

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

THE PERIODICAL PRESS AND THE

RECEPTION OF GERMAN

LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND

1790 - 1830

BY

C. D. DOWNIE

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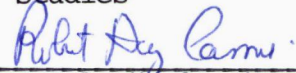
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "The Periodical Press and The Reception of German Literature in Scotland 1790-1830" submitted by C. D. Downie in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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## Abstract

The primary vehicle for the dissemination and recognition of German literature in Britain and the wider English speaking world was the periodical press. Literary contact and exchange between Germany and Scotland was active by 1790 and was initiated by Scottish cosmopolitanism and curiosity. Mackenzie's Edinburgh lecture in 1788 and Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, 1833, provide the reference points for this paper.

Scottish criticism of German literature over much of this period was more insightful and discriminating than that of English contemporaries. The successful and sophisticated periodicals Scots Magazine, Blackwood's Magazine, Quarterly Review, Monthly Magazine and Foreign Quarterly Review ensured the constant exposure of German literature to the public. Contributors to German studies in Scotland included Mackenzie, Thompson, Macdonald, Scott, Lockhart, Gillies, Wilson, Moir, Blackie, Soane and Carlyle. English contemporaries included Taylor, Robinson, Holcroft, Roscoe, Beddoes, De Quincey, Austin and Coleridge.

Periodical criticism of the time was characteristically aggressive and politically partisan. Accusations of German 'immorality' and 'mysticism' were common. Other criteria such as 'taste,' 'decorum' and 'originality' were also applied to German works. Members of the Edinburgh group defended many German authors against such charges: they typically argued that these foreign writers were misunderstood and possessed unrecognized genius.

theory and philosophy was the culmination of the British achievement in German studies in the nineteenth century. The Scottish contribution 1790-1830 is notable in the areas of introduction, mediation and recognition of German works, and the success of this contribution may be attributed to the influence of the periodical press.

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents..

Craig Douglas Downie  
University of Calgary  
September 1986

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## I. Introduction

The role of Scottish writers in the study, reception and recognition of German literature in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has attracted considerable scholarly attention. German creative writing was virtually unknown in Britain prior to the mid 1700s. By 1790, various German authors and genres were available in translations of varying quality.

Walter Schirmer divides the main period of importation into three phases; 1788-1813, 1813-1832 and 1832 - "bis zum Verblassen des Deutschlandbildes im letzten Drittel des Jahrhunderts" (Schirmer: viii and passim). V. Stockley observes that, prior to about 1790, German literature in Britain covered three main areas. Firstly, were those works indebted to classical or neo-classical form, such as the fables of C. F. Gellert and G. E. Lessing, and the novels and oriental romances of A. Haller, C. H. Wieland and Sophie de la Roche. Critical comment was generally favourable to these works. Another area dealt with pastoral, biblical or medieval subject matter, such as the idylls and epics of S. Gessner, C. O. von Schönaich, J. J. Bodmer and F. G. Klopstock. Lastly, there were the imitations and adaptations associated with Goethe's widely read Die Leiden des jungen Werthers (Stockley: 2ff).

During the period prior to 1790, however, appreciation of foreign works in general was not widespread. H. Thompson notes that "... from all the evidence ... it appears that the average educated Briton of 1788 probably knew only two names in German literature and two works -- the sentimental Idylls of Gessner and the sentimental Werther of



Goethe" (H. W. Thompson: 285).

Various factors impeded literary communication and contributed to British reluctance to approve of German imports. During the eighteenth century, Germany had been politically weak, divided and under French influence. A prejudicial dislike for the German language is evident, compounded by the unpopularity of the German speaking Hanoverian kings of Britain. Adding to these conditions was the scarcity of imported books and the damaging effects of poor translations (Stockley: 2-3).

After 1790, German literature grew in influence through the intermediary activity of Germans living in Britain, German officers in the British army during the American War of Independence and the encouragement of German authors at the court of George III (Stockley: 4-5). D. Lindsay notes a shift from verse, religious epic and Richardsonian fiction to drama, especially tragedy, Gothic fiction and the ballad. This is a reflection of a general movement of taste at the time of the French Revolution with works also becoming more varied in scope and subject (Lindsay: 19).

Between 1798 and 1802 "innumerable translations, imitations, eulogies, parodies and polemical pamphlets were published, and the press was filled with articles and letters, many of them expressing violent prejudices for or against German literature as a whole" (Lindsay: 32). The most intense period of interest and controversy, about 1800, revolved particularly around dramatic works. The public esteem of German plays can be deduced from the absence of any native British playwrights of note and the opinion of the Germans as "near

though late kindred of the English Elizabethans" (Stockley: 187-88). Public appeal was widespread for the characteristic excessive horrors, impossible extremes of happiness and misery of the 'Räuber'-and 'Ritterromane' of authors such as Schiller and Grillparzer. Other German genres were also well known; "Schauerromane" and "Familienromane" were simple, sentimental and moral tales, depicting family or country manners and customs (Stockley: 187-88, 223-225).

The early efforts of Mackenzie, Tytler and Thompson had resulted in Schiller's fame growing more quickly in Scotland than in England (Lindsay: 139-40). Walter Scott's long and influential writing career began with his translation of Bürger's Lenore (William and Helen and Der Wilde Jäger (The Chase) in 1796 (Ochojski; 55L3: 165) and Goethe's Goetz von Berlichingen in 1799.

Objections to German literature as morally offensive to British sensibilities, inelegant, or merely irrelevant, were prominent between 1803 and 1810 but such attacks did not halt importation of works or stifle interest.

Scottish critics were instrumental in the revival of interest evident between 1811 and 1813. The final main phase of reception witnessed important theoretical and creative German work being analyzed and absorbed by the Edinburgh Germanophiles. They also introduced German literature of the Middle High German and Baroque periods and made scholarly reassessments of writers already known.

In the years immediately preceeding 1830, German studies were dominated by the periodical criticism of the Edinburgh circle and by the translations and essays of Thomas Carlyle. J. G. Lockhart and R. P. Gillies collaborated in the publication of the openly pro-German

Blackwood's Magazine, founded in 1817. In 1827, Gillies left to found the Foreign Quarterly Review and Lockhart encouraged further interest in German subjects when he took over the editorship of the Quarterly Review in 1826 (Ashton: 16). Outside of Germany, Carlyle was, and is, considered the most distinguished and respected Germanophile of his age.

As to why early nineteenth century Scotland can lay claim to being the receiver and disseminator of German literature, it is clear that many factors converge and historical coincidence cannot be discounted. The acquisition of German was not considered unusual in educated Scottish circles and the wider Scottish readership had an exposure to and interest in German literature that has never since been equalled in Britain.

In 1798, the publication of the Wordsworth and Coleridge anthology Lyrical Ballads ushered in the Romantic Age in Britain. In the same year, Lord Stanhope's invention of the iron printing press and the Frenchman N. L. Robert's patent for a paper-making machine revolutionized publishing (A. Sullivan: XV). It is significant that several of those Scottish critics and translators most interested in German affairs had access to or control over some of the most respected quarterlies. German literature, in print and on the stage in Britain, reached its zenith during the 'Golden Age' of the periodical press.

It is difficult to attribute the success of the Edinburgh circle to the conventions or relative consensus of a 'movement' or a 'school'. Collectively, the group exhibit diverse backgrounds, personal aptitudes and tastes. The Scottish critics were typically

well travelled in Germany and knew the language well. Several were well connected with or had at least met some of the major German literary personalities. These facts in themselves do not represent advantages over the Scots' English counterparts. The group of young men living in Weimar were mostly English, and of all the European 'literati' in contact with Germany, the Scots were most successful in spreading German literature in their own country. The members of the Edinburgh circle did not share common political, social or even literary values. Curiosity, the application of studious method, ambition and an undefinable Germanophilia may be broadly considered common to most members, but activity in German studies varied in intensity and duration in all.

Jean Marie Carré detects certain "sympathies naturelles" between the Scottish critics and German authors, especially Goethe. Germanophilia may account for the 'sympathies' but do not explain the fact that Scottish criticism defended many of Germany's most important writers in the face of indifference or resistance. The Scots were, writes Carré, "... germanistes distingués ... et leur attitude est d'autant plus méritoire qu'elle est exceptionnelle à l'époque" (Carre: 56).

## II. Background

The introduction of German and other foreign literatures into Britain was largely contingent upon the growth and influence of the periodical press. "The Journal des Scavans, established in Paris in 1665, not only gave an impetus to the issuing of periodicals both in Great Britain and on the Continent, but led to the beginning in England of a long line of serials devoted largely to the summarizing of books for busy or lazy readers, and indirectly led to the critical review" (Graham: 22-23). Over the course of the eighteenth century, both Britain and Germany experienced a rapid expansion of secular literature accompanying the marked growth of the "non - specialist" reading public (Currie: 69). These periodicals are of immense importance to the rise of education, political awareness and the communication of ideas. The English Tatler and the Spectator are generally considered to have been the primary inspiration for the generation of thousands of publications (Collins: I,285).<sup>1</sup>

The readership of the English, and by extension, Scottish publications of the period was essentially similar to that of contemporary Germany: "The writers of the early [German] weeklies addressed themselves to the higher groups of urban society: the aristocracy, magistrates, university-trained professional men, wealthy merchants, and masters in the prestigious crafts ... they discuss such 'homely' things as dress, good manners, and child care against a background of wealth and leisure" (Currie: 69-70).

By 1750, periodicals had become a European phenomenon. The

cultivation of philosophy, the arts and the progress of science found a primary organ of dissemination in the journals and magazines. There is no doubt that they were widely read and circulated.

"Between 1731 and 1780 no less than sixty magazines were published in London, while Scotland had ten and Ireland eleven" (A.S. Collins: I,288-90). The sophisticated literary periodicals of the German theorists G. E. Lessing (1729-81), Wieland (1733-1813) and J. G. Herder (1744-1803) looked readily to British sources for format and content (cf. Kurrelmeyer).

D.H. Lindsay contends that evidence for direct literary contact between Scotland and Germany prior to circa 1750 is obscure. Contact and exchange, if any, had been essentially non-literary and no translation from the literary German before this date is extant. The Germans had been extremely important during the Renaissance and Reformation as exporters of works in Latin. This role and trend continued and in the eighteenth century many works on theology, science, and classical scholarship were imported into Britain.

Aristocratic, scholarly and commercial interaction expanded rapidly during this period. The growing number of travellers' reports accompanied and stimulated public curiosity in foreign affairs. An early example of English interest in German matters and manners was an "... Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover" [London, 1705] by the Irishman John Toland (O'Neill: I,123). The popularity of Frederick the Great was an important factor in preparing a foundation

for the reception of German creative works. Frederick's Memoirs of Brandenburg [translated from the French] were widely read and prompted a "... spate of books dealing with him in London in 1749" (O'Neill; I: 124).<sup>2</sup>

G. Baker notes that before circa 1750 literary currents were flowing from England to Germany rather than from Germany to England. He feels that an exchange of German material and influence was impossible at this time due to the fact that Germany had yet to produce any authors worthy of international attention (Baker: 114).

The earliest translation of a work of the "New High German Literature" was Gellert's Swedish Countess (1752), followed by Rabener's Satirical Letters (1761) and Klopstock's Messiah in 1763 (Stockley: 5).<sup>3</sup> Among these writers none was so widely known or exercised a greater influence on the English mind than Gessner; Rabener and the others were "indifferently received" (Baker: 111).

In Scotland, Gessner's The Death of Abel was translated in 1761, his Rural Poems in 1762 and part of Klopstock's Messiah were published in 1763 "(Lindsay: 14). This period is characterized by the acceleration of translations, adaptations and imitations of contemporary German writers. Most of the translations were extremely poor, originated in London and were undertaken by amateurs, many of them women. German Literature spread rapidly and clearly enjoyed a broadly based readership even in the larger provincial centres of Scotland: "The catalogue for the period 1761-1785 of Alexander Angus' circulating library in Aberdeen contained Rabener's Satirical Letters, Schönaich's Arminius, Bodmer's Noah, Gessner's Rural Poems, Goethe's

Sorrows of Werter [sic] and Elenora" (Lindsay: 13).

While it can not be asserted that German works accompanied the spread of literacy into more remote areas, studies have shown the lists of subscribers to such libraries to have been comprised of a wide social base of readership not defined by class restrictions (cf. Carnie: 82ff). Barriers to education based on class membership were an inhibiting factor in the contemporary English scenario. "By 1795 the New Aberdeen Circulating Library contained about 50 books of German origin" (Lindsay: 19).<sup>4</sup>

"Der geschmack des schottischen publikums war um die mitte des 18. jahrhunderts ganz im banne der englischen und französischen klassiker" (Kluge: 68). A conservative, strongly classicist orientation prevailed: "... Lord Kames (1696 - 1782) was regarded as chief arbiter of literary taste, a thinker to be named with Hume and Smith" (Thompson: 21). The formal tenets of aristotelian poetics went unchallenged throughout the century. In Germany, J.C. Gottsched (1700-66) and his adherents were in the forefront and his dominance may be seen as an inhibiting factor. In 'Enlightenment' Scotland, belief in the strict recognition of the unities" ... proved to be one of the strongest bonds between Hume and the French classical school" (Doering: 1134). "The ideal of a style which would be simply excellent according to uniform standards of propriety, and not national, individual or peculiar, continued to hold force" (E. Mann: 113).



By the latter decades of the century, however, new directions in taste and sensibility had begun to emerge. In his Memoirs of a Literary Veteran (1858), Robert Pearse Gillies wrote of the great revolution in literary taste that took place between the years 1794 and 1806: "There can be no doubt that in those changes the Germans led the way, indeed they began to manifest newly awakened life, twenty years earlier than 1794, Lessing and Gerstenberg striking the key note" (Gillies: I,223). "Sentiment took the place of Conscience and Revelation and Aesthetics usurped the place of Theology" (Thompson: 15).

These developments radically altered the situation in Scotland. The church no longer completely determined the reading material of the lay populace. "Where the eighteenth century cottager or weaver read his collection of sermons or his Burns, ... the man of the next generation inclined to turn his attention to two types of reading ..., imaginative literature, particularly fiction, and political and religious controversy" (Thompson: 22-23).

By 1790, Scotland possessed 27 newspapers and the next few decades witnessed phenomenal growth and expansion (Mackie: 310). The pace, demands and stresses of industrialization added greatly to British political and cultural insularity. Empiricism, Imperialism and the successes of British scientific advances produced a very self-satisfied stance in both political foreign policies and public opinion. A writer in the Quarterly Review proudly acknowledged the importance of scientific studies to Britain's "natural" hegemony: "... our rapid improvement in wealth, intelligence, and civilization

[is] contributing to our rank and power and [is] without parallel in the history of contemporary nations" (Quarterly Review XXXIV; June, 1826: 153-54). The Edinburgh Review observed that "The condition of the English people is certainly superior to that of all other nations" (XLIII, Feb. 1815: 14). As the self-assurance and pride in pre-eminence of early Victorian Britain became more engrained, native literature retained an overtly preferred status.

This condition may be seen as being of importance in the lack of interest in, and understanding of, foreign literature as treated by English periodicals over the period 1790-1830. Scottish publications and personalities did much to counter-act this insularity and narrowmindedness. To the chagrin of continental theorists like Lessing, the English public seemed impervious to imported trends. He is known to have resented and ridiculed British self-esteem. Conversely, German interest in British literary affairs was intense and is evident from an early date. The Scotsman Alexander Reid was a publisher of the Republic of Letters in Hamburg (1725-1736) which discussed English literature and was instrumental in "... stirring up emulation in neighbouring countries "(Baker: 113). By the early decades of the nineteenth century, Gillies noted a degree of Anglophilia reigning in certain intellectual circles in Germany. A ready market existed for British material and the activity of translators was notable. "No sooner is new work of any tolerable pretensions announced in London than there arises a competition among German translators ..." (Gillies; Memoirs: II,332).

Two major German groups are of special importance to the importation of English material in its wider European context.

H. Oppel points to the four "Brennpunkte" of German reception of English literary trends in the late eighteenth century; Hamburg and Leipzig, Zürich and Göttingen. While Hamburg and Leipzig almost exclusively operated as mediators of British enlightenment, rationalist convictions, it was in Göttingen and Zürich that the first impulses of Irrationalism and Pre-Romanticism were proclaimed (Oppel: I,56).

Periodicals were again of seminal importance in the exchange process. Wieland received the Critical Review, Universal Magazine, Gentleman's Magazine, Lady's Magazine, London Chronicle and others (Kurrelmeyer: 869). The court at Weimar maintained a literary agent in London named Hüttner whose Nachrichten aus England appeared in the Intelligenzblatt of Jena (Boyd: 149). Goethe subscribed extensively to British periodicals and particularly praised the Edinburgh Review.

H. W. Thompson contrasts the insularity of English culture with that of the stereotypic 'travelling Scot': "... there were always more Scots abroad proportionally than citizens of any other country ... [and] Scotland was continually in touch with the continent of Europe ..." (Thompson: 281-282). An interesting and colourful example of the Scotsman abroad was Rev. James Macdonald (1732-1810). Macdonald's many acquaintances included the Duke Karl August, Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Herder, Klopstock and Jean Paul (A. Gillies; MLR: 37). "Not only was he consulted on more general points in connection with articles on England in the Neuer Teuscher Merkur which Böttiger edited, and the Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung, but, in particular, as a Hebridean and a Gaelic-speaker, he was keenly questioned from all sides on

the authenticity of the Ossianic poems" (A. Gillies; MLR:37).

The correspondence and personal ties between some of the leading German figures of the day and the Edinburgh circle is of importance to the importation of German works. When Macdonald left Germany to return to Scotland in 1798, he took with him over seven hundred books including the complete works of Herder, Wieland, Goethe, Mendelssohn, Weisse and Iffland (A. Gillies: 71). Sir Walter Scott was a valued customer of the Hamburg bookseller Hoffmann; Scott's library at Abbotsford contains more than three hundred German books including many collections of medieval legends, history and antiquarian lore (Ochojski; SSL: 169).<sup>5</sup>

With the notable exceptions of Carlyle and Scott, most of the Edinburgh 'literati' seem to have been seasoned travellers on the continent. Exposure to the institutions and language of Germany were especially influential. The young Germanophile J. G. Lockhart "... emerged from Germany much enriched --... by the German passion for high thinking, for self-education, and the cultivation of the impersonal sentiments of the human mind. His native idealism had been strengthened by a preoccupation with German poetry and German thought" (Ewen: 261).

Most travellers were more affected by the customs and manners of the countries they visited. British travel reviews very often adopt a particularly condescending tone. John Clive observes that: "... while these demonstrate intense curiosity about geography, customs and arts of distant nations and peoples, they show little of the benevolently cosmopolitan attitude of their eighteenth century predecessors"

(Clive: 167). Given the enormous popularity of these articles, it is not surprising that the British public's conception of German literature was subverted by disparaging comments on hygiene or politeness. Off-handed remarks such as "... modesty seems to be a plant as exotic to Brandenburg as other good plants are" (A. Gillies quoting Macdonald: 19) could certainly manipulate a reader's viewpoint. The connection between German morality (or the lack thereof) and German literature was reinforced by Mme. de Staël. She admired the literary knowledge of the German populace, where "... a general spirit of inquiry and a general knowledge of literature pervades even the inns and custom-houses" (Quarterly Review X; Jan., 1814: 373). However, she denounced German morality, particularly among women. She felt the "reserve" of the English woman was to be preferred. German girls' study of literature and "perhaps a certain coldness of temperature ... lead them to treat those occurrences as of very little consequence, which in England would produce heavy legal damages; in Spain the dagger or the bowl; and in Turkey a moonlight voyage in a sack from this world to the next. The immorality of the German females resembles however the Italian rather than the French school of profligacy ..." (Quarterly Review X; Jan., 1814: 367-68).

Travel books were also in vogue on the continent and there was a large community of Europeans living in England. London's British Critic provides a revealing statement of English insularity and touchiness when it reviewed a German's A Foreigner's Opinion of England in 1808 as being "... full of offensive absurdities and total ignorance of English customs" (Stockley quoting British Critic XXII; 1808: 275).

End Notes II

1 "... Defoe, Swift, Addison, Steele, Johnson, Smart, Chatterton, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith, Scott, Coleridge, Leigh Hunt, Hazlitt, Campbell, Hogg, Macaulay, De Quincey, John Wilson, Lockhart, Lamb, Carlyle, Hood, Dickens, Thackeray, Meredith, Kingsley, George Eliot, Trollope, Tennyson and Matthew Arnold are notable, either for their management of, or contributions to essay sheets, magazines, and reviews" (Graham: 15). A similar list for Germany would include Herder, Wieland, Klopstock, Mendelssohn, Lavater, Schiller, Goethe, Kotzebue, Bertuch, F. and A. W. Schlegel, Tieck, Arnim, Eichendoff, Novalis, Kleist, Heine, Grillparzer, Storm, Meyer, Keller, Fontane etc.

2 "The Literary Journal of Dublin for Sept. 1746 gives a list of some twenty living muses in Germany, for the most part, imitators and emulators of Gottsched and his wife" (G. Baker: 114).

3 The Literary Journal of Dublin (1744-1749) was an "abstract periodical giving the substance of German, Dutch, French and Latin books in English" (Graham: 207).

4 "The Perth Reading Society ... had acquired by 1829 about 800 books of which about 60 were fiction. With its mixture of religious polemic, scientific encyclopedia, Burns' poems, classical writers and travel, its stock was typical of the period" (A. Thompson: 25).

5 A catalogue of the library at Abbotsford has been published by "The Maitland Club" and may be consulted at the University of Calgary Library.

### III. Interest

The tendency of educated Scots to meet together in groups further focussed general interest into more concentrated effort in German studies. The many clubs and societies formed in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the eighteenth century were a mainstay and a focal point of the Scottish Enlightenment. Allan Ramsay's Easy Club (1712) and the Select Society of the 1750's "... included all the Edinburgh 'literati' as well as many of the nobility and gentry" (Clive: 20). The Academy of Physics (1797) was an important group. Their interests were highly eclectic and attention to German affairs was a priority. The minutes for their first meeting on September 30, 1797 notes the appointment of Mr. Brougham "... to examine Holcroft's translation of Count Stolberg's Travels, and to report the important notices" (Clive: 21).

Although the study of the classical languages was to dominate in British universities even into the twentieth century, the acquisition of German was evidently considered important to higher society. In 1799 Macdonald wrote: "In Scotland the German language and writers are infinitely better known and more esteemed than in any part of England or Europe, London and Petersburg excepted. Lords Glenlee, Monboddo, David Hume [nephew of the philosopher], Dr. Baird, Prof. Finlayson, Christison ... have good German libraries and understand the language very well" (A. Gillies: 44). This statement is not corroborated by his contemporary, R. P. Gillies. "Of German we remained so profoundly

ignorant that in the year 1806, I am very sure that all the book-sellers in Edinburgh could hardly have supplied more than a dozen volumes in that language" (R. P. Gillies; Memoirs: I,237). Gillies clearly lacked the influential, upper class acquaintances enjoyed by Macdonald. Though exaggerated, his statement likely reflects the lack of concern of the average educated person in acquiring even a reading knowledge of German. Gillies is also subtly stressing his own achievement in the spread of German letters. Macdonald was also very proud of his function as intermediary. He wrote to Herder in 1801: "There are three German teachers at Edinburgh who have more students than they can manage, and I can assure you that your books to me have been instrumental in disseminating this German taste" (quoted in A. Gillies: 45).

A private German class attended by Walter Scott and several other young Edinburgh lawyers at the turn of the century was illustrative of growing interest. The class demonstrated a relative sophistication in selecting the materials for study. "Ihr Lehrer war ein Dr. Willich, ein deutscher Arzt, der seinem Unterricht Gessner's sentimentalische Epos Der Tod Abels zugrunde legen wollte, womit er aber keinen Anklang bei seinen Schülern fand, die vielmehr für Kant und die Jugendschattungen Goethes und Schillers schwärmten" (Koch: 37). This scholarly approach was vital to the later disposition and success of the Edinburgh circle.

The translations of German works as presented in the periodicals contributed to an appreciation for the works in the original German.



The reviewers constantly stressed the unsatisfactory transferral of artistic refinement from one language to another. Carlyle was especially aware of the damaging impact of inaccurate or 'amateurish' translations. In criticising the negative impressions generated by William Taylor, leader of the Norwich school he complained that: "On German Poetry, such is the actual state of public information and curiosity, his guidance will be sure to lead or mislead a numerous class of inquirers" (Edinburgh Review; March, 1831: 155). Writing in the Edinburgh Review in 1831, Carlyle provides testimony of the success of this promotion of works in their original form. "Within the last ten years, independent readers of German have multiplied perhaps a hundred fold; so that this acquirement is almost expected as a natural item of education" (Edinburgh Review; March, 1831: 153).<sup>1</sup>

The periodical press ensured that public exposure to German literature and political developments was constant and up to date. A. S. Collins summarizes the immense importance of these publications.

There could no longer be any excuse for ignorance of the outlines of domestic and foreign politics; geographical, historical and literary knowledge was brought to all who could read, and the gift of a little led to a desire for more. The magazines were, in fact, a very powerful educative influence, affecting politics as well by the formation of a broad national public opinion (Collins: I,289).

Scottish contributors were prominent in the growing public awareness and appreciation of literature. "John Leyden published in the

Edinburgh Magazine (1785-1803) translations from the Greek, Latin and Scandinavian languages. Ritson and Scott were occasional contributors, and through them the magazine furthered the revival of ballads and old romances" (Graham: 185). In the wider European context, periodicals provided an outlet for much scholarly research. The movement was international in scope. While studying Sanscrit in Paris in 1803, Friedrich Schlegel edited the journal Europa in which he gave special attention to the literatures of Spain and Portugal (Hammer: 49-50). British publishers were especially active; by the year 1800, a total of two hundred and sixty-four periodicals, of all kinds, were issued (Graham: 17).<sup>2</sup>

In the Scottish periodicals, no foreign literature was dealt with more frequently and more intently than the German. In Britain generally, the reception was mixed with many leading publications tending to approach the subject from a rather negative standpoint. An indication of the degree to which German works were in the public eye is evidenced by the fact that "... about sixty articles and reviews concerning German literature were published annually in English magazines between the years 1816 and 1830" (Pache: 109). An uncompromising attitude to Whig or Tory political affiliation and a varied but highly selective attitude to literary matters characterizes the leading Scottish quarterlies.

They were the largest and the most respected magazines of their time, the best from a literary and intellectual point of view ... at its height in 1818 the Edinburgh sold 14,000 copies and the Quarterly the year before sold 12,000. This was a considerable achievement under the conditions of printing before the rotary press and the perfection of paper making machines (Dudek: 83-84).

The periodicals and the expansion of a theatre-going public directed the shift of interest after 1798 from poetry and prose to fiction and drama. Lindsay posits two reasons for this shift; the writers known at the turn of the century were mainly novelists and dramatists, and the public tended to turn from the works themselves, to embrace a "personality cult" of the individual authors (Lindsay: 99). The Scots Magazine for 1802 concentrated its literary matters on studies of Ossian and bibliographic studies of Burns and A. Haller (Scots Magazine; Feb. - May 1802).

"With the progress of the anti-revolutionary wars and the strengthening of the Tory party in England, the 'Sturm und Drang' literature of Germany came to be regarded as synonymous with all that was revolutionary in politics and free thinking in philosophy. Its popularity was looked on by many as marking a decline of true taste and of sound morals" (Stockley: 9). The germanophiles of the Edinburgh circle laboured against accusations of immorality and deficient German 'character'. To Lockhart, Wilson, Gillies and Carlyle 'character' was indeed mirrored in creative writing. Their objections to charges of 'mysticism' and 'degeneracy' were based on a feeling that the Germans had been misunderstood and maligned.

An early acceptance of German literature was hampered by the commonplace British attitude that the scholarly prose works were praiseworthy but dry and "... the natural product of the laborious, unimaginative German mind" (Lindsay: 9).<sup>3</sup> These preconceptions were deeply ingrained by 1790. Writing in 1851, R. P. Gillies relates: "But, although frequent intercourse with the continent has tended to

demolish many an old prejudice, yet I doubt whether up to the present hour we have quite abandoned our notion that the Germans prevalently are heavy, dull, plodding and phlegmatic, whereas compared with the English their prevailing trait of character would certainly be liveliness and susceptibility ..." (R. P. Gillies; Memoirs: II, 309-310).

One German work that was widely read and discussed in the late eighteenth century was the Physiognomische Fragmente by J. C. Lavater (1741 1801). Excerpts from his works appeared in a number of Scottish magazines and the most popular passages were the anecdotes dealing with the 'native characteristics' of various European countries (Lindsay: 175). By the 1820's, the pseudo-sciences of phrenology and physiognomy had begun to fall into disrepute. 'Character' in literary or personal analysis continued to exert a powerful influence on critical theory. "National physiognomy" was a term used by Herder and may "... be traced to German literary historians, who in turn drew on ideas developed by English and Scottish writers of the eighteenth century. Friedrich Schlegel (1772 - 1829) formulates that literature is the essence of the intellectual life of a nation" (Wellek: 97-98).<sup>4</sup>

Writing in Blackwood's Magazine in 1818, Lockhart epitomised the sense of attraction to Germany common to many of the Edinburgh literati; "... the Germans are in truth very much same sort of people with the English - that their ancestry is the same, their ancient institutions, their religious habits, ... and above all, the tone and complexion of their literature, bear the strongest resemblance to ours

..." (Blackwood's; April, 1818: 25). The Scots Magazine also pointed to the sociological and political situation as being of fundamental importance. "It is from the state of human society in that country that the wild and terrific pathos and sublimity of the German works of genius take their origin" (Scots Magazine; LX, 1798: 247). Two other famous Edinburgh reviewers, Macaulay and Carlyle insisted on the connection between literature and history; literature as being determined by the world in which it appears (Morgan: 135).

National character was also felt to be embodied in language itself. John Wilson wrote: "The language itself -- the instrument -- the express work and the mirror of the mind, invests itself especially to the intellectual thought, with this character" (Blackwood's; Sept., 1818: 708). This was a philological tenet that held sway throughout the nineteenth century. Wilson also correctly noted the role of the "strong determination" of philological investigation in the "... revival of taste for our ancient literature" (Blackwood's; Dec., 1818: 266). With the growing popularity of the historical romance, understanding languages of the past was indispensable to "... the faithful representation of ages long given up without regret or regard" (Blackwood's; Dec., 1818: 266).

The sense of affinity and like-mindedness in German - Scottish literary relations was strengthened by the growing awareness of the common source of the Germanic languages. J. Kluge contends that the "übereinstimmung" between the lowland Scots dialects and German provided the initial motivation to attend Fr. Willich's classes (Kluge: 44). J. Koch considers this approach to have been detrimental

to Walter Scott's acquisition of German. "Scott selbst ..., war zu träge, um sich mit den grammatischen Regeln abzumühen, sondern glaubte, mit Hilfe der Kenntnis des schottischen Dialekts und des Angelsächsischen in das Verständnis der deutschen Sprache eindringen zu können ..." (Koch: I, 37). Dr. Willich himself cleverly took advantage of such sentiments in advertising the success of his students; he noted among them a kind of 'natural' predisposition towards German literature "... owing to the ease the natives of this country find in acquiring the pronunciation of the German language, which has a great affinity to the antient [sic] Scotch" (quoted from the Glasgow Courier 1794; Lindsay: 25). James Macdonald's social standing in Germany enabled him to observe as an insider those aspects of German culture he most admired. He expanded his high regard for German science and letters into a comparison of German and Scottish 'character'. "You Germans have made the finest beginnings in the most important things, I mean printing, gunpowder and the reformation in religion.... The Scotch are perhaps more like the Germans, especially in their faults, than any other nation of Europe" (Macdonald to Böttiger, 1798 quoted in A. Gillies: 74-75)

By 1830 interest in the 'blood' relationship between Britain and Germany had reached a high point. It found especial expression in the Foreign Quarterly Review. A single volume (Jan. - April 1831) contained an eclectic assortment of Germanophilia: "Carl Maria von Weber," "History of the Hanseatic League," "History of the ancient Germans," "Correspondence Between Schiller and Goethe," "The Brunswick Revolution," "German Pocketbooks for 1831," "German Manners in the

Sixteenth Century," and "Ancient Teutonic Gospel Harmony" (Houghton: 145).

The temperament of the collective German mind and body had been a powerful inducement for the travels and writings of Mme. de Staël. She had set out to Germany in 1803 "... haunted with affliction, love of knowledge, and above all, ennui -- to find noble characters ... and guage them with her physionomic callipers ..." (Fraser's Magazine XXVI; March, 1832: 171). De Staël's thoughts on German literature, philosophy and institutions generated widespread interest in Britain after the publication of the English translation of her work De l'Allemagne in 1813. J. G. Lockhart's summary and review of the work was carried by the Quarterly Review. The article recounts de Staël's sweeping assessment of various nations and peoples and her division of civilized and intellectual Europe into Roman and Germanic families. "The first of these she regards as more active and sensual and greater adepts in the arts of ambition and the second as more speculative and fanciful and as deriving greater pleasure from tales of wonder and knight errantry (Quarterly Review; Jan., 1814: 361). De Staël's pre-judgements and generalizations were qualified by widely accepted preconceptions of racial makeup.

Travellers' books and the abstracts of them carried by the periodicals were the only source of information on foreign places and cultures available to the highly impressionable general populace. Many articles otherwise valuable for their geographical or socio-political reportage were undermined by the authors' personal

prejudices. The Rev. James MacDonald, a regular contributor to the Edinburgh Magazine "... objected violently to 'the cursed affectation' of speaking French at Dresden, [and] ... ascribed its general lack of culture to 'the manners of the Court and the city's swarming with Italians,' the Catholic bigotry of the government, and the snobbery exhibited in the universal love of titles and the general lack of a spirit of independence" (A. Gillies:16). Broad, often grossly inaccurate generalizations with a colourful commentary are typical of many travel articles. The Laplanders were introduced to the readers of the Edinburgh Review as "... a mixture of Finns and Swedes [having] the character of being idle and extremely given to drunkenness ..." (Edinburgh Review Oct., 1813: 172). The Arabs were uniformly "... a nation of robbers" (Edinburgh Review Oct., 1830: 75).

Writers like Lockhart and Gillies were certainly aware of the damaging effects of this type of journalism. Condemnatory reviews of German literature in the mostly London-based periodicals at the turn of the century effectively soured the public's taste for imported German culture for almost two decades. The very late introduction and acceptance of Russian literature in Britain is another case in point. Comments on Russian literature appeared in travel reports and in the first volume of Gillies' Foreign Quarterly Review (1827). The observations on Russian literature were typically condescending and dispairaging. In 1824 the Quarterly Review reviewed and attacked an account by a travelling Scottish surgeon that stated; "The Russians are insinuating and cunning, deceitful and perfidious, sensuous and immoral, avaricious and mean ..." (Quarterly Review; XXXI, April, 1824:149). John Clive shows that such comments on the state of



culture in other nations reveal a statement of literary theory remarkable for its emphasis on class structure as the primary dynamic factor. The self-satisfied "leisure class" considered itself a prerequisite for superior cultural achievement (Clive: 170, 174).

In the Scottish-led periodicals articles dealing with contemporary Germany are by comparison restrained and objective. The tone is often one of sympathy and encouragement for a nation developing rapidly in cultural matters but still fettered by despotic semifeudalism. The emergence of the new German literature was seen as a natural accompaniment to recent stirrings of political liberalism and emancipation. In 1824, the young Edinburgh Lawyer John Russel published anonymously his A Tour in Germany, and Some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire, in 1820, 1821, 1822. Russel's book was generally well received, especially in Scotland. Blackwood's Magazine, The Edinburgh Review and the Edinburgh Magazine were equally appreciative but the Westminster Review commented harshly on the book. In all cases the reviewers based their judgement on their personal reaction to Russel's views on the political situation in Germany (R. Pick: 321-327). Lockhart added to literary reviews statements on politics and educational institutions. Similarly, the interconnectedness of politics and literature was evident in Macdonald's letters and diary. In 1797 he felt that Germany would surely follow the example of France. He remarks; "The Germans are, to be sure, the tamest of all mortals, but still their patience is not unlimited. The monster's sleep is heavy, but his waking will be dreadful" (Macdonald's travel diary 8.7.1797 as quoted in Gillies: 17).

The political and scientific sophistication of early industrial Britain was proudly presented as proof of power of British character. Francis Jeffrey, debating with the politically conservative but pro-German Blackwood's Magazine, charged the Scots with being "parsimonious" and "scrupulous in the extreme as to character, inquisitive as to connections, curious in all particulars..." (Jeffrey quoted in Blackwood's; March, 1823: 366).<sup>5</sup> The British were in turn examined and judged according to their own pretensions. The most prevalent countercharges of continental writers regarding Britain and British character were probably those of hubris and insularity. Voltaire's aphoristic pronouncements in this regard are well known.

Again, the sense of identification of literature, politics and national 'point of view' is suggested. Goethe read Sir Walter Scott's nine-volume Life of Napoleon (1827) in the original English specifically in order to "... penetrate into the modes of thinking of the English..." (Boyd: 223). The book's greatness lay "... in its extreme nationalism [towards] events which concerned Europe as a whole" (Boyd: 223). In February, 1828, he wrote to Zelter: "Dass Walter Scott gesteht: der Engländer thue [sic] keinen Schritt, wenn er nicht ein englisches Object vor sich sieht, ist ganz allein viele Bände wert" (Goethekalender; 1911:74).

To J. G. Lockhart, F. Schlegel's outline of the fundamentals of literary history were especially appealing. It was a major point of agreement between Scottish and German theorists. Lockhart states:

... a great national character can only be preserved, by endeavouring as much as possible to cherish and keep alive the characteristic spirit of our ancestors; and that the literature of each nation, instead of embodying all kinds of human ideas indifferently, should aim at rivetting a peculiar set of impressions proper to itself, which would have the advantage of gaining force by every reiteration, and of pervading the whole system both of private and public life (Blackwood's; August, 1818: 500).

Carlyle was the staunchest Scottish defender of 'misunderstood' German aptitudes and temperament. His personal experience of Germany came only in 1862, fully 30 years after his last active interest in German literature, but he never abandoned his early pro-German bias. The outstanding thrust of Carlyle's inquiry into German writers was the attempt to delineate the character of genius; its forms and causal environment. His attention to the biographies of his 'heroes' led, by extension, to generalizations; "... to the Germans ... a certain degree of darkness appears a native element essential for giving play to that deep meditative enthusiasm which forms so important a feature in their character" (Ashton:93).

Carlyle was clearly the most industrious and advanced of the Scottish Germanophiles. His examination of German authors is scholarly and far sighted. Isolation from the main stream aided rather than hindered his studies. As a translator he surpassed all others working in this field. Although uncompromising in content and eccentric in style, Carlyle agreed with some prevailing trends in Edinburgh criticism. With Lockhart and Wilson he shared an interest in the causal relationship of national physiognomy and literary history. Like Gillies, Maginn and De Quincey, he sought out the new and unconventional. Carlyle, Jeffrey and Scott were fundamentally humanistic, politically minded and intensely interested in the wider historical developments of their time. Subjective analysis of 'character' was a European trend. R. Wellek concludes that, "If any

pronouncement on literary history in Carlyle is important, it should be sought for in his early advocacy of literary history as the history of the national mind" (Wellek:97).

Accompanying the decline of the pseudo-scientific importations of the physiognomists and phrenologists was the introduction into Britain of works of greater and potentially more 'dangerous' thinkers. The difficulties of translating the more complex and speculative works caused their introduction to be delayed, confused and mistrusted. By applying a more diligent and studious approach, the Scottish translators were able to correct many of the shortcomings of the earlier English schools.

The background of Scottish academic philosophy was important to the development of the pro-German literary sympathies of the Edinburgh circle. The eighteenth century 'Enlightenment' period briefly placed Scottish science, architecture and arts in the vanguard of European accomplishment. The 'common sense' schools of philosophy based in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen included David Hume, Adam Smith, Dugald Stewart, George Campbell and Thomas Reid. F. Copleston notes the success of the movement; contemporary continental circles "... approved the ['common sense'] direction of the mind towards ethical and practical questions, the use of experimental method, and the tendency to concentrate on available factual data rather than on abstract speculations" (Copleston 5,II:195). Empiricism offered an explication of the increasingly complex material life of early industrial Britain. The pressures of rapid social and economic change greatly altered societal relationships and positions. Social

disaffection disrupted traditional stability and religious faith was tested. "To a very large extent, ... England had lost its faith in any higher reality than that which the senses reveal .... In the great universe men saw nothing more than a cunning piece of clockwork. Its fundamental forces and laws were neither rational nor moral, but mechanical" (W. Morgan:439). Thomas Carlyle fought a life-long campaign against what he regarded as the dehumanizing effects of 'mechanism'. In his Essay on Burns he dismisses the eighteenth century as "... a flat continuous thrashing-floor for Logic, whereon all questions, from the Doctrine of Rent, to the Natural History of Religion are thrashed and sifted with the same mechanical impartiality!" (Carlyle XXVI: 289).

The literary counterpart to philosophical empiricism was a classical ideal highly indebted to seventeenth-century French form and theory.<sup>6</sup> Hume believed that standards of taste could be established empirically (Hume: xxi). He also advocated "... along with the neo-classicists, the strict and narrow view of epic and dramatic action, which implies, he believes, the action to be one and simple, in order to preserve the concern or sympathy entire and undiverted. ...His defense...rests on the new philosophy of human nature, that of the mechanism of association" (Kallich: 664).

In 1821, London's Monthly Magazine attacked German literature and criticism using stiffly empiricist criteria. In disclaiming German writers who "... particularly pique themselves upon the novelty and independence of their conceptions" and "... set up a code of wild and licentious metaphysics ..." the reviewer reveals his own rather unimaginative and outdated principles (Monthly Magazine I, Original

Papers; 1821: 397).

In the practical details of our existence, the mystery that overhangs them, never occurs to our imaginations. Whether it be from instinct, or from a long familiarity that supplies its place, we take appearances upon trust, and act and feel in regard to them under the impression of a popular belief, amounting to a most perfect assurance that they are, in fact and essence, precisely as our senses represent them (Monthly Magazine; I, Original Papers, 1821: 401).

Pre-Romanticism and German Idealist philosophy had become established in Scotland by about 1800. Scott and his classmates abandoned Gessner for Kant and Schiller in the early 1790's. Lockhart attended Fichte's Jena lectures in 1817. Direct personal experience and superior command of the German language enabled the Scottish reviewers to remain up to date and knowledgeable in German trends. The decline of French influence and the introduction of Kant into Scotland brought "... a new critical attitude in which the ideals of the Enlightenment, finiteness, mechanism, objectivity, and disillusionment, should give way to concepts of infinity, spontaneity, and faith" (Harrold; Philosophical Quarterly: 349). Understanding this shift of emphasis lent authority to Scottish articles dealing with German 'Romantic' theory. Under Metaphysical Idealism, reality is "... the self expression or self-manifestation of infinite thought or reason" -- this does not imply that empirical reality consists merely of subjective ideas but sees rather "... the vision of the world and human history as the expression of creative reason" (Copleston 7,I: 19). This abstract mode of thought was seen as a threat in many British circles. In the late 1790's Macdonald wrote; "'The dread of the Kantian nonsense and of being tinged with illuminate principles prevents a great many families from sending their children to Germany'" (Macdonald quoted in A. Gillies: 26).

Macdonald observed in a letter to Böttiger in 1798 that the dangerous tendencies of the new and revolutionary speculative philosophy were gaining ground in Germany and Scotland. Comparing the "characteristic ways of thinking" of the Scots and Germans, he felt that, unfortunately, both nations had "... the same courting of that seductive harlot who promises much and performs nothing, metaphysic" (quoted in A. Gillies: 74-75).

The reputations of some British poets suffered for their associations with German philosophy. It was typical for conservative critics to condemn romanticism for its effusion of emotion, reverie and self-indulgence. Carlyle led the effort to place German literature within its proper philosophical context. For Carlyle, the slighting of German letters on the basis of superficial preconceptions of unintelligibility was inexcusable. By the time of his groundbreaking essay "The State of German literature" (Edinburgh Review, Oct., 1827) those acquainted with the formal elements of German literary history were no longer a minority among the periodical commentators. Jeffrey bowed to readership pressure and suppressed his own personal sentiments in printing Carlyle's article. B. Guyer notes the extent to which the interest of the Edinburgh readership encompassed theoretical as well as artistic importations;

As the metaphysical structure scorned by [Jeffrey] gained disciples until even Edinburgh, the stronghold of the Scottish common-sense philosophy, gave way to the Neo-Kantians and the Neo-Hegelians, the sceptics, who did not have the coherence of a 'school', fell into disrepute. Romanticism and idealism flourished while the ideas which Francis Jeffrey believed were condemned as 'naturalistic,' 'brutish,' and lacking in 'spirituality' (Guyer: 26).

Lockhart wrote that "... nothing has contributed so much as the host of periodical publications to obliterate sentiment, and substitute metaphysical restlessness in its place" (Blackwood's; Aug., 1818: 511).



### End Notes

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of authors of periodical articles, The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900, ed. Walter E. Houghton has been consulted in most cases. For anonymous reviewers in Blackwood's Magazine prior to 1824, the bibliography by A. L. Strout was used.

<sup>2</sup> Among the most important British Literary Periodicals 1790-1830 are; Aberdeen Magazine (1788-90), Analytical Review (1788-99), Anti-Jacobin Review (1798-1821), The Bee (1790-94), Blackwood's Magazine (1817-1980), British Critic (1783-1826), Dublin Literary Gazette (1830), Edinburgh Magazine (1776-1825), Edinburgh Review (1802-1929), Foreign Quarterly Review (1827-1846), Fraser's Magazine (1830-1882), Gentleman's Magazine (1750-1914), London Magazine (1820-29), Monthly Magazine (1796-1826), Quarterly Magazine (Knight's) (1823-24), Quarterly Review (1809-1926), Scots Magazine (1739-1817), Westminster Review (1824-36, continued as London Review) (Stockley: 334, Graham: passim).

A comparable list for Germany for the same period reveals the extent to which the geographic polarities of London and Edinburgh dominated British publishing. In Germany, the most important magazines tended to be associated with famous authors and theoreticians and were more geographically independent. Prominent German periodicals 1790-1830 and their publishers include: Adrasta (Herder, Weimar, 1801-03), Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung (Jena, 1804-08), Athenäum (A. W. and F. Schlegel, Berlin, 1798-1800), Berliner Abendblätter (H.v. Kleist, Berlin, 1810-11), Concordia (F. Schlegel, Vienna, 1820-23), Deutsches Museum (F. Schlegel, Vienna, 1812-13), Europa (F. Schlegel, Frankfurt a.M., 1803-1805), Heidelbergische Jahrbücher der Literatur (Heidelberg, 1808-72), Hermes (Leipzig, 1819-31), Die Horen (Schiller, Tübingen, 1795-97), Literaturblatt (Müllner, Stuttgart, 1820-49), Phöbus (H.v. Kleist, Dresden, 1808), Poetisches Journal (Tieck, Jena, 1800), Die Propyläen (Goethe, Tübingen, 1798-1800), Über Kunst und Altertum (Goethe, Stuttgart, 1816-32), Zeitung für die Elegante Welt (Leipzig, 1801-59) (Kurze Geschichte: 277).

<sup>3</sup> An early Scottish reviewer, "Germanicus", wrote for the Weekly Magazine from 1768 to 1771, admired Gessner, and remarked that German literature was obscured by "dreary law" and "monkish learning" (Lindsay: 15).

<sup>4</sup> "The Schlegels were important as critics who responded to both the excited 'discovery' by Lessing and Herder of Shakespeare as a Promethean and Protean genius, disdainful of mere dramatic rules, and to the philosophical framework provided by Kant and Schelling for aesthetic discussion of the nature of genius and the imagination as a receptive and productive faculty" (Ashton: 14).

<sup>5</sup> The contentious issue of the "Cockney School" of poetry (i.e. the English Romantics) was debated in a typically derisive style, culminating in personal invective. John Wilson rebuked Jeffrey with "The character of a blackguard sits ill upon a Scotchman for want of use, but on a Cockney it sits well from constant practice" (Blackwood's; March, 1823: 366).

<sup>6</sup> "The same provincial tendency toward classicism in form with sentimentalism in subject has been observed in nearly all the early American writers of the period of Washington Irving and William Cullen Bryant" (Thompson: 350).

#### IV. Reception

At the time of the initial critical attention to German works in Scotland two groups of theorists contended; one adhered to the formalist tradition of Addison and Pope, the other created the 'primitivist' interpretation of Homer and Ossian and demanded recognition of inventiveness and emotionality (Foerster: 323). The conservative group reflects the influence of Hume. Critics like Kames, Gerard, Beattie, and Alison used "... the uniformity and regularity of 'naturally' associated ideas in the imagination, controlled by the associational laws of causality, resemblance, or contrast, as critical aids" (Kallich: 667).

D. Foerster notes that 'Primitivism', Ossian and the degeneracy of modern society were discussed at length at the various club meetings (Foerster: 315). Also of considerable interest to the Scottish critics was the theme of 'originality'. Theories differed when dealing with its sources and conditions; some critics analyzed the psychological environment of imaginative creation, others concentrated on the value of diversity among human personalities, with the source of originality as lying in the unique individual qualities of the artist himself (E. Mann: 98).

The foundation for the reception of German works on moral grounds was a part of British criticism from an early date. Later questions of 'taste' and 'decorum' prevailed because,

... the self-consciously upright members of the 'literati' tried to combine the offices of art critic and moral adviser in their efforts to discover a general criterion on which aesthetic involvements could be made. This muddling of aesthetics and ethics was the result of a development of the idea that 'taste', that is, the power of judging, was a purifying influence upon mankind (Kingshorn: 35).

With the advent of Romantic theories both public and professional attitudes to 'taste' evolved. Although Tytler, Mackenzie, Thompson, Scott and Campbell remained true to traditionalist standards, they were progressive enough to adjust their critical principles (Lindsay: 212). Opposed to this group were "... Beattie, Alves and the Edinburgh Review which rejected German literature as irreligious, immoral, revolutionary and artistically vulgar" (Lindsay; 213). Writing in 1818, William Howison commented that "Taste relates chiefly to finess and propriety of arrangement" (Blackwood's; April, 1818: 22). To this conventional standpoint Howison added a more modern appreciation of the variety and content of creative writing. "... popular literature is by no means addressed exclusively to the understanding and imagination, but to the whole aggregate mass of faculties, sentiments and propensities, which go to make up human nature..." (Blackwood's; April, 1818: 22). Literary theory underwent a 'broadening of horizons' in Scotland around 1815. An increased toleration and, in some cases, intentional courting of unorthodox ideas and forms is evident. For many, Germany was a source of 'freshness' and progression. The Scottish Germanophiles, especially Carlyle, were inspired by the 'potentials' of literary art as explored in German works. "The literature of the eighteenth century everywhere was to Carlyle finished and correct and admirably expressive of taste;

but it was likewise cold, conventional and shallow, dwelling remote from 'the actual passions, the hopes, sorrows, joys of living men'" (Roe: 74).

V. Stockley states that Henry Mackenzie's lecture, "An Account of the German Theatre" (April 21, 1788), may have been prompted by an article in the Edinburgh Magazine in 1786 entitled 'Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Dramatic Poetry in Germany' (Stockley: 178). Mackenzie read his paper on German drama at a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, an organization which he had helped to found in 1783 (W. H. Thompson: 286). The lecture was of immense importance in generating interest among the curious 'literary gentlemen'. Walter Scott, then a seventeen-year old law apprentice, attended the reading and it provided his introduction to some of the works and themes he was later to translate, study and emulate. (P. Ochojski; SSL: 164).

As willing as he was to be open-minded, Mackenzie did not wholly favour German content and his sentimentalism was too moralistic to condone the unsuppressed outpourings of the 'Sturm und Drang'. He wrote;

Besides the delicacy of decorum, and propriety in the manners and language of a play, there is a sort of delicacy in its passions and distress, which hardly polished theatres require, the neglect of which is disagreeable to the feelings and the taste of a very refined people ... The German theatre does not allow for this delicacy of feeling (Mackenzie quoted in H. W. Thompson: 289).

To the author of A Man of Feeling, it was the more basic virtues and strengths that he admired in the German playwrights. J. M. Carre' says of Mackenzie's lecture, "Les manières simples, la fidélité, la valeur, la générosité du chevalier allemand sont dépeintes en une série de

scènes naturelles et variées" (J. M. Carre: 23-23).

The late eighteenth century "cult of innocence and simplicity" that had approved of biblical or pastoral German works (Lindsay: 86-87) was complemented by the emergence of sentimental and antiquarian movements. Of the periodicals, the Analytical Review best reflected the sentimental drift of literature during the 1790's; this Review "... did more than any of its contemporaries to sentimentalize the writing about external nature" (Graham: 221). Unlike the Reviews of the following generation, Mackenzie's magazines Mirror (1779-80) and Lounger (1785-87) did not contain reviews of current literature and "scrupulously" avoided all controversial subjects (Thompson: 342).

The hero of Henry Mackenzie's A Man of Feeling, Harley, is an overly sensitive and pathetic character and a close relative of Goethe's Werther. Harley, like Werther, is unbalanced by his emotions; "... immer muss er weinen, einmal vor gram über schwächen und jammer andermal vor rührung über tugend und freuden der menschheit" (J. Kluge: 69). Mackenzie was repulsed by the suicide in Goethe's novel.<sup>1</sup> He also had doubts about Schiller.

What really disturbed him was the possibility that the power of poetry and the eloquence of sentiment might mesmerise a youthful spectator into mistaking 'wrong' for 'right' so that the stage would cease to be a reliable instrument of moral education (Kingham: 37).

There were complaints that the passions of love had become a convention to the detriment of patriotic or heroic traits (Kingham: 37). Another contemporary Scot, the Rev. James Macdonald shared a similar opinion. "The great and universal fault in the common German plays is a flimsy affectation of sentiment and a squeamish niceness

in describing the fine feelings of the heart'" (Macdonald quoted in A. Gillies: 73). In 1821, London's New Monthly Magazine supported the older conservative views of Mackenzie's day. "One of the leading peculiarities" of the German school was an incessant effort to introduce "some high-wrought passion" and "to engage our sympathy in defiance of our moral convictions" (New Monthly Magazine; Original Papers I, 1821: 395).

Several Scottish translators and reviewers contributed to German studies around 1790. Like Mackenzie, they were drawn to the early works of Schiller and Goethe. Alexander Thompson (1763-1803) engaged in a series of poetical adaptations of parts of Werther and Die Räuber from 1787 to 1792 (Lindsay: 24). He translated and edited two other anthologies The German Miscellany (1796) and German Museum (published in London 1800). Alexander Fraser Tytler brought out his translation of Die Räuber in 1792 (Thompson: 292).

By sheer volume, the work of the early Scottish translators was surpassed by the output of English contemporaries. Foremost in the field of German studies in England was William Taylor (1765-1836). He is considered the "wichtigste Übersetzer und Vermittler der Frühzeit" and is credited with developing the literary form of the review article in the Monthly Review during the 1780's (Dudek: 82). Taylor contributed to the Monthly Magazine and Monthly Review for over twenty-five years, writing some hundred and thirty articles (Roe: 92). His Norwich circle also dominated the German literature reviews in the Critical Review and the Annual Register (Schirmer: 11, 13, 73). Taylor's position is undermined by the unevenness of his translations

and critical judgements. J. Schirmer comments that Taylor suffered from a certain "Proportionslosigkeit", especially in his enthusiastic attention to the sensationalist plays of Kotzebue (Schirmer: 13). Taylor's criticism of Goethe and the German Romantics led to strident disagreements with the Edinburgh reviewers after circa 1815. Not the least of the Scottish criticism of English German studies centred on the 'inferiority' of English translators. Attacking the Norwich circle, Carlyle wrote: "While there are Klingemanns and Claurens in such abundance, let no merely ambitious or merely hungry Interpreter, fasten on Goethes and Schillers" (Edinburgh Review, March; 1831: 153). Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry (1830) is "... the most important representative of English opinions on German literature prior to Carlyle" (Roe: 92).

Taylor was prolific, his translations and articles also reaching readers in provincial centres. In October 1799, the Aberdeen Magazine carried his rendering of Burger's Leonore (Aberdeen Magazine; I, Oct. 6, 1799: 247) six months before Scott's translation of Bürger's Der Wilde Jäger (The Chase) for the same magazine.

William Taylor's friend and colleague, Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809), translated from Baron von Trenck, Lavater's Phsysiognomy (1789) and co-published with F. G. Klopstock the short-lived periodical The European Repository (1799) (Schirmer: 24). Another group, based in Bristol, gathered around the doctor Thomas Beddoes. Its most celebrated members were Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and Robert Southey (1774-1843); their interest was primarily in philosophy (Schirmer: 9).



A third major school of German studies was founded in London around Edward Ash, publisher of The Spectator. This group later became important to the English Romantics. J. Schirmer explains that the London circle "... ist weniger fest umrissen und wechselnder, als es die in der Provinz sind, da die Romantiker nur zeitweilig in der Hauptstadt weilten" (Schirmer: 9). Early Germanophiles in London included M. G. Lewis (1775-1818) who played a decisive role in the introduction of the "Schreckensromane" into Britain (Schirmer: 21), J. C. Mellish (1768-1823) and Henry Crabbe Robinson (1775-1867). Robinson was of immense importance to the introduction of German thought and culture to his countrymen. During a protracted visit to Weimar and three years residence in Jena (1802-1805), he produced translations of Kant and submitted articles to Collier's Monthly Register (Schirmer: 53-54). "No other Englishman could boast of so much acquaintance with the higher literary circles of Germany" (Roe: 94).

S.T. Coleridge's interest in and diffusion of German thought has garnered considerable scholarly attention. His contribution was of a rather indirect nature, since he contributed no articles or essays pertaining to German literature to periodicals and shared his knowledge and absorption of German ideas only with a select group of contemporaries (Ashton: 58). Coleridge had been treated very harshly by the reviewers. His translation of Schiller's Wallenstein in 1800 had been adversely received and "... his name, with Southey's and Wordsworth's (for Southey and Wordsworth German literature and philosophy were of no importance (Ashton: 32-33)), continued to be

linked by reviewers with 'Jacobinism' and 'German literature' for a surprisingly long time after the Anti-Jacobins" (Ashton: 31). In his letters and conversations, Coleridge complained of being misunderstood and even persecuted by friends and foes alike. His reticence to admit to his philosophical leanings in the face of damaging criticism led to his abstaining from overt, enthusiastic support for the Germans. Privately, he aspired to reverse the negative cast of British misconceptions and attitudes. He was an able translator "... but all his plans ended in talk, except his splendid translations of Schiller's Piccolomini and Wallenstein, which showed what he was capable of doing" (Roe: 95).

It remained for the Germanophiles of the next generation to profit from Coleridge's studies and art. Critics like G. H. Lewes, Sara Austin and George Eliot proceeded from the foundations laid by Coleridge and Carlyle. Coleridge's connection to the Scottish school was perhaps slight but he was buoyed by the favourable reviews of Wallenstein by Scott and Lockhart (Ashton: 35). Coleridge, writes Rosemary Ashton, "... was the first and most important interpreter of Kant, and the first theorist of literature to respond to the new aesthetic movement in Germany which followed Kant's philosophy" (Ashton: 66). As Coleridge grew older his relationship to German literature grew cooler. His later judgements on German literature were "ungünstig" and "oberflächlich" and have been attributed to his own gradual loss of poetic power (Schirmer: 47).

V. Stockley lists over twenty English [sic] periodicals active in the reception of German literature from 1790-1830 (Stockley: 334).

Those taking a frequently indifferent or negative stance include Analytical Review, Anti-Jacobin Review, British Critic, Critical Review, London Magazine, Monthly Magazine, Monthly Mirror, Westminster Magazine and Edinburgh Review. Comparatively more favourable to German literature were Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh Magazine, Foreign Quarterly, Quarterly Magazine and Scots Magazine.

The majority of these publications openly sponsored political and religious interests. The tone and style of the newly evolved 'professional' reviewer was reflective of his party convictions. An atmosphere of debate, contention and accusation prevailed around and between the periodicals. J. G. Lockhart praised his contemporary German reviewers for their "... plain, sensible, sober ... dispassionate manner and their judgements of literary work "according to its own merits." The "English Reviewer" (he is alluding especially to Francis Jeffrey) is, he complains, "a smart man of the world" or a "violent political zealot taking up a book only to make a jest of it" (Blackwood's; March, 1818: 671).

The power of the leading editors enabled them to make or break literary reputations. Charles Lamb and other English Romantics feared and despised Jeffrey's "... 'Caledonian intellect' which wrote about literature in the same way that it 'addressed twelve men in a jury'" (Lamb quoted in Huges" 243). A colourful, witty style was sure to guarantee sales. The open quarrels between opposing political and literary allegiances among the 'anonymous' reviewers on occasion degenerated to legal action, or rarely, duelling. The irony of Lockhart's attack on Jeffrey's pettiness is that he too, especially

during his apprenticeship at Blackwood's, was a critic that also qualified his dislikes by scorn and condescension. Much of Lockhart's writing "... is prompted chiefly by politics, general snobbery, and the malicious pleasure of saying unpleasant things" (Thompson" 357). Shelley's most famous poem, the elegy Adonais, implies that Lockhart's savage reviews of Keats' poetry had hastened the poet's death in 1821 (Stapleton: 475). Gillies' Memoirs of a Literary Veteran (1851) relates the intent and planning behind the waging of nineteenth century literary war;

... there was another poet... then rising slowly but steadily into notoriety, and who contributed most profoundly to the regeneration of literary taste, I mean Wordsworth; and we did flatter ourselves that with the help of the 'Edinburgh Review' not only should we keep him down, but absolutely extinguish and annihilate him (Gillies; Memoirs I:

229). Sir Walter Scott found it particularly difficult to reconcile the sometimes contradictory impulses of political conviction, historical narration, and fictional art under these circumstances (Low: 315).

William Hazlitt (1778-1830) warned of the dangers of the periodical Press; "illiberality" and "abuse" threatened to overwhelm criticism itself. "The continuance of this nuisance rests not with the writers but with the public; it is that they pamper it into the monster it is... (Edinburgh Review; May, 1823: 371-373). It was the public's requirement for entertaining, controversial and partisan material that obscured many of the best works of the German Classical and Romantic period.

By 1802 a breach occurred between public and 'professional' perceptions of German literature in Scotland. A "fuller more balanced picture" began to emerge among the critics, whereas, "the image of an 'unruly,' 'spectacular,' 'revolutionary' drama remained "stamped upon the public mind" (Lindsay: 44). Until about 1815, the reaction against the importation of sensationalist and second-rate plays dominated the field. In a rebuttal of W. Taylor's negative review of Goethe's Faust in 1831, Carlyle lamented that "... for upwards of a half a century ... dross...has been mistaken for metal, and common ashes are solemnly labelled as fell poison" (Edinburgh Review; March, 1831: 151). Lockhart admonished the public for its taste for the spectacular or horrific and scorned the translators and critics who bowed its demands.

With few exceptions ... the stock of German literature for the consumption of London has been furnished by the vilest hacks of Grub-street, or the idlest of our dilettanti poets; to the terror of nurseries, the corruption of boarding-schools, the lamentable disparagement of the King's English, and the utter dismay of teachers, parents and guardians ... (Quarterly Review X; Jan., 1814: 360).

For the most part, foreign plays known in Scotland between 1788 and 1813 were classical comedies like Lessing's Minna von Barnhelm and Brandes' Der Gasthof, tragedies of the Sturm und Drang such as Schiller's Die Räuber and sentimental tragi-comedies like Kotzebue's Menschenhass und Reue. (Lindsay: 164). The first representation of a German play had been J. C. Brandes' Der Gasthof (The German Hotel), given at Covent and Garden in 1790; the next was Lessing's Emilia Galotti at Drury Lane in 1794 - it was "an utter failure running only three nights" (Stockley: 178).

The plays of August von Kotzebue (1761-1800) were introduced to the British stage in 1796 by Alexander Thompson's anthology German Miscellany (Lindsay "Kotzebue": 58). Magazine lists for 1799 and 1800 were full of translations, adaptations, parodies, eulogies and criticism of, as William Taylor called him, "the greatest dramatic genius that Europe has evolved since Shakespeare" (W. Taylor's Historical Survey of German Poetry quoted in Lindsay: 140). For a brief period Kotzebue completely dominated the stage. At the turn of the century, theatre goers made a thorough celebrity of him and then, as abruptly, turned against him and German stagecraft in general. Comment was mixed but the Kotzebue 'mania' was at its peak in Scotland by 1799 (Lindsay "Kotzebue": 56). Throughout Britain, Menschenhass und Reue was played not less than 42 times in one season -- an extraordinary 'run' for its time (Schirmer: 23). Sheridan's adaptation of Die Spanier in Peru (adapted as Pizarro) commanded the attention of the highest society. The Scots Chronicle said of the production at Drury Lane in June 1799:

This elegant house never possessed a more splendid and numerous audience than on Wednesday night.... The Royal family were much delighted with the play. The King [George III] wept in the second act, and the Queen and Princesses were much affected (Lindsay; Kotzebue: 63).

Kotzebue's formula for success was simple: heroines of matchless beauty and virtue, heroes of peerless valour and daring, villains of unparalleled malignity (O'Neill; I: 130). These domestic dramas combined a powerful appeal to popular sentiment and a certain questioning of standard morality (Lindsay "Kotzebue": 74). The productions were lavish with spectacular scenery and military music. "The general enthusiasm for such works was both a cause and a symptom

of the degeneration of the British theatre in the Romantic period" (Lindsay "Kotzebue": 74).

Scottish reviews covered both extreme censure and excessive praise; Kotzebue's Lover's Vows (Das Kind der Liebe) proffered a "systematic and rancorous hostility to virtue, sobriety decency and good order" while another review found nothing "subversive" in Pizarro (adapted from Die Spanier in Peru) adding that "Virtue is here supported by the hand of genius" (Lindsay "Kotzebue": 66-67). The Edinburgh Magazine carried a biography of Kotzebue, as well as one of G. A. Bürger, in 1799 (Edinburgh Magazine XIV new series: 97-102, 441-446). The same issue contained the articles "On the Lord Chamberlain's Duty in Licensing Plays" and "Strictures on Kotzebue's Plays" the former noting that the "business of the stage is to correct vice and laugh at folly" (127). The second article stated that regarding Pizarro and other German dramas "there are faults in them so glaring and so disgusting to the 'eye' of taste, not to speak of the 'ear', that our own writers, and the public at large, cannot be too frequently cautioned against them" (336).

J. Carre' feels that William Taylor had "imposed" Kotzebue on the British stage. The Historic Survey of German Poetry devotes an inordinate amount of space to this author and Taylor's wholesale and lasting attachment to Kotzebue tainted his reputation as a critic of sound observation and judgement. 1799 was a particularly productive year for translations, especially of drama. The genres and authors involved illustrate the attention to the fashion and fads of the public -- Scott's translation of Goetz von Berlichingen, four plays by

Iffland, two by Lessing, two new workings of The Robbers (first translated in 1792) and numerous plays and several novels by Kotzebue (Stockley: 326).

A. W. Iffland (1759-1814) was generally praised by the English critics as being less extravagant and more moral than Kotzebue, but as having less force and stage effect (Stockley: 182). James Macdonald attended a performance of Iffland's Leichter Sinn in Berlin in 1797. Although he stressed the effective stage mechanics of the performance and accepted Iffland's morality, Macdonald distrusted the Sturm und Drang anticipated by several years.

Iffland has one great merit and that is the success which his moral pieces have had in drawing his countrymen from the silly taste for pieces of chivalry and gigantic nonsense that were since a few years so greatly sought after by the public (quoted by A. Gillies; MLR XXX: 41).

Prose versions of two of Lessing's fables appeared in The Weekly Magazine in 1771-72 (Stockley does not mention these translations), but his plays received no publication in Scotland until 1786-88, and achieved only limited popularity even at the turn of the century (Lindsay: 121). A further blow, Jeffrey negatively reviewed Nathan der Weise in 1806 -- it was the only article on German literature in the Edinburgh Review between 1803 and 1813 (Ashton: 11).

Similarly, J. C. Herder (1744-1803) was mentioned in Monthly Review in 1784. "Dann folgt wahrend zweier Jahrzente eine fast vollige Gleichgultigkeit bis zu dem guten Herderaufsatz Taylors in Monthly Magazine 1821 und De Quincey's grosser und abschliessender Herder Kritik 1823" (Schirmer: 29).

Even favourable reviews of German authors apposed British and German codes and standards. British Critic praised Gellert for his



"modesty, gentleness, simplicity of character, constitutional melancholy and ardent piety" but faulted his morality for its lack of profundity and originality (British Critic XXV; June, 1805: 654, 658). Similarly, in a reassessment of C. H. Wieland (1733-1813), the Scot George Moir saw "taste, humour, pathos, imagination, reasoning and tempered harmony" but added that Wieland's religious opinions were "mistaken and dangerous" (Foreign Quarterly Review II; June, 1828: 460-61).

Friedrich Schiller's (1759-1805) reputation was impaired more than most from adverse attention to his earlier works. Very little of his philosophical and aesthetic prose was translated into English before 1830 (Stockley: 170). His plays suffered generally from the notoriety of his revolutionary period. Again, Gillies faults the public. He felt that The Robbers needed to be condensed somewhat and "wrought down to that level which is suited to the powers of English actors, and the so-called refined taste of English audiences" for Schiller to be properly appreciated (quoted in Batt; II: 67).

Interest in German drama was revitalized by Robert Pearse Gillies (1788-1858). Blackwood's carried his series of review-translations entitled "Horae Germanicae" from 1819-1828. In these articles Gillies introduced many works including the 'Schicksalsdrama' into Britain (Stockley: 11). These dramas adopted the familiar classical themes of incest, unwitting murder, and the idea of a relentless fate regulating the lives of the characters (Ashton: 15). Gillies dealt almost exclusively with drama, referring rarely to German philosophy or criticism. His translation of Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft

in 1840 failed to find a publisher (Schirmer: 37). "Horae Germanicae" introduced Müllner, Grillparzer, Klingemann, Werner, Heinrich Collin, Korner, Tieck, Kind, Fouqué, Houvald, H. Kleist, Raupach, Immermann, Heine, Pichler, Uhland, Zschokke, Kruse etc. (Batt; I: 167).

Like Lockhart, Gillies' critical judgements were inconsistent and his translation perhaps "too close to be idiomatic and poetic" (Batt; I: 68). The role Gillies eagerly made for himself and for which he is best remembered was as an agent of introduction rather than mediation or influence. "Heine, Kleist and Grabbe, all of whom Carlyle scarcely knew by name, were read and understood in England even before the French had become acquainted with them" (Batt; I: 167). R. Ashton writes that the "second-rate" dramas of Werner, Houvald and the early Grillparzer were praised "extravagantly" in Gillies' articles (colleagues at Blackwood's tried to persuade him to attend to better examples such as Goethe's and Schiller's mature works), whereas several of the more serious German periodicals complained of their barbarity (Ashton: 15). M. Batt, however, states that Gillies' "altogether absurd estimate" of Werner's 24 of February as "a work of tremendous and overpowering interest" was matched by contemporary German criticism which also assigned a very prominent place to the tragedies of that author (Batt; II: 67-68). At least one Scottish critic disagreed with Gillies' tastes; Carlyle "... brushes aside the whole tribe of Grillparzers, Klingemanns and Müllners as so many poor mechanical prosaists, who possess no philosophy of life and have no word of wisdom" (Roe: 85).

Gillies was abroad from 1821-1825. In 1827, financial troubles and the prompting of Sir Walter Scott led him to found, with Cochrane, the Foreign Quarterly Review. In this controversial and original publication he reviewed Tieck's Dramaturgische Blätter, Heine's Reisebilder, Grabbe's Poetische Werke, and H. v Kleist's Werke (Stockley: 303).

The sophistication of the German stage in relation to the British was a point stressed by Gillies. He felt that the 'New German Drama' had been inspired by the careful study of Shakespeare but that Lessing's introduction of the 'bürgerliche Trauerspiel' had gone too far in effect and manner. He was full of praise for the "professionalism" of German actors, the "respectful silence" of the flourishing German audiences and the striking management of lighting which created a "magic mirror of the stage". The Germans "met and dispersed in an orderly manner rather than kicking up a row a la maniere Anglaise" (Foreign Quarterly Review; I, 1827: 577).

Gillies' first-hand experience with theatre in Germany left lasting impressions on his literary and personal outlook. He, like so many of his contemporaries, dwelt on morality and the potential for catharsis through the stage. The theatre offered an immediate and visual treatment of moral issues. The duty to uphold acceptable standards was imposed more rigorously on German plays than on works intended to be read only. The overstated and offensive style of reviewing effectively suppressed many people's desire to read. Although people would clearly have read Werther for its scandalous

elements, going to a play was a social event. The public was the arbiter of taste during the early years of the eighteenth century. Gillies suggested that the irony behind the rejection of German 'morality' by the British public is that the 'morality' of the Germans was indeed in some respects of a higher order. "From court circles down to the humblest citizen, the Germans do not regard their theatre as a place for mere idleness and pastime ... [they] look upon their stage as promoting a grand moral and intellectual purpose ..." (Gillies; Memoirs II: 343).

No German work was as popular in Britain as Goethe's Werther (Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers, 1774, 1786). Translations of the work from the French appeared in 1779 and 1789, and from the original German in 1786, 1799, 1801, 1802. Werther was widely imitated in the form of stories, 'continuations' of the original, dramas, poems and letters (Stockley: 138). Scottish editions were published in Cupar in 1804 and in Edinburgh in 1807, 1809 and 1812. At least four of the better imitators were Scots (Lindsay: 96,205). Alexander Thompson wrote nineteen sonnets "imitated from Werther working openly from the German text" (Lindsay: 206).

William Howison wrote in Blackwood's that Werther's purpose was to exhibit the "internal growth and progress" of sentiments, passions and conflicts but that Goethe's novel was not suitably didactic and showed "no rules of practical prudence" (Blackwood's; Jan. 1818: 395). The "moral precedent" set by the suicides in Werther and Emilia Galotti was a violation of the longstanding British social and literary code. Mackenzie's sentimentalism had been non-destructive

and humanistic; to Goethe and Lessing, surrender to the passions was a necessity (Johnson: 229). In Britain, Goethe was dogged by accusations of suspect moral content for over thirty years. Less frequently, German morality was seen as lofty and inspiring. "Wie bei de Quincey ist es die 'nobility and aspiring grandeur' von Schillers moralischen Charakter, was Carlyle so tiefen Eindruck macht und was er in seiner Schillerbiographie [1823] vollendet zum Ausdruck bringt" (Schirmer: 87).

The accepted picture of Goethe and Schiller in Britain by 1820 is revealed in the appraisal of German Classicism by the traveller John Russel of Edinburgh. The two poets were presented as the favourite and the victim of fate respectively: the idealization of Schiller in the manner of Mme. de Staël, later taken up by Carlyle ("'Schiller apostle of the Sublime and Beautiful'") and the objections to Goethe's work on grounds of immorality (R. Pick: 323). As late as 1824 a review in the British Critic of Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit asked "if such principles and examples [could] be safely circulated among the women of England" (British Critic XXII; 1824: 59 quoted in Stockley: 145). Lockhart and Carlyle battled with Jeffrey, De Quincey and numerous reviewers over Goethe's moral and artistic merits. Goethe was pleased to acknowledge their contributions, and stressed the 'corrective' role of Thomas Carlyle. He remarked to Eckermann in October 1828:

Es ist eine Freude zu sehen wie die frühere Pedanterie der Schotten sich in Ernst und Gründlichkeit verwandelt hat. Wenn ich bedenke, wie die Edinburger vor noch nicht langen Jahren meine Sache behandelt haben, und ich jetzt dagegen Carlyles Verdienste um die deutsche Literatur erwäge, so ist es auffallend, welch ein bedeutender Vorschrift zum Bessern geschehen ist (quoted in Boyd: 230).

The eventual reevaluation and recognition of Goethe was initiated in Scotland through the periodicals. By 1833, ten years after Shelley's translation of Faust, the very pro-German publication Dublin University Magazine felt confident enough to state that Faust was "... acknowledged to be the master work of the master mind of our age ..." (Dublin University Magazine X,2; 1833: 359).

Of central importance to the trend towards a more scholarly treatment of foreign and ancient literatures in Scotland after circa 1814 were the writings of the brothers August Wilhelm (1767-1845) and Friedrich (1772-1829) Schlegel.

Friedrich Schlegel's Vorlesungen über Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur were translated by J. G. Lockhart in 1818. The translation was mentioned by all the major periodicals and most of them favourably except the radical Westminster Review which charged that the Lectures were "jesuitical" and aimed at "perpetuating the dominion of despotism and bigotry" (Westminster Review III;1825: 321 quoted by Stockley: 268). Lockhart was impressed by the eminence of German scholarship, free of the "overweening pride of [its] English and French counterparts". The Lectures were distinguished by their objective contemplation of the tendencies of the revolutionary age and for their power "to make men national and religious once more". Unhappily, he felt, the Schlegel's books were "too full of learning for our public, in its present state" (Blackwood's Magazine; Aug., 1818: 498-500).

The Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur (1809-1811) by A. W. Schlegel were translated in 1815. Taylor reviewed the work for Monthly Magazine the following year and felt it "... on the whole, deserving to be considered as forming an epoch in the history of literature" (Monthly Magazine LXXXI; 1816: 113 quoted in Stockley: 265). These lectures were known to Coleridge as early as 1811 and promoted by favourable reviews by Lockhart (Quarterly Review, 1814) and by William Hazlitt (Edinburgh Review, 1816) (Schirmer: 50).

The watershed in German studies in Britain was the arrival of Mme. de Staël's De l'Allemagne in 1813. Reviews of the work appeared in many leading periodicals including Gentleman's Magazine, British Critic, Critical Review, Edinburgh Review and Monthly Review (Stockley: 10). The Scots Magazine highly praised the work "... though the reviewer found an explanation for the cloudiness of the author's discussion of German metaphysics in her ignorance of the Scotch philosophers" (Whitford: 31). W. Taylor's examination of the work found it lacking in theology and suffering from "insufficient study" but his review nevertheless "ends in a blaze of glorious commendation" (Monthly Review 2nd series 74; 1814: 268-75 quoted in Whitford: 31). According to Lockhart, De l'Allemagne exhibited "accuracy of taste and 'ardentia verba'" with a "depth of thought and purity of sentiment" that compensated for a tendency towards overornamentation and faulty arrangement (Quarterly Review X; Jan., 1814: 409).

The Edinburgh circle welcomed de Staël's conclusions about the Germanic character and her approval of German social and political

reform. De Staël also disregarded German authors who were predominately imitators of the French like Hagedorn, Gellert, Gottsched and Bodmer (Hammer: 53). The sense of racial and psychological affinities in Anglo-German relations was also confirmed. The "Literaturbetrachtung" of De l'Allemagne linked the British interest for the fashionable and sensational to a peculiarity of German[ic] "Geist" (Schirmer: 42).

An important contributor to the Edinburgh circle in the 1820s was the Englishman Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859). He became the editor of the Westmoreland Gazette in 1818 (Stockley incorrectly names him as editor of the Westminster Gazette.) He wrote articles on German works for Blackwood's, Knight's Quarterly Magazine, Quarterly Magazine, Edinburgh Saturday Post, Tait's Magazine, Encyclopaedia Britannica and London Magazine which published his Confessions of an English Opium Eater in installments in 1821 and 1822 (Stockley: 293). Amongst many translations of eccentric or antiquarian interest such as Origin of the Rosicrucians, Toilette of the Hebrew Lady and Philosophy of Herodotus, De Quincey translated from Lessing, Kant, Tieck and Richter (Durand: 521-23).

De Quincey's interests were primarily philosophical and critical and he ignored the German poets. Blackwood's accepted his articles on Herder in 1823, Jean Paul in 1824 and a partial translation with commentary on Lessing's Laokoon in November, 1826 and February, 1827. Roe contends that De Quincey has an "undisputed claim" to having introduced Jean Paul Richter to British readers, his first paper [London Magazine, Dec., 1821] antedating Carlyle's by six years (Roe: 95). Ashton shows, however, that Coleridge's friend Thomas Beddoes



had been acquainted with Jean Paul's works in the 1790s and William Taylor had reviewed him briefly in the Monthly Magazine in 1801 (Ashton: 16).

Like Coleridge, De Quincey's laudanum habit inhibited continued and concentrated effort in studying and writing. He was fond of contrasting 'character' and social manners and customs which showed the influence of de Staël (Durand: 521). His criticism, like that of Lockhart and Gillies, is frequently unreliable, somewhat superficial and self-serving. After Coleridge's death, De Quincey rather hypocritically revealed the poet's plagiarisms from German authors. In his own critical papers, he quotes at length from German critics -- Frau Herder and Richter supply over half of his short article on Herder, he quotes extensively from Schlegel on Lessing and his paper "Last Days of Kant" is basically a compilation of several German biographies (Durand: 527).

Other critics working in Edinburgh were George Soane, George Moir, John Anster and William Maginn. Moir was a professor of Rhetoric at The University of Edinburgh. In 1827 he translated Schiller's Wallenstein, and in the following year edited The Historical Works of Schiller (Schirmer: 33). George Soane produced an amateurish translation of Goethe's Faust in 1822 which was condemned by Carlyle in the Edinburgh Review in April 1822. Soane's contribution is certainly secondary, but his work reflects trends in popular taste in Britain at the time. Like Sir Walter Scott, Soane had a special attraction to the works of de la Motte Fouqué and translated Undine (1818), Sangerliebe (1821) and Die Vertriebenen (by Karoline Fouqué 1824) (Schirmer: 89).

Dr. John Anster of Dublin (1793-1867) contributed to Blackwood's Magazine from 1818-1821. He dealt primarily with German lyrics, translating from Klopstock, Korner, Schiller and Burger. With Lockhart, he wrote "Horae Germanicae" numbers V and XII on Goethe's Faust and Fouques Pilgrimage respectively (Strout: 139). In 1830, Anster, with another Dubliner, William Maginn, co-founded Fraser's Magazine which was very friendly to German literature. Carlyle gave Fraser's Magazine more than twenty contributions, including his Sartor Resartus 1833-34 (Graham: 291).

Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850, after 1832 Lord Jeffrey and MP for Edinburgh) is of importance to the reception of German literature not as a translator or mediator, but rather for his long-lasting and influential opposition to German form and content. With Sydney Smith and Henry Brougham he founded the Edinburgh Review in 1802. For thirty-eight years Jeffrey wrote essays dealing with subjects as various as poetry, politics, jurisprudence and travel. Most of his activity was literary, however, and he reviewed authors such as Swift, Goethe, Southey, Cowper, Campbell, Scott, Wordsworth and Washington Irving (Graham: 235).

Jeffrey's literary standards were classicist in form and he followed the sentimental philosophy and emphatic morality of Mackenzie's tradition (Thompson: 351). His analysis emphasizes common sense and a dogmatic acceptance of 'rules'. He had no regard for primitivism or the Middle Ages and was condescending to Burns and unsympathetic to Scott (Derby: 495). The elements of Romanticism that Jeffrey rejected in Wordsworth he found even more exaggerated and dangerous in the Germans; such as the use of everyday experiences and

nature as a vehicle for self-indulgent abstraction. Though not as hostile as some of the more extreme opponents to imported German thought, Jeffrey adamantly refused to accept what he considered to be suspect German morality. R. Derby points out that Jeffrey did not endorse the idea of moral progression, a concept basic to the criticism of Lockhart and Carlyle. Carlyle resisted mechanism and materialism yet was satisfied that morally, mankind was evolving. This was central to the persuasiveness and benefit of German literature as Carlyle saw it. His faith in the progress of humanity was affirmative, this progress being necessary and desirable. 'Progress' is an important consideration in Carlyle's articles on German literature, and especially, in his essay "Signs of the Times" (P. F. Morgan: 133). Conversely, Jeffrey was not convinced that, over time, there was change in morality, social conditions, happiness and human nature generally, though 'taste' was gradually improving as the "inner circle of the select few widened" (Derby: 49). Lockhart refuted Jeffrey's point of view in his review of Goethe's Goetz von Berlichingen. The commentary also reveals a sentimental regard for the past which was characteristic of the Scottish circle and the Romantics in general.

... The great lesson to be derived from [Goetz] ... is simply, that in spite of all the sneers of 'philosophers', the elements of virtue and excellence were predominant among those who formed the Gothic institutions of Europe; and, secondly that in spite of all the outcry of the demagogues, the modern world has been continually and progressively improving in everything that really concerns the well being of men and of societies (Blackwood's; Oct., 1824: 385).

Clearly, Jeffrey was simply uninterested in German literature and had a poor if even basic command of the language. His subjectivity

and lack of understanding of the background of German literary history was lampooned by Lockhart; Jeffrey, he accused, had "maimed" and "burlesqued" Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit and was a "drudge who must be ignorant of the first elements of the German language" (Quarterly Review; June, 1826: 136).

In 1814, astutely answering the demand for articles on Germany, Jeffrey asked a colleague to "... hunt me up a good smart German reviewer, one who knows that literature thoroughly, without thinking it necessary to rave about it" (Jeffrey quoted in Ashton: 13). The man who eventually filled this position, if only briefly, was Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881). Jeffrey recognized Carlyle's talents but there was little upon which the two men could agree. The non-conformist contributed seven articles between 1827 and 1832 before relations with the Whig Edinburgh Review were broken off (P. F. Morgan: 131). By this time, however, Carlyle's reputation was widespread and his authority on German literature highly respected. Like so many others, Carlyle's interest in German arts and letters had been sparked by his reading of de Staël's De l'Allemagne in 1817. As a young and disillusioned law student at Edinburgh University in 1820, he was reading Lessing, Klopstock and Goethe and contributing articles on German studies in magnetism to Brewster's Edinburgh Philosophical Journal (Ashton: 80).

Carlyle's first substantial and original essay was a review of Goethe's Faust for the The New Edinburgh Review in 1822. This was followed by his ambitious and much praised The Life of Schiller was accepted in installments in London Magazine beginning in October 1823 and published in book form in 1825. Carlyle was prolific; out of thirty-four separate titles in the critical essays down to 1839, half

deal with German subjects and he produced additionally many translations including Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre (1824) and Specimens of German Romance (1827) (Roe: 90).<sup>2</sup>

German Romance was the last, and probably most important of many anthologies of German romances, plays and tales published in English circa 1791-1827. Public demand for these books was enormous and prompted an acceleration of translating activity in Britain.<sup>3</sup> Th. Roscoe's The German Novelists included ancient legends, folk-tales as well as modern writers like Schiller, Tieck, Musaeus, Engel and Langbein. The collection is representative of the range and quality of German authors known at the time and is illustrative of wider public tastes. Roscoe's compilage and selection of stories "got more care than the translating" (Stockley: 252). Gillies' translating was "generally better than that which appeared before" and his anthology shows discriminating taste (:254). It is likely that these collections did as much if not more for the dissemination and popularization of German literature in Britain than the periodicals.

End Notes IV

<sup>1</sup> see W. Johnson regarding Mackenzie and Goethe on suicide.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle's criticism of German literature as follows (Schirmer: 79-80):

1822 - "Goethe's Faust" in Edinburgh Review

1823-24 - Life of Schiller in London Magazine

1827 - German Romance - selections and introductions by Goethe, Musaeus, Fouque, Tieck, Hoffmann, J. P. F. Richter

- "The State of German Literature" in Edinburgh Review

1828 - "Goethe's Helena" - with discussion of Goethe's Collected Works (Gotta) in Foreign Review

- "Life and Writings of Werner" in Foreign Review

1829 - "German Playwrights" in Foreign Review - discussion of Grillparzer, Klingemann and Müllner

- "Novalis" in Foreign Review

1830 - "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter" in Foreign Review

1831 - "Early German Literature" in Foreign Review

- "The Nibelungenlied" in Westminster Review

- "William Taylor's Survey of German Literature" in London and Westminster Review

- "Luther's Psalm" in Fraser's Magazine

1832 - "Goethe's Works" in Foreign Quarterly Magazine

- "Goethe's Portrait" in Fraser's Magazine

- "Death of Goethe" in New Monthly Magazine

- "Schiller, Goethe and Mme de Staël" in Fraser's Magazine

1838 - "Lectures on the History of German Literature" - delivered in London, 1838.

- "Varnhagen von Ense's Memoirs" in London Magazine

<sup>3</sup> The most influential of these were probably Tales from the German by R. Holcroft (1826), The German Novelists by Th. Roscoe (1826), Specimens of German Romance by G. Soane (1826) and German Stories by R. P. Gillies (1826) (Stockley: 323).

## V. Parallels and Influences

René Wellek detects several "common denominators" of Romanticism throughout Europe; "... the same conceptions of poetry and the workings and nature of poetic imagination; the same conception of nature and its relation to man, and basically the same poetic style which is clearly distinct from that of eighteenth century neoclassicism" (Wellek: 3). It is Thompson's opinion that the chief preparation for the introduction of German Romanticism into Britain was the British sentimental movement plus Scottish curiosity (H. W. Thompson: 291).

The critics and translators of the Edinburgh circle were especially active in the acceptance and dissemination of German Romantic theory. With the exception of E.T.A. Hoffmann, the German Romantics attracted little attention in France until the late nineteenth century (Hammer: 58).<sup>1</sup>

Edinburgh was central to the acceleration and variety of German imports. By 1815, the Scottish-led periodicals had introduced the Nibelungenlied, the lyrics of the Minnesänger, the medieval romances, Luther's translation of the Bible, the verse of Opitz and the other Silesian poets of the seventeenth century, and the works of Werner, Tieck, Jean Paul and the Schlegels received attention for the first time (Lindsay: 51).

Especially pertinent to the Scots was the German interest in folk tradition. "Nationalism in literary history had been faint and scarcely self-conscious in England, but it began to be voiced strongly



at the beginning of the nineteenth century "largely in the context of folk-poetry" (Wellek: 98). Carlyle considered an increase in nationalism one of the greatest changes that British, especially Scottish literature had undergone in post Enlightenment years (Carlyle; XXVI: 287).

J. G. Lockhart expressed his admiration for the extent to which German nationalism was a positive factor in the literary affairs of that nation. He wrote that "... no literature of any country ... was ever more thoroughly imbued and animated with the spirit of nationality;" this was in turn a reaction to and result of the German sensitivity to their own past and its interconnectedness with the wider historical scenario. Unlike the English, he felt, "since the days of Klopstock" the Germans had been "uniformly free of that indifference towards external events" that was representative of British attitudes (Blackwood's Magazine; April, 1818: 26). The most influential and important of the Scottish literary nationalists was, of course, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). His development of the historical novel arose from the same sentimental and nationalist pride that had inspired German works like Goetz von Berlichingen. Scott represents the most persuasive and lasting Scottish influence on German letters, followed by the primitivist, past-oriented Ossianic poems.

The impetus for Scott's revival of Scottish history and tradition was his exposure to the ballads of Bürger and, more importantly, the virtue and 'realism' of Goetz. Scott admired the historical romances of the German author F. de la Motte-Fouqué who did not "dress up" the past but who endeavoured "... to recall the history, the mythology, the manners of former ages, and to offer to the present time a graphic

description of those which have passed away" (Foreign Quarterly Review I; July, 1827:71).

The use of the supernatural was an element of German Romanticism that found a parallel in Scottish tradition and literature. E. Mann outlines the pedigree of the supernatural in creative works in the early nineteenth century.

The belief that events, characters and scenes of a marvellous, remote or even supernatural kind make the most promising materials for original composition was derived partly from long-standing theories of epic poetry, and partly from a conception of the imagination formulated by [seventeenth century] 'associationist' psychology (E. Mann:98).

The English Gothic Romance reached back to the 1760s and served the demand for the marvellous and shocking. "The horrific nature of Schiller's The Robbers and of its imitations, as well as some of the plays of Kotzebue, lent the English Gothic considerable momentum" (O'Neill; II: 103).

Blackwood's Magazine reflected widespread opinions that were by no means restricted to the unenlightened; "... Ghosts, Spirits ... good and evil attendants on individual men ... in spite of all that philosophy can do, have taken such a place in the imaginations of men, that their total banishment from thence must for ever remain an impossibility" (Blackwood's; July, 1824: 56).

Monthly Magazine felt that the supernatural as presented in German tales and romances were features "curiously illustrative of the modern national mind of Germany" and that it showed "the contradiction between the sedateness and phlegmatic decency of German private life, and the wild flights of fancy and "voluptuous" delineations of

character (Monthly Magazine II; Original Papers, 1826: 464). The Gothic and supernatural was an element in Germanic culture stressed by Mme. de Staël. The conception of Germany as the realm of nether-worldly apparitions and magic was well entrenched long before the advent of German Romanticism. The German Faust and Fortunatus legends reinforced the belief in Britain that Germany was "Heimat authentischer Berichte von Geisterbeschwörungen und vom Hexenwesen" (Oppel; I: 35).

R. P. Gillies provides an interesting testimonial of the connection of the supernatural and literary interests. It suggests that his later German studies and his acquisition of the language were inspired by his attraction to the eccentric and esoteric. As a young man, he had acquired a number of continental works on the occult.

From this moment ... I believe there was not a young student in all the world more anxious than I was to gain a thorough command over foreign languages, not from any wish to understand the so-called classics, ... but for the sake for being able to interpret these cabalistic volumes (Gillies; Memoirs, I: 159-60).

Lockhart recognized that the supernatural was in no way peculiar to the German psyche only. For him it was "... a tradition, which is as old as our species, or, at least many centuries older than philosophy, [and] has produced in regard to such things, a sort of universal belief and consent of all nations" (Blackwood's; July, 1824:57). Scott shared with his contemporaries Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm the recognition of universal themes and symbols in folk tradition. Scott looked forward to a time when scholarly research would point to "a common source when mankind formed but the same great common family"

and symbol and myth would be analyzed "in the manner of the philologists who trace through the various dialects the broken fragments of one general language so antiquaries may recognize in distant countries parts of what was once a common stock of tradition" (Foreign Quarterly Review; July, 1827: 67).

The Deutsche Sagen of the brothers Grimm, is an admirable work ... assembling without affectation either of ornamental diction or improved incident, the various traditions existing in different parts of Germany respecting popular superstitions and the events ascribed to supernatural agency (66).

John Wilson described the popularity of the many German 'Schreckensromane' of the period as "... founded almost entirely upon apparitions and the mysteries of haunted castles, or prophecies, dreams and presentments" (Blackwood's; Sept., 1818: 649). He also wrote of the excesses of both the native Gothic novels of M. G. Lewis (The Monk) and Charles Maturin (Melmoth The Wanderer) and detected in them the influence of German literature. He cautioned against excessive "superstitious terror" which should be "limited" and "only relished when linked to higher and more serious feelings" (Blackwood's; Sept., 1818: 649). J. G. Lockhart was similarly drawn to the "macabre" in German Romanticism "... but he revolted from what he conceived to be a perverted use of horror in the interests of vice" (Ewen: 264). It was the element of shock that had fuelled criticism and branded Schiller's Robbers as scandalous.

M. G. Lewis' German adaptations Tales of Terror was published in 1800, the same year as Alexander Thompson's anthology The German Museum (Stockley: 323). As Lockhart observed, for the majority of British readers, German literature was a "mighty maze of forests and

dungeons and songs and ghosts and post-waggon [sic] and waltzes" (Quarterly Review; X: Jan., 1814: 360).<sup>2</sup>

Of all the German works and authors introduced into Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, probably only the names of Goethe, Schiller, the Grimm Brothers and E. T. A. Hoffmann have proved of lasting recognition to British readers.

The works of E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776-1822) were generally well received by the Edinburgh reviewers, though not well known until well after his death. Hoffmann's first work appeared anonymously in Kotzebue's Berlin magazine Der Freimütige in 1803 and his first novel Die Elixiere des Teufels in 1815. Walter Scott reviewed R. P. Gillies' translations of The Devil's Elixir in 1827 and used the opportunity to outline the backgrounds and elements of various supernatural genres. Scott wrote that the French "Contes des Fee's" were "related to the Peri of Eastern or Fata of Italian poetry" but had become "flat, absurd and insipid" in France. (Foreign Quarterly Review I; July, 1827: 65). Voltaire had utilized the supernatural merely as an "apt vehicle for circulating satire". Scott noted that a new understanding and literary appreciation of the supernatural was emerging in Germany: a new application of the fancy rather than the imagination "aiming at amusing rather than affecting or interesting the reader" (64).

Lockhart and Gillies were enthusiastic about Hoffmann's writings. Reviewing the Devil's Elixir in 1824, Lockhart concisely reflected the appeal of the fantastic and weird: "We like to be horrified - we delight in Frankenstein ... - we delight in the Devil's Elixir" (Blackwood's; July, 1824: 56).

Scott was less impressed with the 'horrific' and criticised Hoffmann's "fantastic" mode of writing -- "in which the most wild and unbounded license is given to an irregular fancy, and all species of combination, however ludicrous, or however shocking, are attempted and executed without scruple". Sir Walter preferred Mary Shelley's Frankenstein and Swift's Gulliver's Travels "which suppose the existence of the most extravagant fictions in order to extract from them philosophical reasoning and moral truth" (Foreign Quarterly Review I; July, 1827:72) A comparative of study of the Grimms' Kinder-und Hausmarchen (1812-14) and the Scottish counterpart would be interesting and would provide further proof of the universal folk elements attested to by the Grimms and categorized by modern structuralists. James Hogg, the 'Ettrick Shepherd', worked with Lockhart, Gillies and Wilson at Blackwood's. A genuine, if somewhat overplayed rustic, Hogg was a self-proclaimed repository of folk tradition, lore and local ballads. His fiction relies heavily on the supernatural, much of it rather in the style of the Grimm collection than of Hoffmann or Poe. Hogg's works enjoyed a fairly steady popularity in Germany during the early nineteenth century and were appreciated in Germany by a middle class public similar to that which bought and relished the German "shilling shocker in England" (Pache: 113).

One notable element of both German and Scottish literature of this period was the motif of the 'Doppelgänger'. James Hogg's The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, published like The Devil's Elixir in 1824, shows many similarities to Hoffmann's novel. Hogg was directly influenced, by, but did not have to 'borrow'

from E. T. A. Hoffmann -- the core elements of his more traditional tales are thoroughly Scottish, though like similar German stores, they may share universal variables and 'topoi'. Noting the occurrence of this element in German literature, Lockhart discerned "something not very remote from this conception in certain wraith-stories of our own popular mythology" (Blackwood's; July, 1824: 56-57). "The superior excellence of the Devil's Elixir lies in the skill with which its author has contrived to mix up the horrible notion of the double-goer with ordinary human feelings of all kinds" (:57).

Schiller's Robbers utilized the good and evil brother motif later employed in the Confessions. At the close of the Robbers, Karl Moor reveals the 'Doppelgänger' motif operating through his brother Franz. Karl and Franz Moor are at once identical and divided in themselves.

"Homo Duplex" set foot in several European countries at this time, such as France and Russia but it took strongest hold in Germany and Scotland, together with England and America (K. Miller: 221). Miller contends that the "splits and doubles" in German works "may have appealed to the Caledonian soul but they cannot be considered peculiarly Scottish ... [they] represent a transmigration of the German soul to Scotland, a literary metempsychosis" (:221). It is undeniable that a major pattern in Scottish fiction of the nineteenth century was the attention to duality. As a structural device opposites or doubles permitted "oblique comment ... on Victorian society where religion and materialism have created the dissociation

of sensibility between the imagination and the intellect causing repression with greed to dominate finer feelings, or forcing imagination into fanaticism or undisciplined sensitivity" (D. Gifford: undisciplined 9-10). The same may be said for the various usages of dualities present in Goethe's Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre. The hypersensitivity of Werther, the emotionalism of Schiller and the "ewige Sehnsucht" of Novalis portray comparable instances of division and polarity. The frame structure and clear, 'realistic' narrative of the German Romantics is typical of Scottish writers from Hogg and Scott to G. MacDonald and R. L. Stevenson.

Thomas Carlyle was a literary 'romantic' in several ways. He found the eighteenth century too cold and conventional yet had a sentimental regard for the simplicity and moral unity of the past. He was unorthodox and adopted transcendental philosophy. There is no question of Carlyle's literary loyalties; he wrote sympathetically on Novalis, Tieck, Hoffmann, Werner, and in a full length paper, discussed The Nibelungenlied as "the medieval poem most lauded by the romanticists" (Roe: 80).

The assessment of Carlyle's contribution to German studies is frequently centred upon a critique of his understanding of German metaphysics. It is often stated that Carlyle misunderstood and misapplied transcendental concepts in his treatment of writers like Novalis and Tieck and that this is most noticeable in his 1827 essay The State of German Literature (Roe: 75). One commentator asserts that Carlyle showed "not the slightest interest" in the speculative constructions of Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, and took from



German Idealism "... hardly more than the general idea of the outward and visible as the manifestations and symbol of inward and invisible spiritual reality" (W. Morgan: 445). Harrold detects in Carlyle a misunderstanding of Kantian intuition and 'Vernunft', space and time -- misreading space and time as mere forms of perceptions and implying the nonexistence of matter<sup>3</sup> (Harrold; Philosophical Quarterly: 350).

The analysis of literature employing philosophical criteria was central to Carlyle's essays, even to the point of exaggerating the Idealism of Jean Paul and the "Verdolmetschung des subtilen Geistes von Novalis" -- especially the concepts of "Selbsttötung" and "Entsagung" (Schirmer: 93).

Carlyle superimposed upon his own Calvinist background and moral conviction the conceptions of 'Universal History' and 'Heroes' he found in the philosophy of J. G. Fichte (1762-1814). Carlyle welcomed Novalis' formulations of "Weltgeschichte als Offenbarung" and of the basic historical process as good versus evil; Carlyle expanded this to encompass also the conflict between 'Faith' and 'Unbelieving' (Schirmer: 86). Sartor Resartus is a creative discussion of symbols and the revelation of infinite things as embodied and revealed in the finite.

In his essay on Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg 1772-1801) (Foreign Review VII, 1829) Carlyle finds difficulty in not discovering a "creed" in Novalis' Die Christenheit oder Europa (Carlyle; XXVII: 42). Carlyle's basic belief in the Creator's intervention overpowered his objectivity in assigning religion a role in transcendental philosophy:

... the 'Mysticism' alluded to by Novalis' and generally all true Christian Faith and Devotion, appear, so far as we can see, more or less included in this doctrine of Transcendentalists (Carlyle; XXVII: 27).

The presence of a "low" in human history "... is in part what Carlyle means by the presence and activity of God ... omnipotent all wise .... [This] is irreconcilable with any dogmatic theory of an impersonal law such as Fichte held" (W. Morgan: 447). Similarly, for Kant, "there was no room for an unknowable occult entity supposed to be independent of mind ... things had to be regarded in their entirety as products of thought" (Copleston; 7,I: 18).

Carlyle's particular interpretation of metaphysics "... repose sur deux conceptions germaniques: le panthéisme idéaliste et la théorie de l'universel devenir" (Carre: 167). The 'mechanistic' philosophy that Carlyle opposed discounted the significance of great personalities in the development of civilization (W. Morgan: 441). Vaughan attributes Carlyles concepts of 'duty' and the 'right of the strong man' as a refuge from the incompetence of democracy (Vaughan: 190).

Die Bekanntschaft mit Fichtes Philosophie hatte nämlich die Idee des Schriftstellers als Held und Prophet entstehen lassen, und ihr zufolge wird nun Goethe nicht nur als Moralist, sondern als der Seher, der Führer und Prophet gefeiert (Schirmer: 82-83).

Carlyle's paper on Novalis is sympathetic; von Hardenberg had also embraced Fichte's 'Hero-Worship' and his "shadowy dream world of fairy-tale allegory and nature mysticism ... appealed to both the Calvinist and the rhapsodist in Carlyle" (Ashton: 25).<sup>4</sup> However he may have misunderstood it, it was the philosophy that Carlyle saw in

the works of Jean Paul that distinguished Richter as a "fine, high, altogether unusual talent" (Carlyle; XXVII: 97). Followed by Swift and Stern, Jean Paul above all moulded Carlyle's humour and unconventional style; Fichte and Goethe "harnessed the severer instincts of the prophet and the moraliser" (Vaughan: 178). Carlyle's assessment of Richter, rather typically, stresses the profundity of thought, the excellence and originality of the mode of expression and includes an apologia for the German author's being misunderstood. The tone of the article is not unlike that of the essays on Goethe and Novalis.

He is a Humorist heartily and throughout; not only in low provinces of thought, where it is more common, but in the loftiest provinces, where it is well-nigh unexampled; and thus, in wild sport, 'playing bowls with the sun and moon,' he fashions the strangest ideal work, which at first glance looks no better than a chaos (Carlyle; XXVII: 97-98).

W. Schirmer sees Carlyle as "kein philosophischer Kopf" who could only grasp abstract ideas "im bildlichkonkreten Ausdruck" who used German literature primarily as "Rettung aus seinem Pessimismus" (Schirmer: 84). Another commentator feels, however, that Carlyle's thought was "embodied in imaginative, rather than in strictly logical shape" and that his intellect worked by intuition rather than by reasoning (Vaughan: 170). Criticism of Carlyle's understanding of metaphysics sometimes does injustice to his originality. Carlyle took elements from Fichte and Kant and applied them to an underlying, already existent personal philosophy, much of which had been formed under the pressures of theology.

Sartor Resartus, published in Fraser's Magazine from November 1833 - August 1844, marks the culmination of Carlyle's absorption of German philosophy and his most creative and popular work. An enormous

amount of research has been done on its indebtedness to Idealist thought. Sartor Resartus is a complex work of symbolic and stylistic virtuosity and it essentially ends Carlyle's active involvement with German literature.

"The doctrine of the 'Everlasting Yea' of 'Natural Supernaturalism,' of 'Organic Filaments,' of the seen world as the 'time-vesture' of the unseen and eternal, all these are evidently Carlyle's version of the idealism of Fichte ... these doctrines lie at the whole 'Philosophy of Clothes'" (Vaughan: 189).

End Notes V

1 The first "Germanizing" periodicals in France were Archives litteraires de l'Europe and Revue Germanique but "penetrating" articles on Novalis, Hoffmann and Lenau appeared only after the Franco-Prussian war (Hammer: 59).

2 The taste for the supernatural and mysterious was especially prevalent in Ireland - The Dublin University Magazine printed many German tales and imitations with German settings and subjects (O'Neill; II: 104).

3 "Kant's term Reason assumes for Carlyle a meaning foreign to that in the Critique; it becomes an enobling, penetrating faculty in man capable of reaching absolute truth ... performing like mystical intuition" (Harrold; Philosophical Quarterly: 353).

4 Novalis used Fichte's Theories in the service of a "poetic and romantic extravaganza, to exalt the creative self" and to depict the "productive imagination as modifiable by the Will" (Copleston; 7, I: 31).

## VI. Conclusions

The activity of British Germanophiles 1790-1830 broadened literary and cultural horizons in their own country. The chief contribution by the Edinburgh group lay in the introduction and defence of German literature rather than in its analysis or interpretation. A survey of reviews of German letters by Lockhart and Gillies reveals an essentially non-analytical approach. Much of the commentary in Scottish essays on German authors is taken up with biographical material. Lockhart's essay on de Staëls De l'Allemagne is more a summary than an assessment. Carlyle relied heavily on German biographers, especially Franz Horn, and Gillies took many of his literary notices and opinions directly from Goethe's periodical Über Kunst und Altertum.

The early nineteenth-century British critics used German literature as a source for controversies and arguments. Many reviews by the Scots chose to defend German literature by heated argument rather than by reasoned discussion. Other factors contributed to the tendency of the Scots to remain rather on the surface of German literary phenomena. Carlyle's intent was to be original, persuasive and, above all, to be morally instructive. In defending Goethe's morality, Carlyle is really expressing his own. P. F. Morgan suggests that Carlyle's intrusion of his own views into his German criticism reflects negatively on his status as an objective analyst.

Carlyle's predominant interest [was] in the character of the literary genius. He is not primarily interested in the work of art or in its impact on a body of critics or readers as much as in the character of the man who produces it (P. F. Morgan: 131).

Like Carlyle, the other members of the Edinburgh circle 'employed' German literature in different ways. Boyd feels that Walter Scott was attracted merely by the "antiquarian and romantic" and was incapable of appreciating the "inner meaning" or the "true depth" of Goethe's characters Goetz and Mignon (Boyd: 217). The motivations behind R. P. Gillies' studies were also limited in the sense of literary analysis. Gillies was certainly a sincere and knowledgeable 'literat', but his efforts were also bound to his financial problems and personal ambition. There was an urgency and competitiveness to Gillies' criticism and introduction of German works. "I wished to claim ... for the Germans the palm they so justly deserved for having been the first to fling off the yoke of conventionality and establish an example for other nations" (Gillies; Memoirs, I: 225-26).

The consideration of the reception of German literature in Scotland 1790-1830 reveals a genuine desire on the part of the Edinburgh group to correct the negative preconceptions in Britain regarding German 'character' and morality. In literary circles at least, Scottish efforts were successful in battling British literary insularity.

If William Taylor deserves recognition for the first effective translations of modern German poetry and drama into English, the leading Scottish Germanophiles, especially Carlyle, must be acknowledged as having been instrumental in the introduction and eventual acceptance of German literature in Britain.

End Notes VI

<sup>1</sup> Germanophiles like H. C. Robinson and Th. Campbell were essentially non-literary, but important cultural mediators; their emulation of the academic freedoms and methodologies practiced by W. v. Humboldt led to reforms in British institutions (Schirmer: 60 ff).



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