - Goldsmith 'had got a bottle of Madeira and a glass before him', there is no suggestion of untidiness - are sufficiently explained by the writer's desire to depict the mean and messy circumstances in which the creative spirit thrives.

Pickling and preserving is an art which, according to the author of Skizzen aus Nord-Amerika,¹ the Yankee housewife 'weit besser versteht, als die vielfach gerühmte Gattin des Vicar of Wakefield'. Baroness von Grenwitz, in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen,² 'bevorzugte Stoffe, die sich, wie das Hochzeitskleid der würdigen Pfarrerin von Wakefield, mehr durch Dauerbarkeit, als durch irgend glänzende Eigenschaften empfohlen'. Such passages appear to stem from some measure of familiarity with the work cited. On the other hand, in view of the great popularity of The Vicar of Wakefield in Germany in the latter part of the 18th century,³ casual mention by 19th century

1. pp.108-09.

2. vol.1, p.35.

3. Writing in 1812, Goethe believed he could 'voraussetzen, daß meine Leser dieses Werk kennen und im Gedächtnis haben' (Dichtung und Wahrheit, Book 10). Raabe clearly knew Dichtung und Wahrheit (v. H.Spiéro, Raabe-Lexikon, ed.cit., p.85).

writers simply of its title cannot be said to betoken any particular knowledge or appreciation of the book itself. Such passing references are to be found, for example, in Spielhagen's Die schönen Amerikanerinnen.¹ Similarly, a remark in Raabe's Horacker (10.6.75 - 13.12.75) merely reveals a vague awareness of the substance of Goldsmith's novel which could have been derived from any number of sources. Pastor Winckler's wife, who is distressed by various local happenings, complains that a young schoolteacher has described the life which she and her husband lead as 'die reine Pfarrhausidylle'. Winckler points out that the young man teaches English 'und liest wahrscheinlich gegenwärtig mit seinen Jungen den Vicar of Wakefield'.² The fact that the Vicar's passage through life was by no means smooth is apparently ignored. Perhaps this was done in order to enrich the reference for the informed reader. It is also possible that Raabe either was unfamiliar with or had forgotten the full story of The Vicar of Wakefield. But whatever the explanation, the words quoted do not compel one to assume that Raabe had read the work for which Goldsmith was best known. In the Gedanken und Einfälle Raabe contends: 'Nur diejenigen Kunstwerke haben Anspruch auf Dauer, in denen die Nation sich wiederfindet',³ and he names four works of

1. ed.cit., pp.8,47, & 179.

2. II,1,478.

3. III,6,586; according to the Jahrbuch, 1960, p.102, this observation was made in December, 1874.

literature to illustrate his thesis - The Vicar of Wakefield, Hermann und Dorothea, Werther and Faust. That The Vicar of Wakefield is the only foreign work mentioned; that it is first in the list; and that the other works listed are all by Goethe, whom Raabe revered, may demonstrate his high opinion of its stature. Referring to Sterne and Goldsmith in conversation many years later,¹ Raabe is reported to have said "Ohne beide wäre Goethes Werther nie geschrieben worden". But although the claim that there is 'Nationales im Landprediger von Wakefield',² is implicitly based on some considerable knowledge of the work, the entire observation in fact discloses only a little more than do the lines from Horacker. Some sixteen months before he began work on Horacker, however, Raabe had acquired the Select Works, a fact which at least suggests that his knowledge of Goldsmith - whom he is said to have read in Magdeburg (1849-53) 'mit besonderem Interesse',³ - may have been greater than the evidence hitherto would lead one to suppose. That his interest in Goldsmith was sustained is perhaps indicated by two small details: by the presence between pages 190 and 191 of this selection - i.e. in The Vicar of Wakefield - of a cutting from a newspaper which was probably published at the end of August, 1880; and by the date 'Braunschweig, 10. Nov. 1891',⁴ which Raabe

1. v. p. 309, note 3 below.

2. v. p. 292, note 3 above.

3. W. Eggebrecht, Wilhelm Raabes Literaturkenntnis, (unpublished thesis) Greifswald, 1923, p. 8.

4. v. p. 160 above.

entered in his copy of the Letters from a Citizen of the World.

It was not until 1894 that a quotation in a letter from Raabe to K.E. Franzos¹ showed that the writer was acquainted with at least one poem by Goldsmith. The same line is quoted in 1898, again in a letter.² Possibly Raabe knew the entire poem. It is apparent from the first letter that he knew the immediate context in which the line originally occurs:

'... sollte Jeder von Uns sich mal die Frage vorlegen: wie bist Du eigentlich dazu gekommen, ein Geschäft zu treiben, für welches der alte Oliver Goldsmith nur das Wort hat:

My shame in crowds, my solitary pride! - ?'

In Forster's biography³ this is the sixth of ten lines from The Deserted Village which are quoted in a discussion of the poem.⁴ Although the lines constitute a farewell to 'sweet Poetry', and the 63-year-old novelist continued the 'Geschäft' of authorship for some time, the sentiments expressed in them - and in the fourteen lines which follow them - accord with his view of poetry and the writer's lot. He would readily have applied to his own creative activity the couplet which follows the line quoted:

'Thou source of all my bliss, and all my woe,
Thou found'st me poor at first, and keep'st me so'.

(What Raabe wished to say when he described Goldsmith as 'alt' is not entirely clear. The term may well mean 'of a bygone age' or be an

1. In alls gedultig, 12.9.94.

2. ibid., 19.9.98.

3. v. op.cit., London, 1903, pp.345-46.

4. The poem does not appear to have been particularly popular among Raabe's German contemporaries. It is quoted only once in the books under review (v. Kohl, part 3, p.100).

expression of familiarity. The poet was no more than forty-two when The Deserted Village was published, and he died four years later.¹ In the second letter, in which the source of the quotation is named, the original context is barely relevant, since Raabe is referring not to writing in general but to one specific work, Alte Nester (28.8.77 - 13.2.79), which he describes as belonging 'zu meinen Schmerzenskindern'.

1. cf. pp. 226 & 238 above.

LAURENCE STERNE:

Introducing himself, J.W. Eyring, the narrator of Die Gänse von Bützow, is anxious to point out that he is not a humourless, narrow-minded pedant. By his grouping of several works of literature he indicates his view not only of the nature but also of the merit of Tristram Shandy:

'Ich habe nicht nur die Grammatik gelesen, sondern auch Candide; habe das Leben und die Meinungen Tristram Shandys studiert, imgleichen die Musarion und die Abderiten des Hofrates Wieland'.¹

Throughout the tale the author is clearly very much in sympathy with the narrator. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that, within the limits imposed by the setting - the action of Die Gänse von Bützow takes place in 1794 -, Raabe's own view of Tristram Shandy was not dissimilar to that implied in the passage quoted. Evidence culled from Raabe's other writings supports this assumption and suggests that Raabe, like Eyring, had studied Tristram Shandy, and in some detail.

A number of figures from Tristram Shandy are mentioned by name in Raabe's writings. A grouping comparable to that in Die Gänse von Bützow is to be found in the draft of Deutscher Adel.² The passage reflects a very high opinion of Corporal Trim, although Trim is not characterized in any way. On the other hand, several references in Unruhige Gäste to a gentleman known variously as 'Onkel Anton', 'Onkel

1. I,6,347.

2. v. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.13, p.417; v. also p. 335 below.

Antonio', and 'Onkel Toby'¹ show something of the writer's familiarity with Sterne's work. Although the outstanding features of the original character are not in evidence, Raabe's 'Onkel Toby' is repeatedly described as 'gut', he bores his niece by relating 'antiquierte Gesandtschaftsattaché-Reminiszenzen aus Wien und Byzanz',² and he is said to be compassionate, benevolent, and absent-minded. When Valerie, his niece, is about to leave Berlin, he throws a copy of Tristram Shandy 'in gewohnter Zerstretheit ins Coupé'.³ Her husband mentions this scene in a letter, adding:

'Sie behauptet, das einzig Angenehme, Liebenswürdige und Verständliche daraus, den Onkel Toby, schon längst zu kennen und zu zitieren, überläßt mir aber alles übrige darin'.

This forms the introduction to what is probably the longest uninterrupted quotation in all Raabe's writings.⁴ In this Raabe reveals an awareness of the character and contents of Tristram Shandy as well as a certain knowledge of Sterne's background and talents:

'... komme ich Dir ... mit einem Zitat und zwar aus dem frivolsten Deiner in Gott ruhenden Amtsbrüder.⁵ Der sehr ehrwürdige Herr Lorenz Sterne, Magister der Künste, Stiftsherr zu York, Dorfpastor usw. hat das Wort im siebenten Buche von Tristram Shandys Leben uns Meinungen. ... laß mich abschreiben. Alles, was Deiner Schwester und Dir Euer heutiger Besuch zuzutragen hat, wächst auf aus jenem leichtfertigen, inhaltvollsten Predigtbuch über Menschenschwächen und Menschenkräfte.

...

"Ließ sich wohl jemals ein vernünftiger Mensch in einen so verworrenen Handel ein?" sagte der Tod.

1. III, 2, 498, 518, 535, 536 & 584.

2. III, 2, 498.

3. III, 2, 584.

4. In alls gedultig, 8.9.85: Raabe clearly states that the passage is a deliberate piece of characterization, and rejects his publisher's suggestion that it be omitted: '... so kann ich - kann ich - kann ich daran nicht streichen und ändern'; v. p. 299 below.

5. The recipient of the letter is a clergyman.

"Mit genauer Not bist du diesmal noch durchgekommen, Tristram", sagte Eugenius.

"Aber das ist kein Leben mehr, Eugenius, seit dieser Sündensohn dergestalt meine Adresse aufgespürt hat."

"Da nanntest du ihn jedenfalls bei dem rechten Namen," sagte Eugenius; "denn die Sünde brachte ihn in die Welt, wie geschrieben steht."

"Wie er hereinkam, kümmert mich nicht," sagte ich, "wenn er nur nicht solche Eile hätte, mich heraus zu holen! denn ich habe noch vierzig Bände zu schreiben und vierzigtausend Dinge zu sagen und zu tun, die kein anderer als ich in dieser Welt sagen und tun kann. Da er mich nun so bei der Kehle hat, tue ich da nicht besser, Reißaus zu nehmen und für mein Leben zu laufen? ... Ja, beim Himmel, ich werde ihn in einen Tanz ziehen, daß er sich wundern soll! Ohne mich umzusehen, jage ich bis an die Ufer der Garonne und höre ich ihn mir auf den Fersen klappern, so fliehe ich bis zum Vesuv, von da nach Joppe, und von Joppe bis an der Welt Ende, und wenn er mir dann noch folgt, na, so bitte ich Gott, daß er ihn den Hals brechen lasse."-

Meine lieben Freunde, wie Ihr aus meiner Adresse dieses Briefes erseht, habe ich so ziemlich dem Wortlaut nach in Ausführung gebracht, was ein anderer lebensgieriger Siechling vor mehr als anderthalb hundert Jahren in seinem Abscheu vor dem Aufgebenmüssen des Mitatmens unter den Lebendigen zu tun sich vornahm....¹

In the original context death's question (with which Veit Bielow, the letter-writer, begins his quotation above) is apparently not addressed to Tristram, with whom Veit is identified. In quoting the question, which evidently points to the predicament in which Veit finds himself, Raabe either deliberately adapted Sterne to suit his own context or misunderstood the - admittedly somewhat confusing - situation in which the words were first spoken.

Veit's words 'so ziemlich dem Wortlaut nach' are an exaggeration, since - apart from a visit to Vesuvius - his itinerary had virtually

1. III,2,583-85; v. also III,2,587.

nothing in common with that outlined by Tristram. Evidently aware of this, he makes it clear later in the letter that for him Palermo, the town from which he is writing, is 'Joppe'.

It is possible that volume 7 of Tristram Shandy, or at least this introductory passage, was widely known in Raabe's day. Professor Work,¹ implicitly equating Sterne and Tristram, writes of 'his famous race with ... Death'. Moreover, Raabe refers to the tendency of people like Veit to look in such circumstances 'nach allerhand berühmten Litteratur-Exempeln'.² The size of the quotation does not necessarily point to the author's familiarity with its source: even without Veit's 'laß mich abschreiben' the passage is not one which is likely to have been memorized. The remarks before and after the quotation, however, and the fact that Raabe was able to place it, indicate that he was not simply using a popular episode from literature, but that he was borrowing from the work of an author whose nature he knew and cherished.³

Corporal Trim, it will be remembered, was once in love with a young Beguine who had nursed him after the battle of Landen. What might well be an indelicate allusion to Trim's tale⁴ - which concludes in a highly ambiguous manner - occurs towards the end of Unruhige Gäste.

1. Tristram Shandy, introduction, p.xxxiv.

2. In alls gedultig, 8.9.85.

3. In connection with this quotation v. B. Fairley, Wilhelm Raabe, Oxford, 1961, pp.153-54.

4. Tristram Shandy, vol.8, chaps. 19 & 20 (i.e. pp.568-75).

Thanks largely to the kind offices of Phöbe Hahnemeyer, a pure, almost saintlike young woman, Veit Bielow has recovered from typhus. Speaking in the local inn one evening during the following winter, Dr. Hanff, who had attended the patient at the time and who has a high opinion of Phöbe, mentions 'was Sie meine Beguinengeschichte nennen'.¹ Despite his normal attitude towards his companions' jocularly - 'ich halte ganz gern mit bei guten und schlechten Witzen und Schnurren, kein urältester Meidinger tut mir was an' - their discussion of this particular topic is not to his taste. Whether Raabe in fact had Sterne's episode in mind when he used the term 'Beguinengeschichte' is, of course, open to question; but Hanff's reference to 'schlechten Witzen' certainly suggests that the term connoted irreverence if not ribaldry.

Less than one month after completing Unruhige Gäste Raabe began work on Im alten Eisen, a shorter tale about the plight of two destitute young orphans, brother and sister. Their only possession, highly prized by the little boy, is a lieutenant's sword which originally belonged to their grandfather. Fehse² has pointed out that in choosing this heirloom for his young hero, Raabe may have been prompted by memories of a captain's sword which had belonged to his great-

1. III, 2, 564.

2. Raabe, pp. 37 & 645.

grandfather. It seems reasonable, however, particularly since the writer must have been looking at Tristram Shandy shortly before, to suggest that the sequel to the story of Le Fever may also have influenced the choice: the lieutenant's sword is his son's only inheritance.¹

Further familiarity with Tristram Shandy is demonstrated on several occasions in Raabe's other writings. In Eulenpflingsten,² for example, Lina Nebelung expresses regret that her sister-in-law, Käthchen's mother, is no longer alive:

'"Oh!" seufzte Käthchen wehmütig.

"Nein, nein, nicht weinen, Kind! ... Wir alle müssen sterben - all must die - 't is an inevitable chance - the first statute in Magna Charta, sagt Mr. Shandy ...".'

Lina then realizes that her quotation is in a language which Käthchen probably does not understand, and expresses the hope that her niece has in any case not read Tristram Shandy, evidently considered an unsuitable book for a young lady. Raabe's slight adaptation of Sterne's slight adaptation of an utterance which Robert Burton probably borrowed³ is justifiable in the new context: the statement 'all must die', which occurs in both Sterne and Burton at the end of the sentence in question, is understandably placed next to the German words which it explains and which presumably brought it to mind.

1. Tristram Shandy, vol.6, chap.12 (i.e. pp.430-31).

2. II,4,244.

3. v. H.Meyer, "Zitat und Plagiat im Tristram Shandy", op.cit., p.298; also Tristram Shandy, introduction, p.xxiii, & p.353, note 5.

Both in Sterne and in Raabe the death of a dear relation occasions the remark, but no further parallel can really be drawn between the two contexts. Lina and Mr. Shandy are both educated people, but the latter is, as Meyer puts it,¹ 'vernarrt in das schöne Wort und die tönende Formel', and proceeds to rattle off a large number of observations on the inevitability of death. He does not draw attention to the fact that they are second-hand. Lina's way of speech is much the same as that of other cultured women in Raabe's writings: occasional quotations did not require special motivation. Whether Raabe fully remembered the original, Shandean context of this quotation at the time of writing is open to question. Lina is portrayed in a highly favourable light throughout Eulenpfingsten, and it seems unlikely that the author should wish to identify her in any way with the pompous banality which characterized the bereaved Mr. Shandy. Divorced from its context the quotation may not have struck Raabe as banal.

The elderly Meister Autor, in the tale of that name, makes a mildly humorous remark in a situation in which humour is out of place. His companion, the narrator, is not amused.² Autor explains that his friend Arend Tofote had frequently scolded him for such behaviour:

'... du lachst und grinsest und zwar niemals an der richtigen Stelle, und das sollen dann die Leute nicht verquer aufnehmen!'

1. v. p. 301, note 3, above.

2. II, 3, 532-33.

The narrator, Herr von Schmidt, a man of culture, observes:

'Von dem, was vor langen, langen Jahren, so ungefähr in der ersten Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts Eugenius zu Yorick sagte, wußte der Meister Autor Kunemund nichts. Er erfuhr ... nur an seinem eigenen Leibe wieder, was damals einige Leute auch schon an sich in Erfahrung gebracht hatten.'

The reference is clearly to Eugenius' "lecture upon discretion"¹ and Yorick's "unwary pleasantry". Schmidt's second sentence is to some extent misleading: Raabe's hero is evidently little affected by people's reactions to his ill-timed drollery; he certainly does not share Yorick's dismal fate.²

H. Meyer³ compares Stobel's concern for the fate of a fly, in the Chronik,⁴ with that of Sterne's Uncle Toby.⁵ Possibly Raabe had Uncle Toby's behaviour in mind at the time of writing. The episode in Tristram Shandy was well known.⁶ It should be remembered, however, that in the same paragraph Raabe quotes Voss's "Der siebzigste Geburtstag" and includes a phrase from the lines which tell how the old man's wife 'scheuchte die sumsenden Fliegen/Die ihr Mann mit der Klappe verschont zur Wintergesellschaft'.⁷ The passage in Sterne has in fact relatively little in common with the picture painted by Raabe. On the other hand, the action of the middle-aged professor Jodocus

1. Tristram Shandy, vol.1, chap.12 (i.e. pp.28-29); v.Pongs, p.334, & Krit.Ausgabe, vol.11, p.470.

2. Tristram Shandy, vol.1, chap.12 (i.e. p.30).

3. Der Typus des Sonderlings in der deutschen Literatur, Amsterdam, 1943, p.178.

4. I,1,145.

5. Tristram Shandy, vol.2, chap.12 (i.e. pp.113-14) & vol.3, chap.4 (i.e. p.162).

6. v. *ibid.*, introduction, p.xxxix.

7. v. Voss, Sämtliche Gedichte, Königsberg, 1802, vol.2, p.278.

Homilius in Der Weg zum Lachen¹ bears a quite close resemblance to that of Uncle Toby. 'Eine dicke Brummfliege summt um seinen Kopf' (Toby's fly was 'an over-grown one which had buzzed about his nose'), and, though the professor's motives may have been slightly less selfish than those of Tristram's uncle, he 'öffnete ihr das Fenster' - like Toby when he rid himself of the fly which had been bothering him.

Exactly when Raabe first came to know Tristram Shandy is uncertain. With at least one well known view found in Sterne's work, however, he was evidently familiar at an early stage. Speaking of his unbalanced friend Querian, a character in Frau Salome (6.7.74 - 1.10.74) named Scholten asks:

'"Weshalb hieß der Tropf nicht Scholten und brachte es zu einer anständigen Stufe auf der Leiter bürgerlicher Respektabilität?!"
 "Also Mr. Shandy hat da wieder einmal recht?"
 "Wieder einmal, Gnädige ...".²

The reference is to the singular opinions of Tristram's father with regard to people's names.³ (Raabe ignores the fact that Mr. Shandy's theory related specifically to Christian names. That the writer was not entirely alone in this is clear from a letter which Schopenhauer once wrote: 'Der Brief des Prutz (there's something in names - Tr.Sh.)

1. I, 2, 288.

2. II, 4, 355.

3. Tristram Shandy, vol.1, chap.19 (i.e. p.50 et seq.; v.also pp.65, 145, 149, 154, 262, 279, 287-88, 292-95, 300, 326, 336, 372, & 515).

erfolgt einliegend zurück ... Der Prutz ist ein Erz-Philister'.¹⁾
 Apart from Raabe's express reference to Tristram Shandy, we find in one of his earlier works, Leute² (21.10.61 - 1.11.62) and - on two occasions - in Wunnigel,³ the tale which immediately followed Frau Salome, that our attention is drawn to people's names in a way which is strongly reminiscent of Mr. Shandy's tenets. (Further evidence of Raabe's interest in names and naming is to be found in Pfisters Mühle⁴ and Gutmanns Reisen,⁵ although neither passage can be said to reflect a truly Shandean attitude.)

The earliest apparent allusion to Sterne occurs, however, in the Chronik,⁶ Raabe's first work. The Chronicler is wakened one morning in April by the sound of rain. He is annoyed and depressed to such an extent

'daß ich mich zuletzt nur durch einen herzhaften Sprung aus dem Bette ... erretten konnte. -Aprilwetter! Die Hosen zog ich - wie weiland Freund Yorik - bereits wieder als ein Philosoph an'.

The allusion is obscure. It is not to Hamlet, and neither A Sentimental Journey nor Tristram Shandy contains a comparable situation, despite the rôle assigned to breeches in the latter work.⁷ Jensch⁸ refers the reader to A Sentimental Journey, but gives no details.

Raabe in fact makes only one clear reference to A Sentimental

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1. D.Asher, Arthur Schopenhauer, Neues von ihm, über ihn, Berlin, 1871, pp.36-37, letter dated 18.8.60.
 2. I,5,416-17. 3. II,5,45 & 83. 4. III,2,393.
 5. III,4,288. 6. I,1,165.
 7. vol.4, chap.14 (i.e. pp.287-88) & vol.7, chap.32 (i.e. p.524).
 8. op.cit., p.70.

Journey. The passage in question is to be found in another early work, Der Hungerpastor.¹ Before this, however, in Leute,² he had introduced an episode which reminds the reader of Sterne's chapter entitled 'The Gloves. Paris': as Yorick dallies with the beautiful grisette while trying on gloves in her - or her husband's - shop, so Leon von Poppenphilanders with Angelika Schminkert in the 'Seifen-, Parfümerie-, Hauben-, Handschuh- und Bänderladen' which she and her husband run. In the latter instance the outcome is tragic, since Angelika, unlike the grisette, has a jealous husband, many flirtatious admirers and, in Leon, a paramour. Julius Schminkert later explains to Robert Wolf: '... O die Handschuhe, die Herrenhandschuhe, die Glacéhandschuhe, Robert! Wissen Sie, man probiert so lange, bis sie passen'. This is at the most an echo of A Sentimental Journey. In Der Hungerpastor, however, Raabe mentions the work by name, aptly comparing Hans Unwirrsch's situation in the Götz household with that of the caged starling 'der in Yorik's sentimentaler Reise an den Stäben seines Käfigs rüttelt und jammert: "Ich kann nicht heraus! ich kann nicht heraus!"'³ The use of the word 'rüttelt', which is not essential to the scene described by Sterne, suggests that the comparison may have been made from memory.

Finally, two short passages in Raabe's last complete novel, Hastenbeck, refer - in one case explicitly - to A Sentimental Journey. Ehrn

1. I, 1, 468.

2. I, 5, 416 et seq.

3. v. A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr. Yorick, London, 1780, pp. 195-97 ('The Passport. The Hotel at Paris'); also p. 199 ('The Captive. Paris') & pp. 203-06 ('The Starling. Road to Versailles'). The starling's words do not appear to have been commonly quoted by Raabe's German contemporaries, but it is interesting to note that they are quoted in Byron's Don Juan (canto 4, stanza 109), a work which Raabe knew quite well (v. pp. 258 et seq., above).

Störenfreden's lack of eloquence - 'was man so "geistliche Beredsamkeit" nennt' - in a highly emotional situation is attributed to the fact that, at the time the scene takes place, neither A Sentimental Journey nor Werther had been written.¹ A little later² Störenfreden is persuaded to marry Pold and Hannchen, though circumstances prevent his publishing bans or obtaining the consent of Hannchen's foster-parents. The author explains that if the tale were set in the 19th century, Störenfreden's agitation at the thought of such an irregular procedure - agitation aggravated by the fact that the young clergyman had himself wished to become Hannchen's husband - could be explained by saying

'daß der junge Mann ... an seinen Nerven litt. Aber für sein Jahrhundert war ja noch nicht einmal ... die Epoche der Sentimentalität eingetreten. Der Amtsbruder von Sutton on the Forest ... sollte erst zwei Jahre später auf der Weltbühne erscheinen. Ehn Emanuel litt weder an den Nerven noch an der Empfindsamkeit: er fand sich nur in grenzenloser Verlegenheit ...'.

There is some slight confusion with regard to dates. In the first instance cited, possibly by a printer's error, the date of publication of A Sentimental Journey is given as 1765 instead of 1768. In the second instance, the reference is clearly to the year 1759, since the action of Hastenbeck takes place in 1757. Therefore, although Raabe is writing of the advent of sentimentalism,³ the sentence in question

1. III,6,133.

2. III,6,150.

3. 'sentimental', 'empfindsam', and allied terms were, as is well known, household words (v.Ganz, op.cit., pp.65-68 & 201-04). It is hard to say whether an awareness of their origin persisted among Raabe's contemporaries. Only two writers, both Raabe's seniors, have been found to reveal some such awareness (v.Sealsfield, Das Cajütenbuch, vol.1, p.31-32; & Immermann, Die Epigonen, ed.cit., vol.3, p.329-330. Immermann in fact refers at length to 'The Snuff Box. Calais' - v.A Sentimental Journey, ed.cit., pp.50-55, & cf. *ibid.*, p.168.)

can only refer to Tristram Shandy, the first two volumes of which were published late in December 1759. As it happens, the scene described in Hastenbeck also occurs late in December.

The few books by or relating to Sterne in Raabe's library confirm the impressions gained thus far. Raabe does not appear to have owned a copy of A Sentimental Journey. His writings show simply that he was aware of its literary significance, that he was at least familiar with the episode concerning the starling, and that the figure of Yorick - though not specifically the Yorick of A Sentimental Journey - was one which came readily to mind. In this connection it is interesting to note that among the many passages marked¹ in Raabe's copy of Tristram Shandy is the narrator's flattering remark in which he likens Yorick to Don Quixote,² perhaps Raabe's favourite literary figure. That he acquired Fitzgerald's well-known biography at a relatively early stage and quoted it many years later in Akten³ reflects still further the interest in Sterne's life which has already been noted⁴ in Unruhige Gäste and Hastenbeck. (The passage in Akten implicitly likens the hero, Velten Andres, to the young Sterne. Raabe barely hints at the identity of the man 'who had no harm in him, and who had parts if he would use

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1. There is unfortunately no sure proof that the markings were made by Raabe.
 2. v. Tristram Shandy, vol.1, chap.10 (i.e. p.22), the paragraph beginning 'I have the highest idea ...'.
 3. III,5,276; v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, p.472.
 4. v. pp.297 & 307 above.

them'.) Scott's Lives of the Novelists, acquired a week or two later, also contains a brief account of Sterne's life and writings; and in O.L.B. Wolff's Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans, which Raabe added to his library about three years after this,¹ he would have been able to find some general observations on Sterne's work. At what stage Raabe acquired Tristram Shandy is not known. The fact that he possessed it in translation² as well as in English accords with the knowledge and appreciation of the work manifested in his writings.

F. Hartmann³ gives an account of a conversation which took place on 4.10.1906 between Raabe and K. Koch. The latter

'fing an, von Tristram Shandy zu reden... Im alten Shandy wolle Sterne den unbedingten grillenhaften Individualisten zeichnen, im Onkel Toby den quietistischen Gemütsmenschen ihm gegenüberstellen.

"Ach was", sagte Raabe, "er hat überhaupt nichts konstruiert, sondern Menschen gezeichnet, wie er sie sah und brauchte. Er hat seine eigene Natur in ihre Bestandteile geschieden und Menschen daraus geschaffen. So macht es ein Dichter..."

Raabe schilderte Sternes Leben, das ganz schauerhaft gewesen sei. Von früh auf krank, und überdies noch mit einer Xanthippe behaftet, die ihm den Tag verleidete. Dann stirbt er einsam und verlassen im Wirthaus. Schließlich wird seine Leiche von Leichenräubern ausgegraben und an die Anatomie verkauft, wo man sie sezirt.

Man sprach von Sternes Einfluß auf die deutsche Literatur. "Der war ungeheuer",⁴ sagte Raabe, "wie überhaupt die englischen Schriftsteller des 18. Jahrhunderts viel stärker auf die deutsche, als auf die eigene Literatur gewirkt haben. Denken Sie nur an Ossian, der in England nicht viel beachtet wurde, für unsere Stürmer und Dränger aber ein Evangelium war. Und mit Sterne und Goldsmith war es nicht anders".'

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1. Jena, 1850; acquired either on 15.8.72 or on 19.9.72 - both dates are written in Raabe's copy.
 2. Tristram Shandis Leben und Meynungen, Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1776-77.
 3. Wilhelm Raabe Wie er war und wie er dachte, ed.cit., pp.83-84.
 4. cf. Pongs, p.73.

But it does not therefore follow that he imitated or borrowed from him to any great extent. Many of the features of Raabe's work which have been taken as reflections of specific influences are features shared by a number of 18th and 19th century novelists.¹ Nevertheless, as stylists and, in some measure, as humorists the two authors have much in common. Having clearly read - and appreciated - Sterne,² Raabe is bound to have learned from him, but for the most part what he learned he assimilated. Had he not done so, his eclecticism might well have prevented his becoming a creative writer.

1. v. p. 223 above.

2. In this connection v. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit. p.6.

WALTER SCOTT¹ and SMOLLETT:

Raabe had a high opinion of Scott, whom he apparently considered a true realist,² but his enthusiasm, at least in later years, was not uncritical. From a letter written when he was sixty,³ it is clear that he found Scott's later work mannered. In his youth, however, Raabe was a voracious reader, and his awareness of such generally acknowledged shortcomings can only have developed gradually. In another letter⁴ he describes his early reading habits:

'... so habe ich schon als 10-11 jähriger Junge die "Geheimnisse von Paris" und den "Ewigen Juden" mit schauderndem Entzücken genossen. Nachher war mir alles recht, was mir in die Hände fiel, W. Scott, Dumas der Ältere und was im Deutschen in den Dreißigerjahren noch ziemlich neu lag ... na, Alles! die englischen Autoren natürlich auch; speziell mit ihnen habe ich mich aber erst in Magdeburg beschäftigt ...'.

In other words, by the time he was eighteen (the apprenticeship in Magdeburg began in 1849) Raabe knew at least some of Scott's work.⁵

Krüger⁶ claims that Raabe read him in Magdeburg, if only for a short

1. The following bear witness to Scott's popularity during Raabe's lifetime: Immermann, Die Epigonen, ed.cit., vol.3, pp.153,160,240-41,245, 275,280,339; Sealsfield, Das Cajütenbuch, part 2, pp.328-29 (cf. Morton, part 1, p.V); Kürnberger, pp.71 & 213; Freytag, Soll und Haben, vol.1, p.280; Spielhagen, Prob.Nat., vol.1, p.293; Freytag, Die Verlorene Handschrift, ed.cit., vol.1, p.161; Fontane, Frau Jenny Treibel, p.328.
2. v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.119: 'Heine las Goethe und Walter Scott deshalb mit Vorliebe, weil sie den Mond dann nicht scheinen ließen, wenn er nicht ans Firmament gehörte'. There is no reason to suppose that Raabe thought Heine wrong in this, though he may have felt that in most respects a likening of Scott & Goethe was inadmissible.
3. v. p. 341 below. 4. In alls gedultig, 27.2.1909; v. p.338 below.
5. The term 'die englischen Autoren' does not appear to include Scott.
6. Der junge Raabe, Leipzig, 1911, p.34.

time; according to Pongs¹ 'der Buchhändlerlehrling in Magdeburg hat ... Scotts sämtliche Werke in der deutschen Übersetzung (Aug. Schäfer) ... verschlungen'; and Wilhelm Brandes contends that Raabe's first published work, the Chronik (15.11.54 - spring, 1855) 'ihren Titel offenbar in Anlehnung an den des Scottschen Novellenbuchs The Chronicle of Canongate bekommen hat'.²

A diary entry for 21.11.60 - 'Kauf von Walter Scotts Werken'³ - presumably refers to the Sämtliche Romane⁴ in Raabe's library. Perhaps this purchase was the result of a renewed interest in Scott. Raabe had completed Die Schwarze Galeere, a historical tale, on 12.10.60, and it was not until 3.3.61 that he began his next work, Unseres Herrgotts Kanzlei. It is not known whether he read Scott in the intervening months. A recent critic⁵ has, however, pointed out that in Unseres Herrgotts Kanzlei 'Raabe folgt grundsätzlich der Art, wie Walter Scott und W.H. Riehl historische Stoffe meistern', that is to say he avoids 'die Ausweitung in den weltgeschichtlichen Rahmen, in die größere Welt':

'Er vertieft die Handlung durch erfundene individuelle Schicksale, die er hindurchflieht, mit Spannungen, die sich ins Dramatische steigern. Als Mitträger des Stadtschicksals sollen sie zugleich dem Ganzen dienen'.

Two years after he had bought the works, on 15.11.62, Raabe

1. op.cit., p.146.

2. Mitteilungen, 1923, p.75.

3. They were evidently delivered on 29.11.60.

4. Leipzig, 1844-47.

5. Pongs, p.162.

records having spent the whole day reading 'Das schöne Mädch. v. Perth', and the following February (14.2.63) he devoted an afternoon to Kenilworth.¹ Precise evidence of his familiarity with the other novels is not available.²

On 16.2.69 Raabe acquired the Lives of the Novelists, said to be the source of the only known quotation from Scott in his writings. The passage in question is at the beginning of Hastenbeck (15.8.95 - 18.8.98), Raabe's last complete work. The writer recalls Cumberland's victory at Culloden:³

'Und wie Schottland ihm nachsang:

"Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn!" so klang ihm jetzt ein anderer Jammerruf nach. Der aber lautete:

"Weh, Niedersachsen, weh!"⁴

Shortly after he had finished Hastenbeck, in a letter dated 15.11.89,⁵ Raabe indicated the source from which he had taken the English quoted: 'Nach Culloden sang Smollet (sic): Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn'. As Jensch points out,⁶ these words are to be found in Scott's account of Smollett's life. They are also to be found, however, in the Handbuch,⁷ whose editor, unlike Scott,⁸ names Culloden as the battle

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1. A copy of O.Randolf's translation of Kenilworth, Leipzig, n.d., is also in Raabe's library; date of acquisition unknown.
 2. Between pp.146 & 147 of the volume containing Woodstock (i.e. Bändchen 144-151 of the Sämmtliche Romane, ed.cit.) there is a receipt from the Neues Tagblatt mit der Stuttgarter Flora for October, 1867; Scott is among the authors mentioned in the diaries during the latter part of 1868 (v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.8, p.390); and between pp.136 & 137 of the volume containing Robin der Rothe (i.e. Bändchen 22-29 of the Sämmtliche Romane, ed.cit.) there is a slip of paper from a calendar which was certainly not printed before 1902.
 3. v. pp.59&69 above. 4. III,6,1. 5. Mitteilungen, 1951, p.20.
 6. op.cit., p.70. 7. vol.2, pp.410-11.
 8. v. Lives of the Novelists, Paris, 1825, vol.1, p.97.

after which Smollett, incensed at the harsh treatment to which the defeated Highlanders were subjected, wrote 'The Tears of Scotland'. Naturally the editor also refers,¹ and with some enthusiasm, to Smollett's novels, two of which, Peregrine Pickle and Humphrey Clinker, Raabe bought on 2.11.63. (He wrote no date of acquisition in the copies in his library, but they are presumably those mentioned in the diary on the day in question.) His copy of Peregrine Pickle is in The Miscellaneous Works,² volumes 2 and 3. Volume 3 also contains 'The Tears of Scotland, written in the year 1746'.

Raabe seems to have read Peregrine Pickle in July 1880³ - i.e. while he was writing Fabian und Sebastian - but nothing is known of the impressions he received either of this or of the other novel. Smollett was apparently not one of Raabe's favourite English authors, but nevertheless an author in whom, according to the limited evidence adduced, he showed at least an occasional interest.

1. Handbuch, vol.1, pp.246-47.

2. v. p. 162 above.

3. A bookmark dated '15 Juli 1880' lies between pp.380 & 381 in vol.3 of the edition in question, i.e. at the end of the novel, and p.380 itself is dated '19 Juli 1880'.

WASHINGTON IRVING:

Wilhelm Brandes¹ points to certain similarities between Raabe's Der Student von Wittenberg and Irving's The Student of Salamanca (which is included in Bracebridge Hall), and contends that there are clear echoes of Bracebridge Hall in several of Raabe's other tales. But these similarities and echoes are such that they can hardly be regarded as strong evidence of Raabe's familiarity with the work in question. For instance, the gypsies in Die Kinder von Finkenrode³ have very little in common with those described by Irving;⁴ and 'Raabes natürliche Vorliebe für seine gefiederten Namensvettern' could surely have developed without his having read the chapter entitled 'The Rookery',⁵ which was presumably foremost in Brandes' mind.

Raabe acquired Knickerbocker's History of New York in 1879. The only other work by Irving in his possession was Oliver Goldsmith.⁶

Neither book, however, has any bearing on the two passages in Raabe's writings which clearly reflect some slight knowledge of Irving. Friedrich Wolf, brother of the young hero of Leute⁷ (21.10.61 - 1.11.62), returns to Germany from the United States, where he has perforce developed into a Jack of all trades,

1. Mitteilungen, 1923, pp.75-79.

2. I,2,303-337.

3. II,2,92-93, 113-118, 120 et seq.

4. v. Irving's Works, New York, 1880-83, vol.3, pp.167-73 ('Fortune-Telling') & pp.307-313 ('Gypsies').

5. ibid., pp.342-51.

6. v. pp.233 & 290-91 above.

7. I,5,103.

'Komödiant, Pedlar, Pelzjäger, Farmer, Reisender in Washington Irvings Manier und so weiter, und so weiter'. This would appear to be a reference to the Tales of a Traveller (some of which, like Wolf's activities, have the American scene as a background). Irving had long been popular in Germany, and to refer to him in this fashion scarcely constituted a challenge to the average reader. Thus Sealsfield likens his characterization of John Bull in Morton¹ to the picture 'wie es Washington Irving so unübertrefflich in seinem Skizzenbuche schildert'; and Kürnberger's hero in Der Amerika-Müde,² thinking perhaps of 'English Writers on America' in The Sketch Book, reflects when he spies a handsome American: 'So ... müßten die Cooper's und Irving's aussehen, ein gewöhnlicher Amerikaner ist selten schön'. Even less surprising are references to the famous story of Rip Van Winkle. A letter from Bismarck to his wife,³ a passage in Schücking's Verschlungene Wege,⁴ and another in Kürnberger's novel⁵ serve to indicate that the story was indeed widely known. There were, in fact, probably many for whom it simply belonged to what Bismarck terms 'Gespenstergeschichten aus der Kinderzeit'. Thus when Raabe demonstrates his familiarity with the tale by a brief allusion in Abu Telfan,⁶ one learns nothing about his knowledge of Irving's Sketch Book.

1. p.V.

2. p.288.

3. Bismarck, Briefe, 24.8.53.

4. ed.cit., vol.1, p.51.

5. p.75.

6. II,1,15.

Here, as elsewhere, the only conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence adduced is that Raabe was perhaps acquainted, however slightly, with one or two of the author's works. His interest in Irving, whose sense of humour alone would have afforded him much pleasure, extended over a period of at least seventeen years: Leute was completed in 1862, the History of New York acquired in 1879. But that this was a sustained or intense interest has yet to be shown.

FREDERICK MARRYAT:

Two books by Marryat also found their way into Raabe's library: The dog fiend or Snarleyyow and the German version of Masterman Ready: Sigismund Rüstig, der Bremer Steuermann. Ein neuer Robinson.¹ The latter bears the date 3.4.76; the former was apparently acquired in the same year.² The first reference to a work by Marryat occurs in Deutscher Adel, which was begun on 15.8.76. Here again only the informed reader - in this case the reader who is aware of the full title of the tale in question - can understand the reference. Achtermann,³ the proprietor of a lending library, playfully scolds Wassermann, a pet dog:

'... Soll ich dir wieder einmal ein Kapitel aus Snarleyyow vorlesen, um deine Moral zu verbessern und deine Begriffe von Anstand aufzufrischen?'

As it happens, Snarleyyow and Wassermann have certain things in common: the latter is 'ein tölpischer, graugelber, ganz gemeiner Köter',⁴ while the former is described as 'ugly in colour for he was of a dirty yellow ... ugly in face ... ugly in shape'.⁵ Moreover, there is an unsuccessful attempt to drown both dogs, and in both instances the scene of the crime is a canal.⁶

1. Frei für die deutsche Jugend bearbeitet. 13th edition, Leipzig (Teubner), n.d.

2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.13, p.452 (note to 177,18).

3. II,5,191.

4. *ibid.*, loc.cit.

5. Snarleyyow, London & New York, 1873, p.2.

6. II,5,197 & Snarleyyow, ed.cit. (note 5 above), pp.36 & 57.

According to Jensch,¹ the term 'Mutter Careys Küken', which occurs in Gutmanns Reisen² some thirteen years later, also stems from Marryat, but the exact source is not given. It is in fact by no means certain that Raabe learned it from Marryat.³ Sealsfield, whom Raabe had almost certainly read by then,⁴ wrote in Morton:⁵ '... doppelten das Cap Horn. Sahen da der verdammten Mutter Careys Hühner ...'. An explanatory footnote suggests that when this edition appeared (i.e. in 1846) even the orthodox meaning of the words was not very well known. The storm to which Raabe alludes is in fact one of anger: '... leider verabsäumte der Onkel, auf die Mutter Careys Küken, die über die reine Kinderstirn flitzten, ... zu achten'. Perhaps by the beginning of the nineties, when Gutmanns Reisen was being written, readers were less likely to be puzzled by the expression. But whether this was so or not, its use is hardly evidence of the writer's knowledge of Marryat.

That one of Marryat's tales was widely read, particularly by young people, is implied in Akten (30.6.93 - 18.7.95), where it forms part of a kind of series: on Velten Andres' bookshelf are Latin and Greek texts from his schooldays, as well as literature ranging 'von

1. op.cit., p.65.

2. III,4,299.

3. The English term does occur in Midshipman Easy (v. O.E.D.).

4. v. p.322 below.

5. p.13.

Robinson über den Steuermann Sigismund Rüstig und die Lederstrumpferzählungen bis zu den billigen Volksausgaben der deutschen Klassiker'.¹ Possibly Raabe's own early reading included Sigismund Rüstig, even though he may not have acquired a copy of it until he was forty-four. (Similar evidence of Marryat's popularity is to be found in a passage from Gaudy's Der moderne Paris,² in which a number of landlubbers find themselves aboard ship: 'Aeltere Damen recapitulirten die technischen Ausdrücke, welche ihr Gehirn nach dem Studium des Cooper, Eugène Sue und Marryat verzettelt und verkrümelt bewahrte'.)

The books mentioned in the above quotation from Akten are described as 'Weihnachts- und Geburtstagsliteratur'. It is interesting in this connection to note that Raabe received from the Ramdohr'sche Buchhandlung in Brunswick a bill³ dated 24.12.1903, and that among the items listed was Sigismund Rüstig. He also appears to have bought Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales as Christmas and birthday gifts, probably for his small grandson Kurt Wasserfall.⁴

1. III,5,379.

2. ed.cit., p.115.

3. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr.27 Varia II'.

4. Diary entry, 27.3.1905; and in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig (under 'H III 10 Nr.27 Varia II'): bills from the Ramdohr'sche Buchhandlung dated 27.3.1905, 19.12.1905, 24.3.1906, 14.12.1906, & 18.12.1907. Kurt Wasserfall was born on 30.3.1896.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER:

In Leute¹ Fritz Wolf, alias Frederic Warner, tells his audience about life in America,

'und was man so oft in mehr oder weniger gelungenen Schilderungen, in Sealsfield oder Cooper gelesen hatte, mußte erblassen vor dem lebendigen Wort'.

Subsequent references to Red Indians, scalping, and other characteristic features of the early American scene² may reflect the author's reading either of Cooper or of his European successors. (During the latter half of the 19th century the vocabulary of the backwoods was to be found in a variety of contexts, as can be seen, for example, from Freytag's Soll und Haben,³ Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen,⁴ and Heinrich Seidel's Leberecht Hühnchen.⁵) Raabe was certainly interested in Sealsfield and may well have learned a great deal from him. He acquired both Das Kajütenbuch⁶ and - in the year in which it was published - Leo Smolle's Charles Sealsfield.⁷ Aware of this interest, Pongs⁸ repeats the view that one feature of the language of the dying forester in the Chronik⁹ was taken from Das Kajütenbuch. It should, however, be pointed out that this feature - the omission of pronominal subjects at the beginning of a sentence - is not

1. I,5,90. 2. v.I,5,94; III,2,85; III,2,230; III,4,304.

3. vol.1, p.214; cf. vol.2, p.156.

4. vol.1, pp.174 & 186; cf. vol.2, p.385.

5. ed.cit., p.132.

6. Leipzig, n.d.; date of acquisition unknown.

7. Vienna, 1875; acquired 11.8.75.

8. p.92; v. J.Bass, 'Wilhelm Raabe und Charles Sealsfield', Eckart, vol.7, Berlin, 1912-13, pp.504-08.

9. I,1,37.

confined to this particular novel.¹ Similarly, there is no reason to assume, as one critic has done,² that the expression 'an indian file',³ was taken from Nathan.⁴ A more plausible assumption⁵ is that the words 'we are in a free country',⁶ constitute a quotation from Morton,⁷ where a chapter heading reads 'Das Lever des alten Stephy/oder/We are in a free country'.⁸

'Der Indianer stieß den Verwunderungsruf seines Volkes aus'.⁹ The reader of Leute is told no more about this typical cry of surprise. But in Christoph Pechlin¹⁰ the author is more explicit. Sir Hugh Slidderly has received a shock. Prompted perhaps by the baronet's Christian name, Raabe writes: 'Er rief: "Hugh!" wie ein Indianer in einem Cooperschen Romane' - a remark which, as can be seen from a later work,¹¹ refers to

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1. v. Nathan, chap.1.
 2. v. addenda to Jensch, op.cit., in Mitteilungen, 1926, 1928, 1929 & 1931.
 3. Alte Nester, II,6,40.
 4. In chap.1, to which the critic refers, the words 'im sogenannten Indian file' occur. O.E.D. traces the expression 'Indian file' back to 1791 (i.e. before Sealsfield was born), and points out that Walter Scott used it in 1814. In Raabe's novel the expression is used by a boy who, as the narrator puts it, 'seine amerikanischen Abenteuerromane englisch las'. The North American Indians' practice of marching in single file is mentioned in two earlier works (I,5,126, & II,4,309).
 5. v. note 2, above.
 6. I,5,414.
 7. v. pp. 92-93 above.
 8. Part 1, chap.6; the phrase is repeated and varied at several points in this chapter; cf. Das Cajütenbuch, vol.2, p.301.
 9. I,5,126-27.
 10. II,2,371.
 11. v. p.325 below.

novels by and not simply in the manner of Cooper.

The purchases which Raabe made between 1905 and 1907 throw no light on his writings.¹ Nor can one infer from Professor Drüding's confession to Theodor Rodburg in Prinzessin Fisch² -

'Von Tag zu Tag komme ich mir mehr wie jener Coopersche Lederstrumpf vor, dessen Abenteuer ich dir dann und wann leider zu konfiszieren hatte' -

that the author was familiar with the entire Leatherstocking series. The generic use of 'Lederstrumpf' in Goltz's Typen der Gesellschaft³ and the adoption of the term as a nickname for Bemperlein in Problematische Naturen⁴ suggest that, like 'Der letzte Mohikaner',⁵ it had become virtually a household word by the time Raabe came to write Prinzessin Fisch (16.2.81 - 14.3.82). Moreover, it should not be forgotten that during the period under discussion other writers (e.g. Schücking,⁶ Freytag,⁷ Fontane⁸) refer quite freely, if obliquely, to works by Cooper, and to the Leatherstocking tales in particular. Nevertheless, Raabe owned and appears to have known at least two of the five tales, The Last of the Mohicans and The Pathfinder,⁹ and in later years he refers to the former in some detail. Heinrich Schaumann, in a

1. v. p.321, note 4, above. 2. II,6,423.
 3. ed.cit., vol.2, p.34. 4. vol.1, p.137.
 5. v. p. 194 above.
 6. Verschlungene Wege, ed.cit., vol.1, p.238.
 7. Soll und Haben, vol.1, p.163.
 8. Quitt, p.138, & Der Stechlin, p.399; cf. further references in Spielhagen's Prob.Nat., vol.1, pp.16,44,174,420.
 9. A diary entry for 18.2.64 - 'Bei Lewi Cooper, Pathfinder' - may refer to the purchase of this copy; v. p. 160 above.

lengthy passage in Stopfkuchen,¹ likens the situation in which Tinchen Quakatz found herself as a child to the predicament of Cora and Alice when they take refuge in a cavern.² The speaker applies Cooper's term of contempt, 'Mingo', to Tinchen's brutal father, whose war-whoop portended danger, but whose malevolence was generally weaker than his penchant for fire-water. When Quakatz was on the rampage, his daughter would hide, placing a bottle of spirits for him on the kitchen table beforehand - an action which showed that Tinchen was much more akin to Cora than to Alice:

'Damals wußte ich es noch nicht so und hielt mich mehr als mir zukam für den edlen, urwilderfahrenen Lederstrumpf. Aber die Hauptsache war natürlich, daß der Alte die Flasche fand. So wie wir sein "Hugh" vor ihr hörten, waren wir einmal noch gerettet'.

Schaumann subsequently addressed Quakatz in a manner described as 'sagamorenhaft', a term not strictly applicable to the former's rôle of Leatherstocking but which, since it implies both bravery and cunning, is not out of keeping with Raabe's context. A more striking liberty is taken with The Pathfinder in Akten.³ (The title of Cooper's novel had been included in Büchmann's Geflügelte Worte⁴ more than ten years before, but Raabe's reference is not as undifferentiated as is his use

1. III,5,122-23.

2. The Last of the Mohicans, chap.6 et seq.

3. III,5,239.

4. 13th edition, Berlin, 1882.

of the household term 'Der letzte Mohikaner' in Horacker, which is discussed elsewhere.¹⁾ Two young boys, both of whom have read Cooper's tales,² are awaiting the arrival of a little girl from America. Young Velten remarks:

'Aus den beiden dummen Engländerinnen, Cora und Alice, mache ich mir gar nichts, ... aber wenn diese Neue rot, grün, gelb und blau angemalt käme, wie Junitau im Pfadfinder, dann wär' ... mal was Neues hier bei uns in der ewigen Langweilerei aus dem Kokon gekrochen'.

A little earlier Raabe had implied that it was to children's editions of the Leatherstocking tales that the boys owed their knowledge of America.³ Possibly Velten's picture of Dew-of-June stems from an edition of this kind. In Cooper's text she does not appear in any such colours. In view of the extreme youth of the speaker, however, this apparent inaccuracy cannot be said to reflect upon Raabe's own memory of the novel in question. Nevertheless, since all other passages relating to Cooper can be explained by reference to The Last of the Mohicans, there is no strong reason for assuming that Raabe knew The Pathfinder well. Renard subtil and the noble Uncas, brave Major Heyward, proud black-haired Cora and sweet, fair-haired Alice, all of whom are mentioned in Akten at one point,⁴ are all figures from The Last of the Mohicans. When, therefore, Raabe describes Cooper's

1. v. p. 194 above.

2. III, 5, 235 & 379.

3. III, 5, 235.

4. III, 5, 235-36.

America in the same paragraph as 'das Land der Langen Flinte, der Großen Schlange...', it is clearly this novel which is uppermost in his mind, even though the names 'la Longue Carabine' and 'le Gros Serpent' or 'Big Serpent' also occur elsewhere in the Leatherstocking tales. Evidently playing with some of the names mentioned, Raabe asserts that certain Germans who emigrate to America are well equipped to cope with and even to bamboozle 'Messrs. Longbow, Snake, Renard and Company'. Exactly why he chose the form 'Longbow', which is not among Natty Bumppo's aliases, is not clear. A literal translation of 'Lange Flinte' was perhaps considered an unlikely surname. That 'Große Schlange' should reappear as 'Snake' strengthens an impression already created by the use of German instead of French terms - that Raabe was more familiar with a translation of Cooper than with the original, in which Chingachgook is generally called 'Serpent'.¹

In view of these references and allusions in Akten it seems reasonable to suppose that the Americanisms which occur later in the novel (particularly since the speaker is young Velten - '... zieh mir die Kopfhaut ab, Mamsell Squaw...' ² -) derive from Cooper rather than from one of his imitators.

Raabe suggests in Akten that many German youths had been lured

1. That this is not always the case can be seen, for example, in The Pioneers (chap.14), where the old Indian calls himself 'the Great Snake'.

2. III,5,265.

across the Atlantic by impressions received from the Leatherstocking tales, impressions of 'jener wundervollen, lügenhaft-wahren Kinder-Urwaldswelt'.¹ Although he may have viewed this deceptive world with mixed feelings, his memories of it were clearly quite vivid, and he seems to have had no qualms about its effects on his small grandson.²

Stopfkuchen and Akten contain the only detailed references to Cooper in Raabe's writings. Possibly these passages were the result of a renewed acquaintance with The Last of the Mohicans, if not with the companion stories. Stopfkuchen was completed when Raabe was fifty-eight, Akten some five years later, not long before the end of his writing career. The description of the last days of Velten Andres may well reflect the writer's own habits at the time. The Leatherstocking tales were among the childhood books which remained on Velten's shelf at home for many years. Shortly before his death in distant Berlin he spent much of his time reading

'alles, was ihm einmal gefallen hat in seiner Kindheit und Jugend, und immer aus den alten, schmierigen, ekligen, zerrissenen Bänden von Olims Zeiten'.³

No titles are mentioned. But that Cooper was among the authors to whom Velten returned is a reasonable surmise. That Raabe's reading

1. III, 5, 235-36.

2. v. p. 321 above.

3. III, 5, 413.

was similar does not appear improbable. Some fifteen years later, during his last illness, he did in fact return to the authors whom he already knew well.¹

1. Fehse, Raabe, p.620, mentions 'die Abenteuerromane des älteren Dumas, Immermanns "Münchhausen", Schillers Werke usw.'

E. BULWER LYTTON:

Only one of Lord Lytton's works¹ found its way into Raabe's library: Pelham: or, the Adventures of a gentleman. It bears the owner's signature, but the date of its acquisition is not known. Possibly he acquired it before his removal to Stuttgart in 1862.² There is nothing in his writings to suggest that he knew the novel, apart from one reference to its hero in Die Kinder von Finkenrode³ (3.12.57 - 12.7.58). On the other hand the diary indicates that shortly before he started to write Die Kinder von Finkenrode Raabe was reading Ernest Maltravers, a work to which he does not refer at any time, but which - since he appears to have persevered with it⁴ - was perhaps to his taste. At least it seems unlikely that the main criticism of Lytton in Sealsfield's Das Cajütenbuch⁵ is one which Raabe would have made: '... er prunkt ... gar zu sehr mit seinem Wissen'.

Gutzkow's indirect tribute to Lytton - the publication in 1837 of Die Zeitgenossen: ihre Schicksale, ihre Tendenzen, ihre großen Charaktere as a translation of one of his works⁶ - is a striking

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1. The memoir on Byron in Raabe's copy of The Poetical Works of Lord Byron, London, 1849, is by Lytton's elder brother, Henry.
 2. v. pp. 159 & 161 above.
 3. II, 2, 55-56.
 4. Entries for 14. & 15.11.57; on the second day Raabe wrote down the title of the second part of the novel: 'Alice'.
 5. Part 2, pp. 328-29: the criticism is of Alice in particular and of Lytton's novels in general - "'Nur sein Pelham ist ganz gut, alle seine anderen Romane sind es nur halb"'.
 6. v. Muncker, p. 37.

illustration of the English writer's popularity in Germany during the first half of the 19th century. In the thirties Friedrich Notter, whom Raabe later came to know in Stuttgart, collaborated with Gustav Pfizer in translating Lytton's novels;¹ and the author of the Sittenbuch defers to him as an authority on the English and their behaviour.² Fückler-Muskau³ had already pointed out that Lytton was one writer from whom 'eine ziemlich richtige Idee der englischen fashionablen Gesellschaft' could be gleaned, referring to him not by name but by the title 'Verfasser des Pelham'. It seems that Pelham, rather than The Last Days of Pompeii, was the work for which Lytton was best known, and that the name 'Pelham' came to denote a certain kind of person and appearance. It is in this sense that Raabe uses the term 'das Pelhamsche Gesicht' in Die Kinder von Finkenrode, a term whose meaning becomes clear in the light of the following remarks from Djordjewitsch's study of Sealsfield:⁴

'Rambleton darf sich vieler Eigenschaften des Byronhelden rühmen: er ist nicht nur schön, sondern auch blaß, mit exklusiven Zügen, dabei hochmütig und indifferent. Er hat "etwas phantastisch-träumerisch-romantisches in seinem Wesen, etwas von jener zerrissen-sein-wollenden Stimmung, die wir byronisch nennen möchten ... ferner einiges Bulwer-Pelhamisches"⁵ ... Eine andere Art ... stellt Erwin Dish vor, der kalte, zynische, skrupellose New-Yorker Dandy ... Er

1. Edward Lytton Bulwer's Sämtliche Romane, Stuttgart, 1838-39; v. K. Fricker, op.cit., p.11.

2. Sittenbuch, pp.306-07; cf. *ibid.*, pp.12 & 73.

3. Briefe eines Verstorbenen, p.401 (letter 24).

4. op.cit., pp.46-47.

5. Neue Land- und Seebilder, Zürich, 1839-40, vol.3, p.17.

... ist Geldmann und Frauenverehrer zugleich. Stolz auf sein blasses Gesicht und seine blauen Augenringe, ist er, wie Rambleton ..., byronisch, oder noch genauer Bulwer-Pelhamisch'.

The narrator in Raabe's novel describes 'das, was die Stadt Finkenrode an ältern und jüngern "Herren" aufzuweisen hat'. He concludes:

'Die Menschheit ist sehr eintönig bei aller Mannigfaltigkeit. Der Pastor Primarius Wachtel wird nie beim Whistspiel à la Voltaire lächeln; der Supernumerar Hänsele mag noch so viel vor seinem Spiegel das Pelhamsche Gesicht studieren, er wird es doch niemals zustande bringen; und die echte Dummheit ist lange nicht so selten, als die echte Blasiertheit.-'

'Pelham' here is reminiscent of those figures from literature which have been described elsewhere as 'geflügelte Typen',¹ and it would therefore be rash to infer from this passage that the writer was familiar with the work from which the type was taken. Some of the other evidence presented above does, however, show not only that the reference to Pelham was in all likelihood based on some immediate knowledge of Lytton's novel, but also, once again, that Raabe's reading extended beyond the testimony of his writings.

1. v. pp. 202 & 214 above.

EDGAR ALLAN POE:

Raabe began his diary on 1.10.57. A month later (6.11.57) he recorded the title of Poe's Tales and Sketches. Presumably he had been reading the tales, and this had been a memorable experience: beside the title he wrote 'Remember!', a word which appears on several occasions in those early days (e.g. 4.9.58, 23.9.58, 16.11.58) and which evidently relates to the words which immediately precede it.¹

Further evidence of an interest in Poe is to be found in two letters written to Raabe in 1875.² In the first of these, dated 23.4.75, Caecilie Kapp mentioned sending 'eine Monatsschrift, die das Beste über Edgar Poe gebracht hat'; and on 5.5.75 she wrote: 'Über Poe hab ich alles nachgesucht was existiert', and said she would post to Raabe a recent number of The Nation in which there was 'ein Artikel, der allerhand anregt'.³ In the same letter the writer also referred to biographies of Poe. Eight months later (12.1.76) Raabe acquired The Poetical Works. It was not until 23.9.82, however, that he added further writings by Poe to his library,⁴ and over five more years were to elapse before he began Der Lar, in which there is explicit reference to Poe. Kohl, a young newspaper reporter, has been sent to collect

1. v.K.Heim, op.cit., p.13; also Pongs, p.301, where the word occurs in Marie Jensen's poem to Raabe on his birthday in 1869; cf. W.L.Hertslet, Der Treppenwitz der Weltgeschichte, 8th edition, Berlin, 1912, p.389.

2. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr.6'; v pp.459-60 below.

3. This was presumably 'Edgar Allan Poe' by W.J.Stillman, The Nation, vol.20, New York, 1875, pp.208-09.

4. v. p.162 above.

information about a murder, and returns to town with his pocket-book full of material for an article. In the market-place he meets Rosine, who is on her way home with a Christmas tree for her neighbour, Schnarrwergk. Schnarrwergk, a retired veterinary surgeon, is Kohl's godfather and, as Kohl believes, his anonymous benefactor. But he has repelled his godson by his extremely gruff behaviour. The old man's most treasured possession - the lar of the novel - is a stuffed ape. The allusion in the following lines seems meaningful only if the reader knows of the gruesome activity of a similar beast in the tale mentioned:¹

"... Er (der Christbaum) is für meinen Nachbar Schnarrwergk!"
 "Für den paßt er freilich gerade so himmlisch wie zu - wie zu dem Inhalt meiner Briefftasche ..."
 "... es wird schönes Zeug darin stehen."
 "Das tut es!" rief der Berichterstatter ... "Edgar Allan Poe haben Sie natürlich auch nicht gelesen. Was geht uns der Mord in der Rue Morgue an? ... Vivat der alte Orang-Utang und Tier- und Menschenwohltäter Pate Schnarrwergk! Also vor dessen Lar und Pithecus wollen Sie das kleine Bäumlein mit Lichtern bestecken...?"

The Rue Morgue is mentioned again later,² but since the speaker is simply referring to the local murder (which has nothing in common with the events described by Poe) the reference appears to have very little point. Raabe probably knew the tale from his reading of the Tales and Sketches.³

1. III,3,275.

2. III,3,282.

3. Tales and Sketches, London, 1852, includes The Murders in the Rue Morgue, and also "The Raven". Caecilie Kapp mentions the poem in her letter of 23.4.75 (v. p. 460 below). In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig - under 'H III 10 Nr.26 sonstige Varia' - a slip of paper, dated 13.10.91, bears the quotation 'In there stepped the stately Raven/of the saintly days of yore./ E.A.Poe'.

HARRIET BEECHER-STOWE:

A diary entry (20.8.60: 'Trübe. - Bei Schmidtphis. - Onkel Toms Hütte...'), and a reference to Uncle Tom (19.8.76) in the draft of Deutscher Adel¹ indicate that Raabe knew Beecher-Stowe's book, but it is not clear how well he knew it. That he thought highly of it is suggested by the context in which the name occurs in the draft:

'Jede (Schneeflocke) ist ein Kunstwerck, und - ein Kunstwerck entsteht auch in jeglichem Herunterkommen des Menschen; und wie der Zeichner die Schneeflocke zeichnet, so legt der Dichter den Oedipus, den Macbeth, den Faust und den edeln Hidalgo Don Quijote fest auf das Papier. So schafft er den Onkel Tom und den Korporal Trim, den armen Peter Schlemihl - '.

Raabe was evidently in the habit of referring to his old friend Gustav Spieß as 'Tom'² or 'Onkel Tom'.³ Spieß was one of a small circle to which Raabe belonged in his late youth. Another member of this group was Karl von Schmidt-Phiseldeck.⁴ It seems not unlikely that the diary entry mentioned above refers to a meeting at which Uncle Tom's Cabin was read or discussed, and that it was some such meeting which led to Spieß's being given his nickname. The group had 'ernsthafte Auseinandersetzungen über alle Fragen des Lebens'.⁵ Since the diary entry antedated Lincoln's election as president by less than

1. v. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.13, p.417.

2. In alls gedultig, 18.8.62.

3. ibid., 9.10.1906.

4. v. Fehse, Raabe, p.77.

5. ibid., loc.cit.

three months, it may perhaps be taken as a reflection of a then quite widespread interest in the question of American slavery. There can be little doubt that people's attention would have been drawn again to Beecher-Stowe's relatively recent and very well known novel.¹

1. v. G.E. Maclean, Uncle Tom's Cabin in Germany (Americana Germanica, vol.10), New York, 1910.

CHARLOTTE YONGE:

There is an isolated reference, in Deutscher Adel,¹ (15.8.76 - 21.8.77), to 'Miß Yonge', described as 'die Verfasserin des "Erben von Redcliffe"'. She is one of five English woman novelists - the others are Margaret Oliphant, Ouida,² Jemima Tautpheous, and Anne Thackeray - to whom Wedehop refers when listing 'Eure beliebtesten deutschen Lieblingsschriftsteller'. The words occur in a letter to Achtermann, the proprietor of a lending library. Raabe's own displeasure at the popularity of foreign writers with the contemporary reading public in Germany is clearly reflected here. Possibly the letter-writer, a professional translator giving instructions for the sale of his books, thinks more kindly of some of the authors mentioned than of others:

'... Los auf die Verfasserin des "Erben von Redcliffe", Achtermann! Versilbere die englische Maid ... versilbere Mrs. Oliphant und gib Ouida in den Kauf ... und vergiß mir vor allen Dingen nicht, Miß Thackeray zu versilbern'.

Of none of them does he seem to think at all highly. There is no reason to suppose that Raabe - who had read Charlotte Yonge's Hopes and Fears³ and who presumably also knew something of the other writers - did not sympathize with Wedehop's attitude towards their work.

1. II, 5, 298.

2. cf. H. Seidel, op.cit., p. 248: 'Na, ... Schillern und Kotzebuen und Ouida'n kennt jeder'.

3. Diary entries for 4.1.63 & 6.1.63.

THACKERAY:

Nowhere in his writings does Raabe mention Thackeray, who is believed to have been one of his favourite novelists.¹ But in his well known letter to W.Kosch² the writer, who worked in a book-shop in Magdeburg from 1849 until 1853, tells of his early interest in English authors:

'speziell mit ihnen habe ich mich aber erst in Magdeburg beschäftigt, besonders mit Thackeray. Dem zu liebe habe ich dort englisch gelernt und Pendennis ist das einzige Buch der Art gewesen, welches ich mir damals käuflich erwarb.'

(Pendennis first appeared in 1849-50, the date printed in the Tauchnitz edition in Raabe's library.)

Referring to Warrington's famous apostrophe to the press,³ G.N. Ray writes:⁴

'When budding writers read Pendennis, such a passage as this opened their eyes to the importance of their profession; and they identified themselves with Pen and Warrington'.

Professor Ray quotes Yates:

'"I was encouraged to hope that I might succeed, perhaps more than anything else, by reading the career of Pendennis ... When, in the course of Pen's fortunes, he enters upon the literary career, ... when I came to this portion of the book my fate was sealed."

Raabe's reactions appear to have been similar, if not as extreme. For he explains to Kosch his early preoccupation with Pendennis by saying:

'Der junge werdende Autor darin reizte mich eben schon. - 0'

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1. v. H.A.Krüger, Der junge Raabe, ed.cit., pp.34-35; and Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.6. Raabe mentions Thackeray's daughter in Deutscher Adel, v. p. 337 above.
 2. In alls gedultig, 27.2.1909; v. p. 312 above.
 3. v. The Oxford Thackeray, London, 1908, vol.12, pp.390-91.
 4. Thackeray The Age of Wisdom, London, 1958, pp.115-16.

Thackeray died on 24.12.1863, and his death is recorded in Raabe's diary for the following day. This entry and the letter quoted above are the only clear indications of the writer's interest in the author of 'the first Bildungsroman in English fiction'.¹ Possibly what Ray terms the 'mood of reflective reminiscence'² in the earlier part of Pendennis encouraged Raabe to develop the reminiscence technique³ which is characteristic of his work from the Chronik to Altershausen. Possibly Raabe's attempts at writing a Bildungsroman resulted in part from his impressions of Pendennis. Certainly some of the parallels which have been drawn between Raabe and Thackeray are interesting:⁴ they show that the young writer may have learned a great deal from his senior, and that there was clearly an appreciable affinity between the two. The tendency to over-stress the importance of Thackeray in Raabe's development is exemplified by statements such as that to the effect that Raabe's habit of re-introducing characters from his earlier stories 'dürfte auf Thackeray zurückgehen'⁵ - or that Thackeray 'greift ... in des Dichters geistige Struktur ein, vor allem in die Entwicklung

1. G.N. Ray, op.cit., p.110.

2. ibid., p.119.

3. v. R.Pascal, 'The Reminiscence Technique in Raabe', The Modern Language Review, vol.49, London, 1954, pp.339-348.

4. v. pp.479-82 below, nos 1,4,12,30,36,47, & 64.

5. Eggebrecht, op.cit., p.66. Eggebrecht refers here to Junge, op.cit., p.62, who expressed himself more cautiously.

seines sozialen Gewissens'.¹ Contentions of this kind need rephrasing. Even the results of K.L. Albaugh's study² of the relationship between Raabe and Thackeray do not encourage such boldness.

1. Werner Meyer, Die Bedeutung der Armut im Leben und Werk Wilhelm Raabes, Bâle, 1951, p.118.

2. v. K.L. Albaugh, The Influence of W.M. Thackeray on Wilhelm Raabe (Abstracts of Dissertations, vol.16, Stanford University, 1940-41, pp.98-101).

DICKENS:

Very little is to be learned from the works by Dickens which Raabe included in his library. For example, his Master Humphrey's Clock and Nicholas Nickleby were both acquired shortly before he ceased to write and long after he had made his last explicit reference to Dickens. This reference¹ is in the form of a critical, debatable remark apparently based on a comprehensive knowledge of Dickens' development:

'Die meisten meiner Herren Kollegen auf diesem Felde der Kunst - auch die Größesten, die Walter Scott und Charles Dickens - hatten sich um diese Lebenszeitstunde schon ausgeschrieben, wiederholten sich und waren Manieristen geworden'.

Raabe was sixty at the time, and felt that although he had not become mannered his days as a writer were numbered. Some years before this (in 1878 and 1880) he had acquired Oliver Twist and Dombey and Son. The former novel finds virtually no echo in either the writings or the correspondence which followed.² But, as Doernenburg and Fehse rightly point out,³ in some respects Dombey and Son resembles Fabian und Sebastian (19.1.80 - 13.2.81). Sebastian Pelzmann, like Paul Dombey senior, is selfish and unfeeling, a prosperous businessman whose energies are primarily devoted to the running of a firm which bears his family name.⁴ Like James Carker⁵ he at one time seduced a poor girl who was subsequently punished by the courts: Alice Marwood, like Marianne

1. In alls gedultig, 4.1.92; v. p.312 above.

2. v.pp.347-48 below.

3. op.cit., p.23.

4. v.II,5,367,368,370,386; cf. Dombey and Son, chap.1.

5. v.II,5,519,523; cf. Dombey and Son, chap.53.

Erdener, 'was a short-lived toy, and flung aside more cruelly and carelessly than even such things are'. That there is also a concealed but deliberate allusion to Dombey and Son in Der Hungerpastor (6.11.62 - 3.12.63), as has been suggested,¹ seems less probable, despite certain parallels between young Paul Dombey and Hans Unwirrsch's eight-year-old friend Sophie. Both children die at an early age, and both speak on their deathbed of their dreams or hallucinations. But to say the resemblance between their respective hallucinations 'läßt wohl auf eine bewußte Berührung schließen'² is perhaps to say too much. The resemblance is very slight.³ Similarly, Paul is repeatedly described by various adults as 'old-fashioned', and Sophie, a serious child sensible beyond her years, is generally considered 'altklug; allein das war sie nicht. Ihre Gedanken ... waren echte Kindergedanken trotz aller Vernünftigkeit'.⁴ But there is surely no call to interpret this passage as a defence of little Paul.⁵ If it can simply be assumed that Raabe had read Dombey and Son by this time, there is no apparent reason for limiting such assumptions. Doernenburg and Fehse claim that in Leute, which was completed only five days before Raabe began Der Hungerpastor, there are echoes of The Old Curiosity Shop.⁶ If

1. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.34.

2. ibid., loc.cit.

3. v.I,1,231-32; & Dombey & Son, chap.16.

4. I,1,229, & Dombey & Son, chap.14.

5. Doernenburg & Fehse, op. et loc.cit.

6. op.cit., p.15.

this is so, the death of little Nell (Chapter 71) might deserve mention in connection with Sophie's untimely end. Conversely, the bankruptcy and subsequent breakdown of Mr. Dombey could be said to have a parallel in the financial collapse and ensuing madness of the banker Wienand in Leute.¹ And the relationship between Wienand and his daughter might be compared with that between Dombey and Florence. But unless they are made within a framework of ascertained facts (dates, explicit references, etc.), such observations are not necessarily relevant to an inquiry into Raabe's knowledge of Dickens.

The first obvious reference - 'Die Geister, die den alten Scrooge des Meisters Boz über die Weihnachtswelt führten' - is to be found in the Chronik.² The chronicler later recalls at some length³

'ein Märchen - ich weiß nicht wer es erzählt hat - von einem, der nach großem Unglück sich wünschte, die Erinnerung zu verlieren, und dem in einer dunkeln Nacht sein Wunsch gewährt ward'

- an echo, in all likelihood, of another Christmas tale, The Haunted Man.⁴ The last of Raabe's published works in which his interest in Dickens is clearly expressed is Deutscher Adel (15.8.76 - 21.8.77). Here the writer twice refers to Dickens' death, an event which - however disenchanted he may have been even at that stage - obviously distressed

1. I, 5, 418, 421, 426-27, 443-44, & Dombey & Son, chapters 58, 59, & 61; v. Pongs, p.170.

2. I, 1, 45.

3. I, 1, 152.

4. The presence in Raabe's library of A Christmas Carol, Leipzig, 1843 (v. p. 160 above) and Weihnachtserzählungen, Berlin, 1908, is perhaps evidence of a long standing interest in these tales.

him. The fact that Dickens is 'tot seit dem neunten Juni' - the action takes place during the Franco-Prussian War - contributes to the depression of Karl Achtermann, proprietor of a lending library, at the beginning of the tale.¹ And when Paul Ferrari, an old eccentric, dies, the writer's admiration of Dickens finds expression in a brief but cordial phrase. Wedehop, a professional translator, is moved at the sight of Ferrari's corpse:

"Down at last!" murmelte der Übersetzer. Das war das letzte Wort eines Mannes, der durch seine Phantasie Vieles und Großes auf dieser Erde ausgerichtet hat. Charles Dickens rief es, als er vom Schlage getroffen zusammenbrach. Ob er mit soviel Phantasie in diese Welt hinein geboren war wie der Pulvererfinder Paul Ferrari, das steht dahin.²

(Dickens' last words, according both to his daughter Mamie³ and to John Forster,⁴ were not those quoted above, but Raabe may well have been repeating a popular version of them. As the text stands, 'Down at last!'⁵ is more appropriate in every way than the apparently authentic 'On the ground'.)

The fact that A Christmas Carol was not published under the pseudonym 'Boz' adds in some measure to the impression already created by the relevant allusion in the Chronik quoted above:⁶ an allusion

1. II,5,191.

2. II,5,353.

3. My father as I recall him, London, (1897), p.122.

4. The Life of Charles Dickens, Book 12, chap.1.

5. The words are noted on p.14 of one of Raabe's notebooks (in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr.26: Sonstige Varia'); they are dated '25 Juni 1877' and crossed out, having been 'ben. 10 August'.

6. v. p.343 above.

which betokens an easy familiarity not only with the tale in question but also with its author - i.e., by implication, with at least some of his other writings. Perhaps, for example, Raabe already knew Martin Chuzzlewit. The copy in his library was published in 1844,¹ and when the title is mentioned incidentally in Leute² (21.10.61 - 1.11.62) the implication is that this is a book which people who are well-informed about America are bound to have read. It can be assumed that Raabe did not consider himself ill-informed.³ Apart from the passages in the Chronik, however, there is no clear evidence in his writings of a detailed knowledge of any work by Dickens. A letter to Wilhelm and Marie Jensen⁴ (dated 10.11.71) shows nevertheless that the absence of such evidence is not necessarily significant. Having read Jensen's violently anti-Jesuit, anti-Hapsburg novel Minatka,⁵ Raabe gently reproaches the author for having 'Deiner berechtigten Wut zu große Concessionen gemacht', and continues, according to Fehse's In alls gedultig:⁶ 'Graf Marek hat eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit Sir Leicester Dudley in Bleakhouse'. The similarity between Graf Mérek and Sir Leicester Dedlock is indeed striking. Like Sir Leicester, Mérek is an imposing figure whose characteristic dignity is the result of an

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1. Date of acquisition unknown; according to Doernenburg and Fehse, op. cit., p.5, Raabe acquired a copy of Martin Chuzzlewit in 1889.
 2. I,5,90; v. p.464 below. 3. v. chap. 2 above.
 4. In alls gedultig, 10.11.71.
 5. Brunswick, 1871. 6. loc.cit.

obsessive pride in the grandeur of his ancient lineage. Both these condescending aristocrats are foolish, harmless, and as upright as their idiosyncrasies will allow. Both are good masters who believe in keeping the lower orders in their place. Moreover Mérek, like Sir Leicester, marries a beautiful woman who does not really return his love and who, unknown to her grotesquely self-important husband, already has a daughter.¹ According to Doernenburg and Fehse² - whose interpretation of diary entries is at times perhaps a little free - Raabe read Bleak House at the beginning of 1868, though not for the first time. It is implied elsewhere³ that the narration of Drei Federn (3.1.64 - 7.4.65) in the first person⁴ - the tale is by several hands - may be one of the author's debts to Bleak House. If this is so, it should be remembered that Raabe's story is told entirely by its three principal figures (each contributes two chapters in the sequence ABCBCA), whereas in Dickens' novel the narrative is not in the hands of a character except when, at irregular intervals, it is taken up by Esther. The suggestion that Raabe may be indebted to Bleak House for at least one scene and one character in Horacker (10.6.75 - 13.12.75) is more plausible.⁵ In both novels the wretched

1. v.Minatka, ed.cit., vol.1, pp.17,40,41,123,125-26,179,188,190,199, 225,246-47,256, and vol.2, pp.120,144,233; & cf.Bleak House, chaps. 2,7,9,12,18,28,29,40,41,48,56.

2. op.cit., p.5.

3. ibid., p.51.

4. cf.pp.355-56 below.

5. ibid., p.22; cf. Boekhoff, op.cit., p.15.

plight of a dirty, ragged, half-starved youth is shown to be the responsibility of the community at large. Jo and Horacker are outcasts and fugitives, harmless, frightened, sick and tearful. Other similarities, though slight and perhaps fortuitous, are also of interest, if only because they are found in details which are not essential to the stereotyped situation of a poor lad in distress. For example, both boys speak in a hoarse voice,¹ both are at one stage revived by being given wine,² and both, when caught, fall and for a time remain lying on the ground.³ Earlier Esther's benevolent guardian had lodged Jo in 'the wholesome loftroom by the stable': Horacker is eventually put in the friendly vicar's 'Obstkammer' to sleep.⁴ Moreover, as Doernenburg and Fehse have suggested,⁵ the scene in which Windweibel chases Horacker has a close parallel in that depicting Allan Woodcourt's pursuit of young Jo.⁶ Possibly when he wrote the words '"Halt den Dieb!"' towards the beginning of the episode, Raabe was also thinking of Dickens' chapter heading 'Stop him!' - Jenny's repeated cry to Woodcourt, who then gives chase. (The hue-and-cry raised when Oliver Twist is mistaken for a pickpocket - '"Stop thief! Stop thief!" There is magic in the sound'⁷ - has also

1. v.II,1,458, & Bleak House, chap.11.

2. v.II,1,455-56, & Bleak House, chap.47.

3. v.II,1,491-502, & Bleak House, chap.46.

4. v.II,1,596, & Bleak House, chap.31.

5. op.cit., p.22.

6. v.II,1,490 et seq., & Bleak House, chap.46.

7. Oliver Twist, chap.10.

been mentioned in this connection,¹ although there is no certain evidence that Raabe knew Oliver Twist at the time in question.²⁾

Twelve years earlier, in 1863, Raabe apparently acquired Pickwick Papers and David Copperfield,³ copies of which are in his library.⁴ No information is available concerning the time or attention which Raabe may have devoted to Pickwick Papers, although Aurora Pogge's designs on Herr Mäuseler in Leute (21.10.61 - 1.11.62) have, for example, been likened to the situation which ultimately led to Mr. Pickwick's trial,⁵ and although the spirit of Dickens' book has been detected⁶ in Christoph Pechlin (1.8.71 - 17.9.72). More substantial is the evidence which suggests that Raabe probably knew David Copperfield quite well. According to his diary he was reading it when he began work on Die Leute aus dem Walde.⁷ But despite similarities between certain characters in this tale and in David Copperfield (e.g. Juliane von Poppen and Betsey Trotwood),⁸ it is not until Der Hungerpastor (6.11.62 - 3.12.63) and Abu Telfan

1. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., pp.21-22.

2. v. p.341 above.

3. Diary entry for 28.7.63: 'Bei Lewi "Pickwick u Copperfield.-'

4. Neither book bears a date of acquisition (v. p.160 above). In this connection v. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., pp.5 & 16, and Krit. Ausgabe, vol.6, p.484.

5. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.47.

6. ibid., p.48.

7. Entry for 25.10.61: 'Abds zu Haus: David Copperfield'; v.also Fehse, Raabe, p.190, & Pongs, p.165.

8. v.Pongs, pp.169-70.

(14.4.65 - 30.3.67) that any appreciable reflection of this reading can be seen. Again, vague and perhaps fortuitous similarities have occasionally been over-stressed. The heroes of Der Hungerpastor and David Copperfield, according to Fehse,¹ 'zeigen ... in ihrer Wesensart und der Linie ihrer Entwicklung eine Ähnlichkeit, die nicht zufällig sein kann' - a statement of doubtful validity, as a recent critic has indicated.² Similarly, the story of Emily and Steerforth is not unlike that of Kleophea and the evil Moses Freudenstein³ - but, as Boekhoff points out,⁴ seduction and abduction were such common themes by the time Raabe came to write that it would be ill-advised to search for a particular model. On one point, however, there is general agreement:⁵ that Steerforth's fate towards the end of David Copperfield (Chapter 55) led Raabe to introduce the shipwreck in the final chapters of Der Hungerpastor. This seems plausible, if only because the similarity is more specific than those already mentioned.

Three novels by Dickens may have provided the basis for Hans Unwirrsch's experiences as a charity school pupil:⁶ David Copperfield, Oliver Twist, and Nicholas Nickleby. Conditions in Dotheboys Hall in

1. Raabe, p.217; v.also Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.16, & Pongs, p.212.

2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6, p.485.

3. v.Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.16; also Boekhoff, op.cit., p.16, Junge, op.cit., p.19, Eggebrecht, op.cit., p.63.

4. op. et loc.cit.

5. v.Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., pp.16-17; Fehse, Raabe, p.217; Boekhoff, op.cit., p.12; & Pongs, p.223.

6. I,1,204 et seq.; v.Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.17.

fact bear a closer resemblance to those described by Raabe than do those prevailing in the schools to which young Copperfield was sent, and the latest editor of Der Hungerpastor¹ claims that the name of Unwirrsch's teacher, Silberlöffel, is also taken from Nicholas Nickleby. At the same time there is a striking similarity between the humiliation of the impecunious Mr. Mell during Copperfield's days at Salem House (Chapter 7) and the treatment meted out to poor Silberlöffel.

An examination of Abu Telfan has proved rather less fruitful, although attention has been drawn to two slight but perhaps significant similarities. When Mr. Dick fulfils Betsey Trotwood's prediction that he 'will distinguish himself yet', and a reconciliation takes place between Dr. Strong and his young wife Annie, Miss Trotwood 'walked gravely up to Mr. Dick ... and gave him a hug and a sounding kiss. ... "You are a very remarkable man, Dick!" said my aunt' (Chapter 45). Similarly, when Hagebucher, the man from Africa, shows his readiness to help a young friend in great distress, his middle-aged hostess 'faßte den Afrikaner an beiden Schultern und gab ihm einen herzhaften Schmatz.

"Sie sind ein Prachtmensch, Hagebucher!" sprach sie'.²

Further more, Raabe's hero helps the somewhat unkempt Professor Reihenschlager in his efforts to produce a Coptic grammar,³ a situation

1. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6, p.529.

2. II,1,361; v.Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., pp.20-21.

3. II,1,169 et seq.

which calls to mind that of Dickens' hero when he worked for the ill-attired Dr. Strong on the latter's dictionary.¹ And the relationship between Reihenschlager and his factotum Täubrich-Pascha is not unlike that between Dr. Strong and Mr. Dick.²

Similar echoes of David Copperfield occur occasionally in Raabe's other novels. There is no reason, for example, to query Junge's observation³ that the relationship between Pinnemann and the lawyer Hahnenberg in Drei Federn - written after Der Hungerpastor but before Abu Telfan - closely resembles that between Uriah Heep and Mr. Wickfield. And Miss Eddish's soulful diary entry in Christoph Pechlin some years later⁴ could have been modelled on the telegraphic effusions of Miss Mills's journal (Chapter 38).

In certain books - for instance Don Quixote⁵ - Raabe evidently had a lifelong interest. Whether David Copperfield can be numbered among these seems doubtful. Nevertheless, he knew it better perhaps than any other novel by Dickens. Moreover, the presence of a bookmark dated 1902⁶ in his library copy might be taken as a sign that he returned to it even in his old age, when he had virtually finished writing.

1. Chapter 36 et seq.

2. v.Doernenburg & Fehse, loc.cit.; also Boekhoff, op.cit., p.14.

3. op.cit., p.111.

4. II,2,267-68; the novel was written between 1.8.71 & 17.9.72.

5. v.Jensch, op.cit., p.63.

6. This is a leaf from Meyers Historisch-Geographischer Kalender, for February 7th, 1902. Included among the printed 'Tagesnotizen' is Dickens' birthday (1812). The illustration is 'Charles Dickens nebst Frau und Schwägerin. Nach dem Stich von C.H.Jeens. Zeichnung von D. Maclise 1843'.

As early as 1868, shortly after the publication of Abu Telfan, Wilhelm Jensen described his friend Raabe as 'den deutschen Dickens und Thackeray'.¹ A letter from Professor O. Behaghel, written in 1910, confirms the impression that Dickens and Raabe were regarded as writers of comparable qualities. Behaghel says that he intends to have one of his students write a dissertation on 'Wilhelm Raabe und Dickens', asks Raabe when he came to know the latter's work, what impression he received, 'und welches Ihr innerliches Verhältnis zu Dickens ist'.²

With reference to Carlyle³ and Dickens, Fritz Hartmann writes:⁴
 'Raabe leugnete nicht, von ihnen viel gelernt zu haben. Aber er behauptete doch immer dazu, daß er künstlerisch dem älteren Dumas^{am meisten} zu verdanken habe ...'

Of the critics concerned with Raabe's indebtedness to Dickens, only Doernenburg and Fehse have examined the novelists' works in detail.⁵ Earlier critics, notably Junge⁶ and Geissendoerfer,⁷ largely confine themselves to the discussion of features which are not peculiar to Dickens. Geissendoerfer - who tends merely to echo Junge - observes, for example, that both novelists have 'ein scharfes Auge für die

1. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6, p.488.

2. Letter in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III Nr.6'.

3. Diary entries for 28.2.63 ('Carlyle Freder. the Gr. '), 1.3.63, 2.3.63, 4.3.63, & 21.12.1906 reflect Raabe's interest in Carlyle; in this connection v. p.159 & p.238, note 2, above.

4. F.Hartmann, Wilhelm Raabe Wie er war und wie er dachte, ed.cit., pp.31-32.

5. E.N.Gummer, Dickens' Works in Germany, 1837-1937, Oxford, 1940, pp. 94-102, summarizes Doernenburg and Fehse, and mentions one or two points made by later critics.

6. op.cit.

7. Dickens' Einfluss auf Ungern-Sternberg, Hesslein, Stolle, Raabe und Ebner-Eschenbach, University of Pennsylvania, 1915.

geringsten Kleinigkeiten des Lebens', and that both are fond of presenting eccentrics and characters 'die sich in engen Gesellschaftskreisen bewegen'.¹ His conclusion is that it is difficult to determine the extent of Dickens' influence on Raabe 'da neben dem Einfluss von Dickens der Einfluss von Sterne, Fielding und Thackeray einhergeht'.² Doernenburg and Fehse contend that Raabe derived from Dickens 'epische Verbindungslinien zwischen den Gestalten, den geometrischen Grundriß des Verhältnisses, in dem zwei, drei oder mehrere Gestalten zueinander stehen':

'Es ergeben sich daraus mehr oder minder große Ähnlichkeiten in den Situationen ... Dem Unbefangenen werden die Unterschiede bei diesen Berührungen viel stärker zu Bewußtsein kommen als die Übereinstimmungen. Wir selbst sind uns dabei darüber klar, daß nicht so sehr diese, sondern unsere Kenntnis vom Schaffen Raabes uns die Sicherheit unserer Nachweise gewährleistet'.³

The authors assume that Raabe read 'die Hauptwerke Dickens' bald nach ihrem Erscheinen',⁴ but whether in English or in translation has not been established.⁵ (According to other critics,⁶ most of this reading was probably done while Raabe was a student in Berlin in his early twenties.) Not until he was thirty, however, when he began to write his Bildungsromane,⁷ does Raabe appear to have developed a really keen interest in Dickens.

1. op.cit., p.17.

2. ibid., p.18.

3. op.cit., p.9.

4. ibid., pp.6 & 9.

5. ibid., p.56; v. also Krüger, Der junge Raabe, ed.cit., p.35.

6. Krüger, ibid., pp.34-35; Boekhoff, op.cit., p.9.

7. v. Doernenburg and Fehse, op.cit., pp.9 & 65; v. also Fehse, Raabe, pp.188-190, and H. Meyer, Der Typus des Sonderlings in der deutschen Literatur, ed.cit., p.183.

Under the heading "Der nachweisbare Einfluß Dickens' auf Raabe" Doernenburg and Fehse include 'die soziale Tendenz' in Ein Frühling¹ (1.10.56 - 27.5.57) and 'die Flucht eines jugendlichen Menschen auf die Landstraße ins Ungewisse hinaus' in Leute² (21.10.61 - 1.11.62). Many less general traits, themes and touches from specific works by Dickens are mentioned - e.g. from The Cricket on the Hearth, The Old Curiosity Shop, Martin Chuzzlewit, Dombey and Son - and attention has been drawn above to those which are of particular relevance. In the present context a number of otherwise interesting observations do not appear to merit discussion. For example, when the relationship between Warnefried Kohl and Dr. Schnarrwergk in Der Lar has been likened to that between young Martin Chuzzlewit and his grandfather,³ it is asserted 'daß sich hier die Abhängigkeit von Dickens in einem Einzelzuge noch deutlicher offenbart. Wie Martin Chuzzlewit seinen Enkel in der Not durch eine namenlos übersandte 20-Pfund-Note unterstützt, so sendet Schnarrwergk seinem Patenkind 600 Mark zu.' The incident in Martin Chuzzlewit⁴ is certainly similar to that in Der Lar.⁵ Nevertheless, to construe this similarity as clear evidence

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1. op.cit., p.13; v.also Fehse, Raabe, p.189, and Boekhoff, op.cit., p.49.
 2. op.cit., p.15; further parallels are drawn between Leute and Dickens' novels in Pongs, pp.169-170.
 3. op.cit., p.19; v.also Boekhoff, op.cit., p.12.
 4. Chapters 13 & 52.
 5. III,3,276,285, & 323-24.

not simply of Raabe's having read the novel in question but of his dependence upon it and, by strong implication, upon Dickens' writings in general, is imaginative but hardly warranted. (Moreover, such interpretations run counter to the critics' initial declaration: 'Nicht der Nachweis der Abhängigkeit kann das wissenschaftliche Ziel sein...'¹) There are perhaps no objective criteria by which to judge the degree of similarity necessary before conclusions such as that contained in the above quotation may be drawn. But it would seem that Doernenburg and Fehse were at times more ready to attach significance to coincidences than is consistent with dispassionate criticism, despite their assurances to the contrary.² It is suggested that in Abu Telfan (14.4.65 - 30.3.67), when the narrator expounds his right to be selective in telling a tale,³ a criticism of Dickens is implied.⁴ A number of the minor figures in Raabe's earlier works are considered Dickensian - 'behagliche Ausmalung einer komischen Außenseite, durchsichtige Abstempelung des Wesens, karikierte Sprache'⁵ - although they are more fully developed individuals than Dickens generally portrays. Raabe's stress on the outward appearance of his characters at this stage;⁶ his tendency in certain works to avoid narrative in

1. op.cit., pp.4-5.

2. ibid., p.24.

3. II,1,377.

4. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.27.

5. ibid., p.34.

6. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.39; v.also Boekhoff, op.cit., p.26.

the first person; his attacks on bigotry and hypocrisy; his repetition of certain phrases as a means of individualization; his penchant for caricature and for comic situations:¹ - all are included among the writer's more or less conscious reminiscences of Dickens. At the same time, a passage in Leute (in support of the thesis that there are eccentrics, as Raabe puts it, 'die sich durch nichts Auffälliges von den übrigen Menschen abheben'²) is taken by Doernenburg and Fehse to be "eine klare Kritik der komischen Charakterzeichnung Dickens' ... und ist wohl auch sicher mit bewußtem Hinblick auf diesen niedergeschrieben".³ Despite the material adduced in Raabe und Dickens, the authors come to a modest conclusion, mindful perhaps of their own introduction:⁴

'Was uns bei der wissenschaftlichen Feststellung einer Beeinflussung interessiert, ist im letzten Grunde gleichbedeutend mit der Feststellung der geistigen Selbständigkeit des betreffenden Künstlers'.

Whatever the particular features which impressed Raabe, the principal effect of his interest in Dickens' work was that it diverted him temporarily from his true path.

Later critics - e.g. Eggebrecht,⁵ Kientz,⁶ and Werner Meyer⁷ -

1. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.48.

2. I,5,51.

4. ibid., p.5.

6. op.cit.

3. op.cit., p.48.

5. op.cit.

7. op.cit.

have added little to the conclusions drawn by Doernenburg and Fehse.¹ Boekhoff agrees with his predecessors on a number of points.² Like Doernenburg and Fehse he suggests, for example, that the exploitation of Antonie Häußler by her grandfather in Der Schüdderump (22.10.67 - 8.6.69) may be rooted in the relationship between Ralph Nickleby and his niece Kate.³ On the whole, however, he is refreshingly sceptical with regard to the interpretation of apparent similarities, whether of situation, characterization, or narrative technique. A comment on Raabe's practice of turning to his reader and addressing him directly is symptomatic of Boekhoff's good sense. He writes that a 'Gesprächs-atmosphäre, die auf das ursprüngliche epische Grundverhältnis zwischen Erzähler und Hörer zurückgeht, wurde insbesondere vom humoristischen Roman nachdrücklich gefördert.

Für Raabes Gespräch mit dem Leser, wie auch für die übrigen Eigentümlichkeiten seines Erzählstils wird man deshalb auch nicht auf einzelne Vorbilder verweisen können und dürfen. Es geht hier im wesentlichen um typologische Entwicklungslinien, deren Einzelercheinungen Raabe vom Don Quixote bis Dickens und von Wieland bis Immermanns "Münchhausen" immer wieder begegneten'.⁴

1. v. also Fehse, Im Spiegel des alten Proteus, Berlin, 1931, p.158, and Raabe, pp.189-190 & 217.

2. Unfortunately, when repeating assumptions made, for example, by Doernenburg and Fehse, Boekhoff - presumably because of the vastness of his topic - does not examine the details which have led to their being made. Nevertheless, these repeated assumptions are generally plausible.

3. Doernenburg & Fehse, op.cit., p.21; Boekhoff, op.cit., p.14; v. Nicholas Nickleby, chapter 19.

4. op.cit., p.30; v. also p. 223 above.

Dickens was one of Raabe's favourite English novelists,¹ probably from early youth. That he acquired at least five of the nine books by Dickens in his library (i.e. Oliver Twist, Master Humphrey's Clock, Dombey and Son, Nicholas Nickleby, and Weihnachtserzählungen) after the age of forty-seven is a sure indication that his was not merely a passing interest. With four of these five (i.e. all except the Weihnachtserzählungen²) he may, on the evidence of his writings, have been quite unfamiliar until the copies in question came into his possession.

Although the two writers share certain characteristics, no stylistic features³ can be said to have arisen in Raabe's work solely as a result of his undoubted familiarity with and admiration for Dickens. Occasionally, however, this familiarity appears to have a bearing on the themes, scenes and figures discussed above.

1. v. Krüger, Der junge Raabe, ed. cit., pp. 34-35; Doernenburg & Fehse, op. cit., p. 6; Eggebrecht, op. cit., pp. 7-8; Fehse, Raabe, p. 189; & Boekhoff, op. cit., p. 9. Raabe's mother apparently also liked reading Dickens.

2. v. pp. 160 & 343 above.

3. v. p. 357 above; cf. Doernenburg & Fehse, op. cit., p. 54.

SHAKESPEARE:

Among the books in Raabe's father's library¹ was 'Shakespeares Werke, übersetzt von mehreren'. It seems likely that this was in fact William Shakespeare's Sämtliche dramatische Werke In neuen Uebersetzungen², a book which now bears the name of Raabe's sister and which at some stage became part of Raabe's own library. His father died in 1845. Raabe would therefore have had ready access to translations of Shakespeare by the age of fourteen at the latest. Moreover, it is known that in 1853, 'die sämtlichen Bücher des Verstorbenen noch vorhanden sind', books which 'jetzt von den beiden Söhnen zu ihrer wissenschaftlichen Ausbildung benutzt werden'.³

In the summer of 1854 Raabe went to the university of Berlin, and stayed two years.⁴ During the winter semester 1854-55 he attended ('Ausgezeichnet fleißig') a lecture^{course} by a Dr Kirchner 'Über Shakespeares Dramen, einstündig'. According to a notebook in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig,⁵ Kirchner had discussed the historical dramas the previous summer. This semester his lectures included a description of the general atmosphere during Shakespeare's lifetime, brief mention of

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1. v. Mitteilungen, 1926, p.122
 2. Leipzig, n.d. (Wigand); v.p.362, note 1, & p.367, note 1, below. The book was published by 1838.
 3. Mitteilungen, loc.cit.
 4. v. Mitteilungen, 1956, pp.69-74, & *ibid.*, 1957, pp.2-10.
 5. under 'H III 10 Nr.26 Varia I'.

Shakespeare's career in London¹, and then a short account of The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Love's Labour's Lost, All's Well That Ends Well, The Merchant of Venice, Much Ado about Nothing, A Midsummer Night's Dream, and Twelfth Night. Whether this was the total scope of Kirchner's lecture^{course} is not known; perhaps in one hour a week, for one semester, it would be difficult to do more.

Raabe's knowledge of Shakespeare was apparently confined almost exclusively to the plays² and to certain critical works. Of the latter he acquired, over a period of many years, the following:

	<u>Date of acquisition</u>
G.G.Gervinus, <u>Shakespeare</u> , Leipzig, 1850.	unknown ³ .
R.Genée, <u>Shakespeares Leben und Werke</u> , Hildburghausen, 1874.	6.12.75.
R.W.Emerson, <u>Über Goethe und Shakespeare</u> , Hanover, 1857.	22.10.80.
E.Engel, <u>William Shakespeare</u> , ⁴ Leipzig, 1897.	13.8.97.
A.Mézières, <u>Shakespeare, ses oeuvres et ses critiques</u> , Paris, 1860.	4.6. or 1.12.98.

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1. cf. Im alten Eisen, III, 3,48: 'Seit der Eröffnung des Theaters zu Blackfriars.....' etc.
 2. Nevertheless, v.p.446, note 1, below. *Handwritten note: Raabe's knowledge of Shakespeare's works, cf. Raabe's letter to...*
 3. The name 'Leiste' is pencilled on the front page of vol.1. Raabe met Bertha Leiste in 1859, if not before, and married her in 1861.
 4. Appended to this is an essay: 'Der Bacon-Wahn'; cf. Raabe's observation (III,6,575): 'Welteitelkeit: Der größte Ruhm der Welt und - William Shakespeare und die 'Bacon-Frage'.'

	<u>Date of acquisition.</u>
F. Guizot, <u>Shakespeare et son temps</u> , Paris, 1852.	7.7.1900.
E. Wolff, <u>Von Shakespeare zu Zola</u> , Berlin, 1902.	24.5.1903.

He also owned various editions of Shakespeare's plays, a few poems, a translation of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare¹, and one or two additional works of criticism. On 19.2.63 he bought an edition of the Schlegel-Tieck translation² and the Tauchnitz English edition of the plays. The other books are mentioned below in the appropriate contexts. In the first volume of the Handbuch³ we read that Shakespeare died in Stratford '1616 an seinem Geburtstage, den 23sten April, 52 Jahr alt. Man errichtete ihm ein Denkmal, und setzte auf seinen Grabstein folgende Worte:

Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear,
To dig the dust inclosed here.
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst he be, that moves my bones.'

Whether Raabe first learned the epitaph from the Handbuch is not known: it is included, in English and German, in 'Shakespeare's Leben / von A. Chalmers', which is appended to the volume of Shakespeare translations 'von mehreren' mentioned

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1. Shakespeare-Erzählungen, Stuttgart, 1843 (date of acquisition unknown); v.p. 23, above.
 2. ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin, 1853-55; v.p. 179, note 3, above. The translation of Macbeth in this edition is not that by Dorothea Tieck. Reference has been made to her translation when necessary.
 3. p. 31.

above.¹ Whatever the source of his knowledge, this epitaph clearly impressed him. Between pages 210 and 211 in volume 4 of his copy of the Schlegel-Tieck translation there is a printed sheet bearing the epitaph in English and German and a comment on it; and in a notebook (now in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig)² he wrote: 'Man denkt unwillkürlich dabei an W.Shakespeares Grabschrift: Verflucht sei....', and went on to point to the efficacy of such a curse, to the fact that Shakespeare's grave had been left undisturbed. The only other noteworthy evidence of Raabe's biographical knowledge is a quotation from Shakespeare's will in Altershausen (2.2.99 - 190?).³

When, in his writings, Raabe alludes to or quotes a play by Shakespeare, his understanding of the play or scene or speech can frequently be inferred. Rarely, however, is there anything but a general indication of the novelist's attitude towards the playwright. On a number of occasions he makes it quite clear that he considered Shakespeare to be

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1. v.p. 359 above. Also appended to this volume is 'Die Haupt-Charactere der Shakspear'schen Dramen dargestellt von W.Hazlitt.'
 2. under 'H III 10 Nr.26 sonstige Varia'. The jotting, which is on p.22 of the notebook, may have been made on 22.11.77.
 3. III,6,225: 'Ich jedenfalls noch vorhanden in perfect health and memorie - bei guter Gesundheit und klarem Bewußtsein - wie es in einem, nicht bloß den nächsten Erben bekannt gewordenen Testament heißt!'

one of the very greatest writers.¹ He appears to have valued the dramatist's humour and good spirits² and admired his insight into human motives, his awareness of characters' dramatic potentialities,³ the unrivalled naturalness with which he depicted the whole range of man's moods and emotions.⁴

But it is only in Raabe's sporadic jottings that one very occasionally finds observations which betoken a more critical and subtle appreciation of Shakespeare's art. Two such jottings, made in March and July 1875 respectively,⁵ are of particular interest, since in both cases the writer compares Shakespeare with Goethe, the poet whom he revered above all others. In the first instance he writes: 'Als Paraklet steht Goethe höher als Shakespeare, weil er viel weniger befangen in den Dingen ist als dieser' - an assertion which presupposes a certain familiarity with the works of both writers; and one which (despite, or perhaps because of, the slight ambiguity of the words 'Paraklet'⁶ and

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1. v. Ein Frühling, I,2,103, Leute, I,5,60, Der Hungerpastor, I,1,187 & 191, Theklas Erbschaft, II,3,383, Der Dräumling, II,3,160 & 180, Im alten Eisen, III,3,45, Kloster Lugau, III,3,577, and Akten, III,5,253. Ein Frühling was completed on 27.5.57, Akten on 18.7.95. This high opinion is also reflected in In alls gedultig 10.4.97, and in Gedanken und Einfälle, III,6,580,582,584 & 587 (jottings dated, according to the Jahrbuch, 1960, respectively 2.2.75, 14.7.92, 19.7.92 & 23.4.75).
 2. v. Der Dräumling, II,3,160.
 3. v. Stopfkuchen, III,5,172-73.
 4. v. Ein Frühling, I,2,178.
 5. v. Gedanken und Einfälle, III,6,587 & Jahrbuch, 1960, pp.105 & 107.
 6. In his letter dated 10.4.97 (v. note 1 above) Raabe refers humbly to Shakespeare, adding that 'wir andern in der Niederung' - i.e. people like himself - 'müssen ... uns wohl bescheiden, die Parakleten der Zukunft spielen zu wollen.'

'befangen') it would be difficult to disprove. Secondly he writes:

'Dieser Mensch hat alles e r l e b t. Shakespeare kann man begreifen; Goethe nicht. Der eine zieht das Gewächs aus und zeigt es euch von der Wurzel bis zur Blüte, vom Samen bis zum Welken. Der andere hebt den Boden mit aus, zeigt euch den Grad der Feuchtigkeit, zeigt euch die Gegend bis über den Horizont und den Himmel darüber. Er ist der Weltweise; der andere kennt nur den Menschen allein und in seinen Beziehungen zur Welt.'

Two months later¹ he observed:

'Nur d i e Pflanze, die mit Wurzeln und anhängendem Boden aus der allnährenden Mutter emporgezogen wird, wächst weiter. So das rechte Kunstwerk.'

If one considers this last observation in conjunction with those which preceded it - bearing in mind particularly the words 'der andere kennt nur den Menschen' - it is clear that, at least in 1875, Raabe was not blind to Shakespeare's limitations. (Another note,² the date of which is unknown, may point to one of the factors which gave rise to the novelist's reservations, although it also reveals a kind of admiration for the talent which could produce the results described: 'Kein ganzes Zuchthaus enthält so viel menschliche Scheußlichkeit, wie die Shakespeareschen Dramen.')

Since he was comparing Goethe and Shakespeare as writers - and not explicitly as dramatists or even as lyric poets - the comparison was bound to be in Goethe's favour; and it should be remembered that Raabe was in any case not impartial. In view of this partiality, the very fact that the comparison was made reveals his high opinion of Shakespeare. And if one disregards the distortion which results from a biased

1. v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.108.

2. III,6,577.

juxtaposition of two men whom it is difficult to juxtapose without some reference to literary genres, Raabe's well-rounded phrases could clearly be those of a perspicacious critic whose experience of Shakespeare was not only broad but deeper than is at first apparent when one reads the novels and Novellen which reflect this experience. Closer examination of these works and of evidence culled from other sources shows that the reflection is at times deceptively faint. Of the writers discussed thus far, Raabe knew none better than Shakespeare.

References in Raabe's writings to certain lesser known plays by Shakespeare are relatively uninformative. The narrator of Holunderblüte (25.11.62 - 25.1.63), for example, who had been reading Shakespeare 'mit großem Eifer und schmerzlichem Genuß',¹ imagined that Jemima Löw was a kind of synthesis of all the women whom he had encountered in Shakespeare, including 'Sylvia' and 'die süße Imogen'. Raabe shows elsewhere², by opposing Goneril and Regan to Imogen and Cordelia, that he knew Imogen to be a virtuous daughter, but this does not necessarily mean that he knew Cymbeline well. From the context in which 'Sylvia' is

1. I,5,611.

2. III,6,565.

mentioned - the reference is presumably to Silvia in Two Gentlemen of Verona - one can infer only that she is in all likelihood young, attractive, and basically estimable. (The use of the name 'Proteus' in a later work¹ has no apparent bearing on Silvia's temporary admirer in the same play.) An isolated reference in Frau Salome (6.7.74 - 1.10.74), however, is more interesting, although the writer again appears to have no one passage in mind: during the summer season in the Harz it is the lot of the mules and asses 'wie die verloren gegangene Königstochter von Antiochien im Perikles, Prinz von Tyrus, alle möglichen Temperamente kennen zu lernen.'² The daughter of Antiochus, King of Antioch, plays a very small part in Pericles. On the other hand, the trials undergone by Pericles' daughter after her abduction bring her into contact with a variety of unsavoury characters. Moreover, since her father becomes king, she is rightly called 'Königstochter'. The requirements of Raabe's publishers³, his own sense of delicacy, as well as a certain pleasure in mild and concealed scurrility,⁴ may have prevented his revealing a more detailed knowledge of the

1. Vom alten Proteus, II,4,523-623.

2. II,4,316-17.

3. Frau Salome first appeared in Westermanns Monatshefte; v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol.12, p.480.

4. v. pp. 299-300 above.

scenes in question. (Whether Raabe shared his contemporaries' doubts about the authorship of Pericles is not clear: originally he had written 'wie Marina bei Shakespeare'¹.)

Another isolated reference to a play by Shakespeare is to be found in the musings of Eckbert Scriewer in Kloster Lugau (13.10.91 - 10.6.93) : 'Wie nennt doch Exzellenz der römische Feldmarschall Cajus Marcius seine Virgilia? Mein lieblich Schweigen! ... Jawohl, meine, meine liebliche Dummheit, meine reizende Bleichsucht! ...'²

Scriewer is not sure that he can count on the material benefits which he had hoped to derive from his projected marriage to the sweet but vapid Evchen. Raabe probably had a translation of Coriolanus (Act 1, Scene 2) in mind : the term 'lieblich' - which occurs in the Schlegel-Tieck version - is more appropriate to Evchen than the original 'gracious'. Scriewer is a selfish, highly ambitious young man, and in this he may be likened to Coriolanus.

1. v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol.12, pp.484-85: the editor suggests that Raabe read Pericles in G.Eckert's edition of Eschenburg's translation, 'denn nur in diesem 'Mannheimer Shakespear' ist der Perikles enthalten.' R.Genée, Geschichte der Shakespeare'schen Dramen in Deutschland, Leipzig, 1870, pp.322-23, mentions two collections of translations which appeared in 1836 and which include Pericles. A copy of one of these (Sämtliche dramatische Werke In neuen Übersetzungen von A.Böttger, H.Döring, A.Fischer, L.Hilsenberg, W.Lampadius, Th.Mügge, Th.Oelckers, E.Ortlepp, L.Petz, K.Simrock, E.Susemihl, E.Thein, Leipzig, n.d.(Wigand)) belonged to Raabe's sister; v.p. 359 above.

2. III, 3,574.

Although, unlike Coriolanus, he is cold and utterly unscrupulous, it seems reasonable to assume that Raabe's quotation was in some measure prompted by the similarities between the two men, as well as by the colourlessness of the two ineffectual young women. Scriewer is such an unpleasant character that Raabe is unlikely to have sympathised with him in any way. But the passage quoted above stems, one hopes, at least in part from the author's realization of his own failure - of the fact that in Evchen he had unintentionally portrayed little more than a pure, pretty sentimental ninny. That he intended the implied comparison between her and the taciturn Virgilia as a slur upon the latter is, however, improbable.

A quotation in Das Horn von Wanza¹ (16.3.79 - 16.1.80) of four lines from Henry VIII also reveals little of Raabe's knowledge of the original context. Addressing an admiring student friend, the mayor of Wanza expresses the wish - in Katherine's words - for an honest biographer. ('Nach meinem Tod wünsch' ich zum Herold mir,/ ... So redlichen Chronisten als mein Griffith'.²) Raabe does not mention or allude to the scene from which the lines are taken, a scene with which the speaker is perhaps familiar - he grins as he quotes - but which cannot be related to the new setting in any meaningful way. Several years later, in Im alten Eisen,³ Raabe alludes to the same passage -

1. III, 1, 591.

2. Act 4, sc.2.

3. III, 3, 43-44.

'Auf Sie als meinen Griffith habe ich ... gewartet' - in a context which has no more in common with the original, except that the speaker is a woman. Nevertheless, the narrator's comments, both before and after Wendeline Cruse's remark, reveal a certain if limited familiarity with Shakespeare's play: Griffith is described as 'der wackere Marschall der Königin Katharina von England', and Frau Cruse's manner, despite her humble trade, is supremely regal.

'Um Himmels willen laßt uns niedersetzen,
Erzählen trübe Mär vom Tod der Könige -'.

In 1875 Raabe jotted down these lines from Richard II (Act 3, Scene 3 - the translation is evidently that of Th. Oelckers¹) in one of his notebooks², adding: 'wahrlich, wenn irgendwo der Dichter mit dem Könige geht, so ist es hier.' Essentially this remark applies, it seems, to Shakespeare's sad stories of the death of kings, and to this one play in particular. An amusing, slightly enigmatic entry in another notebook³ shows, however, that Raabe attached an even more general significance to the first of the two lines quoted:

'Mottos.
'Er kommt!' Goethe
'Hier steh ich!' Schiller
'Um's Himmelswillen laßt uns niedersetzen.' Shakespeare.'

But while this is of interest in connection with the writer's view of Shakespeare,⁴ it is not until Richard's words eventually appear

1. v.p. 367 note 1, above.

2. v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.107.

3. Notebook copies: Notizbuch Nr.4, p.104; the date of the entry is not known.

4. cf. pp. 362 et seq., above.

in a narrative context that one can detect an echo of the specific situation in which they were first spoken. The heroine of Akten (30.6.93 - 18.7.95), Helene, returns to Germany an extremely wealthy woman.¹ In view of her unsatisfactory relationship with Velten Andres, and in view of Velten's recent death, however, she is poor despite her riches. Karl Krumhardt describes a meeting with her in the room in which she had tended her dying friend. He finds the atmosphere oppressive until 'die Freundin, unsere Freundin, sagte:

"Laß uns niedersitzen, lieber Karl"; und mit hartem Lächeln hinzufügte: 'erzählen trübe Mär vom Tod der Könige.'

Sie sprach das Dichterwort englisch: 'Let us sit upon the ground, and tell sad stories of the death of kings'....'

(It is not clear whether Helene originally intended to quote, or whether she began to say something in ordinary conversational English - 'Let us sit ...' - and passed on to a quotation.)

Boekhoff² is probably justified in dismissing as a misconception one interpretation of this passage, according to which Velten died a hero, a true king, a royal victor. He does so by pointing out that Richard's monologue is

'der Verzweiflungsausbruch eines Königs, dem man eine Krone aus der Hand gewunden hat, und der vor der Sinnlosigkeit seines Lebens allein steht. So möchte man denn jenem Mißverständnis gegenüber mit Richard fragen: '... subjected thus, How can you say to me, I am a king?' '

Clearly Velten cannot be thought a victorious king, particularly if he is equated in some way with Richard. (Clearly, even without such equation - Richard's fate is only one of a number of sad

1. III, 5, 417-19.

2. op.cit., p.126.

stories - Helene may think of Velten as a king, although as a king who has died in tragic circumstances which amount to failure.) But it should be remembered that the situation of the speaker in Shakespeare's play bears a closer resemblance to that of the speaker in Raabe's novel than to that in which Velten had found himself. In support of the demonstrable thesis that Velten's death was no true victory¹, Boekhoff adduces 'den stillschweigend mitzitierten Umkreis des herausgelösten Zitates'. But even the lines to which he draws attention - 'And nothing can we call our own but death,/ And that small model of the barren earth/ Which serves as paste and cover to our bones' - can be related more readily to Helene's mood than to Velten's lack of achievement. It is she, not he, who has been an acquisitive materialist and yet who refers to 'meiner leeren, leeren, besitzlosen Hand.'² Raabe's familiarity with at least this scene from Richard II is evidenced above all in the parallel between Richard and Helene.

One of the young women whom the narrator of Holunderblüte mentions in connection with Jemima Löw is 'Rosalinde'.³ From two later passages - in Meister Autor⁴ and Zum wilden Mann⁵ - it is apparent that Raabe knew As You Like It in some detail⁶,

1. c.f. Pongs, p.604.

2. III, 5, 423.

3. v.p. 365 above.

4. II,3,519-20; c.f.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.11, p.470.

5. II,4,31-32; c.f.Krit Ausgabe, vol.11, p.489.

6. On 22.8.74, less than a year after completing Zum wilden Mann, Raabe acquired Ernst Thein's translation of the play, Leipzig, n.d.

although the contextual similarities between play and narrative are insignificant. On occasion, German novelists in the 19th century - e.g. Henriette von Paalzow in Godwie-Castle,¹ Auerbach in Auf der Höhe,² Spielhagen in In Reih' und Glied³ - wrote of the world as a stage, and of the parts played upon it. Raabe refers to participation 'an der Komödie auf der Bühne der Menschheit.'⁴ But the metaphor does not necessarily derive from Jaques' famous speech towards the end of the third act. In Die Kinder von Finkenrode,⁵ however, when 'heiliger William' is apostrophized by a young ex-actor who is telling of his early ambitions, there can be little doubt as to what is in the speaker's mind when he refers to 'den Brettern, welche die Welt bedeuten.' Whether he was thinking specifically of As You Like It (or, perhaps, of Macbeth, Act 5, Scene 5) is of course a moot point.⁶ Similarly there is no necessary connection between Jaques' sixth age and the description in Raabe's Altershausen⁷ of an old man's childish voice 'die sich in umgekehrter Weise 'setzte' und aus dem dumpfen Krächzen des Greisentums in die schrillen Töne der ersten Jugend umschlug.'

1. ed.cit., part 3, p.100.

2. ed.cit., vol.2, p.134.

3. Vol.1, p.276.

4. v.Jahrbuch, 1960, p.130.

5. II,2,95.

6. In this connection, v.A.Seebass, 'Raabe und Shakespeare', Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, vol.22, Heidelberg, 1934, pp.20-21.

7. III,6,276.

Nevertheless, since this phenomenon, though not unusual, is comparatively striking, the passage quoted could perhaps be described as a faint final echo of the author's already manifest familiarity with the play in question.

In Pfisters Mühle¹ (7.4.83 - 8.5.84) Ebert writes: 'Wo in seiner 'grünen Salatzeit' Studiosus und Doktor Asche selber seine Kost entnahm, war ... unbestimmt.' One might suspect that Raabe was here merely using a popular phrase, more or less unaware of the ridiculous contrast between the relevant passage in Antony and Cleopatra (Act 1, scene 5)² and the salad days of A.A.Asche. It is not among the passages marked in the relevant volume of Raabe's copy of Shakespeare's plays.³ Some seven years earlier, however, in Deutscher Adel,⁴ where the phrase also occurs in an incongruous context, the writer had added an explanation - 'wie Ihre höchstselige Majestät von Ägypten sagte' - which would dispel this suspicion. Similarly, part of Helene's allusion in Akten⁵ to Antony and Cleopatra might well derive not from Shakespeare but from a variety of other sources:

'...sie waren auch in unserem Alter... er über die Fünzig hinaus, sie vierzig Jahre alt, und haben doch ihren Kampf um sich kämpfen müssen bis zum Tode, bis sie beide tot waren.'

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1. III, 2, 251.
 2. None of the seventeen translations of Antony and Cleopatra consulted uses precisely Raabe's phrase.
 3. The Plays, Leipzig, 1843-44; v.p.¹⁶² above. In this copy a number of passages are marked and a number have been translated, also German equivalents of English words have been noted, in Hen IV (especially part I), Twel.N., Jul.C., Macb., Lear, Oth., Merry W., and Ant & Cl. It is not certain that the handwriting is Raabe's.
 4. II,5,351.
 5. III,5,422.

Sie zuletzt! Ja, auch ich lebe noch und habe noch meine ganze Herrlichkeit um mich her und sie nicht verloren wie die Ägypterin die ihrige bei Aktium.'

In Don Juan,¹ for example, Byron points out that 'If Anthony be well remembered yet,/ 'Tis not his conquests keep his name in fashion,/ But Actium, lost for Cleopatra's eyes,/ Outbalances all Caesar's victories./ / He died at fifty for a queen of forty.' But the middle-aged Helene, who has just mentioned that she had re-encountered Velten in Alexandria two years before his death in Berlin, introduces her comparison with the remark: 'Damals hat auch er mich seine alte Nilschlange genannt' - a clear if rather infelicitous adaptation of Antony's name for Cleopatra: 'my serpent of old Nile.'² (The relevant line is marked in the copy of Shakespeare's plays mentioned above.) As has been seen, Helene herself draws attention to the parallel between her situation and that portrayed by Shakespeare. Boekhoff's statement of the problem reflected in these allusions tends to be misleading:

'Es ist der Konflikt der liebenden und geliebten Frau, die sich in dem unauflöslchen Zwiespalt zwischen Hingabe und Herrscherwillen zu behaupten sucht, obgleich sie weiß, daß sie₃ mit dem Verlust des Geliebten auch sich selbst verloren ist.'

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1. Canto 6, stanzas 4 & 5.
 2. Act 1, scene 5: v.p. 373, note 2, above: Wieland writes 'Nilschlange', but omits 'alt'.
 3. op.cit., p.155; cf. Pongs, pp.605-06.

It is a little difficult to think of Cleopatra in these terms, as Boekhoff apparently does. But if the two heroines are to be equated in this way, it should be remembered that Helene does not yield to Velten at all, except perhaps for her loving ministrations at his deathbed. Moreover, contrary to Boekhoff's formulation, it is not until Velten dies that Helene appears to realize that she too is, in a sense, lost. (We are not told her final fate, but she evidently returns in sadness to her life of empty opulence.)

There can be little doubt that the passage discussed is evidence of a certain familiarity with Antony and Cleopatra. It is nevertheless interesting to note that at least one of the novelist's contemporaries also adapts the name given to Cleopatra by Antony. This adaptation shows, moreover, that there might be a further meaning behind the use of Shakespeare's words in Akten: a character in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied¹ warns another:

'...nimm Dich in Acht, Eve ist eine von den Schlangen am alten Nil, die selbst Helden gefährlich werden können...'

At a much earlier stage in Raabe's novel,² Velten, writing from America, had shown by an allusion to a later scene in Antony and Cleopatra³ that even then he thought of Helene as a serpent. Probably he also likened her in his mind to Cleopatra, for not only

1. Vol.2, p.254.

2. III,5,339.

3. Act 2, scene 7.

is the allusion made in connection with Cleopatra's needle in Central Park, New York, but the relevant conversation between Antony and Lepidus - in which Cleopatra is not mentioned - takes place after Antony's strange term of endearment has been made known. Akten, written with much difficulty, was published as a book in December, 1895. Shortly before Christmas the author wrote to Marie Jensen,¹ to whom he had just sent a copy: '... sagt mir Eure Meinung darüber. Look you, the worm is not to be trusted, but in the keeping of wise people!' Like a number of other passages in Raabe's writings and correspondence, this final quotation from Antony and Cleopatra² is particularly meaningful for those who know its original context. The clown's speech continues: '...for indeed there is no goodness in the worm.' Another letter to Wilhelm and Marie Jensen contains a similar quotation from the same scene: 'yes, forsooth, I wish you joy of the worm! (exit Clown)'.³ It was written under similar circumstances: the opening instalment of Der Schüdderump was about to appear.

Nearly seven years were to elapse before Raabe began work on Deutscher Adel, the first tale to reveal anything of his knowledge of this particular play.⁴ This knowledge, then, which was not strikingly apparent until he wrote Akten, was greater - and his interest was of longer standing - than the evidence of his writings would suggest.

1. In alls gedultig, 18.12.95. 2. Act 5, sc.2.
 3. In alls gedultig, 16.9.69. 4. v.p. 373 above.

Relevant biographical details are particularly valuable when Raabe's tales in themselves reveal very little of his knowledge of a work to which some reference is made. 'Der sechzehnjährige Signor Petrucchio', for example, describes young Velten on one occasion when he is grappling with the intractable Helene in Akten.¹ And 'die zänkische Katharina' is one of a number of women mentioned without comment in Holunderblüte.² Before any allusion to The Taming of the Shrew occurred in Raabe's writings, however, he saw a stage production entitled, according to his diary, 'Kunst, eine böse Sieben zu zähmen', and he noted not only the names of the principal actors but also the rôles in which they appeared.³ (Moreover, as has been seen, he had had a brief introduction to 'Die Widerspenstige' when a student.⁴) That he probably knew Shakespeare's play quite well can in fact be inferred from a third passage. Depicting the effect produced by the voluble and tearful duenna in the historical tale Sankt Thomas⁵ (22.4.61 - 26.9.65) the author refers to Petruchio at some length. The Schlegel-Tieck translation of the boastful speech in the second scene, in which the hero asserts that he is unafraid of Katharina's tongue, is paraphrased - the 11th and 12th lines being quoted verbatim - and adapted to the new context. Apart from this, however, even the references in Holunderblüte and Akten, if considered in conjunction with the external evidence adduced above, may be taken as reasonably certain indications that the writer was at least familiar with the general

1. III,5,251.

2. I,5,611; v.pp.365&371 above.

3. Entry for 6.9.59.

4. v.pp.359-60 above.

5. I,6,294-95.

plot of The Taming of the Shrew: in other words, Katharina and Petruchio were not merely types such as are listed in late editions of Geflügelte Worte;¹ and although the names are not very significant in their new contexts, their meaning is greater than would at first appear to be the case. Similarly Raabe probably knew the original context of the unexplained phrase 'mein Wirt sum Hosenband' quite well when he used it in Wunnigel² (3.1.76 - 7.8.76): not only had he attended a 'Vorlesung d. Lustig Weiber von Windsor' in 1863, but he had also seen an excellent performance of Nicolai's opera the year before.³

All the other plays by Shakespeare which are of interest in the present context contributed during the latter half of the 19th century either to Geflügelte Worte or to similar publications.⁴ The relevant items have been treated separately.⁵ In an attempt to assess the writer's knowledge of Shakespeare, the positive importance of these tags is relatively slight. But it is reasonably certain that he was at least aware of their sources. The extent of this awareness is revealed not only by biographical information but also by the author's use elsewhere of less commonplace quotations from and allusions to ^{the} plays concerned. All that Raabe knew of Troilus and Cressida, for example, was - on the evidence of his writings - one household word.⁶ And yet according to Pongs⁷ it

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1. v pp. 202 & 204-15 above.
 2. II, 5, 25; v. Merry W., Act 1, sc. 3.
 3. Diary entries for 7.12.62 & 27.11.63.
 4. Merry W. may, in fact, be included in this group: v pp. 193 & 198 above.
 5. v pp. 177 et seq., above.
 6. v pp. 192-93 above.
 7. p. 204.

was among the works by Shakespeare which he read 'neben den Lustspielen und Sonetten' between November 1867 and December 1868. Common sayings or expressions from The Merchant of Venice occur, as has been seen,¹ in no less than six of Raabe's tales. In addition, apart from mentioning Jessica and Portia in Holunderblüte,² the writer alludes in Pfisters Mühle³ to Shylock's agitation 'da Jessika mit den Dukaten und dem Türkis Leas durchging.' (This refers not merely, as Jensch suggests,⁴ to Act 2, Scene 8, but also to Act 3, Scene 1, the only scene in which Leah's name occurs.⁵) Furthermore, the narrator of Alte Nester,⁶ describing the financial position of Irene's father, mentions 'welch einem schlimmen Shylok mit Messer und Wagschale seine Existenz verpfändet war.' This is preceded, at the beginning of the chapter in question,⁷ by a group of quotations from the early part of the play's final scene - lines originally spoken by Lorenzo, Portia and Nerissa - and by a reference to the setting of Belmont and Venice. The opening words, Lorenzo's 'Wie süß das Mondlicht auf dem Hügel schläft', are repeated at the beginning of a later chapter⁸ in a slightly modified form ('... auf den Hügeln...') and Raabe adapts Nerissa's 'Es sind die Musikanten eures Hauses' by writing 'E u r e s'. Each of these changes serves a function, the additional stress in the latter case being self-explanatory. The plural 'auf den Hügeln' echoes the words which

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1. v.pp. 193&197-98, 205&208-09, and 216&217 above. 2. I, 5, 611; cf. pp. 365, 371, & 377 above.
 3. I, 6, 157. 4. op.cit., p. 68.
 5. 'It was my turquoise: I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor.'
 6. II, 6, 74. 7. II, 6, 73.
 8. II, 2, 212.

immediately followed the line when it was first quoted: 'Es schläft auf allen Hügeln in der Ferne der Erinnerung.' (The entire novel is a reminiscence. Although in the second instance the context is a comparatively matter-of-fact statement, topographical considerations do not appear to be of any significance in either case.) The impression that the varying of Lorenzo's words was deliberate is strengthened by a comparison of the first three editions of Alte Nester, in which there is clear evidence of Raabe's insistence upon the accurate quotation of one of Portia's lines.¹ At first he apparently misquoted 'Wie weit die kleine Kerze Schimmer wirft!' This misquotation - which read, reasonably enough, 'Wie weit der kleinen Kerze Schimmer reicht'² - may in fact indicate that the author originally relied on his memory, and that he was therefore even better acquainted with The Merchant of Venice than has already been suggested.

Having drawn attention to the relevant line in Faust,³ Jensch suggests⁴ that the expression 'Old Iniquity'⁵ in Der Dräumling⁶ and Eulenpfingsten⁷ may also reflect Raabe's reading of Henry IV, part one, where the words 'that gray iniquity' occur in the fourth scene of the second act. But 'Iniquity' in the old morality plays

1. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.14, p.469.

2. Of the sixteen translations consulted, none turns the relevant line in this way.

3. Part 2, 'Klassische Walpurgisnacht Am obern Peneios'.

4. op.cit., pp.20 & 65.

5. There is some confusion as to whether capital letters should be used: v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.10, p.480, & vol.11, p.512.

6. II,3,124.

7. II,4,227.

represented vice, and the term appears to be used in this sense not only in Henry IV but also in Richard III (Act 3, Scene 1). In both of Raabe's tales, however, 'Old Iniquity' clearly means the devil. If the novelist had any work of literature in mind, it is more likely to have been Faust than Henry IV, since this is the meaning which Goethe evidently attaches to the identical expression. Only once in Raabe's writings - in Die Kinder von Finkenrode (3.12.57 - 12.7.58) - is there a clear echo of Henry IV,¹ but it is of no particular interest. It does, however, show that his knowledge of the play was not entirely confined to tags listed by Büchmann. And it is also worth noting that Die Kinder von Finkenrode antedates the tales in which these tags appear.² It is in the same novel that Raabe first alludes, very briefly, to Twelfth Night.³ Some twelve months later,⁴ when he visited Vienna, he saw it performed at the Burgtheater. But - although Olivia is mentioned in Holunderblüte⁵ - many years were to elapse before he demonstrated any familiarity with detail. In an observation which has lost none of its topicality (and which is now included in Gedanken und Einfälle)⁶ Raabe wrote:

Veränderung der Weibertracht: Es läuft alles darauf hinaus, ob Pumphosen für das männliche Geschlecht anziehender sind als Unterröcke. Der Herzog von Illyrien, Orsino, sagt zu Viola:

1. II,2,219: '...wir sind alle Gott einen Tod schuldig!'; v. 2 Hen.IV, Act 3, sc.2, & cf. I Hen.IV, Act 5, sc.1.

2. v.pp.185, 191, 193, & 195-96 above.

3. II,2,97.

4. Diary entry for 5.6.59.

5. I,5,611; v.pp.365,371,377,&379 above.

6. III,6,566; v.Twel.N., Act 5, sc.1. & cf.Jahrbuch, 1960, p.133.

The observation was probably made towards the end of the century.

'Gib mir deine Hand
 Und laß mich dich in M ä d c h e n k l e i d e r n sehen! '
 "Weshalb ist die Venus von Milos die schönste weibliche Bild-
 säule?' Frage ihren Unterrock.

The spontaneity which is characteristic of the Gedanken und Einfälle in general leads one to suppose that Orsino's lines could well have been quoted from memory, and that the writer had in mind not only the scene in which they were spoken but perhaps also the entire story which culminates in the discovery of Viola's disguise.

In 1864 Raabe saw a performance of Much Ado about Nothing¹. His use in 1891 of the popular expression 'viel Lärm um Nichts' has been mentioned elsewhere.² Before this, however, he had included in Unruhige Gäste³ a lengthy allusion to the play when describing the fashionable family party at the spa where part of the action of the tale takes place. The speaker is Valerie. It is perhaps a coincidence that the name of the man to whom she is talking - and whom she eventually marries - begins with the same letter. Nevertheless, she not only addresses Veit as 'Ritter Benedikt' but also equates herself in some way with Beatrice: 'Onkel Leonato' and 'Onkel Antonio' belong to the party, and even her reference to 'Cousin Claudio' may be taken as an echo of Beatrice's relationships.⁴ This literary comparison is introduced with the words:

'Papa hat uns diesmal mit einer Geleitschaft von Vettern, Cousinen und braven Freunden umgeben, die in Hinsicht auf 'Viel Lärm um Nichts' nichts zu wünschen übrig läßt.'

1. Diary entry for 13.1.64.

2. v. pp. 205 & 206-07 above.

3. III, 2, 497-98.

4. v. Much Ado, Act 2, sc.1: 'Cousins, God give you joy!' (Schlegel-Tieck: 'Glück zu, Vetter und Muhme').

The presence of an unspecified number of more or less distant relations in Shakespeare's play is at least suggested by Leonato's use of the vocative 'Cousins' at the end of the second scene, when several unidentified persons cross the stage. From Valerie's chatter it can also be inferred that Much Ado about Nothing takes place in Messina, that Benedick is from Padua and Claudio from Florence. The latter's rôle is allotted to an insufferable, otherwise anonymous young man who is 'mehr für den Zirkus Renz als sonst was geeignet'. It is not certain that this was also Raabe's view of Shakespeare's Claudio, however plausible such an assumption may be.¹ Nor do the adjectives which describe others in Valerie's circle² necessarily tally with the characters portrayed by Shakespeare. The quotation at the conclusion of the first passage in which she alludes to Much Ado about Nothing can, however, be related to its original context. Valerie asks Veit to keep her company during the coming weeks and thus to preserve her 'noch einmal für das winterliche, hauptstädtische: Spielt auf, Musikanten!' The fact that these last three words are those with which the play ends, and that they are spoken when Beatrice and Benedick are about to be married, points in all likelihood to Valerie's matrimonial ambitions at the time, as well as to their final realization.

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1. Veit Bielow behaves in a rather thoughtless and unfeeling way towards a pure, sweet girl called Phöbe. A. Seebass, 'Raabe und Shakespeare', op.cit., p. 11, contends: '...das Verhältnis Claudio-Hero, Veit-Phöbe ist doch zu ähnlich, als daß (Raabe) es nicht im Auge gehabt hätte'.
 2. e.g. 'Leonato ist fürchterlich'; the words 'zu unserm blonden Kinde' apply to 'Hero'.

German expressions based on the translated title of A Midsummer Night's Dream occurred during the 19th century in contexts which had little or nothing in common with the play in question. According to the narrator in Grillparzer's Der arme Spielmann,¹ for example, the pleasures of the Brigittenkirchtag vanish 'wie der Traum einer Sommernacht'. And the first meeting of the 'Ritter vom Geiste' is described in Gutzkow's novel as a 'Herbstnachtstraum'.² The term 'Sommernachtstraum' is used in Raabe's Pfisters Mühle³ (7.4.83 - 8.5.84) in an equally superficial manner. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that by that time the author knew Schlegel's translation well. When a young actor exclaims 'bei Titanias Zaubermacht' in Die Kinder von Finkenrode⁴ (3.12.57 - 12.7.58) he may be thinking of A Midsummer Night's Dream, since it is not long before he alludes to two other works by Shakespeare.⁵ Similarly, the narrator's reference in Holunderblüte⁶ (25.11.62 - 25.1.63) to Oberon and Titania deserves mention in view of the inclusion of Helena and Titania in the list which he is soon to make of young women from Shakespeare's plays.⁷ (Since Titania's name immediately follows that of Helena it seems reasonable to assume that the latter is not the Helena from All's Well that Ends Well or the Helen - Schlegel-Tieck: 'Helena' - from

1. In the fifth paragraph.

2. lit. vol.3, p.517. A lengthy allusion to Shakespeare's play occurs in vol.1, pp.308-09.

3. III,2,323.

4. II,2,91.

5. v.pp.389 & 414-15 below.

6. I,5,606.

7. I,5,611; v.pp.365,371,377,379,&381 above.

Troilus and Cressida. Raabe appears to have known very little of either play.) Again, Nikola von Einstein in Abu Telfan (14.4.65 - 30.3.67) is likened to Titania,¹ and two chapters later² she playfully summons the fairies to help Hagebucher in his hour of need: 'Herbei aus den Büschen, Oberon und Titania, Puck, Bohnenblüt, Spinnweb, Motte und Senfsamen!'³ It is 'die letzte Fest' - und Jubelnacht der Maikäfer', and just before this display of high-spirited drollery Nikola and the hero's sister had emerged through a hole in a hedge: 'es rauschte im Gebüsch, ein schlaftrunkenes Vogelpärchen flatterte aus dem schönsten Traum der Sommernacht geweckt, auf'.

Raabe had seen a performance of the 'Sommernachtstraum v. Shakesp.' towards the end of 1863 (i.e. some sixteen months before he began work on Abu Telfan). This included the customary 'Musik v. Mendelssohn'.⁴ The opening of Vom alten Proteus (1.1.75 - 5.5.75) is a piece of whimsical prose which abounds in references to A Midsummer Night's Dream and which signifies virtually nothing.⁵ When the tale was finished, the sub-title 'Eine Hochsommerngeschichte' was added,⁶ partly perhaps in order to prepare the reader for the confusion with which he was about to be confronted. In these pages the author reports a seemingly widespread reaction to A Midsummer

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1. II,1,27; on II,1,106 she is termed 'Gebietlerin des Zauberreiches'.
 2. II,1,51-53.
 3. The fairies' names are rendered in this way by several translators.
 4. Diary entry for 25.11.63. Fehse, Raabe, p.224, notes that in Stuttgart Raabe visited the theatre frequently: his 'Abonnement...verpflichtete zu zehn Besuchen im Monat.' Pongs, p.194, remarks that Raabe came to know the actor Feodor Löwe, and saw him 'in allen großen Rollen: Richard III.,...König Lear, Hamlet, Macbeth, König Heinrich IV. und anderen.'
 5. II,4,524-25.
 6. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.11, p.527.

Night's Dream: ' 'Ohne die Mendelssohnsche Musik wäre das verrückte Zeug heute doch nicht mehr auszuhalten,' sagt das Publikum, das heißt fünf sechstel des Publikums'. This clearly does not reflect his own opinion of the play, but it appears to point indirectly to the incomprehension with which he felt he might have to contend from his public. A number of other statements in these first paragraphs do indeed show that he had doubts with regard to the acceptability of such a rambling introduction. The reader who is familiar with A Midsummer Night's Dream is at a certain advantage when the writer mentions characters (Theseus, Hippolyta, Squenz, Schnock, Zettel, Flaut, Schnauz, Schlucker, Lysander, Hermia, Demetrius, Helena) and alludes to details of plot ('im Walde vor dem Tor von Athen verloren'; 'Noch vier Nächte, dann wird man mit allen Kirchenglocken läuten'¹). But the purpose served by a lengthy quotation from the first scene of the third act remains obscure;² and although to depict Aristophanes as a benevolent bystander during the 'Feentanz von Windsorforst' is perhaps a charming notion, the effect of the picture and the quotation towards the end of this rather arch prelude is at best a little tedious. In these dissolving views Raabe draws on his reading of other literature. For example, Theseus in Shakespeare is not 'der Sohn des Ägeus und der Äthra'. Similarly, the words 'A long, a lively flourish! Trumpets, Sennet and Cornets!' are not found in A Midsummer Night's Dream. A valid suggestion is that they are based on some of Shakespeare's stage

1. v.Mids.N., Act 1, sc.1.

2. II,4,525, from 'und Zettel hat das Wort' to 'daß er Schnock, der Schreiner, ist.' Raabe quotes Schlegel's translation; v.Krit Ausgabe, vol.12, p.529, under 'Lesarten' 201,12.

directions, but that the writer had no particular work in mind.¹
 (It should be remembered, however, that the direction 'Flourish
 of trumpets' does occur in A Midsummer Night's Dream.²)

There can be no doubt that Raabe was preoccupied with the play at the time,³ and particularly with the delightful fairy atmosphere which pervades it. But this preoccupation and the concomitant familiarity with the text seems almost to have blinded him to the imperfections of what he was writing. (The reader might also be puzzled by a comparison in Das Horn von Wanza (16.3.79 - 16.1.80) - 'Wie der Mann aus dem Monde, dem das lange Stehen mit Dornbusch, Hund und Laterne endlich zu viel geworden ist'⁴ - but this is unexceptionable, since it is comprehensible at least at one level, and since it is not embedded in a mass of mystifying whimsicality.) A similar disregard of the reader is apparent only in Kloster Lugau,⁵ which is marred by an over-abundance of allusions to Hamlet.⁶

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1. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.12, p.534: the editor refers to Hen.VIII, Act 2, sc.4, & Act 4, sc.1, in which words similar to those quoted occur; v.also Krit.Ausgabe vol.12, pp.200 & 529 ('Lesarten' 200,9.)
 2. Act 5, sc.1.
 3. That his interest in the play was sustained is suggested by the presence in his library of a copy of Schlegel's translation of it, published in Berlin in 1902, and acquired on 20.1.1902.
 4. III,1,501; v.Mids.N., Act 5, sc.1.
 5. v.pp.437 et seq., below.
 6. Eggebrecht, op.cit., p.63, explains the reference to Mids.N. in Vom alten Proteus by pointing out that the theme of the play is 'die Tatsache, daß alle Menschen von der Liebe genarrt werden. Das gleiche Thema behandelt auch Raabe, und mit dem Thema übernimmt die Erzählung eine Reihe von Einzelheiten aus dem Lustspiel'; cf. Boekhoff, op.cit., p.115.

In a notebook¹ which bears the date 'December 1855' Raabe jotted down the following words:

' -We are such stuff
As dream (sic) are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep. -
Sh. Sturm. -'

Hoppe has pointed out² that Raabe took the quotation in the above form from R.O.Spazier's Jean Paul Friedrich Richter,³ but 'den Grund zu seiner ausgezeichneten ... Kenntnis Shakespeares hat die Vorlesung gelegt, die Raabe im Wintersemester 1854/55 bei Dr. Kirchner gehört hat.' Perhaps Kirchner in fact lectured on The Tempest.⁴ But as has been shown elsewhere⁵, this particular quotation was probably quite common in Germany in the middle of the 19th century. (One of the passages marked in Raabe's copy of Carlyle's On Heroes... includes the words 'We are such stuff as dreams are made of!' ⁶) Allusions to Caliban were perhaps even more common.⁷ Between 1857 and 1858 Raabe alluded, however, not simply to the type listed by Büchmann but to the figure and the situation depicted by Shakespeare: the narrator of Weinachtsgeister⁸, who has likened himself to Caliban, realizes 'es ist

1. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10.Nr.26' ^{on the back of} p.1.

2. Mitteilungen, 1957, p.7. 3. v.op.cit.Berlin,1835,vol.2.,p.12.

4. v.pp.359-60 above. 5. v.pp.191-92 above.

6. v. The Works of Thomas Carlyle, ed.cit.,vol.5, p.36.

7. v.pp.202-03 above.

8. Written between 15.10.57 & 24.10.57; v.I,2,342-43, & Temp., Act 2, sc.2, and Act 4, sc.1.

nicht angenehm, unter den Fußstritten Ariels und seiner losen Schar zu liegen!'; 'Caliban' the young gypsy servant of Alexander Mietze in Die Kinder von Finkenrode, is not only called 'Sohn der Hexe Sykorax' but also ordered in a peremptory manner to fetch in fuel quickly ('Mehr Feuer in den Ofen - Lichter und Lampen! Hurtig...!') while Mietze prepares punch 'gleich einem Zauberer'.¹ Passages in Abu Telfan (14.4.65 - 30.3.67) and Eulenpfingsten (25.4.74 - 29.6.74) also reveal something of Raabe's familiarity with Shakespeare's text. In the latter work he refers to the island 'das Miranda trug und Prospero, den rechtmäßigen Herzog von Mailand'.² A similar reference to Prospero's island - i.e. to a place where weird and wonderful things happened - occurs in Die Ritter vom Geiste.³ In all likelihood both writers at least knew most of the play's principal characters. Unlike Gutzkow, however, Raabe exhibits his knowledge: he not only draws attention to Prospero's ducal status but also mentions, to conclude his list, 'Ariel, Kaliban, und die anderen'. The old mill in Abu Telfan is an island inasmuch as it represents an isolated refuge from the storms of life,⁴ and at one stage its occupant, Frau Claudine, is implicitly likened to Prospero: 'Sie allein hat den Zauberstab, der die Winde bändigt und die Wellen

1. Written 3.12.57 - 12.7.58; v.II,2,92-93 (& II,2,100,113,131); and cf. Temp., Act I, sc.2.

2. II,4,264.

3. vol.1, p.307.

4. Boekhoff, op.cit., p.102, mentions The Tempest in this connection but tends to exaggerate its importance.

ebnet ...'.¹ There is nothing to suggest that either of these comparatively ordinary references reflects a renewed interest in The Tempest on Raabe's part. But when he wrote Stopfkuchen (14.12.88 - 9.5.90) he evidently returned to the play, if only to check the unusual English in the following quotation: ' ...Heigh, my hearts! cheerly, cheerly, my hearts! yare, yare! ' - Siehe den S t u r m, ein Zaubermärchen von William Shakespeare ...'²

The narrator, Eduard, who is writing the story aboard ship, is interrupted by bad weather. Before the lines quoted above, a situation is described which closely resembles Shakespeare's opening scene. Alonso, Antonio and others enter, it will be remembered, in search of the shipmaster, who is off stage and fully occupied: the captain of Eduard's ship is 'unnahbar'. Alonso and his companions are most rudely dismissed by the boatswain, who is very busy directing the mariners; and Eduard notes: 'Matrosen sehr beschäftigt und vernünftigerweise ungemein grob.' Perhaps his next observation - 'Nigger steward besoffen' - is an allusion to Stephano, the drunken butler. Although Stephano does not appear until the following act, his drunkenness was apparently habitual, and it is not unlikely that he was also drunk during the tempest.³ Eduard continues: 'Passagiere - "hol der

1. II,1,272; cf. Temp., Act 1, sc.2, & Act 5, sc.1. On II,1,110 Nikola refers to Frau Claudine's 'Zauberaugen'. The name 'Prospero' is given to a horse earlier in the novel (II,1,72 & 113).

2. III,5,101; v. Temp., Act 1, sc.1.

3. v. Temp., Act 2, sc.2, & Act 5, sc.1.

Henker das Heulen! sie überschreien das Ungewitter und unsere Verrichtungen! Heigh, my hearts! ..." ' (He is quoting the boatswain. The German words are in fact spoken later in the scene than those quoted in English.) In order to construct this passage Raabe may have consulted both the original text and Schlegel's translation. It is not surprising that thoughts of a storm at sea should remind him of the play's famous title. That he was at once reminded of the boatswain's words cannot be asserted categorically. It is not improbable, however, that he remembered details of the scene in which they first occur. The evidence culled from his other work suggests that he was sufficiently familiar with The Tempest to draw on his memory in this manner.

Whether Raabe saw Othello performed is not known. An early diary entry (9.10.57) reads: 'Othello wird night gegeben'. Towards the end of the following year he either heard it read or attended a lecture on it;¹ and not long after, in Leute² (21.10.61 - 1.11.62) Fritz Wolf's description of life in America is said to be such 'daß das Freifräulein und Helene Wienand lauschten, wie einst die Damen von Venedig dem unsträflichen Äthiopier, dem rodomontierenden wollhaarigen Feldherrn.' The allusion strongly implies that the writer was at least familiar with the first act of Othello, an act in which the passage in question is of considerable importance.

1. Diary entry for 21.11.58: 'Vorlesung v. ...ens. Othello'.

2. I, 5, 90; v. Oth., Act 1, sc. 3.

(It was, of course, Desdemona and not the ladies of Venice in general who did 'with a greedy ear/Devour up my discourse'.)

References or allusions to the same speech occur in four of Raabe's later novels. In Abu Telfan Leonhard Hagebucher, who has returned to Germany after having been captured and held as a slave in Africa for a number of years, is addressed by Nikola on one occasion as 'unsträflicher Herr Äthiopier'¹. The relationship between Nikola and Leonhard (or between the above-mentioned characters from Leute) bears no resemblance to that between Shakespeare's hero and heroine. Nevertheless, Leonhard naturally has a strange tale to tell, and it should be remembered that one of Othello's adventures was 'Of being taken by the insolent foe/And sold to slavery; of my redemption thence'. A relationship which is more readily comparable had been depicted in Der Hungerpastor² (6.11.62 - 3.12.63): the beautiful Kleophea Götz is dazzled by the fabricated reminiscences of Theophile Stein, alias Moses Freudenstein, an eloquent and unscrupulous Jew with whom she later elopes, and who indirectly causes her death.

'Nicht bloß die weiche, sanfte Desdemona wird gewonnen, wenn der 'abenteuernde Afrikaner' erzählt von
 ...weiten Höhlen, wüsten Steppen,
'

Attention has been drawn to the racial difference between Othello and Desdemona on the one hand, and between Moses and Kleophea on the other.³

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1. II,1,52; cf. Krit. Ausgabe, vol.7, p.406, under 'Lesarten' for 53,34, & Jensch, op.cit., p.56.
 2. I,1,467.
 3. v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol.6, p.538.

As Raabe puts it, Moses 'machte Kapital aus seiner Abstammung und dunkeln Jugendexistenz'. (Othello did not, of course, make capital out of his racial origins, and Raabe was doubtless aware of this.)

The passage in Der Hungerpastor reveals a thorough familiarity with the Moor's long speech - of which lines 13, 14, 16, 17, and 18 (from 'weiten' to 'Schulter') are quoted verbatim - and the dissimilarity of the two story-tellers is stressed. Moses had not, for example, been sold to slavery. Nevertheless he 'sprach von andern Dingen, die ihm Anspruch auf eine 'Welt von Seufzern' geben konnten.'

Perhaps Raabe also had the English text in mind at the time: Othello describes 'the battles, sieges, fortunes,/That I have passed', words translated by Schlegel-Tieck as 'die Schlachten, Stürme, Schicksalswechsel,/So ich bestand'. One of the distinctions between Moses and Othello is, however, that the former could not tell of

'Schlachten und Belagerungen'. Nevertheless 'Belagerungen' does occur in a number of translations.¹ Iago's description of Othello in the same scene as 'einem abenteuernden Afrikaner', echoed in the passage quoted from Der Hungerpastor, recurs in Stopfkuchen²

(4.12.88 - 9.5.90); and in Kloster Lugau³ (13.10.91 - 10.6.93)

there is a further allusion to Othello's tales of his travels.

It is interesting to note that in Problematische Naturen⁴ Spielhagen

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1. e.g. those by Wieland, Eschenburg, Benda and Julius Körner.
 2. III,5,54.
 3. III,3,409.
 4. vol.2, p.369.

also alludes at some length to Othello's adventures and Desdemona's reactions, and the reader who is not familiar with the speech in question is at a slight disadvantage. Nevertheless, the allusion is more fully explained in Spielhagen's novel than in any of the relevant works by Raabe except Der Hungerpastor.

One of the principal characters of Drei Federn (3.1.64 - 7.4.65), August Sonntag, finds himself on a ship bound for Cuxhaven. His aim is to trace young Luise Winkler, who has left home secretly in the company of Karl Pinnemann, a villainous thief wanted by the police. Sonntag is told by a well-informed police officer that Pinnemann is on his way to Liverpool, 'das Fräulein aber...werden Sie...am Fuße des Leuchtturms von Kuxhaven sitzend finden: Singt Weide, grüne Weide.'¹ The circumstances in which poor Barbara sang her 'song of willow'² are sufficiently similar to those in which Luise finds herself to justify the policeman's ironical quotation. The Schlegel-Tieck translation reads: 'Die war verliebt, und treulos ward ihr Schatz/Und lief davon.' But unlike the maid in Shakespeare's play, Luise, a frivolous creature, is little the worse for her experience. (If the quotation were in English, one might question its appropriateness. Not only has the song evidently lost by translation, but Barbara's tragedy, as described by Desdemona, appears to be greater than in the Schlegel-Tieck

1. I,6,112.

2. v.Oth., Act 4, sc.3, & cf. Act 5, sc.2.

version: 'She was in love; and he she loved prov'd mad,/And did forsake her'.) A half-demented poet in Pfisters Mühle¹ (7.4.83 - 8.5.84) also cries 'Singt Weide, grüne Weide!', but for no significant reason. In his diary a year or two later,² Raabe mentions Othello in connection with a gathering of friends at an inn near Brunswick, but it is not known whether this entry has any bearing on his knowledge of the play.

Othello is one of the few works of English literature on which Raabe expressed some opinion. In one of his notebooks,³ probably towards the end of the century, he jotted down a reaction to recent developments in the theatre. That he disliked these developments is hardly surprising, but the expression of this dislike is a little strange:

'Was sie heute auf dem Theater aufführen, sind die 'Affären' kranker Leute. Wie gesund war so ein Othello! - '.

He was therefore familiar not only with certain details of the play but also, it seems, with the story in general. The paradoxical term 'gesund' is clearly open to several interpretations, which would vary according to the accuracy with which one estimated Raabe's critical perception, his mood at the time, and his knowledge of Othello and of the modern drama. Even one hitherto undiscovered factor could invalidate any interpretation of the term. Since there is no known context, it has yet to be ascertained, for example, whether the writer's mood was primarily one of irritation, flippancy or irony.

1. III, 2, 314; v. pp. 434-35 below.

2. Entry for 25.2.86.

3. III, 6, 588; v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.135.

All that can be said with reasonable certainty is that he probably knew Othello quite well, that he may have thought highly of it, and that - in the absence of evidence to the contrary - his view of the play was perhaps somewhat superficial.

□ '...und Richard den Dritten habe ich gelesen, und bin gewillt
ein Bösewicht zu werden
Und feind den eitlen Freuden dieser Tage.'

Nikola von Einstein, the young heroine of Abu Telfan¹ (14.4.65 - 30.3.67), gives vent to her self-pity in a long letter to her friend Emma. Nikola, a poor maid of honour to the local princess, is betrothed to a successful opportunist whom she does not love. Perhaps her aversion to the idle pleasures of life at court called to mind these words from Gloster's opening monologue. Certainly the two preceding lines, to which she does not expressly refer, have some bearing on her predicament:

'...weil ich nicht als ein Verliebter
Kann kürzen diese fein beredten Tage'.

But Nikola's quotation is in fact little more than the harsh flippancy of a comparatively well-read malcontent. There is no significant parallel between the original situation and the new context. Probably, however, the writer was aware of this incongruity. Nikola continues her letter in terms which could not apply to Gloster, and thus implicitly dismisses what she has just written as frivolous and misleading.

Even before he began Abu Telfan, Raabe had seen Richard III

1. II,1,110; v.Rich.III, Act 1,sc.1. The words 'bin gewillt' are part of the quotation. At times Nikola prefers Hölty to Shakespeare (v.II,1,111).

performed at least twice.¹ Two further quotations show - more clearly, perhaps, than that already mentioned - that he had also read the play, and read it attentively. In a letter to his old friend Schönhardt - i.e. where spontaneity is to be expected - Raabe asks: 'Wieviele Töchter hast Du jetzt? Ich habe vier!' His comment on this situation, taken from the words addressed to King Richard by the ghost of Sir Thomas Vaughan, reads: 'Let fall thy lance; despair and - sei herzlich begrüßt ...'.² (Had Raabe been familiar only with Schlegel's translation, this passage might not have occurred to him. The words 'with guilty fear', which in the English text precede those quoted, are really irrelevant in Raabe's context. The translation, however, is: '...laß die Lanze fallen/Vor schuldbewußter Furcht! Verzweifel' und...'.) Some years earlier, in Der Schüdderump (22.10.67 - 8.6.69), Raabe had referred to yet another scene from Richard III in what appears at first to be a rather extravagant manner.³ Hanne Allmann, a poverty-stricken crone, starts to brood on the horrors of life. The narrator points out that she was well qualified to do so:

'Erstorbenes Leben, blindes Augenlicht' - es hatte die Greisin aus dem Siechenhause das Recht, vor einem größern Palast niederzusitzen zu Fluch und Klage als die beiden Königinnen und die alte Herzogin, die Mutter von Königen, die vor dem Königsschloß von England zu Klage und Fluch niedersaßen'.

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1. Diary entries for 27.3.63 & 3.2.64.
 2. In alls gedultig, 11.12.76; v.Rich.III, Act 5, sc.3.
 3. III,1,121; v.Rich.III, Act 4, sc.4.

Obviously the writer was familiar with the setting of the scene in question and with the general behaviour of Margaret, Elizabeth, and the Duchess of York. The appropriateness in this context of the opening words of the Duchess's second speech can be demonstrated: Hanne - whose eyes are 'blöd',¹ if not blind - has lived a 'dead life' for many years, vegetating in a primitive refuge for the sick and destitute, a place which has its history 'wie das stolzeste Königsschloß'.² The witness of much misery, squalor and brutality,³ Hanne knows suffering as intimately as do the three bereaved women to whom she is implicitly compared. Moreover, like the Duchess of York, she is little more than an 'armes irdisch-lebendes Gespenst!/ Des Wehes Schauplatz',⁴ ; and she too might describe herself as 'Des Grabs Gebühr, vom Leben vorenthalten!'⁵, for there are times when she wishes to die.⁶ This passage in Der Schüdderump may have arisen as a result of Raabe's reading between October 1867 and May 1868.⁷ In any case, since Der Schüdderump was written after Abu Telfan (and after the visits to the theatre recorded in the author's diary) he was probably well aware of the above-mentioned quotations. He appears to have known few of Shakespeare's plays better than

1. III, 1,19.

2. III,1,16.

3. III,1,17-18.

4. Schlegel's translation, loc.cit.

5. *ibid.*, loc.cit.

6. III,1,19,57,63.

7. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.8,p.388.

Richard III, and these are perhaps the most famous: Julius Caesar, King Lear, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet, and Hamlet.

As has been seen elsewhere, only one of the well-known quotations from Julius Caesar is used by Raabe¹ - 'Dies war ein Mann!' - and even then the writer demonstrates his familiarity with the immediate context from which the words are taken. Moreover, he later adapts the opening line of the same speech - 'Dies war der beste Römer unter allen' - in a passage which includes a reference to 'dem haufen-vollen Schlachtfelde'.² In no instance does he lack this awareness of the original setting. Thus it is nearly dawn when Wedehop, a professional translator in Deutscher Adel,³ quotes lines 2,5,6, and 7 of Casca's speech assuring Decius and Cinna 'Die Sonn' erscheint hier, wo mein Degen hinweist'. (Wedehop points to the tower of the town hall with his walking-stick.) Similarly, the final lines of Brutus' farewell to Cassius before Philippi are quoted in Abu Telfan⁴ when the speaker is setting forth upon a fateful enterprise. (He intends to make a proposal of marriage.) And an allusion to the Greek spoken by Cicero occurs in the same novel⁵ in connection

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1. v.p. 179 above. References to other well known passages are found in Marlitt, op.cit., vol.2, pp.60-61; Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.1, pp.489-90; Willkomm, op.cit., vol.2, p.118; & Fontane, Der St. achlin, p.80.
 2. Deutscher Adel (15.8.76-21.8.77), II, 5, 355-56; v. Jul.C., Act 5, sc.5.
 3. II, 5, 335; v. Jul.C., Act 2, sc.1.
 4. II, 1, 316; v. Jul.C., Act 5, sc.1. Raabe quotes from 'Gehab dich wohl' to 'Wo nicht'.
 5. II, 1, 344; v. Jul.C., Act 1, sc.2; cf. Krit. Ausgabe, vol.7, p.412, under 'Lesarten' for 321,4.

with an unexplained utterance by the urbane Friedrich von Glimmern: '...er lächelte seine Meinung mit einer französischen Phrase herüber'. Perhaps here too 'those that understood him smiled at one another, and shook their heads', and perhaps it was Greek to the person describing the scene. Rarely, however, is there any subtler meaning behind these allusions. In Der Hungerpastor Felix, still in his teens, runs away from home and father to fight the French. He chances upon his eldest brother, Leutnant Götz, and greets him with a Latin tag. The lieutenant, who fought on the same side, tells of their meeting: 'Spricht der Bengel lateinisch, so zieh' auch ich gelehrt vom Leder und rufe: 'Et tu Brute! o du Teufelsjunge, wo kommst du her, und was hat der Alte dazu gesagt?'¹ - in other words: 'You here too? ... what did the old man say?'. A recent critic² explains that the quotation (which Raabe may have learned from Shakespeare) is a 'Wort, das Cäsar an seinen Mörder richtet, von dem die Sage geht, daß er Cäsars Sohn war. ...hier hyperbolisch bezogen auf Felix, den Rebell gegen die väterliche Autorität.' If this comment were valid, it would surely be no less correct to say, for example, that Leutnant Götz, identifying himself with Caesar, regarded Felix's sudden appearance as treachery, as a mortal wound inflicted upon him by an unexpected foe. There are no grounds for such an interpretation. The situation in which the words reappear - in Höxter und Corvey³ - also has no significant connection with Caesar's

1. I,1,382; Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6,p.193, reads: 'Et tu, Brute?'

2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.6, p.535.

3. II,4,204. According to W.Brandes, 'Wilhelm Raabe und die Kleiderseller', Raabe-Gedächtnisschrift, ed.cit., p.34, Raabe used the words at times in conversation during the 80's & 90's.

predicament, although the person addressed is on the point of doing a dastardly deed. (The critic's legend concerning Brutus' parentage is perhaps reflected in the jocular vocative which follows the quotation: 'Et tu Brute, mein Sohn Hans Rehkop?!'.) In one instance, however, the full significance of an allusion to Julius Caesar is apparent only if the relevant scene is taken into account. Albin Brokenkorb, a professional aesthete, is contemplating his achievements: 'Was hast du dir angelemt ...? Worte, Phrasen, alles das, was von andern abgetan, der Mittelmäßigkeit, der Herde Mode wird!' ¹ This passage occurs quite early in Im alten Eisen. It is not until later that Brokenkorb's character emerges in all its paltriness, and that the first words of the following lines from Mark Antony's description of Lepidus are seen to be wholly appropriate:

'Ein Mensch von dürft'gem Geiste, der sich nährt
Von Gegenständen, Künsten, Nachahmungen,
Die alt und schon von andern abgenutzt
Erst seine Mode werden'. 2

The opening line of Mark Antony's attack earlier in the same scene is equally pertinent: 'Dies ist ein schwacher, unbrauchbarer Mensch'.

Long before Raabe wrote any of the above tales, the following passage had appeared in Leute (21.10.61 - 1.11.62):

'Drei bis vier Stockbureaukraten standen ebenso weitbeinig über ihrer engen Welt, ³ wie Julius Cäsar in Shakespeares Trauerspiel über der seinigen.'

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1. III,3,30; for a description of the type of man represented by Brokenkorb v.Goltz, Typen der Gesellschaft, ed.cit.,pp.104-05.
 2. Jul.C., Act 4, sc.1.
 3. I,5,60; v.Jul.C., Act 1, sc.2.

This brief paraphrase, which echoes the speech in question (Cassius: 'Ja, er beschreitet, Freund, die enge Welt'), might well have been made from memory, a memory refreshed perhaps by a performance of the play which the writer saw¹ while he was still working on Leute.

At the same time it is possible that this passage, which occurs early in the novel, antedated the visit to the theatre. This is less likely in the case of another passage towards the end of the same work, in which a garrulous actor, Julius Schminkert, exclaims: 'Ich habe manchen Julius gekannt; aber nicht einen, welcher nicht zum ungeheuerlichsten Pech prädestiniert gewesen wäre'.² During the following year Raabe not only saw the play performed again³ but also appears to have read it.⁴

The wide range of more or less unusual references to Julius Caesar in Raabe's writings, from Leute to Im alten Eisen (5.11.84 - 13.9.86), suggests that he returned to it repeatedly. The apparent spontaneity with which he used and adapted certain lines is an indication both of his skill and of his knowledge. Unfortunately, as elsewhere, the evidence reveals his interest in the work but not his opinion of it.

A jotting in a little notebook⁵ which bears the date 'December 1855' suggests that Raabe had some knowledge of and was impressed by King Lear at a relatively early age:

'Was hat Mozart an Tiefe aus dem albernen Text der Zauberflöte gemacht! ... Shakespeare seine Dramen nach ital. Novellen, alten Balladen (Lear)⁶ u Sagen dichtend. - Wie anders stellt er den Stoff dar, seinen tiefern Seiten nach. -' .

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1. Diary entry for 5.9.62.
 2. I, 5, 416.
 3. Diary entry for 9.9.63.
 4. Diary entry for 22.2.63: 'Nachm. Julius Caesar'.
 5. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig under 'H III 10 Nr. 26'; the note is not entirely decipherable.
 6. v. The Story of King Lear by W. Perrett, Berlin, 1904 (Palaestra XXXV), pp. 125-142.

From a passage in Leute¹ (21.10.61 - 1.11.62) it is apparent that the writer numbered King Lear (as well as Hamlet and Macbeth) among the great works of European literature. In an assessment of his familiarity with the play, however, the significance of these references (in the latter instance simply to 'dem alten König Lear') is not very much greater than that of the term 'dieser gelehrte Thebaner'² in Der Hungerpastor (6.11.62 - 3.12.63). Nevertheless, while he was at work on Der Hungerpastor Raabe saw a performance of King Lear³ and towards the end of chapter 17 (i.e. the fifth chapter of the second part of the novel)⁴ he uses Lear's description of Cordelia's voice⁵ to describe the voice of Franziska Götz. (It seems likely that this was a result of the writer's visit to the theatre. He is known to have finished chapter 15 a few weeks before the day in question.⁶) The tragic situation in which the king declares:

'...Ihre Stimme war stets sanft,
Zärtlich und mild; ein köstlich Ding an Frau'n -'

in no way resembles the scene in Der Hungerpastor. Raabe was no doubt aware of this dissimilarity and of its humorous potentialities. At the same time Franziska is a pure, sweet, gentle soul, a rather passive but admirable and lovable heroine who is clearly thought worthy of comparison with Cordelia. The passage includes but is not

1. I, 5, 388.

2. v. pp. 198 & 199-200 above.

3. Diary entry for 18.9.63.

4. I, 1, 422.

5. Act 5, sc. 3.

6. v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol. 6, p. 484.

confined to an explicit quotation:

'Fräulein Franziska Götz ... sagte leise:

'Wenn Sie die Güte haben wollen, mir zu folgen, so werde ich Ihnen Ihr Zimmer zeigen.'

Sanft war ihre Stimme, zärtlich und mild, 'ein köstlich Ding an Fraun', wie der alte König Lear sagte...'

In Abu Telfan¹ (14.4.65 - 30.3.67) an adapted quotation from the same

scene is a little more closely linked with the mood of its original

context. Raabe reflects upon the uncontrollable behaviour of the

human spirit in times of strife and impending doom. The soul

'träumt sich mitten im Kriege in den tiefsten Frieden hinein.

Und während sie lustwandelt, Blumen pflückt und 'über goldene

Schmetterlinge lacht', beugt unten im Abgrunde ein wildes, grimmiges,

hohnlachendes Gesicht sich über einen kaum sichtbaren Funken und

bläst ihn an zu heller Glut.' There is no time, once the

catastrophe has begun,

'die irrende Seele zurückzurufen aus den grünen Gefilden, aus dem Wandeln in der Vergangenheit oder Zukunft, der Reue oder der Hoffnung; ...nicht zu dem kürzesten Stoßgebet ist mehr Zeit.'

Like that in which the actual quotation occurs, this latter

passage is also reminiscent of Lear's words to Cordelia, as they

are about to be led off to prison:

'Bitt'st du um meinen Segen, will ich knie'n
Und dein Verzeihn erflahn; so woll'n wir leben,
Beten und singen, Märchen uns erzählen,
Und über goldne Schmetterlinge lachen.

· · · · ·
· · · · · und so überdauern wir
Im Kerker Ränk' und Spaltungen der Großen'.

Relevant passages in Raabe's later writings are of a more general nature. They are not quotations, but they give the impression of a thorough familiarity with the basic plot of the

1. II,1,339.

play, an impression strengthened by the relative frequency and the apparent ease with which the references are made: Raabe apparently read King Lear at the end of 1867 or at some time during the following year.¹ In Der Schüdderump² (22.10.67 - 8.6.69) Dietrich Häußler reflects: 'einen blödsinnigen König Lear könnte auch ich agieren'. In Wunnigel³ (3.1.76 - 7.8.76) Anselma's father writes to her and her husband - the young couple have not been married long - asking them to prepare for his arrival and assuring them: 'Ich komme allein und nicht mit hundert kontraktmäßig ausbedungenen Rittern wie der alte Leibzüchter Lear'⁴; and in Prinzessin Fisch⁵ (16.2.81 - 14.3.82) Agnes was wont to speak 'von einer unglückseligen, ganz unerklärlichen König-Lear-Stimmung des armen Papas, in der es nicht das geringste helfe, wenn man ... ihn sogar noch besser als die gute Cordelia zu behandeln suche'. (Probably while writing Prinzessin Fisch Raabe also observed⁶ that in old age, with or without reason, man experiences 'die bitterste König-Lear-Stimmung und läßt sie

1. v.Pongs, pp.203-04.

2. III,1,363.

3. II,5,102.

4. Finck, Krit.Ausgabe, vol.13, p.410, like Jensch, op.cit., p.69, assumes that this is an allusion to Act 1, sc.4. Attention should also be drawn to Act 1, sc.1, & Act 2, sc.4.

5. II,6,312.

6. v.Jahrbuch, 1960, p.122.

aus, einerlei ob seine Töchter Goneril und Regan oder Imogen und Cordelia heißen, und zwar - an ihnen'.) And in Im alten Eisen¹ (5.11.84 - 13.9.86) the author clearly had the third act (scenes 2 and 4) in mind when he wrote 'wie der König Lear auf der Heide rase'.

On only one further occasion - apart from the household words in Hastenbeck and Altershausen² - does he demonstrate his conversance with King Lear. In a letter dated 4.4.95³ he writes: 'Für mich kam es am 1sten April zu einem: What shall Cordelia do? Love, and be silent! - - -'. This is almost certainly a reference to Bismarck's eightieth birthday. Raabe deplored the Reichstag's refusal at the end of March to express congratulations.⁴ To what extent Raabe identified himself with Cordelia and her predicament in the opening scene it is hard to say. Certainly he admired Bismarck very much, and for one who was not given to loud and public protestations this situation, which seemed no doubt to call for some such expression of feeling, was perhaps particularly distressing. At the same time, however, Raabe may also have experienced a certain conflict of loyalties. He must have been aware that no utterance of his could undo what had been done or change the attitudes of those responsible. But it is just possible that he was reluctant to attack openly for yet another reason: despite its faults, the nation whose parliament had affronted Bismarck was also the nation whose unification Raabe had warmly advocated, the nation he loved.

1. III,3,55.

2. v.pp.187-90, 198, & 200 above.

3. In alls gedultig, 4.4.95.

4. v.F.Koch, Idee und Wirklichkeit, Düsseldorf, 1956, vol.2, p.369, & Pongs, p.409.

In other words, while it would be far-fetched to equate Bismarck with Lear, and Germany with the husband for whom Cordelia reserves 'half my love ..., half my care and duty', Raabe's remark is probably much less flippant than it appears to be at first. There can be little doubt, in view of the evidence presented above, that he knew exactly when and under what circumstances Cordelia speaks her aside. (That he should quote in English may point to a recent reading of the play in the original, but nothing has been found to support this view.)

There are many references to King Lear in writings by Raabe's contemporaries. Only occasionally, however, does one encounter some form of the quotations and allusions discussed. Thus Kürnberger¹ mentions the 'Nothschrei Lear's um seine hundert Ritter', Immermann² quotes 'Lear auf der Heide', and Spielhagen's Henri, in In Reih und Glied³, asserts that he is 'eine Cordelianatur ... und mein Herz nicht in der Hand trage'. In Problematische Naturen⁴ Spielhagen quotes Lear 'kurz vor dem Ausbruch des Wahnsinns', and in Die schönen Amerikanerinnen⁵ we read: 'das schöne Mädchen mit ihrem Cordelia-Gesicht konnte nureine Cordelia-Stimme haben'. F.T.Vischer, whose Auch Einer contains a considerable number of passages relating to King Lear⁶, writes: 'Und ihre Stimme "sanft, mild und leis, ein köstlich Ding an Frauen" '.⁷ Some knowledge of the qualities

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1. p.169; cf. *ibid.*, p.385. 2. Die Epigonen, ed. cit., vol.3, pp.72-73.
 3. vol.1, p.290; cf. *ibid.*, p.342 & vol.2, p.205.
 4. vol.2, pp.44-45; cf. p.60. 5. ed. cit., p.64.
 6. vol.1, pp.60, 99-100, & vol.2, pp.177, 365, 372-73.
 7. *ibid.*, vol.2, p.210.

attributed to Cordelia's voice may therefore have been comparatively widespread. Lear's madness, to which Vischer also refers, was evidently one of the most widely known features of the tragedy.

The witches' song in the first scene of Act 4 of Macbeth - 'Black spirits and white...' - was originally to have been taken as the motto of Die Kinder von Finkenrode (3.12.57 - 12.7.58).¹ The Handbuch, the second volume of which contains the play in English, may have been Raabe's source. (The Plays² - containing the only other English version which Raabe possessed and which appeared before Die Kinder von Finkenrode - were not acquired until 1863.) He evidently did not consider the lines appropriate, and their omission does not impair the novel in the least. The witches and their utterances are mentioned quite frequently by Raabe's contemporaries: for example, by Keller in Der grüne Heinrich³, by Spielhagen in Problematische Naturen⁴, and several times by Gutzkow in Ritter.⁵ Banquo's words at the disappearance of the witches in the third scene of Act 1 - 'The earth hath bubbles as the water hath' - appear on the title-page of Solitaire's Bella Donna⁶. Raabe quotes a translation of these words⁷ when he describes, in Leute⁸ (21.10.61 - 1.11.62), the

1. v.Pongs, p.113.

2. v.p. 162 above.

3. Book 1, chap.12 (vol.1, p.122.)

4. vol.2, p.477.

5. vol.2, pp.339,360, & vol.3, pp.241-42; cf.vol.1, p.565 & vol.3, p.377.

6. ed.cit., p.201.

7. Raabe translates 'water' by 'das Meer'; all twenty-one translations consulted have 'Wasser'.

8. I,5,146.

appearance of a person 'welche in sich alle Reize der drei Macbethschen Hexen vereinigt'.

Allusions to the appearance of Banquo's ghost at the feast were also not uncommon in Raabe's day, to judge by certain passages in Freytag's Soll und Haben,¹ F.Th. Vischer's Auch Einer², and Fontane's Frau Jenny Treibel³. Raabe refers to this scene both in Leute⁴ and in his unfinished novel Altershausen⁵ (2.2.99 - 190?), and he does so in such a way that there can be no doubt as to his familiarity with the original situation. The references themselves are of no particular interest, the new situations bear little resemblance to that in Macbeth. The passage in Leute continues with an adapted quotation from Act 2: ' " Wir haben nicht den Schlaf ermordet und fürchten die Geister nicht. Setzen Sie sich, mein Herr! " ' This is merely a piece of rather hollow, melodramatic repartee. The humorous use of such quotations and allusions, particularly in these earlier works, is generally much more successful. (Seidel's Leberecht Hühnchen⁶ provides a good example of this type of humour. Terrified by the noises she hears on her first night in Berlin, the narrator's aunt repeatedly wakes her nephew: '... meine gute Tante verfuhr wie Macbeth gegen mich, sie mordete den Schlaf.') The final reference to Macbeth in Leute⁷ is in fact in lighter vein. The spiteful but ridiculous

1. vol.1, p.309.

2. vol.2, p.125.

3. p.370; cf. Ritter, vol.2, p.443.

4. I,5,96-97.

5. III,6,241-42.

6. ed.cit., p.290.

7. I,5,219.

Aurora Pogge cannot rest because she has lost her tell-tale diary: 'Zu einer Nachtwandlerin wie Lady Macbeth wurde sie'. A similar effect is produced by similar means in Zum wilden Mann¹ (18.7.73 - 29.9.73).

According to his diary Raabe saw a performance of Macbeth on 17.4.63 (some five months after completing Leute and two months after he had acquired The Plays² and Dramatische Werke³.) Nevertheless, apart from a common quotation in Die Gänse von Bützow⁴ (12.7.64 - 29.7.65), he makes no further reference to the play until Christoph Pechlin⁵ (1.8.71 - 17.9.72), where two lines from Schiller's Macbeth are used in a description of Pechle's comic distress shortly before the tale's denouement. Having become engaged to the fearsome Christabel Eddish, he does not wish to marry her. He visits a lawyer friend who is thought to have information which will be of some help in this situation. In order to persuade Christabel and her domineering friend Baroness Ripppen of the need for this visit, the reluctant fiancé has invented a story to the effect that his aunt has died and left him something in her will. When he returns to his hotel, however, to dine with the two women (and the hen-pecked Baron) the hero's fate is still uncertain:

'...sie warteten auf ihn mit dem Abendessen und hatten ihm seinen Platz auf der Bank leer gelassen, seinem Engel gegenüber. ... Pechlin hatte nicht selten recht einfach und unbehaglich zu Nacht gegessen; aber so üppig Leib und Seele umkehrend wie in dieser Nacht noch nie. Wie Macbeth konnte er beim Schluß der Tafel und nachdem

1. II,4,92.

2. v.p. 162 above.

3. v.p. 361, note 2 above. 4. v.p. 205 & 207 above.

5. II,2,503; cf. II,2,487, which foreshadows this passage.

er den Damen eine gesegnete Mahlzeit gewünscht hatte, zu sich selbst sagen:

Ich hab' zu Nacht gegessen mit Gespenstern,
Und voll gesättigt bin ich von Entsetzen!

Daß er sich dazu sagen mußte, daß er diese Gespenster selbst beschworen habe, und daß sie nur auf sein eigenes Wort gekommen waren, die selige Tante voran, gab ihm weiter keinen Trost'.

The fact that Macbeth has 'almost forgot the taste of fears'¹, whereas Pechlin is in a state of panic, heightens the contrast between the new setting and that in which the lines originally occur. And it is perhaps no mere coincidence that Raabe should here quote from a monologue which was initially prompted by 'the cry of women'.

The same lines (in what appears to be a mixture of Schiller's and Schlegel-Tieck's translations) are cleverly adapted to a much more serious context by the hero of Stopfkuchen² (4.12.88 - 9.5.90).

This is quite in character, a relatively free adaptation such as might be made spontaneously by a man who is both loquacious and well-read.

The introduction in Der gute Tag (29.1.75 - 27.2.75) of a common quotation from Act 1, Scene 3,³ - 'Na, wie sagt Macbeth?' - obviously reveals a certain familiarity with the original context. The speaker then says he will leave it to his wife - 'meine eigene Lady Macbeth' - to take the rent to their dreaded landlady, a situation which is reminiscent, however faintly, of that immediately after Duncan's murder, when it is left to Lady Macbeth to take the daggers to the king's chamber. The speaker's conviction that in this encounter his wife 'sich, mir und uns nichts vergeben wird' could conceivably

1. Macb., Act 5, sc.5. In fact Schiller and at least nine other translators ignore 'almost'.

2. III,5,154.

3. III,6,480; v.p.¹⁹⁰⁻⁹¹ above. Of the 22 translations examined, that by Julius Körner (William Shakespeare's sämtliche Werke, Schneeberg & Vienna, 1836) most closely resembles the form quoted by Raabe.

Macbeth is mentioned again in Raabe's diary on 25.2.86, but the meaning of the entry is not clear. Two years later, in Der Lar¹, the writer makes a jocular reference to Birnam wood - Tieck had done much the same, a little heavily, in Des Lebens Überfluß² - and in a letter dated 30.12.89³ he alludes to the scene in which Birnam wood is first mentioned (Act 4, Scene 1): his thoughts are with people he has known in the past - 'Freiligrath, Vischer, Notter, Dulk - noch mehr! noch mehr? fragt Macbeth⁴ am Hexenkessel.' In neither case is the original context of any notable significance.

During the street brawl in the opening scene of Romeo and Juliet the cry goes up:

'Clubs, bills and partisans! strike! beat them down!
Down with the Capulets! Down with the Montagues!'

The occurrence in Raabe's second sizable work, Ein Frühling⁵ (1.10.56 - 27.5.57), of a translation of these words⁶ - they are spoken during a street brawl - not only shows that the writer knew the play when he was young: it also helps to establish the source of a term which appears a little earlier in the same novel.⁷ Faced with the prospect of crossing a large puddle, the hero jestingly observes to the dainty heroine: '- sieh, da kommt eine Eierschale gesegelt, steig ein, Königin Mab!'. If one also remembers the diminutive conveyance

1. III,3,333.

2. ed.cit., p.27.

3. In alls gedultig, 30.12.89.

4. cf. Auch Einer, vol.1, pp.389-90, & Der grüne Heinrich, Bk.3, ch.1. (vol.2. p.13). August Jacob's translation (Shakespeare's Macbeth, Berlin, 1848) reads: 'Noch mehr! - Ein Siebenter!'; & Karl Lachmann (Shakespeare's Macbeth, Berlin, 1829) writes: 'Noch mehr? Der siebent'. Others translate Macbeth's question by 'Noch einer?', 'Und noch?', 'Ein anderer noch?' etc.

5. I.2.59.

6. Of the 14 translations consulted, none corresponds exactly to the wording used by Raabe.

7. I,2,54.

in which, according to Mercutio, Queen Mab was wont to travel - 'Her chariot is an empty hazel-nut' - it seems reasonable to infer that this is an allusion to the relevant speech in Act 1, Scene 4.¹ (In the case of the comparatively vague reference to 'Königin Mab' in Der Amerika-Müde² such a conclusion would be hard to justify.)

Mercutio is mentioned by name in Raabe's next novel, Die Kinder von Finkenrode:³ Alexander Mietze, a young ex-actor, suggests to friends 'Feuer und Flamme, Gedanken und Rheinwein wollen wir zusammenquirlen, und Mercutio soll kommen und seine Meinung sagen! ... Ich will den Mercutio spielen und Bösenberg den Romeo'. This may be another allusion to Act 1, scene 4. Bösenberg is in love, but his love, like Romeo's for Rosaline, is not - as we learn later - returned. The speaker appears to be thinking of Mercutio's attempts to advise and to distract Romeo in the scene in question - although at this stage it is he, Mietze, who is love-lorn and disconsolate. Certainly Romeo's subsequent description of his garrulous friend - a 'gentleman...that loves to hear himself talk; and will speak more in a minute than he will stand to in a month' (Act 2, Scene 4) - is one which might apply to the ebullient Mietze

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1. Presumably Jensch, op.cit., p.66, had the same considerations in mind when he came to the same conclusion. Without supporting evidence of some kind, the use of such widely-known names obviously cannot be linked with any particular source; cf. the entry 'Merlin' in Spiero, Raabe-Lexikon, ed.cit., p.156.
 2. Kürnberger, p.24.
 3. II, 2, 91.

in the pages which follow. His mood is that of a man who wishes to talk a great deal, even though he may talk nonsense.

Apart from a farcical little episode in Leute¹ which calls to mind the famous balcony scene, it is not until Der Schüdderump (22.10.67 - 8.6.69) that Raabe alludes to the play again, although according to his diary² he saw it performed not long after he completed Leute³. (An earlier diary entry - for 12.10.57 - reads : '...Oper Die Montecesi u Capuleti von Bellini...'.) Since the villain of Der Schüdderump has business dealings in Verona, 'in der berühmten Stadt des Fürsten Eskalus'⁴, the two references to 'Romeo und Julia'⁵ hardly come as a surprise. In the second instance the speaker equates 'Julia' with the novel's heroine, and this might be taken to foreshadow the latter's tragic end. There are in fact certain similarities between her fate and that of Juliet: both are secretly in love; both appear to agree, under selfish parental pressure, to marry an unwelcome but not utterly unworthy suitor, a count, confident that the marriage will not take place; both die despite the efforts of a fatherly friend to save them.)

These superficial and perhaps fortuitous similarities are,

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1. I, 5, 229; a reference to the balcony scene also occurs in Freytag's Die verlorene Handschrift, ed.cit., vol.2, pp.64-66.
 2. Entry for 18.5.63. 3. Completed on 1.11.62.
 4. III, 1, 316.
 5. III, 1, 259 & 349. While at work on Der Schüdderump Raabe apparently read some Shakespeare (v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.8, p.388.)

however, outweighed by the dissimilarities between the two stories. Only in one sentence¹ does the writer quite clearly echo a passage from Shakespeare's play: a remark concerning the villain's good spirits on the eve of his departure from Verona - 'es gab keinen vergnügteren Vogel' - is introduced by an allusion to the dialogue between Romeo and Juliet at the beginning of Act 3, Scene 5 ('Es war die Nachtigall und nicht die Lerche...'). This one line was included in the 1882 edition of Büchmann's Geflügelte Worte. Raabe shows that he knew it in its context.).

'...die Worte, die hin und wider gewechselt wurden, hätten jeglicher heißblütigen italienischen, von Familienfehden durchtobten Stadt und Hochsommernacht alle Ehre gemacht.'

These lines from Christoph Pechlin² (1.8.71 - 17.9.72) tell of the atmosphere on a summer's evening in the village of Hohenstaufen: wedding festivities are in progress, and a scrimmage is about to take place. The passage recalls not only the general situation in Romeo and Juliet but also, if one disregards the hours at which the respective fights take place, Benvolio's words at the beginning of Act 3 shortly before Mercutio and Tybalt are killed:

'The day is hot, the Capulets abroad,
And, if we meet, we shall not scape a brawl;
For now, these hot days, is the mad blood stirring.'

(Perhaps Raabe would not have dismissed out of hand the theory advanced by the king in Spielhagen's In Reih und Glied³, according to which all would have been well if 'an dem Tage, da der alte Capulet seinen Ball gab, das Thermometer zehn Grad unter dem Gefrierpunkt

1. III,1,346.

2. II,2,355.

3. vol.2, p.360.

gestanden hätte'.) Pechlin knew just what was going to happen:

'Pechle wußte Bescheid, als ob er der Hochzeitläder für den Grafen Paris, den Neffen des Fürsten Eskalus, im Ochsen zu Hohenstaufen gewesen wäre.'

This apparently means that, had such a wedding been arranged, and had he known exactly who was present, Pechlin could not have been more certain of the way things would develop. (The writer's memory is evidently to blame for the term 'Neffen'. In the translations consulted in this connection, Paris is described in three cases¹ as the prince's 'Vetter', otherwise as his 'Verwandter', 'Anverwandter', etc.)

The words 'woeful, woeful, woeful', which occur a little later in the tale,² may also stem from Romeo and Juliet,³ although the scene in which they are originally spoken is totally unlike that in Christoph Pechlin. A quite elaborate and humorously appropriate reference to the family feud and 'dem Schlaftrunk des Paters Lorenzo' is to be found in 'Eulenpfingsten'⁴ (25.4.74 - 29.6.74); and in 'Vom alten Proteus'⁵ (1.1.75 - 5.5.75) - where again two young lovers have to overcome a number of obstacles, including parental opposition - the heroine, who has recently seen a performance of 'Romeo und Julie', admonishes her admirer and tells him about her father's behaviour on the way home from the theatre:

'...sieh nicht wieder mit dem Opernglase nach unserer Loge ...!
...der alte Capulet hätte sich dreist ihn zum Muster nehmen können

1. William Shakespear's Schauspiele, by J.J.Eschenburg, Zürich, 1775-82; Romeo und Julia nach Shakespeare, by Oswald Marbach, Leipzig, n.d.; & Romeo und Julia, by E.G.L., Vienna, 1870.

2. II,2,357.

3. In Act 4, sc.5, the nurse exclaims 'O woeful, woeful, woeful day!'

4. II,4,237.

5. II,4,536.

seiner unglücklichen Tochter gegenüber.'

It was not until eighteen years later that another work - the last work - appeared in which there is further clear evidence of Raabe's familiarity with Romeo and Juliet : Kloster Lugau. In view of this gap in time, and since the novel contains no less than three passages of interest, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the writer read or saw the play again quite late in life. Indeed this may even account for an otherwise unremarkable allusion¹ in Gutmanns Reisen, the work which immediately preceded Kloster Lugau. (The editor of the latest edition of Deutscher Adel² - which was written shortly after Vom alten Proteus - contends that Winckelspinner's words 'es ist die Sonne und nicht die Wolke, die den Regenbogen macht!' echo the lines already referred to in Der Schüdderump:³ 'Es war die Nachtigall, und nicht die Lerche,/Die eben jetzt dein banges Ohr durchdrang'.)

The young hero of Kloster Lugau is elated. He has fallen in love with his cousin Eva and with the new environment in which he finds himself, and one day, although he does not explicitly declare his love, jubilantly tells Eva and her friend, Gräfin Laura Warburg, that he feels as though he were dreaming.⁴ Thereupon Laura asks: 'Sie lesen auch den Shakespeare, Herr Doktor?', and then explains her question:

'Nun, haben Sie ihn denn nicht eben zitiert? My bosom's lord sits lightly in his throne - leicht auf dem Thron sitzt meiner Brust Gebieter! ...'.

1. v. pp. 214-15 above.

2. v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol. 13, p. 457.

3. v. p. 416 above.

4. III, 3, 556-57; cf. III, 3, 538.

Thus she implies not only that he, like Romeo, is in love, but also that his present mood tallies with that expressed by Romeo in the opening monologue of Act 5. In the relevant translation¹ the line which precedes that which is quoted - 'So deuten meine Träum' ein nahes Glück' - perhaps reflects the doctor's hopes more accurately than does the original 'My dreams presage some joyful news at hand'. The two lines which follow are entirely appropriate to the day in question: 'And all this day an unaccustom'd spirit/Lifts me above the ground with cheerful thoughts.' Romeo is interrupted by the arrival of his servant, who tells him of the death of Juliet. When Laura continues the allusion a little later, it is to voice her relief that as yet nothing, 'kein Signor Balthasar', appears to have spoiled their afternoon excursion to 'Mantua...durch die neuesten Nachrichten aus Verona'.² When things do take a turn for the worse, her reaction is to quote Romeo's first words to Balthasar: 'News from Verona!', adding '...wie ich sie nicht geahnt, sondern vorausgesehen habe'³ - a reaction which is understandable only to the reader who knows his Shakespeare, and one for which the way has been prepared by the passages discussed above.⁴

1. i.e. that by Schlegel.

2. III,3,558.

3. III,3,568.

4. The quotations and allusions discussed in this chapter rarely acquire significance through their repetition during the course of a story. That this is not always the case with Raabe's quotations is shown by Herman Meyer, Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst, ed.cit., pp.192-206.

The multiplicity of popular quotations from Hamlet examined above¹ is probably symptomatic of the play's great popularity in Germany both before and during the period under discussion. To say that every German writer in the 19th century was bound to have read or seen the play would hardly be an exaggeration. On 12.9.52, while he was still a bookseller's apprentice in Magdeburg, and more than two years before he began work on the Chronik, Raabe acquired a copy of Hamlet, in English. (Written in German on the flyleaf are details of Shakespeare's place and date of birth - 'am 23sten April 1564' - and death, followed by: 'Nature her pencil to his hands commits/And then in all her forms to this great master sits (Johnson)' - a couplet which opens an account of Shakespeare's life in the Handbuch². On the Hamlet title-page are written the words 'He was not for an age, but for all time' - a slight misquotation³ from Ben Jonson's 'To the memory of my beloved...'. Raabe may have come across this in an edition of the First Folio, but the line in question was sufficiently well known to be included by Büchmann in the early Geflügelte Worte.⁴) In this copy of Hamlet there is a great amount of handwritten vocabulary, largely confined to Act 1; there are also occasional indications as to pronunciation (e.g. 'fr^{au}wn'd'), and a few lines have been translated. Since the edition is dated 1843, however, the handwriting might be that of a previous owner. Only rarely does it appear, to the untrained eye, to resemble that of the adult Raabe. Nevertheless, the fact that

1. v.pp.178 et seq., above.

2. vol.2, p.29; vol.1 includes Johnson's preface to his edition of Shakespeare (1765).

3. 'He was not of an age, but for all time!'

4. 2nd edition, Berlin, 1865; v.p.168, note 2, above.

he owned the book at this stage is significant: very few other works of English or American literature were acquired so early,¹ and no other left so great an imprint on his writings.

Evidence of Raabe's familiarity with Hamlet is first found in the Chronik² where, in circumstances similar to those in the play - the beautiful young Marie is lying in her coffin - the narrator exclaims: 'Ach, die Armut und der Winter erlaubten nicht, allzuviel: 'Süßes der Süßen' zu streuen!'

The queen's words as she scatters flowers over Ophelia's grave (Act 5, Scene 1) are not among those which were commonly quoted in Germany by Raabe's contemporaries, owing perhaps in some measure to the rather limited applicability of the translation.³ Whether Raabe was in fact quoting a known translation is open to question. Neither Wieland nor Eschenburg translates so literally; Karl Simrock (whose version Raabe may well have known⁴) and Schlegel write 'Der Süßen süßes'. The impression that Raabe was thinking of the English wording is confirmed by the next relevant passage in the Chronik⁵: alluding to the beginning of the same scene the narrator calls the grave-diggers 'ihr Clowns' and suggests that one of them send his companion to fetch refreshment 'bei Yaughan' - terms which do not occur in the translations mentioned.

1. v. pp. 338 & 359 above.

2. I, 1, 21.

3. cf. Byron's use of them in Don Juan, Canto 2, stanza 17.

4. In William Shakespeare's Sämtliche dramatische Werke, ed. cit. (v. p. 367, note 1, above).

5. I, 1, 24.

A little later in the Chronik¹ an old man, Burchhard, remembers having once heard 'von einer dänischen Prinzessin, die wahnsinnig wurde, weil ihr Liebster sich wahnsinnig gestellt hatte . . . ' . He is digressing from his account of the fate of Luise Ralff, who had been seduced by a wicked young aristocrat and whose subsequent behaviour was that of a person broken in health and spirit. The old man's digression, from which the informed reader may begin to infer what became of Luise, is interrupted by a listener who is familiar with Luise's story but who, as his words show, knows less about Ophelia than does Burchhard: 'Bleib bei der Stange, Burchhard, ... eines Morgens lag sie am Rande des Hungerteiches ertrunken im Wasser! '

Another young girl in distress is Klärchen, the heroine of Ein Frühling. Shaken by her sweetheart's infidelity she falls ill:² 'Ich wollte, ich könnte zusammenbinden in einen Kranz, was dieses verwüstete Mädchenherz durchzieht! Es müßte ein Kranz werden, phantastisch wild wie der, welchen Ophelia sich ins Haar flocht, ehe sie in die kühle Todesflut sank.'

Raabe presumably had in mind the 'fantastic garlands'³ mentioned by Gertrude (Act 4, Scene 7) when she tells of Ophelia's death, although it is not explicitly stated that they were worn in the hair. The writer may also have had recollections of Ophelia's second entry in Act 4, Scene 5 - 'fantastically dressed with straws and flowers' :

1. I.1.40-41.

2. I,2,171.

3. Schlegel: '...sie phantastische Kränze wand'.

passages in Gutzkow's Ritter suggest that in this scene she was generally presented 'mit einem Strohkränze um den Kopf, mit Maßliebchen im Haar'.¹ A little later in Ein Frühling² Raabe takes as a chapter heading Hamlet's words in reaction to the ghost's second injunction to Horatio and Marcellus to swear the oath of secrecy: 'Hic et ubique' (Act 1, Scene 5) - a heading whose relevance seemingly lies in the fact that the chapter touches on ghosts and their ubiquity.³ In view of the presence of two clear references to Hamlet (and two tags from the play, which are discussed elsewhere⁴) one further passage in this novel⁵ is particularly striking: The singer Alida, listening at dusk to a tale with whose pernicious heroine she can identify herself (as is evidently the story-teller's intention), interrupts: 'Licht, Licht!' stöhnte mit unbeschreiblicher Angst in der Stimme die Sängerin.' Like Claudius, when he interrupts the play within a play -

King : 'Give me some light: - away! '
 All : 'Lights, lights, lights! ' (Act 3, Scene 2)

- Alida then leaves, giving no explanation. A true explanation would amount to an admission of guilt.

While writing Die Kinder von Finkenrode (3.12.57 - 12.7.58)

Raabe evidently either listened to or took part in a 'Vorlesung des Hamlet',⁶ but for several years he wrote little which, in the present

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1. vol.2, p.392; cf. *ibid.*, vol.1, p.232; in the former instance the speaker, like Burchard in the Chronik (v.p. 422 above), is recalling what is clearly Ophelia's story and thinks of her as a 'Prinzessin'.
 2. I, 2, 229.
 3. v.I, 2, 231, 232 and cf. I, 2, 224-25 & 233.
 4. v. pp. 188 & 198-99 above.
 5. I, 2, 135.
 6. Diary entry for 6.3.58.

context, is of more than passing interest. The expression 'There's the rub!' (Act 3, Scene 1), for example, occurs in Die Kinder von Finkenrode¹ - and recurs twice, as 'da liegt's!', in Drei Federn² (3.1.64 - 7.4.65) - but the situation in which the words are originally spoken is relevant only inasmuch as the informed reader may derive some amusement from the incongruity of the new setting. Moreover, although this was perhaps a relatively uncommon quotation at the time, it should be remembered that Hamlet's most famous monologue was not uncommonly quoted.³ (The form which the words take in Schopenhauer's Parerga und Paralipomena⁴ - 'But there lies the rub' - seems to be a combination of English and German.⁵) The passage in question reflects not only the writer's familiarity with the monologue to which he is referring but also, at least by implication, the commonness of such references.) An actor in Raabe's Wer kann es wenden?⁶ (Summer 1859 - 23.9.59) at one stage mentions: the appearance - amidst 'den gefallenen Hoheiten' - of Fortinbras and those accompanying him (Act 5, Scene 2); the skull of Yorick 'des Spaßmachers'⁷ (Act 5, Scene 1); and Ophelia's madness.⁸

1. II, 2, 133.

2. I, 6, 144 & 152. In the second instance it is followed by 'sagt Shakespeare'.

3. v. pp. 182 et seq., above.

4. ed. cit., part 2, p. 331.

5. Schlegel writes 'da liegt's'.

6. I, 4, 494-95.

7. Both Simrock and Schlegel use this term for 'jester'.

8. Schlegel (Act 4, sc. 5) translates Claudius' 'Pretty Ophelia!' as 'Holde Ophelia'. Raabe writes: "...jetzt greint die holde Ophelia!."

Leute¹ (21.10.61 - 1.11.62) contains a humorous reference to a third-rate performance of the scene in which 'Hamlet der Däne den Schädel Yoriks des Spaßmachers wog und seinen einstigen Hirngehalt taxierte'; in Der Hungerpastor² (6.11.62 - 3.12.63) there is a comic allusion to Ophelia's suicide; and Ophelia is mentioned, together with a number of other female characters from Shakespeare, in Holunderblüte³ (25.11.62 - 25.1.63). Less than a month after completing Holunderblüte Raabe bought 'Shakespeare englisch u deutsch'⁴, i.e. the plays both in the Tauchnitz edition and in the Schlegel-Tieck translation. Both works bear the handwritten date 19.2.63.⁵ Nevertheless, neither of the following passages is necessarily based either on this translation or on that by Simrock.⁶ Hahnenberg, one of the three narrators of Drei Federn⁷ - it is he who first uses the expression 'da liegt's ' a little later in the tale⁸ - admits, with reference to years gone by,

'ich fand keinen Gefallen am Mann, und am Weibe auch nicht, wie auch Herr Rosenkranz mit Frau und Fräulein Gülderstern dazu lächeln mochten.'

1. I,5,415.

2. I,1,355.

3. I,5,611; v.pp.365,371,377,379,381,&384 above

4. Diary entry for 19.2.63. It appears from the diary that on the following day Raabe's wife saw Hamlet performed.

5. v.p. 162 above.

6. v.p.367,note1, above.

7. I,6,132.

8. v.p. 424 above.

Although the opening words are probably based on those in Schlegel's translation¹ (Act 2, Scene 2), it is perhaps worth noting that 'delights me not' is rendered by Wieland (and Eschenburg) 'gefällt mir nicht'. The divergence between Raabe's words and these translations is, however, sufficient to suggest that Raabe was paraphrasing - and therefore also adapting - from memory. (An allusion to the knowing smile which irritates Hamlet also occurs in Gutzkow's Ritter²). The dishevelled hose of Magister Albus in Die Gänse von Bützow³ (12.7.64 - 29.7.65), which is likened to that of Hamlet 'in der wunderschönen aber grauligen Tragödie von William Shakespeare'⁴, is likewise reminiscent of the translations by Wieland and Eschenburg. Schlegel translates

'...his stockings foul'd,
Ungarter'd, and down-gyved to his ankle'

as

'...die Strümpfe schmutzig
Und losgebunden auf den Knöcheln hängend.'

Raabe on the other hand, like the two older translators, refers to the young man's 'Kniebänder'⁵. This was perhaps done for the sake of historical accuracy: the events which are described - and in which the narrator is involved - take place three or four years before Schlegel's Hamlet appeared. (Whether the comparison implies that Albus' stockings were also 'foul'd' is a moot question. Had the narrator's knowledge of the play been confined to Wieland's translation he would simply have thought of them as 'nicht aufgezogen'.)

1. Hamlet to Rosenkrantz & Guildenstern: 'Ich habe keine Lust am Manne - und am Weibe auch nicht, wiewohl ihr das durch euer Lächeln zu sagen scheint.'

2. vol.1, p.236.

3. I,6,399.

4. v.Act 2, sc.1.

5. Simrock does not use the term.

Before completing Die Gänse von Bützow Raabe had begun to write Abu Telfan (14.4.65 - 30.3.67). Perhaps the author's interest in Shakespeare was stimulated by his friendship with Ludwig Seeger, who died in 1864¹ and whose translation of Hamlet he later quotes.² The copy of this translation in Raabe's library (Hildburghausen, 1865) may not have been acquired as soon as it was published; but if the relationship between the two men was as close as has been suggested³, it is no surprise that during the sixties Raabe's thoughts should turn readily to Shakespeare. Apart from the repeated use of a common quotation, discussed elsewhere,⁴ Hamlet is quoted at least three times in Abu Telfan.⁵ The irony of the phrase 'in seiner Sünden Maienblüte'⁶ (Act 3, Scene 3), applied to a mild man whose sins are purely hypothetical, is enhanced by an awareness of the even stronger words - and of the character to whom they apply - in the original

English: 'He took my father grossly, full of bread;
With all his crimes broad blown, as flush as May'.

The king's reaction to Ophelia's distraught behaviour (Act 4, Scene 5) and to the calamitous situation which has arisen since the death of Polonius -

' dies
Gibt wie ein Traubenschuß an vielen Stellen
Mir überflüß'gen Tod'

- is also the reaction of Major Wildberg⁷ to the complicated and tragic circumstances depicted towards the end of Abu Telfan. The scene which immediately precedes Wildberg's quotation is reminiscent of

1. Raabe's diary for 30.5.63 reads: 'Abd 6 Uhr Silberburg. Ludwig Seegers Shakespeare Übersetzung : König Johann...'

2. v. pp. 445-46 below.

3. v. Pongs, pp. 187-88.

4. v. pp. 179-81 above.

5. The quotations are from Schlegel's translation.

6. II, 1, 173.

7. II, 1, 363.

that which gives rise to Claudius' speech: Nikola von Einstein, like Ophelia the innocent victim of happenings beyond her control, has been talking in a slightly hysterical and perplexing manner. She concludes a particularly odd statement with the words 'Gute Nacht! gute Nacht!' ¹ - these are also Ophelia's words as she leaves the king to his thoughts - whereupon a friend exclaims in dismay: 'Das streift ja an den Wahnsinn...!'. In view of these and other echoes of Hamlet in Abu Telfan - there is an allusion earlier in the novel ² to Ophelia's behaviour in Act 4, Scene 5 - and in view of the wording in a later work of a clear allusion to Ophelia's death ('...kein Mädchen ging deshalb ins Wasser' ³), Nikola's assurance 'ins Wasser gehe die Nikola auf keinen Fall' can surely be taken as a further indirect reference to the play. Nikola withdraws from society, and her retreat, an old mill, is the isolated home of an elderly woman who, many years before, also fled the wicked world. The hero of the tale, Leonhard Hagebucher, keeps a watchful eye on the mill, describing himself as a 'Wächter vor einem kleinen Unglück in einer großen See von Plagen' ⁴. According to Boekhoff ⁵, the phrase from Hamlet's monologue (Act 3, Scene 1) is a proof 'daß von einer Siegesstimmung und einem Lebenssieg in diesem Roman nicht die Rede sein kann. Denn auch hier gleicht das Zitat wieder einmal dem scheinbar zufällig leuchtenden Spalt in einem Vorhang, den man nur

1. II,1,357-60. Nikola is told: '...besinnen Sie sich..., was Sie waren und was Sie sind.' Her reply begins: 'Das ist freilich die Frage...!'.
 2. II,1,327.

3. Kloster Lugau, III,3,391-92; v. pp. 439 et seq., below.

4. II,1,410. 'See von Plagen' is the term used by Schlegel; Wieland, Eschenburg, Simrock & Seeger translate differently.

5. op.cit., p.110.

written during the intervening twenty-five years it is occasionally helpful to know the source of quotations or allusions, if only because a humorous effect is at times achieved by an implicit contrast between the original and the new situation. The writer's familiarity with the text of the play is striking: at no point can he be accused of ignorance, although one or two references are a little puzzling, one or two are quite superficial and reveal nothing in the way of expertise, and none calls for an interpretation as subtle as that which has been discussed in connection with the phrase 'See von Plagen'. The villain of Der Schüdderump¹ (22.10.67 - 8.6.69), convinced that his granddaughter is merely feigning illness, contends

'eine wahnsinnige Ophelia oder einen blödsinnigen König Lear könnte auch ich agieren, ohne daß man mich auslachte.'

In Der Dräumling² (1.4.70 - 12.5.71) George Knackstert is shocked by certain quite unexpected news:

' 'Er glaubte sich wohl gedeckt und starrt nun plötzlich nicht wenig betroffen hinauf in eine unergründlich dunkle Winternacht voll Nordwind, Schneewolken und Regenschauer. Es ist manchmal bitter kalt auf den Wällen von Helsingör, Horatio.' '

The latter sentence - Rudolf Haeseler is addressing his friend Gustav Fischarth - is evidently an adaptation not only, as has been claimed,³ of Hamlet's words to Horatio (Act 1, Scene 4): 'Die Luft geht scharf, es ist entsetzlich kalt', but also of Francisco's words to Bernardo (Act 1, Scene 1): ' 'S ist bitter kalt'. The term 'das Ding', with

1. III,1,363.

2. II,3,89.

3. v.Jensch, op.cit., p.67, & Krit.Ausgabe, vol.10, p.477.

which the narrator of Meister Autor¹ (25.10.72 - 10.7.73) describes an unseen ghostlike being, has recently been construed² as

'Bezeichnung für einen Geist; in Anlehnung an 'Hamlet' I,1,20.'

This is not implausible, particularly since later in the tale Raabe refers at some length to a performance of Hamlet, but it seems unlikely that, in using such an everyday word to denote an invisible, undefined presence, he should necessarily have thought of Horatio's word for the apparition which Marcellus claims to have seen. At the theatre, the narrator, von Schmidt, subsequently³

'sah den geharnischten Geist des alten Dänemark über die Bretter schreiten, hörte das: Sein oder Nichtsein - sah die Komödie in der Komödie, aber sie spielten und sprachen alle mit falschem Pathos und verrenkten Gliedmaßen, und die ganze Geschichte kam mir entsetzlich einfältig vor.'

Schmidt's reaction to the play is largely conditioned by his distress at the undeserved suffering which he has just witnessed elsewhere.

The criticism of the acting is reminiscent not only of Hamlet's instructions to the players⁴ in Act 3, Scene 2, but also of the situation which has affected Schmidt so deeply: he has seen and heard true pathos at the bedside of a young man who has been fatally crippled in an accident.

The term 'geharnischt' does not occur until Act 1, Scene 2, in

1. II,3,472.

2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.11, p.467.

3. II,3,512.

4. cf.Gutzkow, Ritter, vol.2, p.86.

the conversation between Hamlet and those who have seen the ghost. The phrase 'in complete steel', which occurs in Hamlet's first speech to the ghost (Act 1, Scene 4), is quoted in Im alten Eisen¹ (5.11.84 - 13.9.86). It appears later, in German, both in Kloster Lugau² and in the unfinished novel Altershausen³ (2.2.99 - 190?). (Raabe writes 'ganz in Stahl', a translation which is not to be found in Wieland, Eschenburg, Schlegel, Simrock, or Seeger.) This speech is twice quoted in Vom alten Proteus⁴ (1.1.75 - 5.5.75), the quotation in the second instance being combined with Horatio's repeated imperative 'Sprich zu mir!' from Act 1, Scene 2. (The author of Literarische Rücksichtslosigkeiten,⁵ Paul Lindau, observes that another line from Hamlet's speech - 'Du kommst in so fragwürdiger Gestalt' - was commonly quoted in Germany during the latter part of the 19th century, an observation which is borne out at least to some extent by a conversation which takes place in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen.⁶)

From a passage in the Kohls' Englische Skizzen⁷ one might infer

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1. III,3,91.
 2. III,3,494. The passage is a laboured reference to the ghost of Hamlet's father. It includes Hamlet's vocative 'toter Leichnam' from the same line, and the following allusion to the latter part part.. of his speech: 'Zu einer der sowohl aus dem Original wie aus den Übersetzungen...bekanntem Fragen an das Gespenst kam er aber nicht.' The thwarted questioner is popularly known as 'Horatio'.
 3. III,6,330-31.
 4. II,4,558.
 5. ed.cit., p.290.
 6. vol.1, p.13.
 7. Kohl, part 3, p.36.

that more or less casual, general references to the ghost of Hamlet's father were readily appreciated by the author's contemporaries. Whether this was so or not, a reference of this kind later in Vom alten Proteus¹ will be at least vaguely understood even by those who do not know Hamlet, if only because it is plainly worded and because ghosts have played a considerable part in the tale up to that point. Both the other quotations mentioned above are occasioned by the appearance of a ghost (which for many years has been held - not unlike Polonius - transfixed 'hinter der Tapete')². On the other hand, the first relevant passage in Alte Nester³ (28.8.77 - 13.2.79) culminates in a quotation which is not only unexpected but also quite meaningless to the uninitiated reader. Despite Raabe's lack of concern for his readers in such matters, however, it seems likely - since the play as a whole was well known, and since the words quoted are originally spoken during the first tense moment in the opening scene - that he was able to rely on being understood by a great many. Ewald Sixtus has fulfilled his ambition to buy Haus Werden, a place full of childhood memories, the former home of the woman he loves. He and his scholarly friend Fritz Langreuter - who tells the story -

1. II,4,608.

2. Apart from the common quotation mentioned elsewhere (v. pp. 179-80 above), there appears to be no further evidence in Vom alten Proteus of Raabe's familiarity with Hamlet, although attention has been drawn to a similarity between the use of the word 'common' in Act 1, sc. 2, & the novelist's comment (II,4,529) on the ambiguous expression 'ein kommuner Kerl' (v. Krit. Ausgabe, vol. 12, pp. 205 & 534.)

3. II,6,229.

- approach the sadly dilapidated building, 'und sein jetziger Herr lud mich mit einem Achselzucken, einer höflichen Handbewegung, einem neuen tiefen Seufzer und mit etwas gezwungenem Lächeln zum Eintritt ein, indem er brummte:

'Du bist gelehrt, sprich du mit ihm, Horatio.' '

The effect of the double antecedent of 'ihm' - that in the novel and that in the play - is to stress the eeriness of the atmosphere, Ewald's disquietude, and perhaps also the impossibility of restoring the house to its former state. On two occasions Langreuter then alludes to Ewald's words: by mentioning his friends' belief 'an mein Studium in Wittenberg'¹ (v. Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 2), and by an explicit statement of what Ewald had implied: 'Wie sehr es da spukt, das glaubte ich gestern erfahren zu haben, als man mich bat, als Gelehrter mit dem Gespenst zu reden'.²

Raabe acquired a copy of the Globe edition of Shakespeare's works shortly after he had begun to write Alte Nester, but he does not refer to the English Hamlet for some time.³ The adapted quotations in Pfisters Mühle (16.2.81 - 14.3.82) are based, like so many others, on Schlegel's translation: lines from Act 4, Scene 5

1. II,6,242.

2. II,6,252.

3. On 4.8.78 (v. Jahrbuch, 1960, p.118) he did, however, jot down the following more or less tenable view, which clearly derived from a recent preoccupation with the play: 'Das Tiefe im Hamlet ist, daß er gerade der genaueste Verwandte des König Claudius ist. Alle Bosheit und Rancüne fördert er zu Tage in seiner Gekränktheit an dem eigenen Rechts- und Sittlichkeitsgefühl.'

(Ophelia's speech 'Da ist Fenchel für euch...') and Scene 7 (Gertrude's account of Ophelia's death: 'Von Hahnfuß...'), are appropriately put into the mouth of an addle-pated poet at the sight of his daughter standing beneath a tree near a river¹, a river in which he later drowns; and the proprietor of a laundry and cleaning business, echoing one of the abusive names with which Hamlet describes Claudius in Act 3, Scene 4, describes himself as 'der wirkliche geflickte Lumpenkönig'². The same translation is the source of quotations from Act 2, Scene 2 (Polonius' speech beginning 'Die besten Schauspieler in der Welt...') in Unruhige Gäste³ (21.5.84 - 22.10.84), although the words 'der Clown, Euer Totengräber', which appear later in the novel⁴, again show⁵ that Raabe did not think of the play entirely in Schlegel's terms. The following passage from his next work, Im alten Eisen, seems to indicate that he was sufficiently familiar with the English to quote it from memory: 'Noch regte und rührte sich nichts, keine Maus, und von den Geistern des Hauses weder ein guter noch ein schlimmer.'

1. III,2,314-15; v.also p. 429 above.

2. III,2,370.

3. III,2,258-59; one of these quotations appears in a slightly different form in Kloster Lugau, III,3,590.

4. III,2,368.

5. v.p. 426 above.

'No mouse stirring!' murmelte Mrs. Crusoe von Brooklyn!¹

The substitution of 'No' for 'Not a' is unlikely to have been deliberate. As is clear from other utterances (e.g. an allusion to the second and third lines from the speech 'O welch ein edler Geist ist hier zerstört!²) the speaker knew Shakespeare well, and there is no reason to doubt her knowledge of the English. Perhaps Raabe was misled by 'keine Maus' in the previous paragraph, or perhaps he simply remembered that the English meant 'keine Maus', and then translated. (Wieland, Eschenburg, Simrock, and Seeger write 'keine Maus', Schlegel's translation reads 'Alles maustestill'.) Whatever the reason, the error appears to stem from a combination of confidence and considerable but not exhaustive knowledge, a combination which occasionally manifests itself elsewhere in Raabe's work.³

Through Dr Paul Warnefried Kohl, the well-read, loquacious young hero of Der Lar (17.11.87 - 26.9.88), the writer demonstrates his familiarity with Hamlet still further.⁴ The apparent spontaneity with which these references are made is remarkable, particularly since two of them are to details which were by no means common knowledge. The third and final passage is an

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1. III,3,121; v.Ham., Act 1, sc.1.
 2. III,3,50; v.Ham., Act 3, sc.1. A further allusion to this speech occurs in Akten (30.6.93 - 18.7.95), III,5,331.
 3. v. pp. 135 et seq., above.
 4. III,3,248: confronted with the work of a corpse photographer Kohl exclaims: '...was ist denn das? und dies? Ein totes Kind in Blumen - ein - siehe Hamlet, Akt fünf, erste Szene - seit neun Jahren verstorbenen Lohgerber -'; III,3,273: an allusion to Marcellus' speech beginning 'Es schwand erblässend mit des Hahnes Krähn' (Act 1, sc.1); & III,3,377: an allusion to the common quotation 'Schreibttafel her!...' (Act 1, sc. 5) - v.p. 211 above.

allusion to a common quotation, but - through Kohl and in the narrative - Raabe gives a clear indication of the setting and circumstances in which the words were originally spoken. The fact that the words themselves are not actually quoted points to the popularity they enjoyed. Perhaps Kohl is also following a popular practice here when he describes Hamlet as 'den verunglückten Schneidergesellen', but no evidence has been found of this, and the term itself is obscure.

Raabe pays indirect tribute to Hamlet in a letter dated 24.3.90 - 'Man verhandelt eben nicht über 'Pole Poppenspüler' wie über Faust und Hamlet'¹ - but there is no biographical material which would help to explain the excessive and peculiar use of allusions to and quotations from the play in Kloster Lugau² (13.10.91 - 10.6.93). It is interesting to note, however, that Hamlet had never been absent from Raabe's works for so long a period as that which had elapsed since the concluding of Der Lar in 1888. The action takes place between 1869 and 1870, and the larger part of the narrative is set in a place called Wittenberg.³ Finck contends⁴ that when in inverted commas Wittenberg symbolizes 'die deutsche Wissenschaft, wie sie sich Raabe zu seiner Zeit darstellte' - mit ihren Vorzügen, aber auch mit

1. In alls gedultig, 24.3.90. Raabe was criticising 'den Storm-Kuh' -
schen Briefwechsel.'

2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, p.411.

3. v.Ham., Act 1, sc.2.

4. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, p.431.

ihren durch Strebertum und Vetterwirtschaft gekennzeichneten Schattenseiten.' The use of inverted commas appears to be rather arbitrary. They merely draw attention from time to time to the fact that 'Wittenberg' is a geographical fiction,¹ although naturally the reader's reactions to any word or name are conditioned by what has been said - e.g. by critical comments - earlier in the tale, and reactions to 'Wittenberg' are no doubt stronger than those to 'Wittenberg'.² The society portrayed has little to commend it - the villain of the piece, Eckbert Scriewer, is an ambitious, unscrupulous young university teacher - and the negative features mentioned are severely censured: but Wittenberg represents 'die deutsche Wissenschaft...' only inasmuch as it is a small German university town, a number of whose inhabitants are directly or indirectly connected with the university. The casual deliberateness with which the author writes:

'...der besten Gesellschaft von - nun, sagen wir: von Wittenberg',³
and
'...die Gassen von - nun, sagen wir nur Wittenberg',⁴

conveys the impression that he was primarily concerned not to name

1. e.g. III,3,389,390,392,410,445,453,495 & 502.

2. v.III,3,399 & 406-07; cf.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19,p.22.

3. III,3,406.

4. III,3,393; v.also III,3,392 and cf.III,3,406-07 & 570.

any particular town or university. But whether all the references to Hamlet arose because he 'suchte...einen Decknamen und fand ihn bei Shakespeare', as Finck confidently supposes¹, is not known. It would surely be no less plausible to suggest that he first hit upon the idea of calling one of the principal characters 'Horatio', or that when he decided to write about a nunnery the name 'Ophelia' leaped to mind. Whatever the initial inspiration, there can be little argument as to the unfortunate effect of these references. Many of those in earlier works signify very little; but they are not closely connected with the narrative and are widely distributed. In Kloster Lugau there is a concentration of allusions and quotations which signify virtually nothing but which demand attention, if only because of the importance of characters whose nicknames are taken from the play. Franz Herberger, who has been the friend and tutor of a young prince, deserves his nickname in some ways² but not in others³, so that one is relieved to read:⁴ 'Wie...dieser Mann zu dem Spitznamen 'Horatio' gekommen war, mußte jedem unbegreiflich erscheinen, der von so weit her zugereist kam, daß er wohl Shakespeare, aber nicht tagesläufige

1. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, pp.431 & 415.

2. III,3,389-91, 397, 418-19,453 & 607.

3. III,3,399,403,406,419-20 & 449.

4. III,3,406.

deutsche Hof- und Hinterhof-Geschichte und Geschichtchen kannte.' The story behind the name remains extremely vague. Evidently as a result of some unhappy experience at court,¹ Laura Warberg (who eventually decides to marry Herberger) has withdrawn to a convent. The sobriquet 'Ophelia' is otherwise undeserved,² although her guardian is 'Polonius', a man who holds an official position similar to that of his namesake in Hamlet. He in turn 'war immer noch Hausminister, und es wird sich ausweisen, daß wir ihn als solchen fürs erste noch lange nicht entbehren können,'³ 'Hamlet' himself plays no direct part in the story, although there is some truth in Pongs' observation:⁴

Gegen 'Horatio' wird Scriewer gradezu als ein (sic) Art Anti-Hamlet stilisiert: 'Nie hatte er an seiner Fähigkeit gezweifelt, etwas, was aus den Fugen gegangen zu sein schien, wieder einzurenken.'⁵ Grade was Hamlets Adel ausmacht, seine Weltverantwortlichkeit, die vom lähmenden Wissen um die Weltverderbtheit begleitet ist, fehlt Scriewer ganz. Er kennt nur seinen Vorteil. Zynisch sein Hamletwort: 'Freien oder nicht freien - das ist hier die Frage!'⁶

It should also be remembered, however, that no complementary name or rôle is allotted to either of Scriewer's main antagonists - his fiancée's aunt and his rival, Eberhard Meyer - even though the aunt is on one occasion likened to the ghost of Hamlet's father.⁷

1. III,3,398 & 400.

2. v.III,3,393,398,417 & 533.

3. III,3,398; v.also pp.402 & 590.

4. p.583.

5. A slight misquotation of words which appear in III,3,432;v.p. 187 above

6. A slight misquotation of words which appear in III,3,574;v.p. 182 above

7. III,3,494; v.p. 432 , note 2 , above.

The author in fact stresses the differences between the play and the happenings which gave rise to the nicknames,¹ thereby displaying his familiarity with it still further. Apart from the many references to situations, events and behaviour depicted by Shakespeare, there are several quotations, one or two of which are of particular interest. Part of Hamlet's reply, when the king first asks (Act 4, Scene 3) what has become of the body of Polonius, reappears in the sentence:

'Excellenz...dachten noch lange nicht daran, eine Gesellschaft politischer Würmer bei sich zu Tisch zu laden und für das Menü persönlich aufzukommen.' 2

Raabe may have had in mind the English rather than a translation. Schlegel renders 'convocation of politic worms' 'Reichsversammlung von feinschmeckenden Würmern', and although Wieland, Eschenburg, Simrock, and Seeger write 'politisch', none of them uses the term 'Gesellschaft'. On the other hand, echoes of Gertrude's lines:

'There, on the pendant boughs her coronet weeds
Clambering to hang, an envious sliver broke.' 3

are strongly reminiscent of Seeger's translation. Raabe writes⁴:

'...nachdem ein 'falscher Ast' unter ihr gebrochen war' and
'Um ihre wilden Kränze an dem gesenkten Zweige aufzuhängen, sollte sie...etwas zu hoch gestiegen sein.'

Seeger writes:

'Sie stieg hinauf, um ihre wilden Kränze
An den gesenkten Zweigen aufzuhängen,
Da brach ein falscher Ast...'

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1. III,3,390-92,398,417,451.
 2. III,3,398. Polonius' ponderous punning is imitated on III,3,402; v. also p. 182 above.
 3. Ham., Act 4, sc.7.
 4. III,3,398.

(Schlegel writes:

'Dort, als sie aufklomm, um ihr Laubgewinde
An den gesenkten Aesten aufzuhängen,
Zerbrach ein falscher Zweig...'.)

These two adapted quotations certainly show once again that Raabe did not depend on Schlegel's translation, although later in the tale he twice quotes it verbatim: from Act 4, Scene 5, the queen's lines before Laertes bursts in: 'Sie schlagen lustig an...' - the speaker describes this as a 'veraltetes Citat'¹; and three lines, beginning 'Gebt mir den Mann...'², from Hamlet's long speech to Horatio in Act 3, Scene 2. (The lines which immediately precede these are echoed earlier in the tale.³) At one stage the final line of the play also reappears - in 'wenn die Truppen gefeuert hatten'⁴ - and again the words used seem to have been taken from Schlegel's translation.

That Raabe knew something of the history of the play is also apparent. He not only mentions Saxo Grammaticus⁵ but also asserts that, had anyone bothered to write a new 'Historie von Hamlet, Prinz von Danemarke' (based on the events which gave Herberger his nickname)

'sie wäre sicherlich wie im Jahre 1603 aufgeführt worden, wenn auch nicht durch 'Seiner Hoheit Diener' in London und den beiden

1. III,3,400.

2. III,3,453.

3. III,3,403 & 419-20.

4. III,3,417.

5. III,3,390.

Universitäten Cambridge und Oxford, jedoch ganz gewiß in Wittenberg und durch den Wittenberger Stadttheaterdirektor und dessen Truppe.' 1
 Finck² explains ' 'Seiner Hoheit Diener' ' as 'Shakespeare. Die Schauspieler galten als Diener des Königs.' Raabe, like Finck, may have been unaware that Shakespeare's company was not known as the King's Men until 1603, and that Hamlet was published in that year but probably first performed about 1600. As can be seen from the words appended to the title of the First Quarto, however, 'Diener' should be - and is, if Raabe had the English in mind - the syntactic equivalent not of 'Stadttheaterdirektor' but of 'Stadttheaterdirektor und dessen Truppe'. Hamlet appeared 'As it hath been divers times acted by His Highness' servants in the City of London, as also in the two universities of Cambridge and Oxford and elsewhere.'

Three weeks after completing Kloster Lugau, Raabe began to write Akten³. Again he refers - twice - to Wittenberg. The hero, Velten Andres, leaves Germany for America. In the following allusion to Hamlet⁴ - the first in the novel - ' 'Wittenberg' ' evidently means (a) the hero's home, the suburb 'Zum Vogelsang', where his journey

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1. III,3,391; cf. Der Dräumling (1.4.70-12.5.71), II,3,160: Shakespeare, described in both passages as 'Speerschüttler', is introduced as 'Herr Theaterdirektor Shakespeare aus Stratford am Avon'.
 2. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, p.432.
 3. Presumably not long after the critic published it (& therefore before Akten was completed) Raabe received 'vom Verfasser' a copy of H.Türck's Die Ubereinstimmung von Kuno Fischers und Hermann Türcks Hamlet-Erklärung, Jena, 1894.
 4. III,5,331.

begins; (b) Berlin; and (c) a place where knowledge is acquired.

Andres had been a student in Berlin, and subsequently - up to the time of his departure - learned a trade there. That the name should be used at this point is not surprising in view of the lines which precede it. The function of the inverted commas is clearly twofold: to avoid the odd effect which would be created by their omission (Andres' leave-taking at the station near his home has just been described); and perhaps also to stress the connotations mentioned above under (b) and (c):

'Mit allen den Vorzügen und Tugenden begabt, die Ophelia aufzählt¹ und von denen der dänische Prinz so schlechten Gebrauch machte, ging er wahrlich nicht von 'Wittenberg' nach den Vereinigten Staaten...'

A later passage containing a reference to 'Wittenberg' is less clear.

A strange ape-like man introduces himself to Andres and expresses a feeling of friendship, almost of kinship. His name is German Fell:²

'In gedrückten Mußestunden pflege ich mich...wie andere von uns Primaten mit transzendentaler Menschenkunde zu beschäftigen; ich habe ebenfalls einige Semester in Wittenberg studiert...'³

The second half of this sentence can be interpreted in several ways, according to what one understands by 'ich habe ebenfalls':

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1. v.Ham., Act 3, Sc.1.; v.also p. 436 above.
 2. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, p.479.
 3. III,5,399.

1. It could mean 'I, too have...', that is to say:

- (a) 'like you', in which case the speaker's impression of Andres is such that a comparison with Hamlet seems to him appropriate. Andres, whom many at that stage consider mad (and who is tired of life, at least insofar as it consists of worldly goods) is more likely to remind Fell of Hamlet than of Horatio.
- (b) simply 'like Hamlet', a thoughtful man in 'gedrückten Mußestunden'.
- (c) possibly even 'like Horatio', who, as a scholar who has seen a ghost, might have had some interest in 'transzendentaler Menschenkunde'.

2. It could also perhaps mean 'in addition to this I have...'.
In this case 'Wittenberg' is not necessarily a literary allusion.

(In 1817 the university of Wittenberg ceased to exist, but the Augusteum became a theological college.)

The other relevant passages in Akten are less enigmatic. Velten Andres, who has returned home unexpectedly after a long absence, visits his friend Karl Krumhardt, the narrator of the story. 'Es war ein wunderlicher, gespenstischer Tag'¹, and Velten too is described as 'gespenstisch'². He calls in the evening, spends most of the night talking about himself and his experiences, and on leaving quotes the appropriate lines from Horatio's final speech in Act 1, Scene 1:

'... Seht nur -
der Tag im bräunlich roten Mantel
Betriff im Osten dort die tauige Höhe!'³

1. III,5,359.

2. III,5,360.

3. III,5,361. This should read 'betritt' and 'tauigen Höhn' - v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, pp.345 & 467.

(The translation is that of Ludwig Seeger. There is reason to believe that Raabe had been in possession of a copy for some time.¹)

Finally, when Krumhardt remembers his mood after the death of his parents, and again when Helene, shaken by the death of Velten Andres, attempts to talk of other things, it is partly through reference to Hamlet's monologue in Act 3, Scene 1, that they reveal their desolation. The words actually quoted were extremely common.² Nevertheless, the references are to the monologue as a whole, and the emotion which occasions them - and which is experienced by characters who are neither frivolous nor eccentric - is such that they cannot be described as mere tags: something of Hamlet's feelings and state of mind is expressed in both cases.³

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1. v. p. 427 & 441 above. At the very back of the book beneath a handwritten translation of the 66th sonnet, are the words 'Rümelin, Shakespeare - studien Seite 80', and '12 Juni 1871'. Raabe acquired his copy of Rümelin's book (Stuttgart, 1866) on 16.9.78.
 2. III, 5, 349: '...Monolog über Sein und Nichtsein, und ob es besser sei und so weiter und so weiter.';
III, 5, 427: '...Willst du den Monolog: To be or not to be...hören?'';
v. p. 182 above.
 3. Helene refers to the monologue in English (a) perhaps because she is a German-American, and (b) because she has in mind a 'Mr. Irving, der berühmte Komödiant...aus London'. Helene is very wealthy and is sure she can persuade him to recite: 'Der Herr wird mir einer Tournee drüben bei uns zuliebe gewiß gern den Gefallen tun.'
Akten was written between 30.6.93 & 18.7.95. Henry Irving's fourth tour of America lasted from September 1893 to March 1894. The next next tour began in September 1895. He was knighted on 18.7.95, the news of the honour having been announced some two months earlier.

Apart from two relatively unimportant quotations which have been discussed elsewhere,¹ Helene's words constitute Raabe's final reference to Hamlet.²

A number of critics have commented on the significance of Raabe's references to Hamlet.³ In his article on 'Raabe und Shakespeare',⁴ Adolf Seebass, who detects marked parallels between the two writers' careers, views and development, contends that what attracted Raabe to the figure of Hamlet 'wird das Gefühl der Gleichartigkeit gewesen sein'. Both were conscious of an 'Anderssein als die Welt. Dabei sind sie sich bewußt, daß sie im Innersten besser, der Welt überlegen sind, daß sie also eine führende Rolle einnehmen sollten'.

1. v.pp. 186 & 432 above.

2. A diary entry for 25.4.1910, seven months before the writer died, reads: 'B. u. Gr. in Hamlet'. It seems that his wife (Bertha) and eldest daughter (Gretchen) saw the play performed on that day.

3. e.g. Eggebrecht, op.cit., p.63; W.Scharrer, op.cit., p.53; Fekse, Raabe, pp.554-55 (cf.H.Finck, Krit.Ausgabe, vol.19, pp.415-16); & Boekhoff, op.cit., p.38.

4. op.cit., pp.13-14.

Statt dessen herrscht die Mittelmäßigkeit, ja die Schlechtigkeit, und läßt ihnen keinen Anteil an der Führung der Geschicke. Nun erhebt sich drohend und mahnend die Forderung, diese Schlechtigkeit vom Thron zu stoßen, das Böse zu entlarven und selbst an führender Stelle das Beste zu leisten' etc., etc.

(With reference to Meister Autor, Pfisters Mühle, and Akten,¹

Seebass makes a rather more meaningful observation:

'Dieser von Raabe so ernst genommene 'Hamlet' verblaßt in seinen Augen als 'Schau'spiel vor dem tragischen Ernst der Wirklichkeit'.)

No critic appears to have considered fully and objectively the evidence examined above. The broad conclusions which can legitimately be drawn with regard to the novelist's knowledge and appreciation of the dramas discussed must be couched in general terms: Raabe seems to have been not only very familiar with the original texts - or with translations - of a number of Shakespeare's plays, but also frequently aware of certain implications which his quotations and allusions could have for the informed reader. A closer examination of the plays and of Raabe's writings may reveal even more of his understanding of the former - and thus even greater subtleties in the latter.

1. v. above, pp. 431 (von Schmidt's reaction to a performance of the play), 435 ('der wirkliche geflickte Lumpenkönig'), and 446 (Helene's invitation 'Willst du den Monolog...hören?' is ignored).

As can be seen from the list of books in English which is appended to Chapter 3,¹ Raabe's knowledge of English and American literature was not confined to the authors treated above. In addition to the books already mentioned, he had in his possession the following translations:-

	<u>Date of acquisition.</u>
E. Arnold, <u>Die Leuchte Asiens</u> , Leipzig, n.d.;	unknown ²
H. Drummond, <u>Das Beste in der Welt, das Schönste im Leben</u> , Bielefeld, 1890;	unknown ³
R. W. Emerson, <u>Gesellschaft und Einsamkeit</u> , Bremen, 1876;	13.9.75
Samuel Foote, <u>Dramatische Werke</u> , Berlin, 1796-98;	unknown
J. S. Mill, <u>Über die Freiheit</u> , Frankfurt a. M., 1860;	unknown
C. A. Murray, <u>Prärievogel</u> , Breslau, 1874;	unknown ⁴
W. Patterson, <u>Reisen in das Land der Hottentotten</u> , Berlin, 1790;	unknown
Lord Rosebery, <u>Napoleon I. am Schluß seines Lebens</u> , Leipzig, 1901;	2.2.1902
Ruskin, <u>Sechs Morgen in Florenz</u> , Strasbourg n.d. (1901?)	unknown
Ruskin, <u>Praeterita</u> , Leipzig, 1903;	18.9.1903 ⁵

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1. v. pp. 159-62 above. 2. v. p. 160, note 1, above.
 3. v. note 2 above. 4. v. note 2 above.
 5. Presented to Raabe for his birthday by the translator.

Date of acquisition.

Mark Twain, Ausgewählte Humoristische Schriften, Stuttgart, 1897-98;

unknown¹

Of the books in English, or partly in English, to which particular reference has not been made thus far, Raabe draws clearly on only one: the translated poem 'Ich war mit Hunen und mit Hrédgoten', quoted in Altershausen² occurs - as Jensch points out³ in H.Leo's Altsächsische und Angelsächsische Sprachproben. How well Raabe knew the rest of these English books and translations has not been established, although there are markings in a number of them (and it has been suggested⁴ that the term 'grasgrün' in Nach dem großen Kriege⁵ and Abu Telfan⁶ stems from Jane Eyre). Certainly they do not appear to be of great importance, but their presence in the writer's library shows that the range of his interest in English and American literature extended far beyond the evidence of his works, and beyond what is known of his diaries, jottings, correspondence and

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1. In vol.2, certain items in the list of contents are lightly marked; cf. p. 460 below.
 2. III,6,251; allusions to the poem - i.e. to the 'Wonneburgen/Der Walchen und Walchinnen und des Walchenreiches' - also occur (as Spiero points out in his Raabe-Lexikon, ed.cit.,p.270) on III,6,273,278,280,299,306,313,326,327,329 & 335.
 3. op.cit., p.70, under 'Widsith'.
 4. v.Krit.Ausgabe, vol.4, p.496 (note to p.18, line 26).
 5. v.I,3,381.
 6. v.II,1,201.

conversation.¹ In the absence of indications to the contrary, it can be assumed that he did not as a rule acquire books unless he wished to read them; and in view of the evidence adduced in this chapter, there can be little doubt that he had a sound knowledge and understanding of many of the books he owned.

It is unlikely that his reading and appreciation of the literature on his shelves was entirely confined to those works with which he was manifestly, verifiably familiar.

1. Also added to Raabe's library at some stage was Die Rothkehlchen by (?) Trimmer, Holzminden & New York, 1837. To judge by the inscription this was presented to Raabe's father 'vom Verfasser, vom Uebersetzer, vom Herausgeber, vom übersetzenden Verfasser' on 13.12.1836.

APPENDIX

RAABE'S CONTACTS WITH THE ENGLISH AND THE AMERICANS

Very little is known of Raabe's personal contacts with the English and the Americans. It seems that they were sporadic and relatively superficial. In his diary Raabe did little more than jot down a purely factual record of everyday happenings. The vast majority of the entries are concerned with matters such as the weather, food, visits to the theatre or the club, books borrowed or bought, political events, etc. Rarely is an opinion expressed or suggested. Details of correspondence are also recorded, as are the names of the people whom Raabe met.¹ This information, and evidence contained in letters which have been preserved,² suggest the following picture.

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1. The diaries, which Raabe kept for over fifty years, are unpublished. They are in the possession of his heirs. Copies covering the following periods were placed at my disposal: 1.10.57 - 27.2.64; 30.5.82 - 29.12.87; 27.4.98 - 20.10.06; 3.11.06 - 2.11.07; 31.12.07 - 4.8.09; 25.4.10 - 2.11.10. Abbreviated dates below are references to the relevant diary entries.
 2. These are in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III 10 Nr.2' (letters written by Raabe) & 'H III 10 Nr.6' (letters to Raabe). Unless otherwise stated, references below to correspondence in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig are to letters etc. kept under these headings. The collection In alls gedultig is confined to letters written by Raabe. A number of those he received have been published (v.Krit.Ausgabe, first supplementary volume: Wilhelm Raabe Bibliographie, p.46) but no representative collection has yet appeared. Both as a diarist and, to a lesser extent, as a correspondent Raabe was extremely laconic. Circumstances encouraged him in this. His correspondence was large and regular, he conscientiously answered letters from all and sundry. As a writer of tales which he was reluctant to vulgarize (v.pp.169 & 297, note 4, above) but which were his sole source of income, Raabe may have deliberately husbanded his energies when writing letters.

Raabe had at least some direct contact with a number of people who were presumably English-speaking, although frequently it is not possible to determine the nationality of the individuals in question.¹ To judge by two of the invariably elliptic diary entries, he himself was at times uncertain on this point: '... - Abendessen. Das Gebet der Engländer (Amerikaner) ...' (15.6.59); and '... Nachm. von 2 engl. od. amerikan. Damen' (29.7.10). Other entries are more specific. When travelling, for example - as, indeed, he was on 15.6.59 - he had occasion to write: 'Grobheit des Amerikaners' (4.10.57), though he normally confined himself to a simple jotting such as 'Die Engländer' (13.6.59; 8.7.59; 13.7.59; 30.9.62). We have no way of telling the exact circumstances to which these entries refer. It is unusual to find a situation of such complexity as that indicated in the words: '... - Bergstraße Heidelberg, Bruchsal - die eingeklemmte Mama u die Engländerin' (9.3.62). The incident occurred when Raabe, together with his fiancée and her mother, was on his way to Stuttgart to make arrangements for his removal to that town.²

1. Thus the significance of an English or American name in the following diary entries is largely obscure: 25.10.57; 13.4.59; 8.9.60; 9.11.60; 7.11.61; 11.9.82; 18.5.87; 31.8.02; 13.12.03; 26.9.05 and 16.9.08. Other obscure entries include: 'Nebel. Sonne. Dr Höfer.- Agatha's Husband'. (12.2.63). Similarly, a remark in a letter which Raabe wrote to his wife allows of several interpretations: 'Die Frau Brakebusch erwartet auch ihren Sohn aus England. Der Engländer Hausgenosse ist fort...' (In alls gedultig, 11.7.71). Frau Brakebusch was Raabe's brother's mother-in-law. Possibly some au pair exchange had been arranged to enable her son to visit England.

2. v. p. 455 below.

Raabe's experience of the English as individuals was slight. As a student in Berlin (1854-56) he may, in the two semesters 1854-55, have attended lectures given in English by one 'Hr. Lector Solly'. Light pencil markings in his Vorlesungsverzeichnisse¹ suggest that the lectures at least attracted his attention. During his 'Bildungsreise' (1859) Raabe spent a day or two in the company of an English engineer named Dingley,² though what impression Dingley made is unknown. And in the summer of 1885, according to the diary,³ an Englishwoman, 'Miss E. Waite', was introduced to the author and dined at his home. But the only English person whom Raabe seems to have known at all well was a friend of his eldest daughter Margarete.⁴ The friendship apparently developed towards the end of the nineties. From 8.9.98 to 13.10.1910 the name of Annie Green - or, once or twice, that of members of her family⁵ - is mentioned in the diary on more than seventy occasions. She conducted a fairly regular postcard correspondence with Raabe, sent him marmalade, and visited him in Brunswick several times.⁶ A New Year

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1. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III 10 Nr.26 Varia I'.
 2. v. Mitteilungen, 1932, p.120, & 1933, p.53; also diary entries 16.9.59 & 18.9.59.
 3. 19.7.85, 11.8.85, & 12.8.85.
 4. The two women went to Italy together, as diary entries from 29.10.1902 to 29.1.1903 show.
 5. Possibly Miss Green was of German origin. On 29.4.1905 the diary reads: '... 100j. Gebrtstg v L. Schneider; A Greens Großvater.'
 6. e.g. 15.9.98, 25.7.1901, 26.9.02, 28.10.02, 30.4.05, 3.5.05, & 3.6. - 11.6.07.

greeting from the writer to Miss Green is evidence of a friendly relationship:¹

'Der grünen Miß
Wünscht every bliss
Der Greis am Stabe
W. R !'

Apart from this, Raabe's contacts with England were apparently casual and indirect. During the eight years spent in Stuttgart² he is bound to have seen numbers of English people, as Fricker points out.³ Moreover, he is sure to have had conversation with people who had been to England. Looking back on old times he writes to Karl Schönhardt

'Da kam zu meiner Zeit dann und wann ... ein breitschultriger Mann, wenn ich nicht irre, fernher über's Meer, aus Britannien. ... er gefiel mir baß.'⁴

Raabe communicated, albeit briefly, with at least three translators who were in all likelihood English.⁵ According to Karl Heim

'1863 erwidert er auf eine Anfrage eines Engländers, der den Frühling übersetzen will, warum er nicht die Chronik nehme, da sie den Engländern viel besser zusagen werde.'⁶

Early in 1869 a 'Miß Florence Smith' wrote from London asking for permission to translate Auf dunkelm Grunde. (Raabe's reaction, in a

1. In alls gedultig, New Year 1906-07.

2. 1862-70.

3. Wilhelm Raabes Stuttgarter Jahre im Spiegel seiner Dichtung, Stuttgart, 1939, pp.20 & 34; v. p. 10 above.

4. In alls gedultig, 31.12.58. The man in question was Schönhardt's brother-in-law, Carl Brandauer.

5. The translator of Der Hungerpastor was evidently American; v.p. 460 et seq. below.

6. Wilhelm Raabe und das Publikum, unpublished thesis, Tübingen, 1953, p. 157. It would be difficult to interpret this remark as a reflection of Raabe's view of the English. He may well have phrased his answer to suit the questioner. His opinion of Ein Frühling was not high.

letter to his mother,¹ reads: 'Je dummer das Zeug ist, das man schreibt, desto lieber ist es den Leuten!'. The sentence 'Das Stückchen ist noch nicht gedruckt' in a letter signed 'F. Smith' and dated 30.4.69² indicates that the translation was in fact made.) And on November 28th, 1905 the diary notes the receipt of 'Brief u Übers. d. Wild. Manns in's Englische von M. St. Goar, Manchester.' (This is presumably the typewritten translation At the Sign of the Wild Man which is to be found in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig.³ It appears to be in better English than any of the translations published hitherto.⁴)

Acquaintances visiting England sent greetings, and upon their return to Germany may have spoken with Raabe of their experiences. Thus Franz Kathreiner sent him a card⁵ from North Shields on September 4th, 1879; Otto Buchmann, who was soon to incur the author's displeasure,⁶ sent him a picture of the Old Curiosity Shop⁷ on July 7th, 1909; and from Hans Freytag, later that month, he received two cards:⁸ one from

1. In alls gedultig, 15.2.69.

2. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig.

3. Under 'H III 10 Nr.25'.

4. According to his diary, Raabe wrote to M. St. Goar on 15.1.06.

5. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig.

6. v. Raabe's letter to Buchmann, In alls gedultig, 25.7.10: 'Nicht über Sie ... sondern über Ihre Pseudo-Interview-Feuilleton-Schriftstellerei in den hiesigen, den Berliner und sogar amerikanischen Blättern habe ich mich "ungünstig" ausgesprochen'; cf. letter to Karl Schönhardt, In alls gedultig, 30.12.03.

7. v. note 2 above.

8. v. note 2 above.

Penrith, dated July 17th and inscribed 'Three cheers for William Raabe from the top of Helvellyn! For he is a jolly, jolly, jolly good fellow'; and one from Stratford-on-Avon (Anne Hathaway's cottage), dated July 23rd.¹

The diaries indicate that admirers, whose native tongue was probably German, wrote to Raabe from England, and that he generally replied. They include a certain Anna Textor (26.7.04, 29.7.04, and 22.8.10), a Pastor Stock (15.5.06; the Pastor appears to have visited Raabe the year before - 15.5.05 - together with a 'Frl Tietjens'), a Herr Grünebaum (14.11.06, 15.11.06, 25.11.06, 17.1.07, and 1.1.08 - here the entry reads '... Engl. Kalender von R. u H. Grünebaum London. - An dieselben. -'), and one Paul Gaerner, who dedicated a 'Kammermusikdichtung' to Raabe (22.12.06 and 9.1.07). On August 27th, 1907 he received a 'Postk. v. ... G. Hein, Cults bei Aberdeen', to which he replied the following day ('... An Lehr. Hein ...').

Commonwealth contacts were rare. Nevertheless, in 1878, during a three-week stay in Altenau in the Harz, Raabe wrote to Ludwig

Hänselmann:

'Und gute Menschen giebt es überall bei jedem Wetter! Wir wohnen hier bei einer jungen Australierin, die eine polynesische Zeitung zugeschickt erhält. Aus derselben, nämlich der Zeitung, habe ich

1. The diary copies are confusing here: 18.7.09 reads '... Von Hans Freytag 2 Postk. aus England', and 24.7.09 '... Karte von Franz Sack (??) aus Stratford on Avon'.

ersehen, daß auch bei den Antipoden anständige Leute wohnen: Deutsche Buchhändler in Adelaide und Tanunda bieten den Papuas meine Bücher zum Kaufe an!'¹

On 22.12.01 and 27.1.02 the diary mentions correspondence with a 'Eugenie Breymann, Sydney', and on 14.7.04 the writer was apparently impressed by a visitor from Canada: '... Nachm Frl. Meyer und Frl Clara Bencon aus Canada. B.A. Ph.D.'

Raabe had much more to do with Americans than with English people, although here, too, many of his contacts were casual and indirect.² Most of the Americans whom he met and with whom he corresponded were clearly of German origin. A number of the names mentioned in the diaries may, of course, refer to people who were simply visiting the United States. Occasional correspondence included 'Druckbrief von Miß Amelie Rudolph, Detroit, Michigan' (22.12.1884); 'Abds. von u an Frl Therese Sack (Hgpstr.) Philadelphia ...' (22.12.98); 'Aus New York anonym: R.L. Stevensons letters' (4.9.01); 'Brief v. Professor Waldeyer vom Atl Ozean v. Sandy Hook ...' (1.11.01); an exchange of letters with a Miss Edith S..... of New York (31.1.02, 7.2.02, 25.4.02; the surname has been copied as 'Sienner', 'Sommer', and 'Simmons'); a letter from

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1. In alls gedultig, 11.7.78. Fehse, Raabe, p.438, says 'daß sein Deutscher Mondschein auch in Adelaide bekannt sei'.
 2. Again, a number of apparently relevant diary entries remain more or less obscure: 25.3.58, 1.12.61, 17.2.62, 4.1.84, 29.7.99, 15.7.03, 14.2.04, 4.3.05, & 6.11.05. The entry for 4.1.84 refers to the death of 'Eduard Lasker in Newyork' at the age of 54. Lasker died on 5.1.84.

the 'New Yorker Staatszeitung (Alfr. Philippi)' (12.6.03, reply: 14.6.03); 'Aus Chicago durch ein. Herrn Kramer Abendpost mit Nachdruck der "Innerste.- ...' (13.12.03)¹; a letter from 'Miß M. Rummel, Charleston' (24.1.05, reply: 14.2.05); a card from a Mrs. C. Neidel of Pittsburgh (11.4.05, reply: 12.4.05); 'Aus San Franzisko Einladg zur Schillerfeier' (18.5.05, reply: 24.5.05); a card from a G. Benze of Erie, Pennsylvania (21.4.06); 'Postk. von H. Corvinus, Zeitg San Franzisko' (22.5.06); a communication 'von d. Germanischen Gesellschaft Pittsburgh' (22.9.06); 'Brief v. Dr W.A. Fritsch, Evansville, Indiana' (24.9.06, reply: 7.10.06); a card from Pittsburgh (12.11.06; there is no mention of the sender); and a communication from 'Herm. Anders-Krüger² New-York' (10.6.08).

In 1870 Eduard Hallberger, publisher of Über Land und Meer (in which Abu Telfan had appeared in serial form in 1867, and the essay "Edmund Hoefer" in 1867-68), received a request³ for details about Raabe from Caecilie Kapp, a teacher at Vassar College.⁴ Her subsequent

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1. Fehse, Raabe, p.438, recounts a similar incident: in the summer of 1878 Raabe received 'von einem entrüsteten Anhänger die Nachricht, daß eine Zeitung in St. Louis seinen Roman "Unseres Herrgotts Kanzlei" nachgedruckt habe'; cf. Krit.Ausgabe, vol.4, p.516, & vol.13, p.399.
 2. This was probably the author of Der junge Raabe (Leipzig, 1911), Herman Anders Krüger.
 3. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, letter dated 29.3.70.
 4. Raabe refers to Vassar College and Poughkeepsie in Eulenpfingsten (II, 4.222, 247, & 308) and Die Akten des Vogelsangs (III, 5, 422); v.p.¹¹⁵ above. Three letters from Caecilie Kapp to Raabe, dated 23.4.75, 5.5.75, & 21.7.79, are in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig. Fehse, Raabe, loc.cit., refers briefly to 'Cäcilie Kopp', saying that she wrote to Raabe in July 1878. This is confirmed in her third letter by the words 'Grad vor einem Jahr schrieben Sie mir so liebe schöne Worte aus dem Harz'. In the first letter she mentions having written before.

letters to Raabe show that she was much attached to her native Germany ('Wir Westfalen ...', 'die ... Veilchen .. - die nirgends in der Welt so duften wie in Deutschland'). The correspondence appears, however, to have been largely of a literary nature. She asks (23.4.75): 'Sind Ihnen unsere amerikanischen Humoristen bekannt? Bret Hart(e), Mark Twain, Aldrich?' She writes of her contacts with Bayard Taylor 'wegen des Hungerpastors', of 'Miß Frothingham, die treffliche Übersetzerin des "Laokoon" ...', and Agnes von Bohlen's translation of Poe's "The Raven" (which appeared 'gleichzeitig mit dem "Schüdderump" in den Westermanschen Monatsheften'), and she promises to send Raabe a recent article on Poe 'mit heutiger Post' (5.5.75). She also mentions biographies of Poe, in whom Raabe seems to have been interested at the time.¹

In 1882 he corresponded with the American translator of Der Hungerpastor,² Gilbert Arnold-Congdon, who was staying in Kassel. Congdon sent Raabe his first chapter on 5.10.82³ (diary entry 6.10.82).

1. Poe was also mentioned in the first of the three letters; v.pp.333-34 above.
2. Diary entries 20.9.82, 28.9.82, 6.10.82, 20.10.82, 13.11.82, 30.11.82, and 24.12.82.
3. Four letters written by Congdon are in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, dated 19.9., 5.10., 13.11., and 22.12.82 respectively. The date of the third letter, which accompanied three chapters of the translation, coinciding as it does with the diary entry noting their receipt, is puzzling but of no consequence. Raabe never saw the entire manuscript. Congdon writes in his last letter: 'I regret that I cannot subject my manuscript in toto to your friendly criticism as by the time it is corrected and copied, I shall be on the eve of leaving Cassel and Germany definitely, en route for America'. The translation was published in London in 1885. It is in many ways unsatisfactory, but far better than that of Abu Telfan by Sofie Delffs (London, 1882), despite orthographical oddities in Congdon's letters ('litterally', 'originel', 'your's sincerely').

This Raabe returned on 20.10.82 ('Brief an Congdon, Cassel. ... Absend. des Manuscripts des Amerikaners.') with - to quote Congdon's next letter - 'kind but rather unfavorable criticism'. The translator sent three further chapters (diary entry 13.11.82), which were returned with suggestions and corrections a fortnight later.¹

On 28.3.05 Raabe received 'Brief und "flowers" von Frau S.A. Zimmermann, San Franzisko'. Again, this appears to have developed into a cordial if irregular correspondence.² And in 1908³ 'Samuel James Pease, Lehrer an d. Universität North-Dakota' wrote to him. Pease spent an evening with Raabe in 1910.⁴ He also produced an edition of Else von der Tanne.⁵

Raabe is not known to have met any of these American correspondents excepting Pease. It is possible, however, that the 'Frl. Meyer' who accompanied 'Frl Clara Bencon aus Canada' on July 14th, 1904 was the 'Bertha Meyer, Lehrerin in Pittsburg' with whom he had corresponded a little earlier (10.5.04 and 12.5.04): on July 10th, 1904, he had

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1. Diary entry, 30.11.82.
 2. On 18.4.06 the diary notes 'Erdbeben in Kalifornien. San Franzisko zerstört'; on 21.5.06 Raabe learns that the Zimmermann family has survived the catastrophe. One entry (11.12.08) suggests that Raabe was a not uncritical correspondent: 'Von Frau A. Zimmermann, San Franzisko usw. Autographbettel.- ...'. The last mention of Sophie Zimmermann in the diary copies is dated 25.7.09.
 3. Diary entries 18.8.08, 31.8.08, and 6.10.08.
 4. v. Mitteilungen, 1956, p.6.
 5. New York, 1911.

received a letter from 'Frl. Meyer aus Pittsburg'.¹ Such brief and relatively incidental meetings were many. As early as 1860 Raabe evidently spent the greater part of a day in the company of one 'Hermann Sommer aus Fraustadt im Großherzogth. Posen, Neu-Orleans'. The entry (17.7.60) continues: '... Die Fahrt nach Halberstadt: Oschersleben, Wolfenbüttel.- Abschiedstrunk mit dem Amerikaner'. The diary also mentions 'Ziegler jun. aus New York' (1.10.85), 'Hs. Gerlfuß aus New York' (10.6.1886), 'Professor Pfarr vom Yale College, N. York' (sic) (18.8.1908), as well as the non-German names of 'Miß Aletta Abbot, ... Ohio, Miß Lo... Nelson, Michigan, Gr. Rapids' (21.8.04), and 'Dr Lawes aus Chikago' (14.8.08).² Possibly evidence of another such meeting is a letter,³ dated 30.3.70, which purports to be written by the author's cousin, William Raabe of Chicago. It introduces one Willibald Winckler and is addressed to Raabe in Stuttgart. On the back of the

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1. On 3.8.05 the diary reads 'Phot. unterschrieb. f. Frl Meier, Amerika', but whether this refers to the same person is not known. The last clear reference to her in the diary - 'von Frl Meyer Pittsburg' - is dated 24.12.08.
 2. On the same day Raabe met a 'Dr William aus Moskau', though not for the first time. The entry for 24.5.05 reads: '... Zuschrift von Dr. William, Moskau, aus Hot. S. Petersburg.- Nachm. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dr. med. William. Abds Klub. Herbst: Tellgmann, William, Brandes, ...'. According to the diary, William was at Herbst's on the 14th, 15th, and 17th August, 1908, on the last two occasions with Dr Wettengel (v. p.465 below).
 3. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III 10 Nr.26 sonstige Varia'.

letter are the words, evidently in Raabe's hand, 'William Raabe Chicago ... Empfehlungsbrief eines Betrügers für H.Winkler'.

Raabe's oldest German-American friend was Theodor Steinweg, the manufacturer of Steinway pianos. It was he who, in 1859, gave the official speech in Wolfenbüttel at the Schiller centenary celebrations, the occasion of Raabe's poem "Die Zeit ist schwer! Dumpf grollt des Volkes Klagen". Steinweg travelled to and from America quite frequently. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig there are letters which he wrote to Raabe from Berlin (21.12.76), Brunswick (13.1.79) and New York (15.11.79 and 18.12.83). According to the diary, Raabe saw him 'u sein Bruder "Bill"' on 16.9.82, received a 'Brief u Neujahrswunsch von Th. Steinweg, New York' on 31.12.83 (replying the same day), and saw him again - together with the aforementioned 'Hs. Gerlfuß' - on 10.6.86. The two men seem to have had relatively little in common. To call Steinweg 'unliterarisch'¹ is probably no exaggeration. Certainly the long New York letter of November 1879 is that of a man who set no great store by punctuation, grammar, orthography or calligraphy. (The quaintness of the occasional snatches of English - 'in action of full power', 'never Mind' - may not have disturbed the addressee.) Two short passages are, however, of some interest. At

1. Pongs, p.299.

one point the writer mentions a Dr. Precht,¹ who has 'die schlimme Aufgabe zu lösen, in diesem prosaischen Lande seine poetische Begabung mit den materiellen Anforderungen seiner Amerikanischen Existenz nutzbar zu machen'. Then, referring to Friedrich Bodenstedt, he writes:

'... ich fürchte er wird wie Dickens auch nach seiner ersten Reise ganz enttäuscht Amerika verlassen. Dickens zog dann gewaltig über Land und Leute hier her und dies brachte zu Wege daß bei seinem zweiten Besuche zweimal hunderttausend Leute jeder einen Dollar opferte um den Mann zu sehen der so rücksichtslos diese große Nation durchgehechelt hatte.'

Towards the end of the nineties there began a correspondence with a Frau Lotte L. Leser of Philadelphia. Frau Leser was a writer (diary entries 18.6.04 and 5.3.05; in the latter instance Raabe refers to her as a 'Dramatic poetess'). From 27.12.98 to 10.10.1910 her name is mentioned on at least sixty occasions in the diary copies in question.² This was, it seems, a pen friendship in origin, with Frau Leser as the prime mover. She sent the author a 'Brief u Photogr.' from Philadelphia,³ 'Indianerarbeit',⁴ and a 'Geburtstgssendg',⁵ from Atlantic

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1. A diary entry for 21.12.84 probably refers to Precht: 'Von Dr. Pracht New York: New Y im 17 Jahrh.' He may well have been related to Caecilie Kapp, who signed her letter dated 21.7.79 (v. p. 459, note 4, above) 'Caecilie Kapp Precht'.
 2. Here, as elsewhere, the fact that the diary copies are incomplete (v. p. 452, note 1, above) means that the picture presented is probably incomplete and possibly misleading. On the other hand, the fact that correspondence between Raabe and Frau Leser was initially confined to the Christmas-New Year period (letter received 27.12.1898, reply: 20.1.99; letter received 23.12.99, calendar received and reply written 26.12.99; calendar received 21.12.1900, letter received 24.12.1900, reply: 15.1.01) suggests that this may have been the beginning, or at least the re-beginning of an acquaintanceship.
 3. 7.7.02.
 4. 16.9.02.
 5. 7.8.03.

City, and on 28.7.04 visited him together with Victor Leser, a doctor.

Another German-American admirer was a medical man, Dr. E. Wettengel of New York. The acquaintanceship also seems to have started in the nineties. In a letter dated 14.11.94¹ Wettengel, who with a number of friends had sent Raabe some wine,² tells the author - evidently by way of introduction - that at the time of writing he has been away from Germany for thirty-two years. He is fifty-two. Later (21.1.02³) he writes to congratulate Raabe, ironically, on his 'Doctor',⁴ at the same time asking him to recommend a recent German book 'welches wert ist, alle paar Jahre einmal gelesen zu werden'. He continues:

'Die Romane die in Westermanns Monatsheften erscheinen, lese ich schon seit einem Jahr nicht mehr, denn es war einfach Schund, und neulich habe ich nachdem ich Thackeray zum 4tenmale gelesen, wieder einmal zu Sterne's Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman gegriffen und bin wahrlich nicht schlecht dabei gefahren.'

On 12.7.02 the diary reads: 'Brief von Frau Dr. Wettengel, Mülhausen', and either on the 13th or the 14th Raabe and Wettengel met in Herbst's Weinstube. On 20.1.05 Wettengel refers to this meeting in a covering letter sent from New York with a handwritten English translation by his

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1. There are four letters from Wettengel in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, dated 14.11.94, 28.2.95, 21.1.02, and 20.1.05 (v. note 1 overleaf). That dated 28.2.95 is under 'H III 10 Nr.26 sonstige Varia'.
 2. The gesture was evidently repeated: on 30.10.01 the diary reads '... Die Weinsendung (Dr Wettengel) aus Deidesheim'.
 3. v. note 1 above.
 4. The reference is to honorary degrees conferred on him on his seventieth birthday.

son-in-law, Dr. med. Ed. Rosenberg, of the first chapter of Der Hungerpastor.¹ The translation is mediocre.² On August 15th and 17th, 1908 the men met again at Herbst's, and on the second occasion Wettengel was accompanied by his wife and two daughters.

Steinweg, Wettengel and Frau Leser were apparently Raabe's principal direct contacts with America, apart from his relatives. Only with Steinweg did he have a really longstanding relationship, and with him he was 'trotz der Jugendfreundschaft ... nicht durch das brüderliche Du verbunden'.³ Most Americans he met late in life, and he did not come to know them well. Thus there was Elmer E.S. Johnson, a clergyman who appeared on 23.8.07 'mit seinem Photograph. Apparat'. (On 29.4.08 Raabe notes '... Brief und Photograph. von Elmer S. Johnson, East Greenville, Pennsylvania.- ...'⁴). A Miss Alice Rachel Sheppard, of Providence, Rhode Island, also called on the author (13.8.08⁵), as did a 'Mr. I.B.E. Jonas aus Providence' (7.1.09). It is doubtful whether these meetings were of any more consequence than that conjured up in the reader's mind by the entry (27.7.05): '... Die Drei jungen Damen, die nur m. Thürschild

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1. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III 10 Nr.25'; diary entry 6.2.05.
 2. Wettengel proposed a complete translation of Der Hungerpastor for the American public. The translation by 'Arnold' appeared in 1885 (v. p. 460 above).
 3. Pongs, loc.cit.
 4. Johnson is also mentioned in entries for 27.5.07, 20.8.07, 21.8.07, & 14.10.07.
 5. Miss Sheppard is also mentioned in entries for 16.4.08, 14.5.1908 & 9.8.08, which presumably relate to correspondence prior to their meeting.

sehen wollten'. Raabe's interest in America is, however, bound to have been stimulated by two of his nieces - daughters of Pastor Louis Tappe of Boffzen - who had settled in America. Letters were exchanged from time to time. Hedwig had married Joseph Darling Ibbotson, a clergyman, and lived in Clinton, New Jersey.¹ In March, 1898 she writes of her 'Sehnsucht nach der Heimat', assures Raabe that, although she finds it hard to keep English out of her German letters, 'im Herzen bin ich traun deutsche'. According to the diary,² she and her husband visited him in the summer of 1900. Her sister Käthe had married Ambrose White Vernon, a clergyman from Morristown, New Jersey.³ Raabe met him in 1896.⁴ The couple settled first in Hiawatha, Kansas, and later moved to Hanover, New Hampshire. Two slim volumes by Vernon are to be found in Raabe's library.⁵ A third niece, Mathilde Tappe, also spent some time in America. In 1898, while staying with the Vernons in Hiawatha, she wrote to Raabe⁶ telling him about life in Kansas, how civilized things were in her particular part of the state.

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1. The letter quoted below (which is in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig) is from 'Clinton N.J.', the diary simply refers to 'Clinton' (8.11.99)
 2. 20.7. & 21.7.1900.
 3. The couple's engagement announcement (which is in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig) is dated November, 1894.
 4. In the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig there is a card from Käthe and Vernon sent from Wernigerode on 8.4.96; and a letter from Raabe to his eldest daughter, dated 6.6.96: '.. Am Mittwoch u Donnerstag machte das junge Paar, Mr & Mrs (Käthe Tappe) Ambrose White Vernon, New Jersey U.S.A. hier seinen Abschiedsbesuch. Es sind allerliebste Leutchen u. es war sehr hübsch'. Furthermore, to a letter from Käthe sent from Kansas on 3.9.96 (also in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig) Vernon adds a note in which he refers to Raabe's having shown him round "the Gallery".
 5. Sermon, East Orange, New Jersey, 1899; and The Religious Value of the Old Testament in the Light of Modern Scholarship, New York, 1907. The titles are recorded in the diary on 8.1.1900 & 27.5.07 respectively.
 6. Letter in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, dated 7.6.98.

She writes of her impressions of the Red Indians and of the whites, recounts what she has heard of the pioneer days, and praises the absence of class consciousness - it is 'wie ein frischer Hauch' - adding: '... Auf der anderen Seite vermißt man aber Kunstsinn und zuweilen etwas gesellschaftlichen Schliff. Der Osten ist dagegen viel mehr wie Deutschland'.¹

Another relation by marriage, Paul Wasserfall - one of the author's sons-in-law - returned to Germany from the Far East 'über Nordamerika'² in 1896 or 1897. But as a doctor in the navy he probably caught little more than a glimpse of the country and its people. Moreover, his impressions and experiences, like those of all Raabe's potential informants in later years, can have had little or no effect on the writer's work, however much they may have confirmed or corrected his views. After the completion of Die Akten des Vogelsangs (18.7.95) there is virtually nothing in Raabe's writings which has any bearing on his attitude towards America or the Americans, and nothing which points to a change of attitude.

1. She also condemns Spanish behaviour in Cuba.

2. Fehse, Raabe, p.576.

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I. Primary sources

A. Raabe

(a) Works

i Single works:

Die Schwarze Galerie, ed. C.A. Williams, New York, 1918.Ein Frühling, 2nd edition, (Deutsche Roman-Zeitung) Berlin, 1871.Elise von der Tanne, ed. S.J. Pease, New York, 1911.

ii Collected works:

Sämtliche Werke, Berlin, 1913-16¹

(First series, 6 vols, '21. bis 25. Tausend', 1923;
 Second series, 6 vols, 'Dreizehntes bis Siebzehntes Tausend', 1920;
 Third series, 6 vols, 'Elftes bis Sechszehntes Tausend', 1920).

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(quoted as 'Krit. Ausgabe')

Werke, Freiburg i.Br., 1954.

(b) Notes and aphorisms

'Aphorismen Raabes chronologisch geordnet', Jahrbuch der Raabe-Gesellschaft, Brunswick, 1960, pp. 96-139.

(quoted as 'Jahrbuch, 1960')

1. References to this edition take the form of a Roman numeral (I, II, or III) to indicate the relevant series, followed by two or more Arabic numerals, the first of which indicates the volume within the series: the third and subsequent numerals are page numbers.

The titles of three of Raabe's works are abbreviated:

Chronik = Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse;

Leute = Die Leute aus dem Walde;

Akten = Die Akten des Vogelsangs.

(c) Letters

In alls gedultig. Briefe Wilhelm Raabes (1842-1910), ed. W. Fehse,
Berlin, 1940.

(quoted as 'In alls gedultig')

Further letters in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, under 'H III 10 Nr. 2'.

- (d) Diary copies for the periods
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|----------|---|-------------|
| 1.10.57 | - | 27.2.64, |
| 30.5.82 | - | 29.12.87, |
| 27.4.98 | - | 20.10.1906, |
| 3.11.06 | - | 2.11.07, |
| 31.12.07 | - | 4.8.09, |
| 25.4.10 | - | 2.11.10. |

The diaries are in private hands.

- (e) Notebook copies: seven notebooks from the years 1861-64, 1864-67, 1869,
1874-75, 1875-76, 1881, & 1895-1903.
The notebooks are in private hands.

- (f) Raabe's library: in the Stadtbibliothek and the Raabe-Gedächtnisstätte,
Brunswick.

- (g) Miscellaneous material in the Stadtarchiv Braunschweig,
under 'H III 10 Nr. 6' (letters to Raabe),
'H III 10 Nr. 25',
'H III 10 Nr. 26 Varia I' (including 'sonstige Varia'),
'H III 10 Nr. 27 Varia II'.

B. Other primary sources

Unless a writer is extremely well known, dates of first publication are given in the right hand column when they differ greatly from those of the editions listed. The letter 'R' in this column signifies that Raabe is known to have possessed a copy of the edition in question.

Americans in Europe by One of Them, London, 1893.

- Amerikaner v. Der neue ... below.
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