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Social values in some novels of the 'Heimatkunst' movement

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The thesis compares the values and attitudes promoted in the fiction of five authors associated with the 'Heimatkunst' movement. The introduction attempts a definition of the term 'Heimatkunst' and then proceeds to an examination of the theoretical writings of Adolf Bartels and Friedrich Lienhard, indicating the often considerable differences in attitude between the two critics and outlining such common ground as they share with each other and the practitioners of the movement treated in this study. The thesis then moves to an analysis of single novels, where necessary relating these works to their authors' other writings. The novels chosen for analysis are Wilhelm von Polenz' Der Büttnerbauer, Adolf Bartels' Die Dithmarscher, Gustav Frenssen's Jörn Uhl, Ludwig Ganghofer's Der hohe Schein and Hermann Löns's Der Wehrwolf. These analyses confirm the existence of that common ground between the authors outlined in the introduction - their veneration of rural life and their suspicion of urban culture and values, their anti-intellectual bias, nationalist or racialist sympathies and their belief that contemporary ills may be cured or ameliorated by a return to the pre-industrial, nature-based values of the rural community. The manner, degree and consistency with which they commit themselves to these attitudes and views vary and there are certain preoccupations common to only some of the authors dealt with, although even these differing concerns can often be related to individual interpretations of shared premises. The thesis concludes with an examination of common stylistic and technical features of their fiction and the literary devices employed to direct the reader's sympathies.

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Preface

Although most critics link the term 'Heimatkunst' in some way to the regional novelists of the Wilhelminian period, there are some who extend its scope to apply to all German authors who gave their literary works specific regional settings and others who seek to narrow discussion to a consideration of the theoretical writings of Adolf Bartels and Friedrich Lienhard, the two critics responsible for introducing the term into popular literary parlance. The author of this study accepted the basic frame of reference used by Bartels and Lienhard for their definitions of 'Heimatkunst' - namely, that the term applied predominantly to the work of conservatively minded regional novelists writing during the reign of Wilhelm II. Although there are many ways in which the claims made by Bartels and Lienhard about 'Heimatkunst' are invalid when applied to the products of its practitioners, a detailed investigation of those claims seemed an acceptable framework on which to build up this study, since, discrepancies between theory and practice notwithstanding, the two critics gave voice to most of the relevant major social, cultural and ideological considerations which inform the fiction of the authors treated. An examination of their writings also provided the opportunity to assess how far literary historians have been correct in assuming the compatibility of the attitudes of the two critics.

There are upwards of fifty authors known to the writer of this study to whose work the definition established could apply and their individual novels can be numbered in hundreds. It is therefore essential, if a work on 'Heimatkunst' is not to degenerate into a list of authors, titles and plot synopses, to find some way in which the material to be treated can be reduced in scope, yet at the same time to give some indication of the spectrum of writing produced. The author of this thesis has therefore decided to

select for analysis the work of five relatively well-known 'Heimatkünstler' who represent some of the main variations of literary style, social views and social and geographical origin to be found within the movement. But even these five authors produced works in numbers too large for them all to be adequately analysed in one thesis. The concentration on one novel by each author, with references to his other works where necessary or desirable, seemed an adequate compromise, the latter references providing the opportunity to discuss key issues treated more widely in other works, allowing consideration of changes or inconsistencies in attitude to be taken into account and facilitating the indication of comparisons or contrasts with other authors when these were not apparent in the main work selected for consideration.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Before we proceed to our investigation of the social values and attitudes promoted by the authors treated in thesis, all of whom are associated with the literary phenomenon of 'Heimatkunst', it is essential that we establish what, for the purposes of this study, is to be understood by the central term in question. The critical use of the word 'Heimatkunst' has been both vague and inconsistent. The lowest common denominator in the bewildering variety of contexts in which the term has been used is its associations with forms of art, mostly literary, which are given specific regional settings. There, however, unanimity of usage ceases. 'Heimatkunst' has been used to refer to the plastic arts and to every literary genre. Among the literary figures associated with the term have been writers as divergent in period, preoccupations and style as Schiller, Gotthelf, Storm, Fontane, Gustav Frenssen, Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse. Other literary terms have frequently been regarded as synonymous with 'Heimatkunst', and we often find that a regional writer is identified as such in three or four different ways. Albert Soergel uses the term 'Heimatdichter' interchangeably with 'Heimatkünstler';¹ Werner Mahrholz equates 'Heimatkunst' with 'Heimatlichtung'.² Other critics employ the terms 'Landschaftsdichtung', 'Dorffroman' and 'Schollendichtung' to refer to works more commonly identified as 'Heimatkunst'.

Many of the causes of this confusion and inconsistency stem from literary critics' interpretation of the term 'Heimat'. 'Homeland' or 'birthplace' are inadequate translations for a word which has so many varying associations and undertones. It is, for example, a word which is generally associated with rural areas - hence the employment of such terms as 'Landschaftsdichtung' as synonyms for 'Heimatkunst'. In his article, 'Die Heimat und die Dichtkunst', the contemporary critic, Michael Wegener, writes: 'Es ist bemerkenswert, dass mit "Heimat" in seiner weitgehenden Bedeutung in der Regel "ländliche Heimat" gemeint ist, fast nie jedoch eine grössere Stadt.'³ Yet it is possible to find a number of exceptions to this interpretation of the word. J.G. Robertson, for example, claims Buddenbrooks to be among the novels which 'might ... well have their place under the rubric Heimatkunst'.⁴ It is possible, though unlikely, that the English critic's use of 'Heimatkunst' to refer to a novel with a distinctly regional but non-rural setting might be explained by inadequate familiarity with an accepted loading for the term 'Heimat' but no such explanation could be considered relevant to the declaration made by Adolf Bartels, one of the two men most closely involved in promoting the 'Heimatkunst' movement. He wrote, in an article defining the aims and nature of 'Heimatkunst':

Im übrigen steht nirgends geschrieben, dass die Heimatkunst
Dorfkunst sein soll; auch die Städte, selbst die grossen,
haben noch ihr genius locii und ihre von ihm beeinflussten
Menschen, die sind auch für die Heimatkunst da. 5

Admittedly, on the majority of occasions on which Bartels uses the terms 'Heimatkunst' or 'Heimat', they are explicitly or implicitly associated with non-urban areas. But the previous quotation and other similar declarations in which Bartels claimed the possibility of identifying the city as a 'Heimat' indicates the absence of any consistent use of the word in this context.

There is furthermore no generally accepted definition of the relationship

a man must have to a particular area to call it his 'Heimat' or even how large that area must be to be identified as such. The 1877 edition of Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch, which may be regarded as an adequately representative source of the word's usage during the period with which we are concerned in this thesis, lists three different meanings for 'Heimat' as a word related to place of origin or residence:

- 1) heimat, das land, oder auch nur der landstrich in dem man geborenst oder bleibenden aufenthalt hat
- 2) heimat, der geburtsort oder ständige wohnort
- 3) selbst das elterliche haus oder besitzthum heisst so, in baiern. 6

These variations give rise to the problem of defining exactly what subject matter an author may use to be identified as a 'Heimatkünstler'. All the authors with whom we are most closely concerned in this thesis were acclaimed by numerous critics to be practitioners of 'Heimatkunst', yet we find none who limited themselves to writing of their parents' home or of their native town and its immediate environs. All set numerous works of fiction in particular rural regions, but two of them - Hermann Löns and Ludwig Ganghofer - were neither born nor permanently lived in the areas they most extensively described. Furthermore, all except Löns gave a proportion of their works in non-German settings, including Austro-Hungary, Medieval Rome, Renaissance Italy, South-West Africa and the Far East. Yet they continue to be labelled as 'Heimatkünstler'.

Although some critics have used 'Heimatkunst' and 'Heim addedichtung' interchangeably to refer to regional writers of all periods, most have paid at least passing attention to the fact that 'Heimatkunst', as a term referring to literature, was introduced into general parlance by Adolf Bartels and Friedrich Lienhard to refer to the upsurge of regional writers which occurred

in the reign of Wilhelm II. It would be a mistake to go further, as some critics have, and accept the definitions of the aims and nature of that upsurge found in the writings of Bartels and Lienhard as wholly accurate descriptions of the work of these regional writers. In the first place, these two critics did not, as is frequently assumed, adopt a common approach to those authors. They expected different things from them and defined 'Heimatkunst' in accordance with their individual hopes and preoccupations. Even in the first issue of Heimat, the journal established to promote the works and ascribed attitudes of the movement, there were fundamental disagreements between Bartels and Lienhard.⁷ The editor, Lienhard, in his frontispiece introduction to the new publication, claims that the journal rejects Naturalism. A few pages on, we find an article in which Bartels claims that Naturalism, in a modified form, is an important component of 'Heimatkunst'. Lienhard expresses the wish to turn his back on the dominant features of the age; Bartels asserts that 'Heimatkunst' should be written 'unter dem Einfluss der Zeitbedingungen'; Bartels emphasises the political basis of the movement; Lienhard makes no mention of such matters. But not only did their definitions of 'Heimatkunst' contradict each other; they both changed their own attitudes towards the movement within a relatively short period of time.

Lienhard, who became disillusioned with 'Heimatkunst' within months of the publication of the first issue of Heimat, discussed very few of its actual literary products. Bartels criticised, condemned or ignored some of the authors most frequently identified as adherents of the movement by other critics of the period. His comments on the works of Gustav Frenssen were for the most part extremely hostile, and not until after the First World War did he pay any critical attention to two other prominent regional novelists of the Wilhelminian era - Hermann Löns and Ludwig Ganghofer. When he did discuss

their work, he treated Löns with some degree of sympathy but dismissed Ganghofer cursorily as 'nur Unterhalter'.

In view of the critical confusion which surrounds the use of the term 'Heimatkunst' and the varying views as to who is and who is not a 'Heimatkünstler', it seems both justifiable and necessary to establish working definitions of these terms for use in this thesis. Clearly, if we use 'Heimatkunst' to refer to the works of all those German authors who gave their works a setting in a specific region, the scope of our investigations would render possible only the most superficial discussion. If, on the other hand, we rely exclusively on the judgements and definitions of Lienhard and Bartels, we will be forced to ignore many of the authors most frequently identified as 'Heimatkünstler'. We shall, however, accept the main point of reference of Bartels and Lienhard for their use of the term 'Heimatkunst' and will henceforth employ 'Heimatkünstler' and 'Heimatkunst' to refer to those conservatively minded regional novelists of the Wilhelminian era whose works demonstrated an extensive preoccupation with the life and landscape of distinctly defined rural areas to which they felt personally attached and sympathetic.

There were large numbers of such authors, representing every province of the Second Reich. Literary histories and critical articles written in the Wilhelminian period and in both the 1920's and 1930's list literally scores of novelists to whom our previously established definition could apply. The majority of critics writing after the Second World War have ignored them or given only the most prominent the briefest of treatments. This willingness to allow one of the most densely populated areas of German literature to pass into obscurity can be partly explained by changing political attitudes. Many of the authors identified with the 'Heimatkunst' movement later lent their support to the National Socialists or were proclaimed - frequently with justification - to have written in a manner compatible with the official

ideology of the Third Reich. Indeed, most of the few articles and literary histories which have dealt with 'Heimatkünstler' in recent years have been more concerned to give hostile analyses of their political bias than to examine more aesthetic aspects of their work.⁸

Had these contemporary critics turned to the latter subject, they could scarcely have been expected to have shown any more sympathy. For the second reason for the lack of attention received by authors who may be identified as 'Heimatkünstler' must be deemed the inferior quality of their writing. A few, including three of the authors treated in this thesis - namely, Frenssen, Löns and Polenz - wrote works which were in part of some literary merit, but the great proportion of the literature with which we are concerned suffers from various combinations of basic failings in fictional craftsmanship - stilted dialogue, two-dimensional characters, excessive sentimentality, poor construction, artistic and intellectual inconsistency. The latter fault is universal and on occasions so gross that it becomes almost impossible to establish with any certainty exactly what views an author holds on certain issues.

But in spite of their artistic and intellectual failings, many 'Heimatkünstler' achieved a popularity unmatched by more talented authors. Writers such as Thomas Mann and Alfred Döblin achieved individual popular successes - indeed Buddenbrooks sold more copies in the period 1900-45 than any other German novel⁹ - but few of those who achieved deserved critical acclaim also enjoyed the consistently huge sales of Ludwig Ganghofer or even the more modest but nevertheless considerable share of the market held by Hermann Löns or Gustav Frenssen. Frenssen's novel Jörn Uhl became one of the first German best-sellers in the twentieth century¹⁰ and throughout the latter part of Wilhelm II's reign Frenssen and fellow 'Heimatkünstler' occupied a dominant position in the lists of best selling novelists. It falls outside the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive explanation of the popularity of

these authors. However, since non-literary considerations cannot be kept out of any meaningful discussion of the preoccupations and purposes of the writers we shall be dealing with in this thesis, it will be possible to point to links between the attitudes and values they promoted in their works and certain political, economic and social features of Wilhelminian society which may help to account for the massive readership which many of them enjoyed.

We must now attempt to place 'Heimatkunst' in the context of German literary history. By the early 1890's the Naturalist movement which had dominated the German literary scene during the latter part of the previous decade was losing its cohesion. Although many of its adherents were yet to write their most successful work in this literary vein, others were beginning to question those literary doctrines which had been declared with so much enthusiasm in the previous decade, often in tones which were to be echoed by the authors treated in this thesis. Some Naturalists, like Wilhelm Bölsche, called into doubt the validity of applying scientific principles and hypotheses to literary creation:

Sind aber nun beispielweise die Vererbungsphänomene, die grosse Pioniere des Realismus aufgegriffen haben, volle Wahrheit? Sind sie in der Form, die man ihnen gegeben hat, Wahrheit? Die Poesie liest sich halbblind an Stellen, wo die Schrift auf den Tafeln der Wissenschaft noch gar nicht deutlich vorhanden ist. 11

Others called for less reliance on the models provided by the foreign authors who had originally inspired the young writers of the 1880's¹² or expressed the hope that the author of the future would be the 'gesunde, schlichte, weise Mann' which his Naturalist predecessor had failed to be.¹³ Numerous other movements vied for the leading position in German literature which Naturalism had held, some evolving from the latter, as did Impressionism, others drawing on older models, as did Neo-Romanticism.

One criticism frequently levelled at Naturalism - albeit one that was not fully justified¹⁴ - was that it was too much concerned with urban subject

matter. In the collection Neuland, which appeared in 1894, Caesar Flaischlen, the editor, promoted a return to the use of provincial, predominantly rural material. Each of the contributors to this collection - the majority of whom were established Naturalist authors, including the Hart brothers, M.G. Conrad and Johannes Schlaf - were identified in the index as the inhabitants of particular German regions and many of the stories were set in rural areas of the authors' native or adopted provinces. In Flaischlen's introduction to the collection, he wrote:

In der Inhaltsübersicht wurde bei den einzelnen Autoren deren Stammeszugehörigkeit bemerkt... Ein jeder der dreiundzwanzig Autoren bringt ein Stück Heimat in seine Dichtung, sowohl in Bezug auf seine Sprache als auch in Bezug auf seine Weltanschauung; und ein intimes Verständnis der verschiedenen Beiträge ergibt sich erst, wenn man diesselben auf sich wirken lässt. Wie die einzelne heimatliche Mundart ein steter Jungbrunnen bleibt, aus dem unserer hochdeutschen Schriftsprache immer neues Leben zuquillt, so bleibt auch die engere Heimat mit ihrer Stammeseigenart der stete Nährboden, aus dem sich unser ganzer deutscher Volkscharakter zu immer vielseitiger Einheit emporgestaltet. 15

He insists that modern authors should not turn their back on non-urban Germany, but recognise that the use of provincial and rural subject matter offered the possibility of new developments in German literature. Referring to the previously quoted passage, he asserted:

Für die Bewegung der modernen Dichtung selbst aber erhellt daraus, dass es sich dabei keineswegs nur um ein "Berliner Grossstadtprodukt" handelt, wie man wohl sagen hört, sondern dass es sich - in Kunst und Leben - ganz gleichzeitig in allen Teilen Deutschlands frühlingstfroh einem Anderen, Neuen entgegenregt. 16

All these sentiments were to be echoed a few years later in Bartels' writings on 'Heimatkunst'.

But Naturalists who shifted their thematic focus were by no means the only novelists writing in German in the 1890's to give their works provincial and rural settings. There were also authors such as Ludwig Ganghofer, who used the countryside as the background to sentimental romances; dialect

writers; and non-Germans such as Peter Rosegger and Maria Ebner-Eschenbach whose geographical origins had left them relatively unaffected by events in the German literary world of the 1880's.

These writers were not, of course, the first novelists in German literary history to relate characters and action to the environment and culture of the countryside. Some of the greatest fiction writers of the mid-nineteenth century - Gotthelf, Storm, Stifter - made extensive use in their work of their knowledge of the life and landscape of rural areas of their native provinces, and many of the new generation of regional novelists recorded their affection for and debts to their predecessors. But there were fundamental differences between the two groups. Not only had the novelists of the 1890's been influenced by literary and intellectual movements unknown to the mid-century writers; the rural communities which supplied both generations of novelists with experiences germane to their fiction had changed markedly in character in the intervening years.

In the 1850's and 1860's Germany had begun a rapid industrial expansion, accompanied by the urbanisation of large sections of her population - an urbanisation which both drew rural inhabitants into the towns and led to the expansion of these towns at the expense of the countryside. The life of those who remained country dwellers was also changed by economic and technological developments of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Railways diminished their isolation from the outside world and agriculture took on a new face - in economic structure, in technical methods, in the character and attitude of those who farmed, for many of the new generation of farmers were graduates from the numerous agricultural colleges which had been founded since 1850.¹⁷ Initially, industrial expansion benefited the farmer. The growing populations of the cities had to be fed, new methods of farming increased efficiency and during the period 1850-1870 agriculture became an increasingly profitable

enterprise.

But in 1873, due largely to an increase of food imported from the New World, prices dropped and many farmers found themselves in debt, for during the agricultural boom they had borrowed heavily to acquire more land at an inflated cost - land which now produced insufficient profits to cover interest and capital repayments. The situation was aggravated by the drift of farm workers to the towns where they hoped for better wages and prospects than could be found in the countryside and consequently agriculture suffered from a shortage of labour. Some farmers attempted to make good this shortage by importing cheap labour from Eastern Europe, an action which led to even more indigenous workers leaving for the more hopeful economic prospects of the towns. These and other economic factors resulted in a steady growth of the urban population. In 1875 only 6.5% of the German nation lived in the great cities; by 1900 the figure had risen to 16.2%.¹⁸

But although the cities expanded and the effects of that expansion were felt in many ways in the countryside, it must be remembered that even at the end of the century a large proportion of the population were still living on the land. In 1895 36.19% of all those in employment were involved in agriculture and related professions.¹⁹ Furthermore, millions of new urbanites had grown up in the country. Consequently, a large number of Germans had, or had had, close personal ties with country life and both countryman and ex-countryman were likely to have had a strong awareness of the contrasts, both favourable and unfavourable, between town and country. The town and country theme was by no means novel in German literature - writers of 'Jung Deutschland', Auerbach and Gotthelf had all in their different ways dealt with the topic. But by the end of the century the contrasts were greater than ever and were experienced by many more people. And much of that experience resulted in negative judgements being passed on the city. The

Naturalists generally presented unattractive portraits of urban life - a fact which may well be explained by the circumstance that so many of them came from rural areas.²⁰ The new wave of regional novelists were also often preoccupied with a portrayal of the city, but this portrayal was usually accompanied by a contrasting and favourable depiction of the countryside. Views of the contrast and relationship between city and country varied - some authors, like Polenz and Löns, saw the life style of the two as completely inimical; others, such as Frenssen, believed that rural values might have applicability in the modern world of commerce and technology. However, the predominant view of those regional novelists who dealt with the contrast was that the city was to be regarded with suspicion, if not hostility, and that the essential character of rural life was being threatened by urbanisation and industrialisation.

Underlying this hostility was an opposition to many of the major economic and social developments which had taken place in Germany since the mid-century and a belief that the attitudes which were informed and generated by these were largely inferior to those manifested in rural German codes and customs. But although this view is common to many regional novelists - including all those treated in this thesis - it was by no means sufficient to provide the basis for a compact literary movement. The geographical origin, personal lives, literary development and social and political sympathies of the 'Heimatkünstler' were too disparate to facilitate extensive cooperation at the time between them and invalidate attempts made by critics to present them as a cohesive literary grouping.

During the period with which we are concerned in this thesis, however, a major effort was made by two critics, Adolf Bartels and Friedrich Lienhard, to define the aims and attitudes of the new wave of regional novelists. They were not totally successful in producing comprehensive statements about these

authors which had universal validity, in part because they were not so much concerned with giving an objective analysis of the phenomenon as with promoting certain values and views which they approvingly ascribed to it. However, no study of 'Heimatkunst', as the term is defined in this thesis, can afford to ignore their views. Not only were they responsible for putting the term into general literary parlance, but their critical and polemical writings on the subject, particularly those of Bartels, gave expression to many of the most important artistic, social and ideological assumptions and attitudes which inform the work of those writers we shall be treating in this thesis.

Bartels' first use of the term 'Heimatkunst' was in 1897.²¹ Erika Jenny asserts that Bartels did not claim to be its inventor and quotes Friedrich Lienhard as saying that 'dessen Ursprung nicht mehr festzustellen ist'.²¹ In the work of another student of 'Heimatkunst', however, it is stated that Bartels did claim to be the first to employ the term in a literary context²² and one of his critics asserts categorically that Bartels was its originator.²³ The author of the present thesis has been unable to find any use of the term before 1897, but this does not in itself constitute adequate proof of the assertion attributed to Bartels, particularly as in a number of other instances Bartels made false claims to the inventorship of certain literary concepts.²⁴ It seems valid to say, however, that Bartels was the first critic to introduce the term in a literary context to a wide public.

Bartels' interest in authors who used their native provinces as setting for their creative work began some years before he began to promote 'Heimatkunst' as such. One of his earliest critical studies had been of a minor provincial poet from Lahr, Friedrich Gessler, whom Bartels describes as a 'Lokalpoet'. This work, published in 1892, was followed by an increasingly large number of articles and books in which Bartels laid emphasis on the importance of an author's relationship with his native or adopted province. In 1894, in an

article on the literary use of historical themes, he asserted that 'man kann eigentlich nur historische Romane aus der Geschichte seiner Heimat schreiben',²⁵ for only by feeling a personal involvement with the historical events depicted could the author bring his material to life. In another article published the following year, we see evidence of the belief which was to dominate Bartels' literary criticism - namely, that German literature did, or at least, should reflect the indigenous character traits of those who created it. He claims:

Selbst der Stammescharakter spielt bei unseren Dichtern eine bedeutende Rolle, eine bedeutendere als bei anderen Völkern und beeinflusst gleichfalls den Stil, wie das z.B. eine Vergleichung der beiden Dramatiker Grillparzer oder Hebbel klar macht. 26

By 1897, the same year in which he first employed the term 'Heimatkunst', we find him making clear that the literary representation of the poet's native region was to be regarded as the dominant strain which would emerge in German literature in the future. In his work on Gerhart Hauptmann, he writes:

Nun bin ich der Meinung, dass... der Anschluss der Dichtung an das Leben, die Rückkehr zu Heimat und Volkstum den jetzt herrschenden Symbolismus überdauern wird. 27

However, it was in the period 1899-1901 that Bartels formulated his most extensive definitions of the nature and aims of 'Heimatkunst'. Although his generalisations about the authors associated with the movement often give the impression that he is talking about and defining the character of a cohesive literary grouping, he repeatedly denied that he wished to set rigid rules or specifications to its activities. 'Heimatkunst ist keine Programmkunst', he declared. In an article published in Der Kunstwart in 1899 he asserted:

Die Heimatkunst unterscheidet sich dadurch von den anderen Kunstrichtungen der Zeit, dem ursprünglichen Naturalismus und Symbolismus, dass sie nicht durch Programme vorher verkündet worden... Sie war eines Tages da. 28

On occasions, he appears to be denying that 'Heimatkunst' can be defined in a literary historical context, asserting that he understood by 'Heimatkunst' 'weiter nichts als die Gesamtheit aller Werke, die heimischem Boden natürlich, gesund und kraftvoll entwachsen'.²⁹ However, for the most part, Bartels placed 'Heimatkunst' in a definite context in the development of German literature and attempted to present its practitioners as having certain basic attitudes in common.

In an article published in the journal Heimat in 1900, he identified the movement as being the latest stage in the development of German regional literature, a development which he relates predominantly to prose fiction. He discusses first the work of regional writers of the early nineteenth century, who are dismissed as

meist mehr oder minder begabten Dilettanten, die die Kunstmittel auf die heimischen Stoffe, so gut sie es vermögen d.h. meist konventionell, deren eigenes aber dadurch oft verwenden, es jedenfalls nicht in voller Mächtigkeit hervortreten zu lassen im Stande sind. 30

He then goes on to comment on the work of the didactic 'Volksschriftsteller', who, by dint of his desire to educate,

muss...in das Volk gehen, an ihm vertrautes anknüpfen, und da das Volk um keineswegs überall dasselbe, sondern in Stammesart und nach örtlichen Besonderheiten verschieden ist, so ergibt sich auch hier wieder vielfach eine örtliche Kunst. 31

But the literature written by the 'Volksschriftsteller' is 'Tendenzkunst', relatively unconcerned with regional life in its own right. Furthermore, as an educator, the 'Volksschriftsteller' tends to stress 'das sogenannte Allgemeinmenschliche', rather than specific regional character. Bartels also had a low opinion of the writers of 'Dorfgeschichten', such as Auerbach, for

auch in ihr war das Heimatliche noch Mittel zum Zweck, freilich nur zu einem ästhetischen: Es galt, gute Geschichten aus dem dörflichen Leben zu erzählen, Geschichten, die die gebildete Menschheit zu interessieren vermochten; Darstellung des ländlichen Lebens um des Lebens selbst willen kam noch kaum vor. 32

From these statements we can begin to build up a picture of the approach Bartels expected the regional artist to adopt when depicting his native area. He should write of regional life out of a real sense of involvement, portraying that life realistically and regarding it to be in itself worthy subject matter for literary creation. Bartels believed that Jeremias Gotthelf corresponded to this ideal and proclaimed him to be 'der Vater des deutschen Naturalismus, auch der Heimatkunst'. Of Gotthelf, Bartels wrote:

Seine schweizerische Heimat war der Boden, auf dem er so fest, wie kaum ein deutscher Dichter vor ihm, stand, ihr bäuerliches Leben stellte er nicht "ästhetisch" sondern mit wahrer Naturgewalt und auch daher epischer Kunst dar, er kannte vielmehr die grossen Zeitbewegungen und ihren Einfluss auf seine dörfliche Welt, und so geriet seine Darstellung niemals eng, ward typisch, ward zu einem gewissen Grade grosse Kunst. 33

He did not consider the Poetic Realists to be 'Heimatkünstler'. What they wrote was 'eher Stammeskunst als Heimatkunst':

Der Stammescharakter des Dichters bestimmt die Darstellung in dem Masse, dass sie eine durchaus eigene, den nationalen Charakter modifiziert zeigend Physiologie gewinnt, doch aber verfolgen alle diese Dichter noch individuell-ästhetische Zwecke... 34

Bartels considered that they had used subject matter from their experience of the life of their native regions as a vehicle for the expression of their own personal preoccupations rather than as material which should have been considered valid for presentation in its own right. He disapproved of such an approach and praised Naturalism as a literary movement which, he claimed, had taught the writer that 'Natur und Leben, verehrtester Herr Dichter, sind immerhin mehr als dein Talent und deine Persönlichkeit und du musst nicht glauben, ihnen in ästhetischem Spiel und subjektiver Willkür beikommen zu können'.³⁵

In this claim, Bartels reveals an attitude which dominates much of his literary criticism - namely, that the creative writer is not, or should not be, free to follow his own whims, but should be bound to obey other principles, principles which Bartels shows no hesitation in taking upon himself to dictate,

be they, as here, the objective presentation of 'Natur und Leben', or, as elsewhere, commitment to certain political and social beliefs.

These words of praise for Naturalism should not be taken as representative of an unqualified approval of the movement and the literature it produced. Indeed, Bartels' criticisms were many and varied, and can be found throughout his critical and polemical writings. In a review of Caesar Flaischlen's novel Martin Lehnhardt, published in 1895, he refers to

die alten Schwächen des Naturalismus: den Mangel an natürlicher Empfindung, das erfolglose Streben, ganz ungewöhnliche oder ganz besondere Verhältnisse zu typischen, gewöhnliche Menschen oder Sonderlinge zu bedeutenden Vorkämpfern irgendwelcher Weltanschauung hinaufzuschrauben. 36

The Naturalists' concern with exceptional situations was again attacked in his work on Gerhart Hauptmann, published in 1897. On Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenaufgang, he commented: 'Witzdorf ist eben doch eine Ausnahme in unseren deutschen Verhältnissen.' He was particularly disturbed by Hauptmann's preoccupation with mental imbalance and sickness, as revealed in this play and in Das Friedensfest. Referring to the latter work, Bartels wrote:

Es giebt Krankenhäuser, es giebt Irrenhäuser auf der Welt - traurig genug, aber für alles bedeutsame Leben wie für alle wahre Kunst gilt das Wort: lasset die Toten ihre Toten begraben; die ganze Welt ist kein Kranken-, kein Irrenhaus, wenn sie auch manchem in bestimmten Stunden so erscheinen mag. 37

He also accused the Naturalists of being too concerned with detail to the detriment of an overall vision, of being preoccupied with city life and above all of being anti-national and of relying too heavily on foreign models.³⁸

But he recognised the appeal that Naturalism and the non-German authors who had inspired the movement had had for young German authors of the 1880's. He was bitterly critical of their immediate predecessors in the German literary scene, whom he regarded variously as being too academic, too conventional, effete and decadent. He was scarcely more enthusiastic about the political

and social state of the Reich during the years in which these authors had prospered. It was

derart, dass so oder so ein Sturm und Drang der Jugend kommen musste, der besseren Jugend; die Reichsflitterwochen waren lange vorbei, die konventionelle Lüge, wie wir es so herrlich weitgebracht hatten, hielt vor dem Ansturm der sozialen Fragen nicht stand. 39

Unlike many of their German contemporaries, writers such as Ibsen, Zola and Tolstoy dealt with social realities:

Das war eine andere Litteratur als die heimische konventionelle oder dekadente Klassen- und Bildungsdichtung, da sah man wirklich die ganze Gesellschaft, das ganze Volk gespiegelt mit unerbittlicher Wahrheit und rücksichtsloser Kühnheit, mit tief eindringender Schärfe und wunderbarer psychologischer Analyse. 40

The young German writers could, he believed, have found 'alle Vorzüge, die die fremden von der gleichzeitigen deutschen aufwiesen' in the works of earlier German authors, such as Gotthelf, Hebbel and Stifter. But nobody drew their attention to these models. Consequently, they knew only the 'Hohlheit des Tagesgrossen' of the previous decade and Bartels completely vindicates their antipathy, commenting: 'Hier Ebers, Wolff, Paul Lindau und Blumenthal, dort Ibsen, Tolstoi, Dostojevsky - die Wahl konnte nicht schwer sein.'⁴¹ The necessity to rely on foreign literature might have been regrettable, the quality of much of the literature produced uneven or poor, but the German Naturalists had performed one major service - 'der deutschen Dichtung den Zusammenhang mit dem Leben wieder zu schaffen'. They presented 'überall das reichste und wahrste Leben, die Natur selbst und das alte und ewig neue Evangelium von der Rückkehr zu ihr'.⁴² For Bartels, one of art's prime functions was to represent social reality - albeit a social reality interpreted to accord with his own preconceptions - and he makes within this limitation a valid claim when he asserts:

Nichts habe ich, seitdem ich überhaupt kritisch tätig bin, schärfer betont als die Notwendigkeit des engen Zusammenhangs zwischen Kunst und Leben, der realen Basis aller Kunst. 43

Bartels also claimed the existence of a clear link between the Naturalists and the 'Heimatkünstler'. He makes reference in this context to Flaischlen's collection Neuland and its editor's foreword and also asserted that works by Hauptmann, Halbe and Sudermann grew out of their familiarity with their native provinces. He also claimed the existence in Germany of

eine Schule...die nicht wie Zola, mit dem Bleistift in der Hand an die Dinge heranging, sondern, Augen und Ohren gespannt, sie an sich herankommen liess und ihre Eindrücke bis ins feinste aufzunehmen trachtete. Das war der deutsche intime Naturalismus und er bildete den Übergang zur Heimatkunst. 44

Although he referred to Sudermann and Liliencron as representatives of this particular style, he never gave an exact description of its nature. However, his employment of the term in his discussions of the work of Theodor Fontane gives some indication of how he intended it to be understood. In spite of his urban subject matter in his later works, Fontane was favourably regarded by Bartels, for, the critic claimed, 'er hat die intimen Feinheiten der Naturempfindung und Menschendarstellung hineingebracht, ohne die wir uns die echte Heimatkunst gar nicht vorstellen können'.⁴⁵

But we can see more than a stylistic or thematic link between Bartels' portrait of 'Heimatkunst' and his descriptions of Naturalism. As we have seen, one of the main features of Naturalism which he praised was its depiction of social realities. He claimed there was a similar willingness to face up to the social problems and conflicts of the age evident in the work of 'Heimatkünstler' and protested against the criticism that 'Heimatkunst' was escapist, that it wished to retreat into a rural idyll. Such escape, he asserted, was in any case impossible. No region of Germany was free of conflict: 'Friedliche heimische Wässer...gibt es längst nicht mehr, überall ist

der Kampf der Mächte der Gegenwart.'⁴⁶ The 'Heimatkünstler' was not only willing to depict such conflict, but was also prepared to involve himself in it, in order to defend the best interests of his native region. In a passage in which Bartels contradicts his previously referred to claim by implying the possibility of rural retreat, he writes:

Wir verachten den Idylliker nicht, der sich seine Heimatwelt mit einem Zaune umhegt und innerhalb dessen froh und glücklich ist, aber höher steht uns der, der vom Heimatboden aus den Kampf mit den Mächten der Zeit auf sich nimmt...um ihnen das Beste für die Heimat abzurufen. 47

Bartels' sympathy for those authors who involved themselves in social issues and the practical life of their community was in evidence for some time before he began his most energetic promotion of 'Heimatkunst'. In 1897, he commended Gotthelf for being 'einen Thatmenschen, dem alle dichterische Kraft nur insoweit wert hat, als sie unmittelbare praktische Wirkung zu üben mag',⁴⁸ and in an even earlier work, his monograph on Friedrich Gessler, he expressed his admiration for an author who had served his native town as both a practical businessman and as a creative writer. It was Bartels' firm belief that the artist neither could nor should separate himself from his society, that he was a member of a community first and an artist second, and that his prime aim in the latter role was to serve the best interests of that community. It was partly because of this belief, partly because he believed that literature could have a powerful social and political influence that the dominant criteria that Bartels used as a literary critic were social, not aesthetic.

These criteria sometimes appear somewhat inconsistent - partly due to the lack of intellectual rigorousness which Bartels shares with all the other authors treated in this thesis, but also due to the fact that some of his own attitudes changed during the period treated in this thesis. He claimed to have held 'ziemlich radikale Anschauungen' in the early 1890's⁴⁹ but all

traces of these have vanished by the first years of the new century, by which time his position is thoroughly conservative. His developing intolerance of progressive views is illustrated by his changing attitude towards the portrayal of sex in literature. Bartels always regarded the sexual urge with some suspicion but nevertheless in 1894 he was prepared to claim that no writer, provided he remained true to himself and his vision, should automatically be accused of immorality if he portrayed sexual activity. He opposed the demands of 'gute Gesellschaft' and accepted the presentation of 'unsittliche Elemente...wenn sie in der Totalität des Werkes aufgehen'.⁵⁰ Three years later, however, we find him declaring that, when art contained elements which offended conventional morality, it was 'keine Kunst mehr... sondern die Verwendung künstlerischer Mittel zu unkünstlerischen Zwecken'⁵¹, and in later years, he was to identify the portrayal of sexual activity in literature as a hallmark of decadence.⁵²

But although Bartels' views in certain areas became increasingly less flexible, the basis of his social and cultural criticism remained constant. His prime concern was for the well-being of the German nation. That well-being, as he conceived it, could only be guaranteed if the Germans were united, morally and physically strong and imbued with a profound and proud national consciousness. But when he looked at contemporary society, he saw much that threatened these preconditions of national well-being. He saw the rejection or downgrading of German culture by many sections of the population in favour of foreign models. He saw manifestations of decadence, which gave rise to a state in which

man hat keinen Glauben mehr, weder an sich noch an andere, noch an die Menschheit überhaupt, und so vielseitig und fein die Erkenntnis und die Empfindung entwickelt sind, im Ganzen ist man unfruchtbar, huldigt auf sozialem Gebiete dem *laissez aller* und gibt auf künstlerischem statt der Kunstwerke Kunststücke. 53

He saw Germany permeated by sectional interests, which placed their own material advancement before all else, before dedication to nobler causes and before the well-being of the nation as a whole. He saw in all areas of society developments which were incompatible with the values and attitudes he ascribed to the German national character, men and women who were prepared to ignore matters which he regarded as being of lasting importance in favour of fleeting and fashionable pleasures.

All these unsavoury aspects of contemporary society he believed were reflected in the contemporary literary scene - in its reliance on foreign models, in the growth of schools of writers he considered decadent, in the infighting among various literary movements and in authors' willingness to lower their standards in order to find temporary popular acclaim and financial success. However, although literature seemed to him to currently reflect the undesirable features of his society, he thought that it might also be able to show the path that led away from them. Naturalism had been 'zunächst wesentlich Grosstadt-kunst und zu kleinlich, ängstlich und pessimistisch' to provide that path, but the Naturalist generation had wanted to find it. In the second edition of Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, he quotes the opinion of one Litzmann, a contemporary literary critic, who, referring to the concept of modernism in literature, had written:

Der gemeinsame Nährboden aus dem dieses Ideal seine Nahrung zieht ist leider die moderne Nervosität und Hysterie. Aus diesem Grunde entwickeln sich...
 krassester Materialismus, mystischer Spiritualismus,
 demokratischer Anarchismus, aristokratischer
 Individualismus, pandemische Erotik, sinnabtötende
 Askese. 54

Bartels replies to Litzmann's claim:

Ganz richtig, aber alle diese Dinge waren schon da, hatten sich längst in den deutschen Volkskörper eingeschlichen, die Jugend brachte sie nicht, sondern brachte sie nur ehrlich zur Erscheinung, und das war ein Verdienst. Gewiss stand das jüngste Deutschland auf dem Boden der deutschen Dekadenz, aber es wollte doch von ihm weg. 55

It fell to 'Heimatkunst' to fulfil that wish for escape. In literary terms, Bartels describes the movement in one article as 'die Reaktion auf den grossstädtischen Naturalismus, den verblässenden Symbolismus, die papierne Literatur geistreicher Richtung',⁵⁶ in another as 'das Abweisen des Internationalismus in der deutschen Literatur und zugleich des Konventionalismus'.⁵⁷ But its literary prejudices were firmly linked to socio-political attitudes. Bartels emphasised that 'Heimatkunst' was

nur ein Teil jener grossen nationalen Heimatbewegung, die als "Rückschlag auf die verflachenden und schablonisierenden Anschauungen der liberalen Bourgeoisie und deren Reichssimpelei, wie auch des Internationalismus der Sozialdemokratie" eintrat. 58

'Heimatkunst' was to provide the German people with art 'die sein Leben schön, gross, reich macht, die seine nationale Widerstands- und Expansionskraft hebt'.⁵⁹ But before we can understand exactly why Bartels believed 'Heimatkunst' could fulfil these functions, or why he believed it could be linked to a particular political movement, we must examine more carefully the relationship Bartels expected the 'Heimatkünstler' to have with the region he portrays, of which Bartels assumes him to be a native, and the nature of the influence he was expected to have on his national and regional community, expectations which have their roots in Bartels' conception of the nature of man and society.

The informing influences on Bartels' social thought are of a diffuse nature. Naturalism certainly had an impact, but of more lasting importance were a whole range of conservative thinkers, mostly but not entirely German. In his works Bartels refers favourably to Arndt, Fichte, Riehl, Wagner, Lagarde, Langbehn and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The author of a short monograph on Bartels, Ludwig Lorenz, claims Treitschke as an influence.⁶⁰ Bartels also makes reference to Gobineau and in his second novel, Dietrich Siebrandt, reveals a familiarity with Carlyle's work on the French Revolution. His view of society is compounded of a large number of elements, some derived

from these thinkers, others from personal experience,⁶¹ although from his published works it is for the most part impossible to determine their individual sources. Racialism, anti-Semitism, monarchism, anti-rationalism, anti-Socialism, a suspicion of capitalism and industrialism - all these and other aspects of conservative and 'völkisch' thought make repeated appearances in his creative and polemical writings. But if we have to extract a central core from this complex of beliefs and attitudes, it must be Bartels' view of the relationship between man and nature.

The basic concept underlying this view has a long intellectual history, but Bartels himself saw it primarily as deriving from Romanticism and combining with those elements of scientific thought, primarily biology and anthropology, which he regarded as having had an impact on racial and conservative thought. Commenting on the apparently unlikely link between science and Romanticism, he states:

Moderne Wissenschaft und Romantik - es gibt scheinbar keinen grösseren Gegensatz, und doch ist die moderne Wissenschaft zu einem guten Teil aus der Romantik geboren; denn sie ist es gewesen, die das Verhältnis der Menschen zur Natur und Geschichte grundsätzlich verändert, aus dem Menschen des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts den des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts gemacht hat. 62

Bartels' considerable reverence for the natural world stems from his implicit belief that it was nature, not the transient features of human society, which contained the enduring elements in the world and controlled its future.

Bartels declared that the 'Heimatkünstler' did not fear the changes which modern technology and industry were bringing to the countryside, 'denn wir wissen, dass die Mutter Erde zuletzt immer das Beste tun muss'.⁶³ The term 'das Beste' should be noted, for it reveals Bartels' conviction that that which is natural, which is governed by natural processes, is inherently good.

But there was no need for man to feel divorced from these enduring and beneficial elements. He himself was a natural creation and, if he remained

in close contact with the natural world, he could draw on its life force for his own strength, base his values on nature's ways. One of Bartels' mentors, Langbehn, asserts: 'Nur ein einziges Mittel gibt es, unfehlbar zu sein; sich ganz an die Natur zu halten, sich ganz mit der Natur zu identifizieren, allein die Natur reden zu lassen.'⁶⁴ But to obtain that infallibility, man had clearly to live in or at least retain contact with, the countryside. Thus Bartels had considerable respect for the country-dweller and above all for the German peasant-farmer, who was not only surrounded by nature, but by dint of his profession and ownership of land, could relate almost every aspect of his life to her. It was the peasant-farmer, more than any other man, who had the chance of fulfilling the ideal of a totally natural and therefore authentic existence.

But men do not live in a uniform natural world. Climate, landscape and vegetation vary and those whose lives are affected by their natural environment, Bartels thought, reflected in their character, values and customs the specific features of their region. Bartels' belief in this interaction between a region's physical character and the personalities of its inhabitants is illustrated in his first novel Die Dithmarscher in which the pride, strength and violent nature of the population is explained by the isolated position and harsh environment of the land which their forebears settled. This natural conditioning, binding all the inhabitants with a common character and culture, is seen to be of far more importance than social background as an arbiter of personality. Bartels claimed with pride of his native province, in whose past he saw manifested many features of an ideal, nature-based community, that neither social position nor educational attainments formed real barriers between inhabitants and that 'in Dithmarschen gab es eben... nur Volk '⁶⁵

However, natural environment was not the only conditioning factor he

took into account. Bartels repeatedly quoted from Goethe's Faust: 'Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft' and by 'Blut', Bartels understood those racial and tribal characteristics which were hereditarily transmittable. Races, he claimed, 'sind in der Welt, sind natürliche und permanente Bildungen, die nie ganz verschwinden können und die äussere Erscheinung der Menschheit wie weiterhin auch ihr tieferes Leben bestimmen'.⁶⁶ He asserted that the natural influences of blood and landscape were far more enduring than the effects of social or technological change and in this context claimed that 'Heimatkünstler' had recognised 'dass endlich die Natur, nicht das Zeitproblem das dauernde ist'. He contrasted the view of the conditioning process presented in 'Heimatkunst' with that which he ascribed to Naturalism:

Die Heimatkunst ist wie der Naturalismus Milieukunst. Aber sie ist nicht bloss Milieukunst. Wohl bestrebt sie sich das Atmosphärische und Zuständliche in seiner Eigenart und selbständig wiederzugeben, aber der Mensch ist ihr nicht mehr rein das Erzeugnis der Umstände, in denen er aufwächst - auch das "Blut" spielt eine Rolle und das Schicksal ergibt sich aus dem Zusammenwirken der verschiedensten, nicht bloss aus den sozialen Faktoren. Kurz die Heimatkunst überwindet die im Ganzen mechanische Lebensfassung des Naturalismus. 67

This statement, it should be noted, ignores the emphasis which many Naturalist writers laid on heredity, albeit in its individual rather than racial manifestations, and leaves open to question the extent to which any theory of conditioning can be regarded as unmechanical.

Bartels does not think of the natural environment of a region and the racially inherited characteristics of its population as two separate and unconnected conditioning influences. They are, to his mind, linked together as the complementary determinants of the permanent features of the region's life and culture. Writing of the attitude he expects the 'Heimatkünstler' to have towards the forces of change in the modern world, he asserts:

Die Natur der Heimat, so sagt er sich, sollt ihr mir bestehen lassen und den Grundcharakter der heimischen Bevölkerung auch; denn Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft. Es sind schon andere Bewegungen über diesen Boden gegangen, als jetzt die Hochflut des Industrialismus, und doch ist's die alte Heimat geblieben. Alles flieht, gewiss, aber auch: Alles bleibt, und der Dichter sieht das Grosse und Bleibende. 68

Now, in consequence of his ability to see the 'Grosse und Bleibende', the 'Heimatkünstler' has a great advantage over other writers, for by deriving his material and inspiration from the life of his native region, he ensures that his work will be of lasting value, being permeated as it is with elements that are themselves enduring. The attachment to the native soil and to its inhabitants shown by the practitioners of 'Heimatkunst' 'behütet sie vor allen Abwegungen der modernen Kunst, sie erhebt sie in ihren besten Wirkungen zu wahrer Dichtung'.⁶⁹ There are, Bartels admits, 'anerkennenswerte Talente, die keine rechte Heimat haben', but, because of their inability to relate their creative activity to the permanencies of a nature-based community, they must 'mit der Zeit gehen' and thus 'so dauernd wie das der Heimatkünstler ist ihr Schaffen nicht'.⁷⁰

The 'Heimatkünstler' consequently owes his native region and its people a double debt of gratitude. Not only have they informed his personality and thought with valid and enduring attitudes, but they have also offered him as an artist a valuable source of material. He recognises that it is to his native region 'dass er sein Bestes verdankt' and is attached to it by a strong emotional bond. This is another area in which Bartels contrasts 'Heimatkunst' with Naturalism, claiming that the former approaches 'Natur und Leben...nicht mit blossem Respekt, gleichsam wissenschaftlich...sondern auf's neue in der dichterischen Liebe ihr Grundprinzip gefunden hat'.⁷¹ It is this love which inspires the 'Heimatkünstler' to write, not the appeal of transient popular acclaim. He has no interest in 'der papierne Zeitungsruhm, der heute gegeben und morgen genommen wird', for

wer wirklich ein echter Dichter ist, der beteiligt sich an der modernen Jagd nach Erfolg nicht mehr...der vertraut fest darauf, dass aus den wenigen Getreuen, die er immer finden kann und finden wird und die seinem Herz genügen doch einmal eine dankbare Gemeinde, und sei es auch nur in der Heimat, wird. Unsere Heimatkunst ist die Verurteilung des Literaturstrebens des letzten Jahrzehnts - wer sich um des Erfolges willen wegwirft, der gehört nicht zu ihr, sie fordert Liebe, Treue, schlichte Stärke, echten Stolz. 72

However, this modesty of ambition did not prevent the 'Heimatkünstler' from being concerned with the wider community of which the population of his native region was part. Bartels thought of the different regions and their related tribal groupings as sub-divisions of the total body of the nation, retaining the individuality which he claimed to be a hallmark of German culture,⁷³ yet bound together by the environmentally and racially conditioned common characteristics shared by all true Germans. He consequently believed that an individual's love of his native region provided the basis for patriotism and asserted that 'Heimatkunst' had contributed to the recognition of

was die Heimat bedeutet, dass es ohne die Unterlage eines stolzen Heimatgefühls auch kein richtiges Nationalgefühl gibt, dass es eine der grössten sozialen Aufgaben ist, die Heimat dem modernen Menschen wiederzugeben oder sie ihm zu erhalten. 74

The 'Heimatkünstler', fighting against elements which were harmful to his native region or which even threatened to destroy it in its present form, was, in Bartels' eyes, also fighting for the best interests of the nation.

We should perhaps pause at this stage to consider a fundamental inconsistency in Bartels' thought in this area. We have seen Bartels emphasise that contemporary social and technological developments were powerless to change the naturally created character of the landscape of a region or its people, and he attributed a similar permanence of identity to the German nation as a whole, asserting: 'Unzerstörbar erweisen sich allezeit die

Wurzeln germanischen Volkstums.'⁷⁵ Yet this apparent confidence is clearly belied by his stress on the need for men to take action to protect the best interests of their native region and by the anxiety with which he regarded certain features of life in contemporary Germany. In order to understand this inconsistency, we must remember the conditions which Bartels presupposes for man's acquisition of a naturally formed and therefore authentic character and value system.

The individual must firstly have constant access to the natural world, and moreover to the natural world of his native region. Industrialisation and urbanisation had altered the face of the countryside, in spite of Bartels' assertions that the 'Natur der Heimat' would survive unchanged, and had led men not only to move from their native region, but to live in cities where the possibility of permanent contact with any natural environment was excluded. Removed from this environment's guiding influence, the population was in danger of losing its vitality and sinking into decadence or adopting social and political attitudes which were alien to the traditions and forms of life which had developed out of, and corresponded to, the indigenous character of the nature-based community. The second component which created the authentic regional or national character - a consistently maintained racial purity - was also threatened by changes occurring in Germany, for with the collapse of stable rural communities and the resultant increase in geographical and social mobility, not only within Germany, but throughout Europe, interracial marriage became increasingly likely. This was anathema to Bartels who proclaimed that 'die Herrschaft der einen Rasse, des reinen Blutes muss ununterbrochen bestehen bleiben, sonst geht die Nation als solche zugrunde'.⁷⁶

Associated with all these developments is the Jew. Bartels' anti-semitism had not by 1901 reached the obsessional proportions it did later in the decade, but his bias is evident in a large proportion of the works

he wrote during the period in which he was most actively involved in the promotion of 'Heimatkunst' and in one line of his satire on contemporary Germany, Der dumme Teufel, written in 1898, Bartels hints unknowingly at the fate which overtook the Jews some forty years later.⁷⁷ Underlying Bartels' suspicion of the Jew is his fear of the rootless man, who, uncommitted to the indigenous traditions and values of his host country, is concerned only with the acquisition of personal power and gain. Behind all those elements of contemporary society of which he disapproved, Bartels saw lurking the manipulating figure of the Jew, ready to employ capitalism, revolutionary doctrines, moral decay, racial impurity, internationalism and rationalist universalism to bring about the collapse of the rooted forms of true German life in order to benefit his own ends.

In view of the threats to the German nation that he saw developing in contemporary society, Bartels resolved to lend his support to what he saw as a new and powerful conservative grouping, presumably the forces centred around the Pan-Germans, although he never actually names any specific organisation. This grouping was, he claims, willing to take direct action against those who ignored or attacked racial and national interest, 'die geborenen Radikalen, die heimatlosen Juden und die von ihnen abhängigen Elemente', who 'vertreten noch heute den Radikalismus, der als "Aufklärung", "Liberalismus und Industrialismus", "Sozialdemokratie", die Geschichte des letzten Jahrhunderts erfüllt'.⁷⁸ The conservatives could count on the support of the majority of their people, for, Bartels asserts, 'die Deutschen, d.h. alle, welche sich ihres Deutschtums bewusst geworden sind...sind mit dem Radikalismus gründlich fertig'.⁷⁹ These conservatives represent the 'Naturmächte' of human existence, have re-established contact with the permanencies of nature, recognising 'dass es ewige Formen gibt, an denen aller Rationalismus, aller Radikalismus vergeblich rüttelt'. Race being one of the most important

of these 'ewige Formen', they totally reject internationalism and attempts to break down national barriers. Bartels, firmly identifying himself with this rejection, declared: 'Ich danke dafür, ein moderner Europäer zu sein, deutsch will ich fühlen und denken, deutsch leben und sterben.'⁸⁰ Bartels rejected the view that he was in any way reactionary in his attitudes. Not only did he believe that racialism, not liberalism or radicalism, held the key to Germany's future development, but he was also convinced that many of the elements of modern society which he considered alien to the national character in their present form could be Germanised and thus made acceptable. Germany had adapted alien forms in the past, he asserts, writing that 'die deutsche Kultur sucht und findet Neuland und, was sie etwa von fremden Völkern übernimmt, das vergeistigt und verinnerlicht sie in eigenthümlicher Weise'.⁸¹ He saw no reason why she should not be able to act similarly in the future. He called for 'kein Flüchten vor dem Geist der Gegenwart, aber seine Nationalisierung, seine Konkret-, seine Heimischmachung'.

Inevitably, given Bartels' emphasis on the need for an author to involve himself in his society, literature was expected to play a major part in this whole process of heightening the Germans' awareness of their own national identity and he proposed methods of censorship and repression to deal with those elements in the German literary scene which did not. The artist, claimed Bartels, had a duty to believe in his people and to promote attitudes which would bolster their collective strength and national consciousness. 'Heimatkunst' fulfilled these duties, he asserted, and could supply the 'gesunde Kunst' which the German people wanted to counteract the decadence of so much contemporary literature, 'healthy' since 'gesund nennen wir das, was sich in der Richtung der ursprünglichen, unzerstörbaren Volksnatur, entwickelt und bewegt'.⁸² Furthermore, emanating as it did from the racially based roots of regional and national character, it could

go some way towards supplying 'die entschieden nationale...die Rassenkunst gegen den wesentlich auf das Bedürfnis charakterlosen europäischen Mischmasches zugeschnittenen modernen Literatur- und Kunstbetrieb',⁸³ providing the 'Grundlage einer grossen nationalen Kunst'.

Such were Bartels' formulations of the aims and nature of 'Heimatkunst', and the ideological and social values which motivated him to support the movement. His writings on 'Heimatkunst' in the period 1898-1901 probably offer a more accurate view of the movement's character than those of any other single author or critic and are relevant, to a greater or lesser degree, to the works of all the novelists treated in this thesis. That they fail to have relevance to certain aspects of these writers' creative activity and thought is partly due to Bartels' concern with the promotion of his own committed viewpoint in his writings on 'Heimatkunst', but also to the fact that, of the four major novelists dealt with in this study, only Wilhelm von Polenz had published the majority of his works by the time of the appearance of the articles and literary histories from which the previous analysis has been culled. Indeed, Frenssen and Löns published nearly all their major works after this date and Bartels was therefore unable to take any account of their writings during the period of his most intense activity as a promoter of 'Heimatkunst'. Nevertheless his comments on the movement up to 1901 deal with most of the major preoccupations of those four of its practitioners considered here.

They also offer an adequate, if not completely accurate account of the origins and early development of the movement. Bartels' claim that 'Heimatkunst' arose spontaneously, without preparatory doctrines or programmes is not totally valid. Fleischlen's foreword to Neuland, Sohnrey's writings in Das Land,⁸⁴ an essay by Ernst Wachler⁸⁵ and Julius Langbehn's Rembrandt als Erzieher preceded the work of many 'Heimatkünstler' which had appeared by

1901 and touched on many of their major preoccupations, aims and attitudes. But none of these men promoted 'Heimatkunst' as such and, as far as the author of this thesis has been able to discover, neither Polenz, Ganghofer, Frenssen nor Löns ever admitted any debt to these authors, although one of Löns's critics claims that Löns had read Rembrandt als Erzieher.⁸⁶ Nor did they acknowledge the influence of Bartels or Lienhard and Löns attacked the very concept of 'Heimatkunst' on one occasion.⁸⁷ Certainly, there can be no comparison between the plethora of manifestoes, declarations of intent and theorising which heralded the birth of the German Naturalist movement and the far more limited number of articles and polemical writings which preceded or accompanied the growth of 'Heimatkunst'.

Bartels' claim that 'Heimatkunst' was related to Naturalism was also one that had some validity, in the case of a number of 'Heimatkünstler', including Polenz, Löns and Frenssen. The only one of these to show an obvious stylistic affinity with the earlier movement in his major published works is Polenz. But, like him, Löns also served a literary apprenticeship in Naturalist circles and Frenssen, although he did not have this experience, reveals evidence of Naturalist influence in his work. Before writing Jörn Uhl, Frenssen read Sudermann's novel Frau Sorge and the plots of the two novels often resemble each other closely - the heroes of both works become involved in lengthy struggles to maintain their farms, love women above their station called Elisabeth and show talents in technological fields. Polenz and Löns abandoned their youthful allegiances and Frenssen was critical of Naturalism, but its influence on all three is evident in their depictions of harsh social realities. Only Ludwig Ganghofer was unwilling to portray unadorned the less palatable aspects of human existence. The other three authors validate Bartels' claim that 'Heimatkunst' was not an escapist movement, that 'Heimatkünstler' were willing to portray the conflicts of a modern age from which country areas could not escape.

Furthermore, they were all personally familiar with and often actively involved in the day to day life of the rural communities they portrayed in their fiction. Polenz, who farmed a large estate in Prussia after spending his years of early manhood in Berlin declared his profession to be that of landowner, not author and he participated fully in the social affairs of his native region, receiving 'aus Kreis und Gemeinde allerhand Ehrenämter und Vertrauensposten'.⁸⁸ Frenssen gathered much material for his novels from his experiences as a country parson, a post which he only gave up when Jörn Uhl provided him with sufficient funds to live as an independent writer. Löns was employed for much of his working life as a provincial journalist and both he and Ganghofer obtained subject matter for their novels from their activities as hunters in the areas they portrayed. Bartels' claim that 'Heimatkünstler' were not only concerned with their native or adopted regions, but also with the wider national community, is also relevant to these writers. They saw the values they derived from regional cultures as having relevance to the German people as a whole and they expressed views on a whole range of topics of national importance, including German colonial policy, emigration, the development of the German navy and the affairs of the Reichstag.

However, it would be a mistake to assume that their views on these and other political and social matters, both regional and national, necessarily coincided one with another or with those of Bartels. We have seen Bartels to claim that 'Heimatkunst' was one element of a conservative and racialist political movement. Now, there is no doubt that such a movement grew and flourished during the period in which 'Heimatkunst' rose to prominence in the German literary world. Nor is there any doubt that many 'Heimatkünstler' were familiar with and sympathetic to the ideological roots of this movement and could have found in its ranks powerful pressure groups, such as the

'Bund der Landwirte', whose policies echoed their own demands and wishes for the German agrarian areas and their populations. But their social backgrounds and personal prejudices and preoccupations were too divergent for them to have all been committed to the same political grouping. Ganghofer's background and inclinations identified him firmly with those bourgeois classes whose values were criticised by other 'Heimatkünstler'. Polenz, himself a Junker, believed that the aristocracy had an important role to play in Germany's future, whereas Frenssen had little sympathy with privileged classes and in his writings attacked both nobility and monarchy vociferously. He supported the National Social party of Friedrich Naumann whom Bartels condemned as 'ein jüngerer Bruder Bebels'. They differed with Bartels or with each other on such a wide variety of topics as sexual morality, the role and rights of women, the role of the Christian Church and the value of science and technology. No single political or social movement existing at the time could have contained these four authors, let alone the scores of other writers who can be identified as 'Heimatkünstler'.

But although their views on individual social and political matters were often at variance with those of Bartels and of each other, critic and authors occupied common ground in one fundamental area - namely, their mutual belief in the role that nature should play in the formation of the character and values of men. Their interpretation of those values varies, but they were all agreed that a life lived close to nature constituted the most desirable existence available to man. From this conviction stems their undoubted affection for the rural areas and populations they knew and portrayed in their fiction. Although they were not all racialists of Bartels' fanatical ilk, they may all be described as nationalists, in as much as they regarded the national unit as being of prime importance. They were all anxious that their nation should have continued access to the life-forces

of the natural world and to the traditional and nature-based values and social forms which they claimed had informed both regional and national character and culture in pre-industrial Germany. They all viewed art as a means of benefiting the best interests of their fellow countrymen and believed that the values they promoted in their novels would contribute to their nation's well-being, deriving as they did largely from the nature based communities they knew and loved.

After 1901, Bartels added little that was new in his comments on 'Heimatkunst' to those analyses of the movement and its aims formulated in the previous three years. Indeed, he showed a slackening of enthusiasm for the movement and numerous criticisms of it crept into his writings. In 1901, he had rejected any claim that 'Heimatkunst' might prove to suffer from its limited subject matter, offering up Gotthelf and Stifter as authors for whom regional subject matter had offered no constraints of scope and asking:

Warum sollte nicht auch die neuere Heimatkunst das nämliche weite Gebiet umspannen können, das diese beiden Dichter in ihrem Gesamtschaffen umgrenzen? Ist das Volksleben etwa ärmer geworden in den letzten fünfzig Jahren? Ich glaube es nicht, ich glaube, dass die Verhältnisse sowohl der Menschen zueinander wie auch der Menschen zur Natur mannigfaltiger und sicher komplizierter (sind). 89

Yet in 1903, he makes a tacit admission that regional, rural subject matter may in fact offer only limited thematic scope for an author. Finding compensation for this limitation in other areas, he writes: 'Wenn das Land an Stoffen für die Kunst ärmer wäre, die gesündere, frischere Luft, die grössere Einfachheit oder auch die "Menschlichkeit" der Motive würde dafür Ersatz bieten.'⁹⁰ He lays emphasis on the fact that he had always viewed 'Heimatkunst' 'als Ersatz für die in der Gegenwart fehlende nationale Dichtung grossen Stils' and attacked those critics who had 'mich als "Provinzler" auf die allerengste Heimatkunst festzunageln versucht'. Not only did

Bartels' enthusiasm for the concept of 'Heimatkunst' wane; he also expressed disenchantment with certain aspects of the course the movement took. In 1902, he reflected on the financial success of Jörn Uhl:

Erfolge wie der von Frenssens "Jörn Uhl" werden schwerlich wiederkehren. Aber das ist kein Unglück. Es war ein bisschen zu viel Geschäftsgeist in den deutschen Dichtern der letzten Generation, und das ist Ursache gewesen, weshalb die meisten jetzt heruntergekommen sind. Auch in diesem Sinne mag Heimatkunst Gesundung bedeuten. 91

His hopes that 'Heimatkunst' would remain free from the taint of commercialism, however, were not fulfilled and in 1911 he complained that 'die Heimatkunst in eine...in mancher Beziehung nicht zu verachtende, aber doch zuletzt auch geschäftsmässige Unterhaltungskunst auslief'.⁹² By this date his interest in 'Heimatkunst' as a feature of the contemporary literary scene had become minimal.

Indeed, Bartels' main activities as a social and literary critic after the first few years of the twentieth century were only indirectly related to the 'Heimatkunst' movement. Yet they arose from the same basic view of human society and the social role of literature which had led him to promote that movement. The racialism and nationalism which underlay his support for 'Heimatkunst' became more and more strident and his rejection of those elements of German society and literature which he regarded as alien to the indigenous character and culture became increasingly vociferous. More and more social and intellectual activities came under his scrutiny, to be judged according to their compatibility with and benefit to the German race. The current role of education, science, the economic system, the press, bookselling and publishing were all dealt with in this manner, their contribution or damage to racial well-being assessed and appropriate reforms and plans for their future promoted. Race and nation became sacred cows for Bartels, who declared: 'Man soll aber sein Volk auch nicht einmal im Spass verspotten, die Nationalität ist eins von den Dingen, bei denen man keinen Spass verstehen soll.'⁹³

His vaunting of German culture and qualities reached ludicrous proportions, as in his Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, in which he proclaimed that even German decadence was of a higher quality than that of other nations.⁹⁴

He reached similar degrees of fanaticism in his anti-semitic attitudes and claims. Declaring that Jewish influence was 'der Pfahl im ursprünglich gesunden Fleisch' of the German nation, he became increasingly preoccupied with describing the effects of the Jewish barb in German life and culture and in his literary criticism devoted much effort to identifying as Jewish or Jewish sympathisers large numbers of writers of whose work he disapproved, often employing only the flimsiest of evidence. Thus Zola is claimed to be a Jew because of his defence of Dreyfus, Thomas Mann is similarly identified because his mother was Portuguese, which Bartels inexplicably asserts makes him 'beinahe jüdisch' and Bernard Shaw is proclaimed to be a member of the race on the basis of no evidence whatsoever. Perhaps Bartels' most notorious piece of anti-Semitic writing of the period was his long work on Heinrich Heine, in which Jews in general and Heine in particular are identified or associated with almost every personal quality, social grouping or social, political or literary attitude which Bartels disliked. Such an approach to the craft of literary criticism might seem laughable if it was not paralleled in Bartels' polemical writings by sinister suggestions as to how the Jewish problem could be solved - suggestions which foreshadow the anti-Semitic legislation of the Third Reich.⁹⁵

Of the authors treated in this thesis, only Löns approached Bartels' militant nationalism and only Polenz was deeply concerned with the role the Jews played in German life. Furthermore, all of them acknowledged the influence of or recorded their admiration for foreign authors. Surprisingly, Löns, who once suggested that rhododendrons be removed from Hannover's parks on the grounds that they were not plants of German origin, wrote more

extensively on foreign literature than any of the others and even more surprisingly revealed an affection for the works of Oscar Wilde, whom Bartels condemned as a decadent writer. Löns, Ganghofer and even Polenz portrayed sympathetic Jewish characters in their works and Frenssen spoke out in defence of the Jews on a number of occasions. There is a racist or nationalist strain to be found in the works of all the novelists treated in this thesis, but it was by no means as consistent or vigorous as that present in the writings of the critic who was to become an early member of the Nazi party and a revered figure in Nazi literary circles.

The writings of the second critic frequently identified as the co-founder of 'Heimatkunst' - Friedrich Lienhard - are, in general, less relevant to the attitudes and values of those authors treated in this thesis than those of Adolf Bartels. His views on 'Heimatkunst' and related issues are nonetheless worthy of study. On certain individual issues, Lienhard gave voice to antipathies and aspirations in a manner which expounds and amplifies sentiments to be found in one or more of the four authors far more extensively than did Bartels. Indeed, on a number of issues, Lienhard's comments complement or help to set in context Bartels' own attitudes and views. Furthermore, an analysis of his writings will pinpoint exactly how far critics and literary historians have been justified in linking him with that range of regional novelists whom we have defined as 'Heimatkünstler' and will help us define the common denominators which link the theoreticians and practitioners of 'Heimatkunst' dealt with in this study.

Lienhard is associated with the slogan 'Los von Berlin', a plea for cultural and literary decentralisation and a retreat from urban life in its contemporary form. Many 'Heimatkünstler' gave very unfavourable portraits of city life, but none vented their loathing with more vigour than Friedrich Lienhard and most of the points of his bitter criticisms are echoed in the

work of one or more of the authors treated in this study. His particular concern was with the life of the city with which he was most familiar and to which he was drawn at regular intervals, to do battle with the spirit and values he saw manifested there. That city was the Reich capital, Berlin. He was hostile to its very air. In the semi-autobiographical short story Der Dichter he refers to the 'staubige Abendschwüle' and 'die abgenutzte Luft, die drei Millionen Lungen füttern soll', which his hero encounters when he leaves his attic to take an evening walk. The city's atmosphere promotes both physical and moral decline. Referring to the immoral behaviour of women in the city, he writes of 'die viele Körperwärme, die in einer solchen Weltstadt ausströmt, die angesammelte Tageshitze, die jetzt vom Asphalt und allen Wänden wiederstrahlt und die feste Sitte verwirrt'.⁹⁶

He points to the isolation of the individual in the city,⁹⁷ to the lack of genuine community or concern for others.⁹⁸ The inhabitants share only a cold self-interestedness. In the novel Die weisse Frau, Lienhard describes the first reaction of his hero to Berlin, where he becomes rapidly aware of

ein unheimlich Rennen und Hasten, jeder nach seinen Interessen, seinen Genüssen und Erholungen, ach! und so oft der eine auf Kosten des anderen! Und alle Menschen und Gesichter so kalt, so geschäftig kalt. 99

Such groupings of people as there are merely extend the principle of self-interest, concerned only to exploit the individual for their own material ends. Lienhard, in the essay 'Geschäftliche Vorteile Berlins', refers to 'der Terrorismus der Cliques und Gruppen, des Kapitalisten grossen Wurfes, der Parteifanatiker mit all ihren Mitteln und Massregeln, die Unabhängigen und Einzelnen entweder aufzusaugen oder abzustossen!'¹⁰⁰ The reduction of the individual to a manipulated cipher is further encouraged by the technology which has facilitated industrial and urban expansion. Lienhard claims there was once 'ein stählender Klang' in the word 'Werktag' but

heute drängt auf den Werktag der schwere Rauch der Fabriken, und auf der Arbeiter- und Handwerkerwelt lastet Sorge und Verstimmung. Der Werktag ist keine Freude mehr...Wie kommt das? - Ein veränderter Geschäftstrieb hat den Arbeitenden alle Freudigkeit genommen. Er hantiert an seiner Maschine ohne Seele, ohne Gewinn für Fremde, mit einer zerstreuten und verflachenden Masse gleicher Maschinen-Besorger zusammen. Er ist eine Nummer geworden. Die vertiefende Beschaulichkeit der traulichen Werkstatt ist erstickt in Lärm und Gedröhn, künstlerische Wärme, die den Handwerker mit seinem Erzeugnis verband, ging in gleichgültiger Kälte unter. Die Maschine ist nun Künstler. Auch die religiöse Empfindung litt not; diese zarte Pflanze bedarf der Ruhe und Sammlung, wenn sie erstarken soll, bedarf auch in der Alltagsarbeit, im Gelingen oder Misslingen des Werkes, in Gunst oder Ungunst des Wetters eines unmittelbaren Abhängigkeitsgefühles von dem Urgrund der Dinge, von Gott. So weit reicht der Gedankenhingang des Arbeiters nicht mehr; die nahe Maschine ist Gott... Und dieses erdrückende Gefühl, dass der Einzelmensch nicht mehr als freies Gottesgeschöpf selbstbestimmend der Ewigkeit entgegenwächst, dass er herabgewürdigt wurde zu einer Nummer unter Nummern, zu einer Maschine unter Maschinen, zu einem russigem Knecht des Dampfes, und nicht einmal für sich, sondern für einen kalten Unbekannten, für eine unbekannte Gesellschaft - das ist's, was unsere Arbeiter mit Verstimmung wider Gott und Menschen füllt. 101

This lengthy quotation touches on most of the objections that the authors treated in this thesis had to modern industry and the type of employment it offered, and echoes of Lienhard's criticisms are to be found in the fiction of all of them. However, to place these criticisms in context, we must continue with our analysis of Lienhard's social and cultural views.

Lienhard felt that the ethos of the various features of an urban and industrial society which he attacked had permeated the world of art. Literature was being employed as a vehicle by numerous self-interested pressure groups and modern writers had introduced 'Schlagworte politischen Parteilebens und wirtschaftlicher Bewegungen auch ins Schrifttum als Massstäbe'.¹⁰² The literary world had become dominated by the ethos of urban commercialism¹⁰³ and many writers were concerned only with material success: 'Beschwindle, genieße, schlängle dich mit Willen zur Macht empor, mit welchen Mitteln du willst; wenn du Erfolg hast, so hast du recht. Das ist etwa ihre praktische

Weltanschauung'.¹⁰⁴ Lienhard believed that the whole tenor of the life of these success-seeking writers reflected their professional attitudes:

Stadtklatsch, Weiber, Pikanterei, Geldverdienen,
Erfolg haben, ein neues Richtungchen aushecken,
Partei und Clique - Herr im Himmel, das ist ihre
Welt! Das ist die Welt der Dichter am Ende des
neunzehnten Jahrhunderts! 105

Their literature directly reflected the society, threatened by 'Mechanismus und Maschinentum' in which this mode of life was acted out, a literature lacking all 'Seele und Wärme'. Indeed, Germany's whole cultural life stood 'im Zeichen der Technik und des Erwerbs, statt im Zeichen des Menschentums'.¹⁰⁶

As did Bartels and other authors treated in this thesis, Lienhard presented the re-establishment of contact with the countryside as an antidote to the ills which beset both writer and non-writer in the city. 'Heimat' - a term which he uses when speaking of places to refer to rural areas - was declared to be 'ein fester Boden mit Wurzeln und Knollen, mit Pflanzen und Leben, mit Organismen, und ein Versinken in ihre gesunde Wahrheit und Wärme ist Rettung vor Mechanismus'.¹⁰⁷ Lienhard also believed that contact with the eternal truths and values manifested in the natural world would enable men in general to live an authentic existence, would help the writer to produce works of enduring freshness. The works of all great writers were, he declared, permanently 'erfrischend' because they stood 'in Berührung mit der Landschaft'. 'Lassen wir uns von ihr erziehen', he proposed, 'dass wir seien wie sie, auch in unserem Schaffen - aus der Heimaterde gegen den Himmel wachsen, in Sturm und Sonnenfreude'.¹⁰⁸ But, like Bartels, Lienhard refused to set a rigid programme for those writers who wished to draw inspiration from the life and landscape of their native region. He declared:

Heimatkunst bedeutet nur mittelbar eine Selbstbesinnung auf heimatliche Stoffe; in erster Linie ist sie aber Wesenserneuerung, ist sie eine Auffrischung durch Landluft, welches auch unsere künstlerischen Stoffe seien und gleichviel, ob Freudenpiel oder Geschichte oder Trauerspiel. Mit dieser Geisteserfrischung wird freilich eine

andere Stoffwahl, eine andere Sprache und Technik Hand in Hand gehen. Und insofern läuft Stoffwahl und poetisches Prinzip ineinander. Vorschriften im einzelnen und gewaltsame Einschachtelungen unter dem Begriff Heimatkunst wären verfehltes Beginnen und wahrlich weder Landluft noch Höhenfrische. Seid etwas - so ergibt sich das andere von selbst. 109

Yet again revealing the common ground he shares with Bartels, Lienhard promoted the view that the 'Heimatkünstler' could and should serve the interests of not only his native region, but those of his entire nation, for he saw too many groups in the German literary scene who confined their appeal to one section of the population.¹¹⁰ In spite of his opposition to urban society in its existing form, he thought it was neither desirable nor even possible to ignore city life and culture. Referring to his proposal that the regions should be encouraged to play a more important role in contemporary cultural life, thus countering the domination of Berlin, he asked:

Können die Stämme des Reiches Berlin jemals überflüssig machen oder auch nur Berlin überflügeln, Berlin aus dem Felde schlagen? Nein! Es kann sich bei alledem nicht um Kampf schlechthin handeln - es handelt sich wesentlich um Erneuerung. 111

The 'Heimatkünstler' did not wish to ignore or destroy the cities. Instead, claims Lienhard, revealing an attitude that recurs in the work of Gustav Frenssen, they wish to bring to the life of the city values and strengths imported from rural regions, thus benefitting all their fellow-countrymen:

Wir wünschen nicht Flucht aus dem Modernen, sondern ein Durch, eine Ergänzung, Erweiterung nach der menschlichen Seite hin...wir wünschen ganze Menschen mit einer ganzen und weiten, Gedanken-, Gemüts- und Charakterwelt...wir wünschen Stadt und Land, alle vier Stände, den ganzen Organismus als Grundlage wahrhaft freier, warmer, menschlich unbefangener Dichtung. 112

So far, we have seen Lienhard's comments on the nature and aims of 'Heimatkunst' to be very similar to those of Adolf Bartels. However, in a number of fundamental areas, the two men's views of the movement differed

considerably, and, whilst Lienhard's biographer, Paul Bllow, overstates the case in asserting that 'es ist eine der literaturgeschichtlichen Torheiten, dass man den ganz anders gestimmten Elsässer Lienhard und den Dithmarscher Bartels nebeneinander reiht',¹¹³ it is impossible to ignore the distance that separates them in a number of areas. In spite of his claims that he wished to see 'Heimatkunst' face up to the challenges of modern life and that he wished to see an exchange of views between town and country, the rural landscape which Lienhard wished writers to use as an inspiration for their works was, for him, a retreat, a refuge from the life he had encountered in the cities. In Wasgaufahrten, he speaks of his wanderings in the mountains: 'Hinter mir, im Osten, liegt das Werktagsland, voll Sorgen und Grübeleien; dort aber, in den hohen Wäldern, träumt das Paradies der goldenen Jugend und der ersten Liebe.'¹¹⁴ However, even Lienhard, was forced, on occasions, to admit that life in the country was not completely idyllic. But in contrast to Bartels, who demanded that 'Heimatkunst' concern itself with the many social conflicts experienced by rural communities during the Wilhelminian era, Lienhard did not consider the more problematic aspects of country life to be worthy literary subjects. Asserting that material concerns were already too dominant a preoccupation among contemporary German authors, he claimed:

Es hiesse nur Stoff durch Stoff verdrängen, wenn wir aus den Problemen der Industrie-, Grossstadt oder des Salons flüchten wurden in ebenso vernünftelnd behandelte Probleme der Landschaft und der Bauernstube. 115

The poet, he claimed in the first issue of Heimat, should not have to concern himself with social problems:

Werktagsprobleme, ... Psychiatrie, Frauenfragen, ... usw. sind in diesem verstandesbelasteten Zeitalter übermässig... Wir sind aber für den Sonntag da, wir Poeten, wir Sonntagskinder, wir Häs im Glück, wir Enkel Baldurs und Apollos, die bei den Germanen und Griechen Sonnengötter waren. 116

He had not always shied away from the literary depiction of political and social conflict, and in his early play Die Weltrevolution had portrayed an unsuccessful uprising of European workers, revealing in this work social and political attitudes similar to those held by other authors treated in this thesis.¹¹⁷ But after breaking with the literary avant-garde of Berlin with whom he associated in his early days as a writer,¹¹⁸ he began to argue strongly against creative writers becoming involved in the day to day affairs of their society. He frequently asserted that the writer's task was not to solve the problems of his times, but to achieve an Olympian distance from them, viewing social conflicts as merely transient phenomena:

Was geht uns überhaupt die Gesellschaft da unten an? -
Auch die jeweilige Gesellschaft und ihre ganze Zeit-
bestimmung sind Formen und Erscheinungen, die vorüber-
gehen, wie alle Gewoge der Weltgeschichte. 119

However, Lienhard did not always promote this detachment. Like Bartels, he found that declarations as to the insignificance of transient social phenomena all too frequently conflicted with his other attitudes and preoccupations. Detachment from these was hardly compatible with his declared concern for the well-being of his people or with his demands for a literature of 'Seele und Wärme' and his criticisms of those authors, such as Ibsen, whom he felt lacked involvement in the characters and situations they depicted.¹²⁰ But he did not propose any practical measures by which life's harsher aspects might be removed. Instead, he offered a number of spiritual panaceas, by means of which men could become reconciled to their lot, an approach to life which we find again promoted in the writings of Ludwig Ganghofer.

Lienhard had been destined by his parents to become a clergyman and had studied theology in Berlin. His approach to suffering, as indeed towards a number of other issues, was permeated by doctrines of Christianity. In the short story Der Dorfschmied, he contrasts the whinings of those in Berlin who are 'angekränkelt...von eingebildeten Leiden, überflüssigen

Zweifeln und ungerechten Verbitterungen' with the stoical attitude of a village blacksmith, who has suffered much pain in his life, yet continues to fulfil his social and professional duties 'wie nun einmal unser Herrgott will'.¹²¹ In Thüringer Tagebuch, he denies the ultimate reality of death, claiming that individuals survive in the world of the spirit.¹²² Elsewhere, he promotes the value of passive suffering and turning the other cheek, asserting 'Schmerz macht erhaben' but 'Verbitterung aber drängt hinab, zur Entlastung und Rache'. Underlying all these and other spiritual panaceas he offered, is the denial that the affairs of this world are important. 'Gott allein ist Wirklichkeit', he declares. But he was also willing to use non-Christian sources to back up his denial of the importance of man's material existence, referring to the belief of certain Indian philosophers that 'die Welt ist nur Schein'.¹²³

His wish to escape or to explain away as unimportant the harsher aspects of human existence lead him to oppose bitterly the work of Naturalist authors. Their materialist philosophy, their depictions of the unpleasant and the painful, their active involvement in political and social movements were an anathema to a man who declared:

Nur wer im Ewigen webt und atmet, wem alle Erscheinungsformen nur Symbole sind, wer alles Sinnliche aufs Ewige bezieht und im Zeitlichen als solchen keinen Frieden findet - nur dessen Weltanschauung ist eine Dichterische. ¹²⁴

He hoped that 'Heimatkunst' would be a literary movement which would lead away from Naturalism, declaring in the second issue of Heimat: 'Die Grundlage der Heimatkunst ist, wie Bartels so richtig betonte, geradezu Reaktion gegen die Kümmerlichkeit, gegen das Pathologische, gegen das Tierische der naturalistischen Technik'.¹²⁵ Yet, as we have seen, although Bartels rejected certain aspects of Naturalism, he approved of its realism and its willingness to concern itself with contemporary social life and welcomed the manifestations of these elements in 'Heimatkunst'. Lienhard was unwilling to accept that

any artist should devote himself to such matters.

Lienhard's denial that the material aspects of man's existence were of overriding significance also led him to downgrade or even reject another view which played a crucial role in Bartels' definition of the nature and aims of 'Heimatkunst' - namely, the importance that the latter critic attached to the 'Heimatkünstler's' depiction of regional culture and landscape. Lienhard asserted that, at the very least, a concern with the physical environment must be balanced by a concern with spiritual qualities, claiming that a preoccupation with 'diese blosse Aussenwelt ohne Verinnerlichung ist niederer Kulturzustand' and that too parochial a concern with 'Stoffe aus Wald und Feld und Dorf...wäre... bejammernswerte Reaktion'.¹²⁶ But the dominant view that emerges from Lienhard's writings is that the landscape and society of Germany's rural regions were only important to the artist because of the spiritual qualities which they encouraged.¹²⁷ He resigned the editorship of Heimat after its second issue because he felt that this aspect of 'Heimatkunst' was not being sufficiently emphasised in the journal.¹²⁸ Only months after his first promotion of the movement, he declared 'dass ich um das Wort ('Heimatkunst') bedenkliches Philistertum spüre', although, admittedly, he softened the criticism with the qualification that it might be a 'sehr gediegenes und augenblicklich vielleicht ganz nützliches und notwendiges Philistertum gegenüber Entartung und symbolistischer Phantastik'.¹²⁹

Lienhard rejected the view that the material influences of a particular region on the character of its inhabitants were all-important. Paul Bülow asserted that Lienhard always treated 'Heimat' as a spiritual concept. As we have seen, this claim was invalid but it is nevertheless true that on many occasions Lienhard explicitly denied that a material environment was the final arbiter of personality. Man, he asserted, could find his true home within his own spirit - 'der echte Dichter hat nur eine Heimat - sein

inneres Selbst' - or with God - 'Unsere letzte Heimat ist die Unendlichkeit, ist, wenn man das unmoderne Wort gestattet, Gott'.¹³⁰ The spiritual qualities he approved of were neither exclusively created nor limited by particular material conditions and therefore

kann ein an Geistes- und Herzenswert tiefstehender Elsässer ... einem hochentwickelten Landsmann und sogar Blutsverwandten viel ferner stehen, als etwa ein tief veranlagter Mensch aus Thüringen oder sogar von der rauhen Wasserkante. 131

For Lienhard, 'die Grossen dieses Planeten sind sich ihrem Wesen nach überall und zu allen Zeiten gleich',¹³² and on many occasions he comes very close to preaching that universalism which Bartels abhorred.¹³³ His emphasis on attitudes and values which were relevant to 'Menschentum' rather than to 'Deutschtum', his use of the concept of 'Weltseele' and his praise for the 'Weltbürger' were clearly in contradiction to Bartels' belief that nation and race were the most important social and cultural units in human society.

Lienhard was very much aware that a conflict existed between many of his attitudes and beliefs and those of the nationalist movement with which Bartels associated 'Heimatkunst'. Such a movement, he claimed, rejected those who laid an emphasis on purely spiritual values and Lienhard in turn gave an unfavourable portrait of those

Kreise, die sich mit Vorliebe "deutsch" nennen. Deutschland muss erwachen, heisst es in diesen temperamentvollen Gruppen; das philosophische und lyrische und musizierende Deutschland muss ein Herren-Deutschland der Faust und der grossen Politik werden. 134

He opposed their views and was unwilling to accept that any party or state had a right to control the activity of the artist for their own ends. Yet he recognised that those who considered the world of the spirit to be of prime importance and above all those who were mature enough to recognise the spiritual qualities manifested in other races and cultures were divorced in their views from the mass of their own people:

Wir lieben unser Volk; wir lieben aber auch die geistigen und Herzens-Ideale der reifsten Menschen dieser Erde. Und unser Volk gehört nicht zu den reifsten, kein jetziges Volk wird grossen Kulturidealen gerecht. Was ist die Folge? Wir Einzelnen stehen allein, stehen mitten im geliebten Volk allein. Die reifsten Künstler unter uns, wie Goethe oder Böcklin, haben nur Gemeinden, haben kein Volk. 135

The latter claim would have been anathema to Bartels, who consistently maintained that great art could only be produced by artists who had their roots in the culture and traditions of their people.

Lienhard often expressed a feeling of unhappiness that the great artist or thinker should be divorced from his people in the way he described, referring to 'die Tragik' of the situation. He made attempts to reconcile his desire for a wide spiritual horizon with his affection for his native region and his nation, recommending

das Anschliessen des Dichters an seinen Stamm, das Herauswachsen aus der Luft und Landschaft, aus der Art und Geschichte seines ganzen Volkes und von da hinaus in die Unendlichkeit. 136

Yet here, as in many similar statements, Lienhard cannot disguise the fact that he regards region and nation as stepping stones to a higher goal, to a vastly expanded sensibility. On a number of occasions, Lienhard expressed his support for the cause of national unity and the maintenance of both regional and national identity. He bitterly attacked certain French and American influences on German cultural life and even entered the realm of foreign politics to write poems in support of the Boer cause in South Africa. But these nationalist sentiments lead to frequent inconsistencies in his writings. Within the same collection of essays Die Vorherrschaft Berlins, we find Lienhard suggesting ways in which modern man's awareness of his racial or tribal origins could be expanded and condemning 'echt Deutsche' propaganda and 'die Betonung des Stammesbewusstseins'.¹³⁷ The same author who wrote poems on the Boer War condemned the population of Berlin for showing

more interest in the latter and in the naval arms race than in the plastic arts or literature. For the most part, Lienhard was only willing to approve increased national consciousness if he felt it facilitated a rediscovery of traditional German spiritual values. Parochial interests, political affairs, sabre-rattling were essentially side-tracks from the main task of spiritual renewal.

Lienhard was also unwilling to grant the racial factor the pride of place in his social and cultural attitudes that it occupied in the thought of Bartels. He was familiar with racialist theories and on a number of occasions attempted to explain personalities and cultures in terms of their racial origin - although, significantly, this was often done with a view to emphasising the links that the Germans had with non-German societies, rather than to demonstrate his national culture's incompatibility with forms of art and thought originating outside its immediate racial and geographical sphere.¹³⁸ He also made use of an image which recurs in racial thought - namely, that of the nation as an organic unit 'welcher aus den Einzel-Individuen und aus engeren Zusammenfügungen derselben (Familien, Gemeinden) in ähnlicher Weise aufgebaut, wie der einzelne Mensch aus Zellen und Zellengruppen',¹³⁹ and although not the thorough-going anti-Semite that Bartels was, could reveal that he regarded Jewish influence, both cultural and racial, as a danger to the national organism, demanding rhetorically: 'Ist eine Aufsaugung des Judentums möglich, ohne dass unser Volkskörper schädliche Veränderung leidet?' Yet his attitude towards the racialist belief in the dangers of adulterated blood was far from consistent. He refuted the claims of those who asserted that a nation could only function effectively if its members belonged to the same race and argued against the view that racial admixture was the sole cause of racial decline.¹⁴⁰

In part Lienhard's failure to embrace wholeheartedly racialist attitudes

and theories may be attributed to the appreciation and affection he felt for a whole range of non-German poets and thinkers - Ruskin, Carlyle, Emerson, Thoreau, Indian philosophers and French Medieval poets are all cited to support and illustrate his own views. Indeed, Bartels attacked Lienhard for what he regarded as excessive reliance on non-German writers in his thought.¹⁴¹ But there are other reasons for Lienhard's ambiguous attitude towards racialist theories. Although he frequently emphasised the didactic and social duties of the artist, he was primarily interested in the latter's individual development. As we have seen, on occasions he expressed regret that those who strove for the highest spiritual goals were often divorced from the mass of their people, but he could also portray this isolation as a positive situation, asserting: 'Wir haben unser Bestes und Tiefstes in der Einsamkeit.' There is a strong strain of spiritual elitism in Lienhard's writings,¹⁴² an emphasis on individual rather than communal achievements.¹⁴³ He disliked and distrusted all mass-groupings, and included race among them, declaring 'Rasse als Ganzes und an sich ist Masse'. He was unwilling to accept that because men were members of the same race, they were necessarily of equal worth as individuals, claiming that 'auch der "reinste" Germane kann wüst und zerlumpt sein'. Lienhard's rejection of the importance of material factors also played its role in leading him to downgrade the importance of race. He believed that the spirit could overcome the effects of all forms of material conditioning, and considered race to be just another of these forms.¹⁴⁴ He also regarded the approach of the racialists as too scientific, too theoretical, expressing the belief that they were venturing into 'das unsichere Gebiet wissenschaftlicher Hypothese'.

Now although all the novelists treated in this thesis laid an emphasis on spiritual qualities, on the need for the Germans to rise above the chase for material success, they believed that human qualities were conditioned by

material factors, by race or by environment. Lienhard shared many attitudes and preoccupations in common with Ganghofer, Löns, Frenssen and Polenz but was separated in particular from the latter three by his disapproval of this dominant feature of their work and thought, and their resultant concern with the manner in which men's attitudes are conditioned, their realistic depiction of regional rural life and their concern with social and psychological problems experienced by their characters. Lienhard could scarcely have been expected to have approved of the work of other 'Heimatkünstler' not treated in this thesis: Heinrich Sohnrey, who actively involved himself in protecting the interests and traditions of rural communities, Helene Voigt-Diederichs who depicted realistically and skillfully the day to day life of the inhabitants of a small area of Schleswig-Holstein, Peter Rosegger, the Austrian author whose novel Jakob der Letzte has been treated as a companion piece to Polenz' Der Büttnerbauer and Frenssen's Jörn Uhl as a portrayal of the economic pressures to which the peasant-farmer was subject in the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁵ Lienhard considered that critics had been mistaken in linking him too closely to the 'Heimatkünstler', telling Paul Bülow: 'Der Begriff Heimatkunst wird für die Erkenntnis meiner gesamten Kunst eine Gefahr.'¹⁴⁶ He gave a fair summary of his intentions and one that indicates the distance which separates him from the 'Heimatkunst' promoted by Bartels and produced, in its essentials, by writers like Löns, Polenz and Frenssen, when he declared in 1901: 'Ich suche nicht Scholle, sondern Seele; nicht Rasse, sondern Reich Gottes.'¹⁴⁶

But there is one element in Lienhard's thought which is common to and permeates the thought of all the authors treated in this thesis, an element that affects not only their views on many aspects of human activity, but also the manner in which they expressed those views. This element is the belief that the human intellect is an inadequate vehicle for revealing

essential values, be they artistic or social. As do most of the basic beliefs about man and society held by the authors under consideration, their disparagement of intellectual activity springs from their view that man is, or should be, at one with the guiding forces of nature and ultimately with the guiding forces of the cosmos. The elemental forces in man, his instincts, intuitions and emotions are felt to be closer to the source of cosmic authority than the intellect and these are the only means by which he can perceive ultimate truth and ultimate values. Lienhard writes:

Nicht das Hirn, sondern das Herz denkt den grössten Gedanken... Unser Herz aber oder unsere Seele oder der Kern unserer Persönlichkeit ist ein Funke aus dem Lebenslichtmeer Gottes. 147

At best, perceptions gained by the use of the intellect and its applications in the field of science could only touch the superficial, the outer forms of phenomena. Their true significance could never be understood by systematising or rationalising. Lienhard proclaimed 'Einfangen und formulieren in Systemen lässt sich diese Welt nie' and Löns believed that it was presumptuous for man to attempt to do so, for: 'Schliesslich ist die Natur doch nicht dazu da, dass eins ihrer Geschöpfe hinter alle ihre Geheimnisse kommt'.¹⁴⁸ Attempts to use the intellect to penetrate these secrets were not only felt to be doomed to failure; they were also regarded as positively harmful. Man's belief that he fully understood the world in which he lived led him to interfere in the processes which governed its existence, to attempt to correct what he arrogantly considered to be its weaknesses and faults. Yet, Löns declares:

Die Natur ist nämlich nicht ganz so einfach zusammengesetzt wie eine Taschenuhr. Hier ist anscheinend ein überflüssiges Zäpfchen, dort ein scheinbar nur als Schmuck dienendes Edelsteinchen, an einer anderen Stelle steht ein Schraubchen, das zwecklos aussieht. "Fort damit!" schreit der Mensch, der Allesbesserwisser, und schon ist die ganze Maschine in Unordnung. 149

Interference might destroy the workings of a phenomenon; the analytical processes he employed in his attempts to understand and to change broke it down

into its component parts, thus destroying the poetry, the attractive mystery which the object in its natural state offered to the unquestioning observer.

Intellectual activity is also seen to place unwelcome controls on man's creative drives - Lienhard makes reference in this context to 'dieser hemmenden Vernunft' - and on his natural energies. Frenssen asserts that 'die leidenschaftlichen Menschen' are 'die wertvollsten' and Löns claimed that Napoleon could never have achieved his great conquests 'wäre er Verstandesmensch gewesen'. Wilhelm von Polenz, in his novel of contemporary literary life, Wurzelocker, asserted that the literary avant-garde had allowed words to become a substitute for action, a view which is echoed in various works considered in this thesis, in which academics are portrayed at best as inactive quibblers, at worst as men who, by denying the vitalising influence of the emotions, are in danger of losing their life force. The lack of physical health manifested by so many of the academics and intellectuals portrayed in 'Heimatkunst' novels is seen as a symptom of spiritual sickness, of emotional poverty. Lienhard, justifying his refusal to make any systematic observations of the landscape when making a walking tour at the end of his school years, asserts: 'Jede weitere Anspannung des zersetzenden Verstandes ist auf solcher Entwicklungsstufe gleich bedeutend mit Versündigung wider Geist und Körper.'¹⁵⁰

Emphasis on other aspects of intellectual activity varied according to the preoccupations of the individual author. Bartels associated rationalism with the Jews and attacked sceptical intellectuals who criticised established institutions or moral conventions. Ganghofer felt that rational enquiry would undermine the philosophy of optimism which he promoted. Frenssen and Polenz emphasised the threat that intellectualism in the guise of theology offered to the survival of Christianity. Yet all these criticisms had a common root - the belief that intellectual activity and its scientific and technological offshoots were incapable of enabling man to realise an authentic existence,

that they had done nothing to improve man and in many ways had hindered the development of his natural talents.

Intellectual activity was not only attacked as an abstract phenomenon; it was also attacked as a dominant and undesirable feature of the modern age, one of the root causes of that age's weaknesses. Internationalism, Socialism, capitalism, industry, a lack of respect for authority and tradition - all these and other aspects of elements within Wilhelminian society and culture which were disapproved of by various authors treated in this thesis were proclaimed to be the products of rational thought. The cure for the ills of intellectualism, as for so many of the spiritual, social and artistic failings which they saw in their society, was declared by our authors to be a withdrawal into the landscape and culture of the rural provinces. Lienhard declared:

Der Mensch, der nicht bloss Gehirn, sondern volle Persönlichkeit ist, steht mit der Erde in fester Berührung. Die untrennbare Grundlage, das Beet gleichsam, . . . worin die Menschenblume sich auswächst, ist die Natur seines Landes und Volkes. 151

The simple people of the countryside, it was believed, did not rationalise or analyse in an effort to arrive at fundamental truths. Thanks to their constant involvement with nature they had an intuitive perception of ultimate verities and values. Their intuitive wisdom manifested itself in a number of ways - in practical affairs, in their understanding of the laws governing natural phenomena, in their social forms and customs and in their folklore. All the authors treated in this thesis make reference to rural legends and superstitions, in some cases presenting them as objective realities, and Löns and Frenssen narrate at length stories deriving from the folklore of their particular regions. Lienhard equated legends and literature as means by which naked historical facts could be infused with higher truths and emotional warmth and declared 'Wie gesund ist der Instinkt in Sage und

Märchen' - healthy, because folklore, like the people who produced it, was directly linked with the elemental forces of nature.

The relatively low store these novelists and critics set by intellectual activity, by academic method is often openly declared in their fiction and polemical writings. On occasions, some simply disclaimed the need to offer up any proof for the statements they made. In one of his attacks on contemporary urban society, Lienhard writes:

Wer nicht instinktiv fühlt, dass unser öffentliches im Zeichen einer glänzenden Industrie und eines grossartigen Verkehrstehendes, über den Lärm einer erfolgreichen Neuzeit noch nicht verklärend Herr gewordenen Leben von Unvornehmheit der Gesinnung und der nervösen Bewegung trieft - mit dem ist nicht zu reden. Zu beweisen ist hier nichts; nur zu fühlen oder nicht zu fühlen. 152

Not all the writers treated in this thesis were so blatant as Lienhard in their denial of the necessity for proven argument. Wilhelm von Polenz in particular accepted that the rational and scientific temper of the age could not be simply rejected and in well-presented discourses, both in his fiction and in his polemical writings, sought to argue logically in defence of the views he promoted. But even his work contains many inconsistent or contradictory arguments. Other authors pile up non-sequiturs, unproven statements, contradictions and, on occasion, blatant lies to such an extent that the reader sometimes despairs of ever discovering what their true views on certain subjects were. Contradictions and inconsistencies even occur in their attitudes towards intellectual and scientific activities themselves. Bartels, for example, who condemned science as antithetical to nature and the interests of the nation, nevertheless proclaimed the urgent need for scientific studies of race and racial characteristics.¹⁵³

Their frequent failure to back up their claims with proof or consistent argument may be attributed to causes other than their disdain for such rational niceties. Indeed, for the most part, they attempt - and often fail -

to provide some form of justification for their views. Often this failure is due to an inability to present coherent argument. One example of a manifestation of this inability is to be found in an article written by Friedrich Lienhard. In 'Christentum und Deutschtum', Lienhard proclaims Christ to be 'übernational', a figure who stands above national differences. Yet later in the same article, he argues that Christ can only be understood as a product of his nation's history, an argument which in turn is refuted by his claim that Christ and Christianity was a religion of Aryan origin, capable of 'des schönsten Bundes' with German nationalism. Yet earlier in the same article, he has claimed that Christianity is needed only by weak or ailing nations, and the Germans he assures us, have always been a vigorous people.¹⁵⁴ Arguments of a similar quality can be found in the works of other authors treated in this thesis.

But more often the contradictions and inconsistencies evident in the writings of these authors resulted not so much from their lack of talent for coherent argument as from the dilemmas in which they were placed by conflicting aspects of their social and cultural attitudes. They were opposed to science and technology, yet, wishing to see their nation strong both militarily and economically, they were forced to come to terms with many of the products of these areas of knowledge. They claimed that man had no control over the forces which governed his existence, yet actively supported political and social movements which, they claimed, could reform German society. They wished to speak to all their people, yet often expressed bitter hostility to many of the most influential or numerous sections of the population - the commercial bourgeoisie, the academics, the urban proletariat. Yet these contradictory attitudes sprang from the same basic concern - the desire that the German people should be imbued with the values they saw manifested in rural society. Exactly what they variously considered these values to be

and in what circumstances they believed they were operative we shall see in the ensuing analyses of the novels they wrote.

References - Introduction

- 1) Albert Soergel, Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit (Leipzig, 1911), pp.749/751.
- 2) Werner Mahrholz, Deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart Probleme - Ergebnisse - Gestalten. Inspected and expanded by Max Wieser, (Berlin, 1930), p.148.
- 3) Michael Wegener, 'Die Heimat und die Dichtkunst', in Trivialliteratur, Literarisches Colloquium, ed. Gerhart Schmidt-Minkel, Horst Enders, Friedrich Knilli, Wolfgang Mayer (Berlin, 1964), p.53.
- 4) J.G. Robertson, A History of German Literature, Revised edition (London, 1949), p.627.
- 5) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst. Ein Wort zur Verständigung', Deutsche Heimat, Vol.5 (1901/2), p.35.
- 6) Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Vol.4, part II (Leipzig, 1877).
- 7) Friedrich Lienhard, Frontispiece, Heimat, Vol.1 (1900), no page number given.
Friedrich Lienhard, 'Hochland', *ibid.*, pp.1/10.
Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', *ibid.*, pp.10/29.
- 8) Cf.: Rolf Geissler, Dekadenz und Heroismus, Zeitroman und völkisch-nationalsozialistische Literaturkritik (Stuttgart, 1964).
Günter Hartung, 'Über die deutsche faschistische Literatur, Weimarer Beiträge, Vol.1 (1968), pp.474/542.
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- 9) Donald Ray Richards, in his statistical analysis, The German Best-Seller in the Twentieth Century (Berne, 1968), presents Buddenbrooks as the best

- selling novel in the first forty-five years of this century, with sales of 1,305,000 by 1936 (p.55).
- 10) Calculated on the basis of statistics given by Richards in The German Best Seller, Table B, pp.95/269.
- 11) Wilhelm Bölsche, 'Hinaus über den Realismus', in Literarische Manifeste des Naturalismus, ed. E. Ruprecht (Stuttgart, 1968), p.224.
- 12) Curt Grottewitz, 'Die Zukunft der deutschen Literatur im Urteil unserer Dichter und Denker', *ibid.*, pp.258/263.
- 13) M.G. Conrad, 'Virtuose Nervenkunst', *ibid.*, p.255.
- 14) In addition to the Naturalists represented in Flaischlen's Neuland, Hermann Sudermann, Paul Ernst and Max Halbe all wrote fiction set in a rural environment and in novels by the latter two authors - Ernst's Der schmale Weg zum Glück (1901) and Halbe's Mutter Erde (1898) - the theme of the repudiation of urban life for a rural existence was treated.
- 15) Caesar Flaischlen (ed.), Neuland (Berlin, 1894), pp.X/XI (Introduction).
- 16) *Ibid.*, p.XI.
- 17) R. Tirrell, German Agrarian Politics after Bismarck's Fall (New York, 1951), p.13.
- 18) Heinrich Bechtel, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Deutschlands (Munich, 1967), p.327.
- 19) Tirrell, p.11.
- 20) In 'Über die deutsche faschistische Literatur', Günter Hartung comments:
 'Fast alle Dichter und Dramatiker des Naturalismus kamen aus überwiegend ländlichen Gebieten nach Berlin; in ihren Schriften ist etwas von dem Erschrecken... das den Mann vom Lande bei der Einfahrt in ein Land von verschandelter Natur, Mietskasernen und Fabrik-schornsteinen befällt.' (p.502).
- 21) Erika Jenny, Die Heimatkunstabewegung, Diss. (Basle, 1934), p.5.
- 22) Leonore Dieck, Die literaturgeschichtliche Stellung der Heimatkunst (Leipzig, 1938), p.35.

- 23) Detlef Coelln, Adolf Bartels - Leben, Wesen, Werk (Heide, 1935), p.15.
- 24) In 'Die Persönlichkeit Adolf Bartels', Oskar Katann points to the falsehood of Bartels' claims that he "hat den Ausdruck 'konsequenter Naturalismus' geschaffen, die Begriffe der Dekadenz und des Sensationalismus geprägt" (Der Gral, Jg.17, 1923, p.324).
- 25) Adolf Bartels, 'Geschichtliche Stoffe', Der Kunstwart, Jg.8 (1894/5), p.228.
- 26) Adolf Bartels, 'Über den Stil in der Dichtkunst', *ibid.*, Jg.9 (1895/6), p.228.
- 27) Adolf Bartels, Gerhart Hauptmann (Weimar, 1897), p.233.
- 28) Adolf Bartels, 'Warum wir uns über die Heimatkunst freuen', Der Kunstwart, Jg.13, I (1899/1900), p.220.
- 29) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Deutsche Heimat, Vol. 5 (1902), p.3.
 There is some inconsistency in Bartels' statements on exactly what he considers to be the literary historical beginnings of 'Heimatkunst'. On occasions he seems to be refuting that the term was in any way first coined with reference to contemporary authors, claiming in an article 'Der Dichter und seine Heimat' that "die eigentliche Heimatkunst" was established by Pestalozzi and Hebel (Rasse und Volkstum - Gesammelte Aufsätze zur nationalen Weltanschauung, 2nd enlarged edition, Weimar, 1920, p.47).
- 30) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Heimat, Vol. 1, p.11.
- 31) *Ibid.*, p.11.
- 32) *Ibid.*, p.13.
- 33) *Ibid.*, p.14.
- 34) *Ibid.*, p.15.
- 35) *Ibid.*, p.16.
- 36) Adolf Bartels, Review of Martin Lehnhart, Der Kunstwart, Jg.9 (1895/6), p.51.

- 37) Adolf Bartels, Gerhart Hauptmann, p.70.
- 38) Bartels' attitude towards the three major foreign authors who influenced the German Naturalist movement - Zola, Ibsen and Tolstoy - changed considerably during the period 1895-1901. In three editions of his Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart (1897, 1899, 2nd revised edition, 1901, 4th revised edition, all Leipzig), editions in which we can often trace changes of attitude, he refers favourably in each one to Zola's "brutale Größe", Ibsen's "rücksichtslose Entdeckung der konventionellen Lüge" and Tolstoy's "starke Erdgeruch". Yet in 1901 we find him making reference to the trio as "Leute, die national bei uns doch nur ungünstig wirken können" ('Das Volk und die Kunst' in Rasse und Volkstum, p.17). The word 'national' provides us with the key to his attitude towards these writers. He was willing to admit that they had inspired a welcome return to realism in German literature, but the fact that they were non-German and promoted certain attitudes which he regarded as alien to German culture and the German national character led him to downgrade their talents and welcome signs of a decline in their influence.
- 39) Adolf Bartels, Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, 1st edition, p.81.
- 40) Ibid., p.88.
- 41) Ibid., p.80.
- 42) Adolf Bartels, Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, 2nd edition, pp.197/8.
- 43) Adolf Bartels, 'Klara Wiebig und die Heimatkunst', Deutsche Heimat, Vol. 4 (1901), p.663.
- 44) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Heimat, Vol. 1, p.16.
- 45) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst. Ein Wort zur Verständigung', p.35.
- 46) Adolf Bartels, 'Die sogenannte Heimatkunst', Der Kunstwart, Jg.13, II (1900), p.75.
- 47) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Deutsche Arbeit, Jg.1 (1900), pp.138/9.

- 48) Adolf Bartels, 'Was bedeutet uns Jeremias Gotthelf?', Der Kunstwart, Jg.11, I (1897/8), p.43.
- 49) In a review of his verse satire, Der dumme Teufel, Bartels claimed that he had held 'ziemlich radikale Anschauungen' until 1892 when he became offended by attacks made on Bismarck by political radicals. His sympathy for the German Chancellor indicates that his self-proclaimed radicalism must have been at best of a superficial nature, an indication which is supported by the conservative tenor of most of his early published work (review in Die Zukunft, 29, 1899, p.388).
- 50) Adolf Bartels, 'Poesie und Sittlichkeit', Der Kunstwart, Jg.8 (1894/5), p.38.
- 51) Adolf Bartels, 'Literarische Afterkunst?', Der Kunstwart, Jg.11, II (1897/8), p.5.
- 52) Adolf Bartels, Geschlechtsleben und Dichtung (Berlin, 1906), pp.5/7.
- 53) Adolf Bartels, 'Dekadenz', Der Kunstwart, Jg.10 (1896/7), p.118.
- 54) Adolf Bartels, Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, 2nd edition, p.215.
- 55) *Ibid.*, p.215.
- 56) Adolf Bartels, 'Die sogenannte Heimatkunst', p.76.
- 57) Adolf Bartels, 'Warum wir uns über die Heimatkunst freuen', p.220.
- 58) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Heimat, Vol.1, p.18.
- 59) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst. Ein Wort zur Verständigung', p.38.
- 60) Ludwig Lorenz, Adolf Bartels und seine Dichtungen (Leipzig, 1908), p.99.
- 61) Friedrich Quehl, in a monograph on Bartels, claims that Bartels developed his anti-semitic attitudes as a result of his experiences in Frankfurt from 1892 onwards - the same year that Bartels claims to have turned away from radical attitudes. Quehl writes:

'Hatte Bartels bisher noch liberalen Anschauungen gehuldigt, sich kaum um Rassenunterschiede gekümmert, so brachte ihn doch gar vielerlei,

vor allem das Lesen der "Frankfurter Zeitung" zu der Überzeugung, dass der gefährlichste Feind unseres Volkstums die semitisch durchtränkte Demokratie in all ihren Schattierungen ist.' (Adolf Bartels, Leipzig, 1922, p.12).

- 62) Adolf Bartels, Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, Vol.2 (Leipzig, 1902), p.74.
- 63) Adolf Bartels, 'Die sogenannte Heimatkunst', p.75.
- 64) Julius Langbehn, Rembrandt als Erzieher, 2nd edition (Leipzig, 1890), p.74.
- 65) Adolf Bartels, Klaus Groth. Zu seinem 80. Geburtstag (Leipzig, 1899), p.44.
- 66) Adolf Bartels, 'Zur Rassenforschung' in Rasse und Volkstum, p.62.
- 67) Adolf Bartels, 'Warum wir uns über die Heimatkunst freuen', p.220.
- 68) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Deutsche Arbeit, p.137.
- 69) Adolf Bartels, 'Warum wir uns über die Heimatkunst freuen', p.220.
- 70) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Deutsche Arbeit, p.137.
- 71) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Heimat, Vol.1, p.17.
- 72) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Deutsche Arbeit, p.137.
- 73) In 'Von deutscher Literatur', Bartels declared that "Unsere deutsche Kultur ist eine durchaus individualistische, während die romanische eine durchaus soziale ist" (Der Kunstwart, Jg.14, I, 1900/1, p.350).
- 74) Adolf Bartels, Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, 2nd edition, p.261.
- 75) Adolf Bartels, 'Von deutscher Literatur', p.350.
- 76) Adolf Bartels, 'Das Volk und die Kunst', p.14.
- 77) In Der dumme Teufel, a scurrilous verse satire on contemporary German society, in which the Devil's grandmother is identified as a Jewess, Bartels comments on the role of Jews in an ironic tone:
- "Der Jude wird verbrannt", nie werd' ich's schreiben
Es gibt Banquiers noch lange nicht genug,
Und jüd'sche Richter, jüd'sche Advocaaten
Und Redakteure sind das Heil der Staaten.'
(2nd revised edition, Leipzig, 1899).

The text is accompanied by illustrations reminiscent of those which appeared in Julius Streicher's publication Der Streicher.

- 78) Adolf Bartels, 'Konservativ, nicht reaktionär', in Rasse und Volkstum, pp.10/11.
- 79) Ibid., p.11.
- 80) Ibid., p.12.
- 81) Adolf Bartels, Die Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1901), p.4.
- 82) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst. Ein Wort zur Verständigung', p.38.
- 83) Adolf Bartels, Rasse (Heidelberg, 1909), p.12.
- 84) Sohnrey's journal promoted interest in the traditions and customs of rural communities throughout Germany. In Der Zug vom Lande und die soziale Revolution (Leipzig, 1894), Sohnrey argued at length that the decline of the rural population both reflected and would further the decline of traditional German culture and values. Many of his criticisms and suggestions are echoed in the writings of authors treated in this thesis.
- 85) Ernst Wachler, Die Läuterung deutscher Dichtkunst im Volksgeist (Munich, 1897). Numerous critics, including Bartels and Lienhard make reference to this work, but the author of this thesis has been unable to obtain a copy.
- 86) Erich Griebel, Hermann Löns, der Niederdeutsche (Leipzig, 1934), p.118.
- 87) In his essay, 'Ein Zigeuner der Literatur', Löns delivered a biting attack on what he regarded as the inherently particularist nature of 'Heimatkunst', writing:
- 'Der Schmarotzer am Stamme des gesunden Stammesgewissens, der literarische Partikularismus, gross ge züchtet in missverstandener Heimatsbewegung von niedersächselnden oder bajuvisirenden

Literaturdemagogen...zieht in seiner kirchtums-
patriotischen Engbrüstigkeit Stacheldrahtzähne
zwischen den deutschen Sprachefilden und
errichtet Schranken zwischen den Stämmen...Die
Kunst, die nur Heimatkunst ist, ist kleiner
Art; hohe deutsche Kunst ist alldeutsch.'
(Gedanken und Gestalten, Hannover, 1924), p.22).

- 88) Joseph Ettliger, 'Wilhelm von Polenz', Die Gesellschaft, Vol.14 (1898),
p.30.
- 89) Adolf Bartels, 'Heimatkunst', Deutsche Arbeit, p.36.
- 90) Adolf Bartels, 'Rosegger und die Heimatkunst', Deutsche Heimat, Vol.6
(1902/3), p.1452.
- 91) Adolf Bartels, 'Zur Heimatkunst', *ibid.*, pp.197/8.
- 92) Adolf Bartels, Deutsches Schriftum - Betrachtungen und Bemerkungen (Weimar,
1911), p.81.
- 93) Adolf Bartels, Heinrich Heine. Auch ein Denkmal (Leipzig, 1906), p.261.
- 94) Adolf Bartels, Die Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, Vol.2, p.601.
- 95) Among the measures promoted in Rasse und Volkstum to deal with the Jewish
problem were the organisation of trusts which were to use sequestered
Jewish money to pay for the damage allegedly done by the Jews to the
German economy, a prohibition on Jews using non-Jewish names, local referenda
on applications made by Jews for residence within an area and the enforcement
of loans from Jewish businessmen to the State ('Rassenzucht', p.158).
- 96) Friedrich Lienhard, Der Dichter in Helden (1900) in Gesammelte Werke
(Stuttgart, 1924/6), Erzählende Werke, Vol.1, p.18.
- 97) Lienhard's hero's only real contact in the entire short story is with a
woman he meets at a dinner party, who, significantly, knows and loves
his native region.
- 98) The poet gives money to a beggar outside a cafe. During this episode,
Lienhard points to the lack of compassion which he feels dominates city
life by revealing his hero's fear that one of the "feingekleideten Herren"

around him will witness his action and hold him up to ridicule.

Lienhard gives evidence of his belief that country-folk are more kind-hearted than those of the city by referring to his hero's "bauernhafte Gemütsregung" (ibid., p.18).

- 99) Quoted, Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard. Der Mensch und das Werk (Leipzig, 1923), p.55.
- 100) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Geschäftliche Vorteile Berlins' in Die Vorherrschaft Berlins (1900) in Gesammelte Werke (Gedankliche Werke), Vol.1, p.141.
- 101) Friedrich Lienhard, Wasgaufahrten (1895); 4th edition in Gesammelte Werke (Erzählende Werke), Vol.1, pp.9/10.
- 102) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Ein Angriff auf die deutsche Volkskunst', Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert, Vol.4 (1894), p.430.
- 103) In 'Geschäftliche Vorteile Berlins', Lienhard asserted that "der geschäftliche und politische Aufschwung Berlins seit 1870 droht...den Geist unserer Literatur zu vergewaltigen" (p.136), for the financial power and cultural influence of the commercial classes who, he claimed, dominated life in the literary world, such as small booksellers and publishing firms, were being crushed "von Kapitalmassen" and "diesen Kapitalmassen fehlt die Seele" (ibid., p.141).
- 104) Friedrich Lienhard, Wasgaufahrten, p.104.
- 105) Friedrich Lienhard, Der Dichter, pp.10/11.
- 106) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Heimatkunst' in Neue Ideale (1901); revised edition in Gesammelte Werke (Gedankliche Werke), Vol.1, p.83.
- 107) Ibid., p.85.
- 108) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Vom Reichtum deutscher Landschaft' in Neue Ideale, in Gesammelte Werke (Gedankliche Werke) Vol.1, p.150.
- 109) Quoted, Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard, p.75.
- 110) It was for this reason that Lienhard opposed the 'Volksbühne' movement,

which he felt was designed to appeal to only one social group - the urban proletariat. He declared the movement was created "nicht etwa für das deutsche Volk, sondern für die unteren Volksschichten oder bestimmter; für den revolutionären Arbeiter der Grossstadt" ('Deutsche Volksbühnen', Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert, Vol.4, 1893/4, p.438.

111) Quoted, Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard, p.170.

112) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Heimatkunst', p.84.

113) Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard, p.70.

114) Friedrich Lienhard, Wasgaufahrten, p.10.

115) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Los von Berlin?' in Die Vorherrschaft Berlins, p.135.

116) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Hochland', pp.7/8.

117) As did Polenz in Der Büttnerbauer and Frenssen in Die drei Getreuen, in Die Weltrevolution Lienhard portrayed lower class unrest resulting from the poor treatment of uncompassionate and self-seeking employers (Die Weltrevolution, 1889, in Gesammelte Werke, Lyrik und Dramatik, Vol.2, p.11). Like Bartels in his novel of the 1848 revolution, Dietrich Sebrandt (1898), Lienhard blames foreign models for stirring up revolutionary tendencies (ibid., p.14). And, as did all the authors treated in this thesis, Lienhard attacked the political radicals for denying the importance of nationality in their doctrines. In Lienhard's play, it is this denial which leads to the collapse of the revolution depicted, for the workers eventually desert the cause of internationalism in favour of their racial and national loyalties.

118) In the 'Rundschau' section of the second issue of Heimat, Lienhard stated:

'Nachdem ich zuerst als Berliner Student (1887 und 1888) mit einigen unfertigen Werken (Naphtali, Weltrevolution, die weisse Frau) in die Bewegung der damaligen Jüngstdeutschen geraten war, zog ich mich zunächst rasch aus der Litteratur zurück,

besonders weil ich zu Methode und Weltanschauung des 1889 aufstrebenden Naturalismus kein inneres Verhältnis zu finden wusste.' (Heimat, Vol. 1, 1900, p.131)

- 119) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Tolstoy und Ibsen' in Neue Ideale (Berlin, 1901), p.39.
- 120) In 'Bedenken wider Ibsen', Lienhard attacked Ibsen for his scepticism and his distanced approach to his characters, comparing his attitude unfavourably with that he ascribed to Heinrich von Kleist. He relates an anecdote concerning the latter. Kleist is visited by a friend, who finds him in tears:
- "Warum weinst du?"
 "Sie ist nun tot."
 "Um Gottes Willen, wer? Deine Schwester? Deine Braut?"
 "Nein, meine Penthesilea."
- Lienhard comments: "So liebt und hasst, so lacht oder weint, so sorgt ein Dichter aus innigster Teilnahme mit seinen Kindern." (Hochland, Jg.1, 1903, p.163).
- 121) Friedrich Lienhard, Der Dorfschmied in Helden, p.153.
- 122) Friedrich Lienhard, Thüringer Tagebuch (Stuttgart, 1904), p.40.
- 123) Friedrich Lienhard, Wasgaufahrten, p.24.
- 124) Quoted, Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard, p.58.
- 125) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Rundschau', pp.130/1.
- 126) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Heimatkunst', p.84.
- 127) In 'Los von Berlin?', Lienhard declared in this context that "die geistigen Eigenschaften...sind das Wichtige, nicht die sichtbare Landschaft an und für sich" (p.134).
- 128) Bülow, p.153.

In the second issue of Heimat, we find the following explanation for Lienhard's resignation. The information is given that Lienhard has retired from the 'verantwortlichen Leitung des Blattes...weil sich im

weiteren Verlauf der vorbereitenden Arbeit sich herausstellte, dass sich seine Kunstanschauungen mit den Absichten des Unternehmens nicht genügend decken" (editorial comment, Vol. 1, 1900, p.131).

- 129) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Heimatkunst', p.81. The first issues of Heimat in which Lienhard's work appeared were published in January to March 1900. The article 'Heimatkunst' appeared in Das literarische Echo in July (Jg.2, 1900, col.1393/8).
- 130) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Tagebuch', Heimat, Vol. 1 (1900), p.66.
- 131) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Los von Berlin', p.135.
- 132) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Persönlichkeit und Volkstum als Grundlagen der Dichtung' in Neue Ideale in Gesammelte Werke (Gedankliche Werke), Vol. 1, p.48.
- 133) Referring to his feeling that he was unified in spirit with the great writers of the past, Lienhard declared:
- 'Ich entdecke, dass ich genauso organisiert bin wie diese Kämpfer und Dulder, dass ich unter denselben Lebensbedingungen diesselbe Planetenluft atme. Ein grosses Einheitsgefühl überkommt mich wie eine einzige Kollektiv-Persönlichkeit vor, in deren Gedankenwerk auch ich eingesponnen bin.' ('Vom literarischen Messias', Das literarische Echo, Jg.8, 1906, col. 468).
- 134) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Jahrhundertwende', Deutsche Heimat, Vol. 4 (1901), p.468.
- 135) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Dichter und Staat', Das literarische Echo, Jg.3 (1901), p.804.
- 136) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Dramaturgische Betrachtungen', Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert, Vol. 7 (1896), p.36.
- 137) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Wo sind die nationalen Berliner?' in Die Vorherrschaft Berlins, p.159.
- 138) Burns, Carlyle, Gobineau, Christ, Indian philosophers and numerous other figures whom Lienhard wishes his readers to approve of are all identified

as being of the same racial origin as the Germans. The tortuous lengths to which Lienhard was prepared to go to assert a racial link are illustrated in his essay 'Deutschtum und Christentum'. Christ's homeland, he claims, had a population which was not wholly Jewish and Christ's lineage back to David may have been falsified. It was likely therefore, Lienhard asserts, that Christ had heathen blood in his veins. That heathen blood might have come from India. As a believer in the Aryan theory, Lienhard thus feels entitled to assert that Christ was then probably linked racially with the Germans (Neue Ideale, 1901, pp.90/2).

139) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Patriotismus und Ethik', Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert, Vol.4 (1894), p.504.

140) Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard, p.120/1.

141) In an attack on Lienhard's "verschwimmend-idealistische Richtung", Bartels criticised "der gefährliche Einfluss der Angelsachsen Carlyle und Emerson" on Lienhard's thought, influences which he claimed had prevented the latter from achieving any "aesthetische Klarheit". (Adolf Bartels, 'Wollen, Können und Kritik. In Sachen Fritz Lienhard', Der Kunstwart, Jg.17, 1903/4, p.85).

142) In Wege nach Weimar (1905/8), Lienhard declared that

'die Rasse grosser Seelen - das ist der Zustand, zu dem wir uns emporwickeln müssen. Der auswählende Faktor, durch den die Zuchtwahl stattfindet, ist das Schicksal.' (2nd edition in Gesammelte Werke - Gedankliche Werke, Vol.2, p.37).

Bartels would probably have replaced "Schicksal" with "Rasse".

143) Lienhard claimed that "Nicht die zahllosen "wir" sind das eigentliche Wichtige in der Kultur" and quoted Lagarde's claim that "Die Quelle des Fortschritts in der Geschichte ist der einzelne Mensch" ('Wo stehen wir?', Das literarische Echo, Jg.4, 1901/2, p.149).

144) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Ariertum oder Heldentum' in Wege nach Weimar in

Gesammelte Werke (Gedankliche Werke), Vol.2, p.40.

- 145) Helmut Heuberger, Die Agrarfrage bei Roseggers 'Jakob der letzte' und 'Erdsegen', Frenssens 'Jörn Uhl' und von Polenz' 'Der Böttnerbauer' Diss., (Vienna, 1948).
- 146) Quoted, Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard, p.161.
- 147) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Brief an eine Frau', in Von Weibes Wonne und Wert, ed. Paul Bülow (Leipzig, 1921), p.92.
- 148) Hermann Löns, Niedersächsisches Skizzenbuch in Sämtliche Werke ed. Friedrich Castelle, 8 vols, 8-21,000 (Leipzig, 1924), Vol.6, p.395.
- 149) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte (Hannover, 1924), p.9.
- 150) Friedrich Lienhard, Wasgafahrten, p.2.
- 151) Quoted, Paul Bülow, Friedrich Lienhard, p.151.
- 152) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Heimatkunst', p.80.
- 153) Adolf Bartels, 'Zur Rassenforschung' in Rasse und Volkstum, pp.51/61.
- 154) Friedrich Lienhard, 'Deutschtum und Christentum', pp.68/95.

Chapter 2: Wilhelm von Polenz - Der Büttnerbauer

Of the novels analysed in this thesis, Wilhelm von Polenz' Der Büttnerbauer is the most creditable literary achievement.¹ Polenz' style and structure are economical, he idealises none of his characters, he does not overtly preach at the reader, either as narrator or through his characters and he is capable of a greater degree of detachment from the events and personalities portrayed than other authors treated in these chapters.²

However, this degree of detachment is not so great as to prevent Polenz from revealing his own attitudes and beliefs in the work. The novel is dedicated to 'dem deutschen Nährstande'³ and Polenz wished the reader to be in no doubt as to where his own sympathies lay. In an autobiographical sketch, he wrote: 'Mein Beruf ist der des Grundbesitzers, den ich mit keinem anderen vertauschen möchte. Wie ich zur Scholle stehe und dem darauf lebenden Volk, habe ich im "Büttnerbauer" gestaltet.'⁴ His sympathies are revealed in numerous ways - in passages of general narrative comment, in the unattractive qualities he attributes to those figures who are identified with the forces that destroy Traugott Büttner and in narrative comments and judgements on the actions and attitudes of his central character. Polenz does not always approve of what his hero thinks and does - there is less special pleading for Büttner than for Harm Wulf in Löns's Der Wehrwolf, for instance - and determining exactly what Polenz' views are from Der

Büttnerbauer is not always easy, in spite of the claim made in the quotation given above. This difficulty arises partly because there are inconsistencies in Polenz' position, partly because he touches on issues in this novel on which his attitudes are only fully revealed in other works - which are therefore discussed in this chapter where relevant - and partly because he recognises that the values and beliefs he approves of may be the very elements which bring about Büttner's downfall. In general, however, the points at which Polenz takes issue with his hero - either explicitly or implicitly - are those where he feels that Büttner has weakened his position by allowing certain attitudes and prejudices, inessential to the core of the value system promoted, to dominate his actions in a manner that is counter-productive to his main purpose - that is, the maintenance of ownership of the farm, the focal point for his life and being.

One criticism of the novel which could be made is that Polenz interferes too much as narrator - placing Büttner's actions and attitudes in a wider economic and social context, recounting at length his own version of the history of the German peasant-farmer, drawing conclusions about what his characters are thinking and why, posing direct questions to the reader. A reference to methods used by another 'Heimatkünstler' to promote views and attitudes may help to mitigate this criticism. Polenz' narrative interventions are by no means as clumsy as those of Gustav Frenssen and furthermore enable him to avoid errors committed by the latter author in Jörn Uhl. Frenssen not only promotes his own opinions directly as narrator but also uses Jörn constantly as a mouthpiece for them. His hero is so overburdened with his creator's religious, philosophical and social preoccupations that his declared views and the manner in which he expresses them cease to be compatible with his origins as a peasant-farmer. Büttner is a more credible figure, because Polenz shifts most of the burden of the detailed exposition

and justification of attitudes and values promoted onto the narrator. Polenz thus avoids weakening or complicating the characterisation of his rural hero, for Büttner, unlike Jörn, is not required to indulge in lengthy defences or discussions of social views and philosophies of life.

The rural heroes of other 'Heimatkunst' novels are credited with experience of the world beyond the village and some degree of education, which go some way towards justifying their creators' use of them as coherent defenders of a particular set of attitudes. But the broader vision possessed by peasant-farmers in the novels of writers such as Löns and Frenssen have relevance to plot as well as literary technique. This vision enables them to survive the social and economic pressures to which Polenz here succumbs. Jörn Uhl is flexible enough in his talents and attitudes to change his way of life when his farm is destroyed; Gode Hehlmann, in Löns's Der letzte Hansbur, is capable of utilising modern agricultural methods to strengthen his economic position; Luder Volkmann, in Dahinten in der Heide, understands enough of the nature of the modern commercial and capitalist ethos to be aware of, and to divert, the threat it offers to the codes and customs of the rural community. Büttner has neither sympathy nor understanding for the social and economic changes that are going on about him and, lacking the ability to adapt to them or the strength to resist them, he is destroyed. In the following chapter, it is intended to examine the nature of these changes and the author's attitude towards them and towards the social codes, customs and values which they are seen to disrupt.

Underlying that attitude are a set of beliefs about the nature of man and human society which must be discussed before we can proceed to an analysis of the novel at hand. It is tempting to overemphasise the degree of influence that Naturalism had on Polenz. More than any other author treated in this thesis, he was actively involved in the Naturalist movement and during his

period as a student in Berlin was in close contact with such writers as Bölsche, Hartleben and the Hart brothers. The influence of Naturalist authors, particularly Zola, is strongly in evidence in his early work.⁵ He was later to criticise Naturalism in the semi-autobiographical novel Wurzelocker,⁶ but he never totally condemned the movement. His emphasis on heredity and environment as determining factors in the formation of the human personality can at least in part be explained by his continuing adherence to some tenets of Naturalism.

A number of characters, in those works written after he had left Berlin and had loosened his ties with the literary circles there, have their fate dictated to some degree by the personal attributes they have inherited from their immediate forebears and there seems to be no reason why we should not attribute this aspect of his characterisation in some measure to Naturalist influences.⁷ An even larger number of characters are conditioned by the physical environment in which they live, a reflection of Polenz' views about the nature of man which can similarly be related to the doctrines of Naturalism. But his frequent emphasis on the benefits of conditioning by a rural, as opposed to an urban environment, must be related to another set of doctrines - namely, that view of the relationship between man and nature held by Bartels which was discussed in the introduction.

Polenz similarly credited the natural world with the capacity for supplying man with a life force. He claimed 'Der Born, aus dem wir alle schöpfen, bleibt die Natur'⁸ and in Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf he portrays Gerland, the clerical hero of the novel, finding health and strength in a rural environment that he had never possessed in the city:

Seine verwöhnte Stadtnatur lernte allmählich in dieser ätzenden Atmosphäre zu atmen. Kräftiger und gesunder stand er da, mit gestärkten Lungen, abgehärteter Haut, geschärften Augen; alle Organe schienen neue Kräfte aus diesem fruchtbaren Humus gezogen zu haben. 9

Good health is frequently attributed by Polenz to his rural characters. Pauline in Der Büttnerbauer is described as 'frisch und gesund' when she makes her first appearance and on the day of her wedding to Gustav, the narrator tells us, 'war es eine Freude, dieses Paar zu sehen. Gesund waren sie und schlicht: echte Bauernkinder'.¹⁰ Gustav feels himself superior to his town bred cousin - 'diesen darrren Blässling'.

But Polenz did not only view nature as a life force; he also believed that the manifestation of its laws provided man with models that could guide him in the organisation of his society and patterns of life. Man overlooked these models at his peril, for he was as subject to the processes and laws which governed natural phenomena as any other living being. In Das Land der Zukunft, Polenz writes of the Americans:

Die Yankees sind eine fröhreife Rasse; sie sind stolz auf diese Eigenschaft und unterstützen sie, mit Unrecht! Die Natur lehrt an hundert Beispielen, dass fröhe Reife und fröher Verbrauch Hand in Hand gehen. Auch bleibt bekanntlich bei den edelsten Tiergattungen das Junge am längsten hilflos, während die niedere Art fix und fertig steht. Aber der Yankee hat nun einmal den Drang in sich, die Natur zu vergewaltigen; er ist im höchsten Grade ungeduldig, kann das ruhige Ausreifen der Früchte nicht abwarten ll

Bartels and other 'Heimatkünstler' not only believe in nature in general as a guiding light but are dominated by the conviction that the particular landscape of any region bestows upon the individual characteristics and a life style which reflect his natural environment, bind him to the soil and lead him to join other inhabitants of the area in communities which are so nature-based that they themselves take on the qualities of natural organisms. Polenz does not adhere rigidly to this view but considerable sympathy for it is evident in his writings. He does on occasion link the personalities of men with the characteristics of their surrounding landscape;¹² he illustrates the closeness of the link between man and soil in his personified description of Büttner's land which 'wollte dem Treue halten, der ihm treu gewesen war';¹³

and he frequently portrays individual human societies as organisms, writing of the undesirability of allowing American influences to penetrate German life: 'Jede Art hat ihre Berechtigung, wenn sie nur organisch entstanden ist. Etwas anderes ist es in einer fremden Volksindividualität wehrlos aufzugehen, wie es der Deutsche^{zu} seinem Schaden oft genug getan.'¹⁴

Polenz also reveals an affinity with Bartels' basic conception of man and human society in the emphasis he places on the importance of racial purity. Polenz shared the belief that the homogeneity of the communal or national unit was reinforced by maintaining a common blood stock, which would ensure the transference of similar basic characteristics from generation to generation. He condemned racial intermarriage¹⁵ and commented with reference to racialism in the United States that 'grausam wie immerhin die Abschliessung der Weissen gegen die Farbigen erscheinen mag, aussert sich in ihr ein gesunder sittlicher Arterhaltungstrieb, ein Gefühl für Reinlichkeit im höhern Sinne'.¹⁶

Many 'Heimatkünstler' believed that the very presence of alien racial or cultural elements in the organic community, be that community a rural village or the German nation, could prove dangerous, for they offered a threat of disruption to the homogeneous relationship that existed between the indigenous population, its local landscape and culture. Such a belief manifests itself in Polenz' thought predominantly in his anti-Semitism and in his hostility to those who introduced the capitalist and commercial ethos into the rural community - an ethos which not only promoted values foreign to the inhabitants, but, allied as it was with industrial activity, showed little willingness to respect the vitalising natural world. In other areas, however, he is less obsessed with the dangers of contact with alien cultures than authors such as Löns and Bartels. He travelled widely and seems to have enjoyed the experience, showing in his writings on America both tolerance

and sympathy for the very different society he found across the Atlantic. He was often critical of what he regarded as traditional German attitudes and values and his support for German nationalism and for nationalist political parties - an almost inevitable consequence of his racialist bias - was also of a less chauvinistic variety than that manifested by some of his fellow 'Heimatkünstler'.

The Germans were, however, rated highly in the comparisons he made between various races. Significantly, he liked to think of his fellow-countrymen as being primarily an agrarian people,¹⁷ for he believed that only the farmer could achieve a totally organic connection with nature and the soul. Polenz describes Büttner's relationship to his land in the following terms: 'Er stand zu diesem Boden, dessen Sohn er war, doch wie die Mutter zum Kinde; er hatte ihm von den seinen gegeben: seine Sorge, seine Liebe, seinen Schweiss.'¹⁸ Büttner's fear of indebtedness arises as much from his awareness of the power his creditors possess to discontinue this direct relationship as from alarm at the prospect of financial ruin and consequent destitution. It is such a relationship that gives the farmer the maximum opportunity to draw on the strengths which nature supplies and consequently it is the agricultural class whom Polenz considers to be the most vital in the national community. Writing of the farmers of the United States, he claims: 'Genau wie bei uns bezieht die Gesamtheit des Volkes auch drüben aus diesem Urstande ihre besten Säfte und Kräfte.'¹⁹ In consequence of this belief, many of the personal qualities of which Polenz most approves, although shared by some of his non-rural characters, are seen to be particularly well fostered by an agricultural life and environment.

Industriousness is one such quality. The health and strength, which, according to Polenz, life in the country promotes, are needed, for work on the farm demands a great deal of hard work and resilience. Polenz informs

us that 'Fleiss und Umsicht' enabled Traugott's father to work up to 'einiger Wohlhabenheit'²⁰ and that his son has inherited some of his best attributes - 'Zähigkeit, Thatkraft und Emsigkeit'.²¹ Thrift is another virtue which Polenz extols. Böttner had no choice but to exercise this virtue in his straitened circumstances, but other passages in Polenz' work indicate that he regards a capacity for frugal living as a common attribute among peasant-farmers.²² However, neither industriousness nor thrift is seen as beneficial if exercised to an extreme degree. Overwork pushes Böttner into a nervous and physical decline and his attempts to save money by cutting back on food for both his animals and his family are seen to be counter-productive - he gains the reputation of being a 'Pferdeschinder' for under-feeding his horses and his demands for economies at table produce only the result 'dass fortan mageres Essen auf den Tisch kam und dass sich die Seinen hinter seinem Rücken satt assen'.²³

Another quality that Polenz attributes to his most favoured rural characters is a staunch sense of independence. Böttner alone bears the ultimate responsibility for the farm and the pressures which are associated with that responsibility. He is unwilling to share the burden with the other members of the family or even to talk to them about it. Indeed, he considers that to share one's problems is to reveal weakness - 'die süsse Erleichterung des Gemütes durch Mitteilung kannte er nicht, verachtete dergleichen, als weibisch'.²⁴ While Polenz pleaded in his other novels for social and economic reforms that would improve the lot of the rural population, he retained great admiration for those who showed independence of spirit and were capable of bearing their sufferings stoically. In Der Grabenhäger the hero's wife, Klara, visits the poor on her husband's estate. She notices that

selbst in der äussersten Armut bässte diese Art eine gewisse Würde nicht ein. Daheim in Burgwerda hatten sie sich häufig berührt gefühlt durch die wichtigtuereische

Geschwätzigkeit, mit der die Armen ihre Not an die grosse Glocke hingen. Die hier waren wortkarg und zurückhaltend; sie klagten nicht, und gegen mitleidige Fragen schlossen sie sich ab, als habe niemand ein Recht, sich um ihre Sorgen zu kümmern. 25

Polenz did not believe that poverty had to result in a loss of self-respect, with accompanying physical degradation and squalor. Pauline and her mother, both essentially rural characters, are far from rich, yet in their house, we are told 'Sauberkeit und Ordnung herrschte hier'. Frau Katschner tells her visitors from the castle: "Ordnung und Reinlichkeit, das kostet kein Geld, sage ich."²⁶ In contrast, unsympathetic characters are frequently marked out by their lack of personal cleanliness. Samuel Harrassowitz wears a dirty collar and a fat stained waist-coat; and Gustav is contemptuous of the appearance of Otilie Krescham, reflecting 'Was für eine Schlampe sie war! So herunzulaufen! Mit zerissenen Strümpfen, zerschlossener Taille und ungemachtem Haar'.²⁷

Polenz also approves of the practicality and simplicity evident in the life-style of his peasant-farmer characters. Of the equipment and buildings of the farm, he writes: 'Der Sinn für das Nützliche und Notwendige herrschte hier, wie in jedem rechten Bauernhofe, vor.'²⁸ Gustav, who dispenses with a plate when eating at home judges both the food he receives at his uncle's home in the town and the manner in which it is served by the standards of expediency he is accustomed to on the farm: '(Er) dachte im Stillen, dass die Teller wohl nicht so oft gewechselt zu werden brauchten aber, dass es dafür etwas Handfesteres zu beißen geben möchte.'²⁹ He makes criticisms from a similar viewpoint of other aspects of the life that his uncle, formerly a country dweller, is now leading.

Die ganze Umgebung mutete ihn fremd an: die polierten Tische, die Spiegel, die Sametpolster. Überall Decken und Teppiche, als schämte man sich des einfachen Holzes. ...Wie konnten sich die Leute nur wohl fühlen, umgeben von solchem Krimskrams. Man musste sich fürchten, hier

einen Schritt zu tun, oder sich zu setzen, aus Angst, etwas dabei zu verderben. Das war doch ganz etwas anderes daheim, in der Familienstube. Da hatte jedes Ding seinen Zweck. Und mit den Leuten war man da besser, so wollte es Gustav scheinen; weniger fein waren sie allerdings als diese, aber sie waren offen und einfach, und nicht geziert und heimlich wie diese Sippe hier. 30

As can be seen from this passage, the value of practicality is linked to an emphasis on the personal qualities of openness and simplicity - attributes which are repeatedly found in the characters of those figures who are treated most sympathetically by their creator. Those who show an exaggerated concern with the details of outer form - be it of manner, dress or possessions - are seldom approved by Polenz, for this preoccupation may detract from a cultivation of more basic human virtues or even be a sign of their absence. Thekla Lüdckind's husband, Leo, for example, attaches so much weight to outer appearances that his sadness at the death of his son is outweighed by the satisfaction he gains at observing the large number of flowers that are sent to the funeral.

So far we have discussed the personal qualities which Polenz approves without reference to the rural society in which the characters to whom they are attributed live and work. It is, in fact, possible to analyse and discuss most of the values and attitudes affirmed in Der Büttnerbauer and yet make no mention of the wider agricultural community of Hagenau. Polenz is not primarily concerned in this or in any other novel with that comprehensive depiction of the government, lore and customs of rural villages which is to be found in the fiction of Hermann Löns and when he does portray a community as a whole, portrayals are not always as sympathetic as those we find in the work of the latter author. In Das Land der Zukunft, Polenz makes claims for the benefits of a village existence,³¹ but the fictional Hagenau is hardly an attractive community. There is a marked absence of that unified purpose and cooperation which Löns saw as a product of rural community life and claimed reflected the common environmental and cultural background and shared interests of the

inhabitants. This can perhaps be interpreted as the consequences of Hagenau's contact with tradition destroying elements of the modern age, but it should be noted that even when Polenz does show a village acting in concert to protect its traditions or to give expression to the view held by the majority, this manifestation of a common will, praised by Löns, seldom receives overt narrative approval and is seen on one occasion to result from ignorance and unjustified prejudice.³²

In Der Büttnerbauer the most important social unit is the family, not the wider community of the village. But like villages in the work of Löns, the family is seen as an organic whole. It is rooted by tradition to the land it has owned for generations, operates with a unified purpose, is the repository for the hereditarily transmitted qualities of its ancestors. Within it, individual members have clearly defined social and economic functions, rights and responsibilities, and these change so little that instructions concerning such matters are not necessarily given. Polenz describes the beginning of the harvest:

In einer Reihe traten sie an, ohne besonderen Befehl.
 Ein jedes kannte seinen Platz von früheren Jahren her.
 Der Vater an erster Stelle, hinter ihm zum Abraffen
 der Ähren Toni. Darauf Karl, dem seine Frau beigegeben
 war. Ernestine hatte die Strohseile zu drehen für die
 Garben. Die Bäuerin blieb ihres Leidens wegen im Hause.³³

Büttner's position at the head of the group reflects his domination of the family. He was, we are told, 'stets Herr in seinen vier Pfählen gewesen und hatte von den Rechten des Familienoberhauptes, nach der Väter's Sitte Gebrauch gemacht'.³⁴ Neither Frau Büttner nor the children have in normal circumstances any say in the financial affairs of the farm. Frau Büttner demands that her husband's Sunday rest be respected and she hastens the family out of the room when Büttner's misfortunes reduce him to despair, in order that they should not see him in a moment of weakness. Although she may deceive him when she considers his attitudes unjust, she never openly defies him.

Büttner's position of authority as a husband must be related to Polenz's beliefs about the nature of the relationship that exists - or should exist - between the sexes. In his novels, he portrays in detail the interaction between men and women in various types of liaison and at various social levels. In most of these relationships the principle of male dominance is affirmed, but this affirmation is subject to certain qualifications. Particularly among the bourgeois couples that Polenz portrays, the emphasis is laid on the concept of partnership, with the man as the senior partner. Liaisons in which a man exploits that seniority or fails to respect his partner's individuality are shown to result in disaster. The woman is frequently shown to have advantages over her mate in a number of ways - her judgement of people and situations is shown to be sounder, and her sense of morality and propriety stronger.

But Polenz does not believe that a woman should be allowed to - indeed, is even able to - encroach upon the man's basic superiority, physical, social, or intellectual. This is revealed clearly in the novel Thekla Lüdewind, in which Polenz deals with the issue of women's emancipation in Wilhelminian Germany. He criticises those who participate in the feminist movement for their excessive subjectivity, but he does show some sympathy for their cause. That cause is, however, seen to be fundamentally a hopeless one, for they are challenging natural laws and natural laws will not be brooked. Male superiority is seen as a fact of life. Thekla, the heroine, considers

dass es die Natur sei und ihr ehernes Gesetz, dass diese Frauen verdammt. Sie kämpften gegen einen Wall, den sie Vorurteil nannten, und merkten nicht, dass sie anprallten an den Grundfesten der Welt. 35

Nature has not only dictated woman's essential inferiority to man. It has also given her certain biological functions which further define her social role. This role consists primarily in giving birth and raising children.³⁶ The majority of Polenz's approved female characters are loving

mothers, and children are seen in Der Böttnerbauer as an interest which can bring women of totally different spheres together in a common concern.³⁷

The author regards with hostility most of those female characters who indulge in professional pursuits, intellectual or cultural interests or who participate in a fashionable social life, for such preoccupations either exclude motherhood or tend to lead to a neglect of their children. Excluded from this hostility, however, are his rural female characters, whose work on the farm is an economic necessity and involves no disruption of family life.

Polenz is also concerned with the woman's role as a sexual partner. Here, too, the principle of male dominance is asserted. The sexual initiative is expected to come from the man and the passive female, familiar in the works of Hermann Löns, makes an appearance in Polenz' novels.³⁸ His heroes are initially impressed by women who make sexual advances, such as Polani's wife in Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf or Mira in Der Grabenhäuger, but these provocative females soon reveal themselves to be highly unsympathetic characters. An extreme degree of masculine sexual aggression is seen by Polenz, albeit somewhat regretfully, to be attractive to women. Commenting on the involvement of the youthful Marie with the ageing peasant farmer Krapf in the short story Das Glück der Riegels von Petersgrün, the narrator comments:

Vielleicht auch imponierte ihr die ungebrochene animalische Kraft, die Brutalität dieses alten Burschen; Eigenschaften, denen mehr Frauen zum Opfer gefallen sind, als ihrer vor Schönheit, Liebenswürdigkeit und Grazie kapituliert haben. 39

However, although Polenz' heroes are all accredited with sufficient masculinity, he shows little of the enthusiasm for the lusty conqueror of women that is displayed by Löns. Furthermore, although the majority of his protagonists, male as well as female, become involved in pre- or extra-marital affairs, they seldom receive the approval or condonation for their actions that Löns or Frenssen bestow on their more sexually adventurous characters. Far more

than either of these authors Polenz remains attached to a conventional sexual morality.

Der Büttnerbauer does not reveal the extent of this attachment. Polenz records without condemnation Gustav's fathering of a child out of wedlock, his dual morality in expecting Pauline to remain faithful while himself behaving promiscuously in the town, and his pre-marital nocturnal visits to her room. The reaction of Pauline, a character of whom Polenz approves, to the facts of her pre-marital intercourse and conception - 'Konnte denn das, was aus Liebe geschehen war, schlecht sein?'⁴⁰ - seems to confirm that Polenz was sympathetic to his characters' unconventional morality. The only indications to the contrary are to be found in Pauline's mother's unwillingness to reveal the parentage of her grandchild to her aristocratic visitors and Ida's shock and indignation on discovering that Pauline is a mother.

These indications are in fact far more representative of Polenz' general attitude than their relative lack of weight in Der Büttnerbauer might suggest. Characters in his other novels receive considerably more disapproval from their creator than do Pauline and Gustav for deviations from moral convention. Adultery, not touched upon in Der Büttnerbauer, is repeatedly condemned, and in Die Sühne there is an indication that Polenz regards the crime as an offence against divine law. Mörner is seen to be justified in his claim that Friedrich has sinned grievously in taking Eva, his wife, from him. He tells Friedrich:

"Es gibt noch etwas Höheres als das Recht der Liebe, das du für dich in Anspruch nimmst, das ist die göttliche Weltordnung, und die duldet nicht, dass der Mensch trenne, was Gott zusammengefügt hat." 41

The reference that Mörner makes to the rights of the divine world order over those of love indicates a significant difference in attitude between Polenz on the one side, and Frenssen and Löns on the other. The latter two authors assert at various points in their work that sexual drives should be given free rein and Frenssen in particular condemned bourgeois morality as an

unnatural restraint. Polenz, however, frequently laid emphasis on the disastrous consequences that could result from illicit affairs and spoke approvingly in the short story Die Unschuld of the heroine's struggles to control her sexual desires. There is evidence, too, of Polenz' adherence to conventional sexual codes in his descriptions of his heroes' sexual activity, which are seldom explicit and frequently coy - Gerland, for example, meeting his long courted love, Gertrud, is 'entzückt' by the 'verstohlenen Druck ihrer Finger durch den Handschuh,⁴² and, in spite of his pleas for sexual enlightenment,⁴³ the author makes reference to the facts of conception, pregnancy and childbirth in a veiled and cautious manner.⁴⁴

Polenz did not in general use different standards of judgement for his rural and bourgeois characters. An acquaintance with Der Grabenhäuger shows us that Polenz expressed no approval for those who tried to excuse moral laxity by crediting it to the nature of life in the countryside and Polenz' sympathies are directed towards Pastor Grützing and Klara, a staunch representative of bourgeois virtue and a moral touchstone throughout the novel, both of whom wish to impose a conventional sexual morality upon the rural population.⁴⁵ Klara's initial reaction to the news that her maid has conceived out of wedlock is one of horror:

Der Ekel vor dem Schmutz, die instinktive Abscheu
gegen das Gemeine und Rohe, die ästhetische Entrüstung
der feinen Dame neben der moralischen des reinen Weibes
drohten die Überhand zu gewinnen in ihrem Empfinden. 46

Although she tempers her first response with a display of compassion, the validity of that response is not gainsaid. The condonation of rural standards of sexual morality in Der Böttnerbauer is exceptional in Polenz' work.

Polenz' views on another major topic - that of religion - are also inadequately represented in Der Böttnerbauer. There are clear heathen tendencies in Böttner's religious attitudes. He believes in a Christian God, but his ascribed relationship to that deity is of a pagan nature, for Böttner sees

religion as a contractual affair.

Sein Verhältnis zu Gott bestand in einem nüchternen Verträge, der auf Nützlichkeit gegründet war. Der himmlische Vater hatte nach Ansicht des Bauern für gute Ordnung in der Welt, für regelmässige Wiederkehr der Jahreszeiten, gut Wetter und Gedeihen der Feldfrüchte zu sorgen. Kirchgang, Abendmahl, Kollekte, Gebet und Gesang, das waren Opfer die der Mensch Gott darbrachte, um ihn günstig zu stimmen. War das Wetter andauernd schlecht, oder die Ernte missraten, dann grollte der Bauer seinem Schöpfer, bis wieder bessere Zeit kam. Von der Busse hielt er nicht viel. Um das Fortleben nach dem Tode kümmerte er sich wenig, sein Denken und Sorgen waren auf das Diesseits gerichtet. 47

Büttner's lack of interest in the next world is seen to be typical of peasant-farmers.

Er war derb und nüchtern, ein Bauer; alle seine Triebe waren der lebendigen Wirklichkeit zugewandt. Darum konnte ihm die Seligkeit, wie sie das Christentum versprach, wenig Trost gewähren. Ein Himmel mit rein geistigen Freuden bot ihm keine Anziehung. Er wollte nicht Verklärung, er wollte Fortsetzung der Wirklichkeit, an der sein Ich mit allen Fasern hing. Er war ein Sohn der Erde. Was er hier gewesen, was er auf dieser Welt geschaffen und gewollt, sollte ewigen Bestand haben. 48

This overt concern with worldly matters and possessions is manifestly unchristian. And indeed it is emphasised that Büttner's allegiance to the faith is fundamentally a formal one. Writing of the peasant-farmers' indifference to the words of the pastor who visits him after he has lost the farm and ceased to attend church, Polenz records:

Seine Religiosität war niemals über eine äusserliche Kirchlichkeit hinausgekommen. Nun er nicht mehr zur Kirche ging, kam das Heidentum zum Vorschein, das tief in der Natur des deutschen Bauern steckt...Der Boden auf dem er stand, die Pflanzen, die er hervorbrachte, die Tiere, die er nährte, der Himmel über ihm mit seinen Gestirnen, Wolken und Winden, das waren seine Götter. 49

The polytheism implied here should not be seen as a literal representation of Büttner's beliefs, and earlier Polenz explains his hero's religious attitudes in terms of pantheistic monotheism.⁵⁰ The basis of Büttner's faith is

his belief that divine powers are manifested in natural phenomena, a belief which finds parallels in those pantheistic tendencies which led Löns and Frenssen to express sympathy for rural heathenism and superstition.

However, it should be noted that Polenz' account of Büttner's heathen traits is presented without the overt narrative approval that accompanies his portrayal of the peasant-farmer's attitudes in other areas. Heathenism and associated beliefs are not as prominently depicted and discussed in Polenz' work as in that of other 'Heimatkünstler'. He does not extensively attribute natural beings and elements with human powers, he never portrays elements of the supernatural as objective realities and he seldom approves the superstitions of his rural characters, on occasion dismissing them as the result of crass ignorance.⁵¹ In view of this attitude, the ghosts which appear to Büttner just before his death can best be interpreted as the product of Büttner's mind. They do not constitute evidence of Polenz' belief in the supernatural.

Büttner's actions leading up to this scene demonstrate that however nominal his allegiance to Christianity may be, he still sets great store by the habits of worship which have continued for a life-time, and the nature of his preparations for death are Christian, not heathen. He attends Holy Communion, and is anxious that his suicide should not result in his being denied a Christian burial:

Dass er als Christ gestorben und nicht wie ein Heidenmensch, das mussten sie doch einsehen! Die ganze Gemeinde und der Pastor hatten ihn ja in der Kirche und am Altar gesehen. Das musste doch gelten! 52

Although the church is clearly a focal point of village life, and Christianity - albeit a somewhat unorthodox variety - plays a significant role in Büttner's life, Polenz gives no extensive indications of his own view of the faith in Der Büttnerbauer. However, its place in contemporary society was an

important topic in many of Polenz' other works. Christianity was one of the two pillars - the other being nationalism - on which, Polenz declared, his hopes for the future development of German society rested,⁵³ and references to God's divine order were made to justify the validity of other social and moral attitudes besides those inherent in conventional codes of sexual behaviour. In his support for Christianity, Polenz' view differs radically from that of Hermann Löns, who condemned the faith as one imposed on the Germans by foreign powers. In the narrative of both Der Büttnerbauer and Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf, it is admitted that the peasantry find Christianity to some extent an alien element in their lives, but once again Polenz reveals himself unwilling to accept all rural attitudes, for he lends his sympathies to those characters who seek to persuade countryfolk to live their lives in accordance with basic Christian precepts.

However, Polenz was far from uncritical of conventional Christianity. His views on the subject are often close to those of Gustav Frenssen and he was proclaimed by one reviewer of his work to be 'ein Vorgänger des ganz radikalen Frenssens',⁵⁴ due to the attacks that he made on the doctrines and social role of the Evangelical church. The two authors differ in their attitudes on this subject in two major ways - Polenz, far more than Frenssen, realised how far the possibilities of a simple Christian faith had been destroyed by modern intellectual developments and he also continued to adhere to the official Christian sexual codes which Frenssen rejected - but there remained much common ground between them.

Their basic concern was the same. They believed that Christianity had to be recast in a manner that would be acceptable to those who had begun to doubt the validity of its conventional forms. Both authors claimed that the Church should show an increased interest in the social affairs of the community; both laid emphasis on the value of Christianity as a guideline

to behaviour in this world without reference to the next; both men wished for a nationalist orientated Christianity. They also claimed that theology could provide no guide to religious truth. Gerland claims that it is impossible to force God into an intellectual system and that 'Regeln und Lehrsätze, welche Menschen ausgedacht haben, sind für mich kein Glaube'.⁵⁵ Büttner too shows little interest in the more detailed aspects of the Christian religion: 'Dergleichen war ihm viel zu weit hergeholt und verwickelt. Das hatten sich wahrscheinlich die Gelehrten ausgedacht: die Studenten oder die Professoren oder wie sie sonst hiessen.'⁵⁶

The dismissive attitudes of both Büttner and Gerland towards intellectual activity implied in their lack of interest in the doctrinal details of Christianity can be related to the anti-intellectual bias which Polenz reveals in his thought in various areas. George Mosse indicates the basis of hostility to intellectualism inherent in German conservative and völkisch thought:

Man was not seen as a vanquisher of nature, nor was he credited with ability to penetrate the meaning of nature by applying the tools of reason; instead he was glorified as living in accordance with nature, at one with its mystical forces.⁵⁷

Now while this account does not find an exact correspondence in Polenz' writing - one of the main criticisms levelled at the Church in Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf is that it sought to ignore or forbid scientific exploration and advancement⁵⁸ - it nevertheless points to the root source of Polenz' anti-intellectualism. In his fiction an emotional reaction to an event or a phenomenon is frequently seen to be preferable to an intellectual response. Thus Polani's sermon, although technically and intellectually of a high quality, is condemned in the following terms: 'Die Predigt war offenbar aufs sorgfältigste ausgearbeitet, aber das Herz hatte wenig Anteil daran gehabt',⁵⁹ and in Wurzellocker, Alma is seen to be justified in her resistance to Berting's intellectual probings of her sexual experiences and reactions.

Although there is some ambiguity in Polenz' attitude towards emotional responses - he does, after all, condemn those who allow themselves to be carried away by illicit passion - he generally prefers to assert the claims of the heart over those of the head.

Related to the anti-intellectual attitudes that Polenz expresses in his work is the suspicion that he shows towards those who rely too much - either professionally or personally - on the written or spoken word. In Wurzelocker he writes of the youthful literary groups in Berlin:

Weil man an das wirkliche Leben nicht heran konnte, weil man jenseits der Barriere stand, welche von der Praxis die Theorie trennt, ergriff man das einzige Mittel, das zur Verbreitung seiner Ideen übrig blieb: das Wort, das gesprochene wie das geschriebene. 60

Words threaten to become a substitute for life experience. But in spite of this view, Polenz also recognises that Büttner's own relative inarticulateness and poor literacy, and the lack of education that underlie them render him vulnerable when he comes into contact with those who do not share his disadvantages. Even Gustav, better educated, possessing wider experience and a capacity for shrewd negotiating, is taken in by the sales talk of the labour agent and shows signs of faltering when he attempts to give voice to his misgivings about the latter's recruitment programme. Traugott Büttner falls an easy victim to the persuasive words of Harrassowitz, who is able to flatter the old man, trick him into revealing detailed information about the farm and play upon his hopes and fears. He is confused and panicked by Edmund Schmeiss's use of financial terms of which he is ignorant and he is unable to understand, let alone combat, the technical machinations of those who are scheming his ruin.

But gullibility and a lack of education are not the only characteristics that render Büttner vulnerable to those forces and representatives of the new age which threaten his survival. In Der Büttnerbauer at least Polenz indicates a lack of faith in the traditional peasant-farmer's ability to make

a successful use of his qualities and values in the modern world, where they are seen to become the concomitants of failure, or to resist that world's encroachment on his life. Chance and changing economic patterns play a considerable role in establishing the circumstances in which Büttner's financial and personal ruin become possible, but it is the protagonist's own character that makes that ruin probable, for he himself hinders the many possible measures that might have been taken to avoid it. Harrassowitz suggests an excellent solution to the old man's financial problems - that he should simply refuse to continue bearing the burden of the yearly interest that he has to pay his relatives. The complexity of the explanation leaves Büttner somewhat confused, but 'sein Redlichkeitsgefühl sagte ihm jedoch, dass hier etwas nicht in Ordnung sei',⁶² and instead he places himself in the hands of the Jew in order to pay off his debts. Harrassowitz is also able to take advantage of another quality of Büttner's - his attachment to his land. Büttner will accept any humiliation and exploitation rather than leave the farm:

Sam wusste, dass der alte Büttner sich lieber das Herz aus dem Leibe würde reißen lassen, als dass er die Stelle verlassen würde, die seine Vorfahren besessen, die er selbst durch ein Leben innegehabt. 63

Polenz can hardly be expected to take his hero to task for being honest or for being attached to his land - the latter quality being one that lies at the root of his admiration for the peasant-farmer. But the very fact that, in his plot, he makes these qualities contributory to Büttner's downfall indicates a deep pessimism about the outcome of a confrontation between those who hold to such values and the representatives of an ethos in which they count for little or nothing.

There is, however, one major aspect of Büttner's character for which Polenz does criticise him. Much of the hero's vulnerability to contemporary social and economic pressures arises from his rigid refusal to depart from

traditional agricultural methods and customs. Polenz' own view of the value of tradition was more pragmatic than that of certain other 'Heimatkünstler'. In Das Land der Zukunft he reveals a surprising degree of sympathy for some of the social and economic changes taking place in the United States and some of his most clearly approved characters in his fictional works challenge those who are blindly devoted to established convention or who make use of traditional customs and privileges to excuse their own selfishness and their exploitation of others. Büttner, we are told, 'war gebunden in seinem Willen an Thaten und Ansichten seiner Vorfahren', and, whilst Polenz approves some of the attitudes that Büttner shares in common with his forefathers, he does not approve his stubbornness in clinging to their views in all matters. Indeed, he indicates that, on occasions, Büttner may be rejecting the pragmatic principles which enabled them to survive and prosper in favour of adherence to outworn traditions. Büttner is hostile towards advances in agricultural methods, believing that 'solche Neuerungen waren höchstens dazu erfunden, den Landmann zu verderben' and dismisses the use of artificial fertiliser as 'neumodischer Unsinn. Wie konnte einige Handvoll solchen Pulvers ein Fuder Mist ersetzen, wie neuerdings Leute aus der Stadt behaupteten'.⁶⁴ Polenz points to the contrast between this view and that of Büttner's father, who 'hatte sich dem, was gut und nützlich im Neuen war, nie verschlossen'. Polenz reveals elsewhere in his work a certain ambiguity in attitude towards modern agricultural methods, particularly towards those taught in the trade schools,⁶⁵ but in Der Büttnerbauer, he views Büttner's refusal to take what advantage he can from technical progress as misguided and economically dangerous.

Another of Büttner's prejudices, one which is shared by both Löns and Frenssen, is a deep-seated hostility to the aristocracy. This attitude too is shown to have been rendered invalid and harmful to his main purposes,

but here Polenz reveals a greater degree of sympathy, if not approval.

In his conversation with the count's manager, the old man recalls the financial oppression of the peasant-farmer in the day of feudalism, the enforced donations of land made to the aristocracy after the emancipation of the peasantry and the continued threat to his welfare that the count's actions have offered during his lifetime. An additional criticism which Böttner does not make, but which is implicitly raised by the outcome of events in the plot, is that the count has lost contact with his rural home - only his lack of familiarity with events in Hagenau enables Schmeiss to foil the last attempt made to keep Böttner's farm out of the hands of Harrassowitz. In Der Grabenhäcker Polenz widens the scope of criticism of individual landed aristocrats and a large number of unsympathetic Junkers are portrayed - men who are inadequate farmers and employers, prejudiced, stubborn in their insistence on maintaining their traditional privileges, yet unwilling to fulfil their traditional duties.

In spite of these criticisms, Polenz, himself of Junker stock, believed that if the landed aristocracy became aware of and amended its faults, it could still play an important role in German rural life. One of the most sympathetic characters in Der Grabenhäcker, the Junker Klaven, tells Erich von Friebow of his conviction

"dass wir Junker noch eine grosse Zukunft haben...
Das Land ist ohne uns nicht zu denken. Zu tief
sind wir in dem Boden eingewurzelt, den wir seit
Jahrhunderten kultiviert haben, als dass man uns
so einfach herausreißen und beiseite werfen
könnte." 66

Polenz also believed that the old differences between the landed aristocracy and the peasant-farmer were no longer as important as the dire threats to their existence with which both, as the traditional landowning classes, were faced in the modern age. In Der Grabenhäcker, Friebow and the Tuleveits are reconciled and make common cause, but Böttner, failing to see the new source

of danger to his welfare for the old, withholds cooperation until too late, and both he and the count pay heavily for their failure to resist the changes that are taking place.

Polenz is in no doubt as to the identity of the motive power behind those changes. In Der Grabenhager, Klaven claims that capitalism is the deadly enemy of the landed aristocracy, but it constitutes as great a threat to Buttner, perhaps even greater, for unlike many of the aristocrats in Der Grabenhager, he simply fails to understand the nature of the force that crushes him. He is ignorant of the economic forces which have rendered his own methods of subsistence farming obsolete, enabled the farmer who treats his work as merely a business venture to grow rich and allowed merchants and bankers to gain financial control of his farm and to threaten the destruction of the organic connection that exists between himself and his land. He is aware only of the consequences of his indebtedness:

Nun drohten sich Fremde zwischen ihn und sein Eigentum zu drangen. Seinem schlichten ungeschulten Verstande stellte sich die Gefahr dar, wie eine Verschworung teuflischer Machte gegen ihn und sein gutes Recht. Von der Macht und Bedeutung des mobilen Kapitals, von jenen ehernen Gesetzen, nach denen ganze Stande und Geschlechter dem Untergange verfallen, andere emporhebend durch ihren Sturz, ahnte er nichts. Eines nur hatte er am eigenen Leibe erfahren: er kampfte und rang durch ein langes Leben gegen eine Last, die auf ihn gelegt war, er wusste nicht von wem. 67

Buttner's inability to identify the persons and forces working against him is due partially to his lack of education, partially to the clandestine manoeuvres of Harrassowitz. The old man fails to understand why Schmeiss should appear with the bill of exchange made out to the merchant, or why the latter should claim payment for goods ordered from Schmeiss, and it takes Gustav some time to realise that Kaschelernst is in league with his father's creditor. But Harrassowitz' manoeuvres can only succeed when provided with the cloak of anonymity that modern commercial and capitalist

practices make available. The force of capitalism is seen to be an impersonal one, and even when its agents are identifiable, they seem to have little room for compassion or for a genuine consideration of human emotions.

But anonymity and impersonality are the likely characteristics of a system the sole standard of value of which is portrayed as being devoid of any necessary reference to personalities or to personal values - the standard of monetary value, the judgement contained in a profit and loss account. When Böttner's merchant brother tells Gustav "was a richtiger Bauer is, der kann nich rechnen", and claims that ^{wahrscheinlich} this can only result in ruin in the modern world, his words have a significance that go beyond a condemnation of Böttner's inability to be an efficient book-keeper. Harrassowitz, the owner of the farm where Gustav and his group work, Schönberger - all these are powerful because they calculate solely in terms of financial gain, a mode of thought of which Böttner is incapable, for the traditions and sentiments that govern his life are far more important to him than cash. Harrassowitz shows no regard for the sentimental value attached to the apple trees planted by Böttner's grandfather, and orders the old man and Karl to dig them out, for 'die alten Krüppel von Apfelbäumen machten zu viel Schatten, und trugen ja doch nur saures Zeug, das man nicht los würde, hiess es'.⁶⁸ Harrassowitz shows a similar disregard for the memories associated with the farm buildings and equipment, utilising all these in the manner calculated to bring in the maximum profit. But it is the reduction of the land itself to the level of a 'Spekulationsartikel', as Klaven in Der Grabenhäger expresses it, that most affronts Polenz. For land's value as a means for giving man an organic connection with nature and with the life forces with which she is endowed cannot be calculated financially, and to attempt to do so is seen as a monstrous offence.

Monetary value becomes the dominant criterion of worth in personal

relationships also. The banker Schönberger is incapable of appreciating Büttner's gratitude for the loan. The old man shakes his hand and thanks him profusely, but

Isidor Schönberger betrachtete ihn mit demselben missmutig verächtlichen Ausdruck, den er für alles auf der Welt hatte, was sich nicht in Zahlen ausdrücken liess, und entliess ihn dann mit kaum merklichen Nicken seines schweren Kopfes. 69

In the capitalist system, financial considerations are seen to be the sole basis for any form of relationship that is affected by economic factors - between agent and client, buyer and seller, employer and employee. The labour agent explains the system of contract employment to Gustav:

"Und der Arbeiter - nun der fährt nicht schlechter dabei. Der bekommt seine Leistungen auf Heller und Pfennig in bar ausgezahlt. Beide Teile wissen ganz genau, was sie voneinander zu fordern haben; dafür ist der Kontrakt da. Der eine giebt das Geld, der andere seine Kräfte. Das Geschäft ist klipp und klar, wie ein Rechenexempel. Alles wird auf Geld zurückgeführt". 70

No attention is paid here to any personal feeling, positive or negative, that the employee may have towards his employer. In the impersonal system of employment that Polenz depicts in operation on the farm where Gustav and his troop work such emotions can hardly develop, for there is no direct contact between the farm owner and his labourers. Indeed, the labourer ceases to be aware of his employer as an individual: 'Der Grundbesitzer schien hier kaum noch eine Person; hinter ihm standen andere Mächte: die Fabrik, die Aktie, das Kapital, die zwischen den Besitzer und sein Stück Erde traten.'⁷¹

Polenz also criticised the absence of regard for the human factor shown in modern industrial employment. In Das Land der Zukunft, echoing sentiments expressed by Lienhard in his criticism of the industrial age, he claimed that men were themselves becoming mechanised, their sensibilities blunted by working with machines, and that the new production methods he saw in America, which demanded skills of a specialised and limited nature, promoted a diminution

of 'die Vielseitigkeit der Menschen'. Even the bicycle was criticised, for 'es bedeutet noch einen Schritt weiter in der Mechanisierung des Menschen'.⁷² However, like many 'Heimatkünstler', Polenz was unable to condemn industry and machinery completely, for he also wished to see a German nation strong enough to take its place among the nations of Europe and one of his major hopes for the future was to see the development of 'eine starke deutsche Flotte',⁷³ a hope that is scarcely compatible with a rejection of industrial development.

There is some ambiguity too in his attitudes towards another phenomenon identified by the 'Heimatkünstler' with the modern age - the city. Even after moving to his country estate, Polenz admitted that 'von Zeit zu Zeit ist mir die Grossstadt Bedürfnis, zur Anregung' and his openly expressed appreciation of life in the capital is seldom paralleled in the writings of other authors examined in this thesis. In Wurzelocker, he comments as narrator:

Wer längere Zeit Berliner Luft geatmet hat, den befällt von Zeit zu Zeit eine Sehnsucht nach dem nicht immer gefälligen und gemütlichen, aber jederzeit starken Leben dieser wunderlichen Stadt. 74

An even more surprising aspect of Polenz' attitude towards the city is evident in the Novelle Wald, in which he describes the reaction of Anna, recently married to an ageing forester, to her separation from her city home. She begins to hate 'die vielen Bäume, die sich aufstellten wie eine Mauer zwischen sie und das wirkliche Leben'.⁷⁵ The phrase 'das wirkliche Leben' occurs again in the Novelle with reference to the city and Polenz never takes his character to task for thinking in this manner - indeed, he demonstrates how drab and crude life in the country can be. Gustav Büttner, although born on the land, is capable of feeling the same longing for the city that Anna does. Visiting Leberecht in the town, he feels

ein bitteres Gefühl, als er sich hier umsah, und das Leben und Treiben ringsum betrachtete: den Marktverkehr, die Häuserreihen, die glänzenden Läden. - Wenn man damit die Ode der dörfischen Heimat verglich! 76

He is later seen to welcome the multitude of experiences which the city offers him, and to contrast favourably the opportunities for personal advancement offered there with those available in the village.

Yet many of the same criticisms of urban existence that appear in the work of other 'Heimatkünstler' are also made by Polenz. He describes in his novels the squalor of much city life, criticises the superficiality of its culture, claiming that the works he produced in the city lacked the 'Originalität und Frische' of those written in the country, and in Das Land der Zukunft listed 'Wohnungselend...schlechte Luft, moralische und physische Epidemien' as among the 'Symptomen der Grossstadtunnatur'.⁷⁷ He portrays numerous characters who leave the city and recover from moral and physical ills in the countryside, and, conversely, figures who lose their sense of propriety or suffer ill-health as a result of becoming urban dwellers.

Furthermore, although he occasionally presents with approval the good taste and gentility that those with an urban background may introduce into rural homes,⁷⁸ he is for the most part unenthusiastic about the disorientation and destruction of country life which result from the presence of urban dwellers in the countryside. When they come as tourists, they deface the landscape with signposts, villas and railway lines to transport them, Polenz complains in the short story Abdul.⁷⁹ When they come as speculators or industrialists they may introduce an even more unpleasant symptom of the modern age - the factory. Hauptmann Schroff sees all too clearly what the consequences of Harrassowitz' introduction of industry into the village will be:

"Esse an Esse! Die Wässer verdorben, kein Mensch mehr als Feldarbeiter zu haben; alles läuft in die Fabrik...Ich sehe schon die infamen Industriespargel am Horizonte. Alles Rauch und Kohlendunst dann!" 80

This quotation reveals once again Polenz' recognition that the features of the modern world hold great temptations for country folk. Yet he regards with

little enthusiasm the consequences of their giving in to those temptations. Their appearance may suffer, for they wear city clothes never designed for them. In the short story Bezahl's Gott, Polenz describes a group of peasant-farmers wearing 'jener halbstädtischen Tracht, die den Landleuten so schlecht steht, die ihre Vorzüge: derbknochige Kraft und sehnensähige Festigkeit verhüllt und ihre groben Nachteile doppelt hervorsehen lässt'.⁸¹ They may come into contact with forms of vice previously unfamiliar in the village, whose only indigenous sources of harmful temptation are seen to be the inn and the card game⁸² - Toni Büttner, for example, becomes a prostitute as the result of her stay in Berlin. Individuals may lose their sense of identity, as does Gretchen Tuleveit in Der Grabenhäger who is country bred and city educated yet can live comfortably in neither one world nor the other.

For Büttners, the contact with the social and economic forces of a modern Germany has two major and related consequences - the loss of the farm, and the ensuing disintegration of the family unit and of those restraints and conventions which Polenz presents in operation before Büttner's indebtedness to Harrassowitz begins to have its full effect. The loyalties of blood ties have, however, begun to weaken long before the merchant begins to play a role in Büttner's fortunes. When Leberecht Büttner died, he left no will, for

der Alte hatte da mit einer Gesinnung gerechnet, die wohl in seiner Jugend noch die Familie beherrscht hatte; der Gemeinsinn, der aber dem neuen Geschlechte abhanden gekommen war. Zu Gunsten der Einheitlichkeit des Familienbesitzes wollte keiner der Erben ein Opfer bringen. 83

As a result, Traugott is burdened with the yearly interest that he has to pay to the other heirs. Kaschelernst shows vindictiveness rather than loyalty towards his brother-in-law and Karl Leberecht is unwilling to save the farm. It is his notice of recall that precipitates Büttner's initial involvement with Harrassowitz. It should, however, be noted that it is Polenz who draws

attention to the decline in loyalty among Leberecht's children. Büttner himself sees vindictive relatives as a fact of life. He asks the Hauptmann, who suggests he gain the creditors' permission to save the farm by selling part of the wood, "han Se ne das Sprichwurt gehert: Blutsverwandte tut mer heesen, die Dich am erschten werden beesen",⁸⁴ and Polenz elsewhere portrays members of rural families who show little consideration for each other, without making any accompanying reference to changes in behaviour caused by social and economic developments.

When Harrassowitz begins to tighten his grip on the old man, the disintegration of the codes and conventions governed by blood ties begins to affect Büttner's immediate family. Mentally and physically strained as a consequence of his dire financial position, he begins to act harshly and unjustly towards his wife and children. This change marks the beginning of the decline of his authority as head of the household, a decline that is accelerated when the farm is lost and the children are forced to make their own way in the world. Ernestine, having gained a sense of independence while working away from home, refuses to obey Büttner and he is consequently forced to do work that he regards as the traditional responsibility of the women in the household. Only Gustav remains true to the old conventions, offering to take his father with him when he moves to the town with Pauline.

With paternal authority removed, both Toni and Karl decline morally. Toni finds a dubious employment in Berlin, and Karl, freed from, or rather, deprived of his father's control, takes to beating his wife and develops a drinking habit which ultimately results in a crippling accident. It is no coincidence that the loss of the farm, the collapse of family loyalties and the moral deterioration of Karl and Toni should follow so rapidly upon one another. Büttner's authority as head of the family is reinforced by, indeed dependent upon, his position as owner of the farm. When he is removed from that position,

the economic and social basis of his authority disappears. The restraining codes and conventions, which his position of dominance and family life in general provided, collapse, for the permanence, the rootedness of that life which the farm and the land gave are taken away.

The force which destroys the social and moral fabric of the life of the Büttner family - capitalism - knows nothing of the benefits of rootedness. Nor does the race which Polenz sees as primarily responsible for its introduction into the countryside. The author does present Germans, invariably unsympathetic characters,⁸⁵ who attempt to further capitalist and commercial interests, but he clearly considers the Jew far better suited to this unwelcome activity. The Jew, traditionally regarded as the wanderer - Polenz describes one of his Jewish characters as 'durch und durch Nomade, ohne Heimatgefühl'⁸⁶ - could scarcely have been expected to develop or even respect those qualities and values which a rooted rural existence is seen to encourage, and acting as an agent of the capitalist system, is unlikely to have any scruples about disrupting the social situation within which they are valid. Many of the attitudes which Polenz ascribes to Harrassowitz and to other Jewish characters in his work are those which he identifies as the hallmarks of the capitalist ethos. The merchant is shown to be lacking in compassion, without respect for tradition, concerned solely with self-advancement and above all preoccupied with financial profit.

But in other ways too, Polenz' Jewish figures, with a few exceptions, are seen to contrast strongly and unfavourably with his approved characters. Physically, they are unattractive and unhealthy - Silber in Wurzellocker has 'ein schwächlicher Leib' and a 'bleiches Gesicht', his fellow Jew, Weissbleicher, has an 'ungesundes Gesicht', Harrassowitz is obese, ostentatiously dressed and unclean and the Jewish women at the ball in Die Stöhne are described as 'diese fetten, hochbusigen Damen mit den groben, auseinandergezogenen Zügen'.⁸⁷

Their personal qualities, even when not directly linked to their success as agents of capitalism, are unattractive ones - cowardice, dishonesty, egoism, a chameleon-like ability to change loyalties for personal gain and 'jene den Juden eigentümliche Mischung von geschmeidig zuvorkommender Höflichkeit und zudringliche Arroganz'⁸⁸ are among the characteristics which Polenz ascribes to the Jewish characters who appear in his fiction. But above all the Jew is seen as the alien usurper, using the disruption caused by social and economic change as an opportunity to gain power and position in whichever social area he chooses to invade. The cuckoo-like character which Polenz attributes to the Jews is nowhere more succinctly described than in the following passage from Der Büttnerbauer:

Sam besass das Talent seiner Rasse im hohen Masse: anderer Arbeit zu verwerten, sich in Nestern, welche fleissige Vögel mit emsiger Sorgfalt zusammengetragen, wohnlich einzurichten. Und die Natur hatte ihm eine Gemütsverfassung verliehen, die es ihm leicht machte, sich um das Geschick der fremden Eier nicht sonderlich zu grämen. 89

But Harrassowitz and the capitalist ethos with which he is closely identified are not the only alien elements which Polenz claims account for the ruin of Büttner and the invalidation of the values that he embodies. The author reaches beyond the contemporary situation and immediate past to discuss a number of social developments which he believes have contributed to establishing the circumstances of the old man's downfall. Included in this discussion is a sweeping attack on the domination of German institutions of authority and particularly the legal system by 'ein Prinzip, eine Lehre, ein System, aus der Fremde eingeschleppt, eine Seuche gleich: der Romanismus!'⁹⁰ He connects with Roman law many of the modes of thought and behaviour which he regards with the greatest suspicion - intellectualism, academicism, egoism - and which offer so great a challenge to the values that he sees embodied in the life-style and attitudes of the German peasant-farmer.

Alle andere Stände verstanden es, sich das fremde System zu Nutze zu machen. Ritter und Kaufmann wussten seine Maxime zu verwerten, sich nur zu gut dem praktischen Egoismus anzupassen, der das Grundprinzip des römischen Rechtes ist. Und seit den Zeiten der Scholastik ward Haarspalterei und wirklichkeitsfremdes Definieren und Konstruieren die Lieblingsbeschäftigung der deutschen Gelehrten-zunft.

Dem deutschen Bauer aber grub das fremde System die Lebenswurzeln ab. 91

Polenz believes that before the introduction into Germany of Roman law, the indigenous legal system had affirmed that the right of ownership to land could only be established by living on and working the soil. But 'diese einfacher erdgewachsenen Verhältnisse' were destroyed by the importation of legal codes which gave a man property 'durch Eintragung in Bücher', which equated 'den Urgrund aller menschliche Verhältnisse, die Scholle' with 'einem Handelsartikel' and subjected the land to the dictates of the financiers.

Büttner continues to think of his land in the same manner as did all peasant-farmers before the introduction of the Roman legal system. He is fearful and suspicious of the law that has invalidated that attitude and of the bureaucratic authorities with which it is associated,⁹² and he and Frau Büttner are terrified of the legal proceedings which Edmund Schmeiss threatens them with, for they feel defenceless before a legal system which is so alien to them. Gustav, confronted with a similar threat from the labour agent, feels

ohne es beweisen zu können, dass er im Recht und jene im Unrecht sei. Aber bei dem, was in letzter Zeit seinem eigenen Vater widerfahren, lag das Recht so deutlich auf Seite des Unterliegenden, und das Unrecht auf Seite des Siegers - und trotzdem nahm Samuel Harrassowitz das Gesetz für sich in Anspruch, während es den Bauern im Stiche zu lassen schien - dass sich bei dem jungen Manne alle Begriffe von Gesetzlichkeit zu verwirren drohten. Das Recht war wohl nur denen etwas nütze, die es zu verdrehen verstanden! 93

The law seems to have little connection with genuine justice and fair dealing.

Among the other suggested causes of Böttner's collapse which originated before the present action of the novel are Leberecht's over-rapid expansion of the farm, the changing patterns of world trade, the consequences of the Thirty Years War and the emancipation of the peasantry. The latter subject does not play a prominent role as a theme in Der Böttnerbauer, but viewed in the context of aspects of Polenz' social thought revealed elsewhere in his work is of crucial importance. Discussing the part that emancipation may have played in the fate that overtakes Böttner, Polenz asks in the narrative :

War vielleicht jenes grosse Ereignis der Bauernbefreiung im Anfange des Jahrhunderts, dessen Zeuge noch Leberecht Böttner als junger Mensch gewesen, zu spät eingetreten? War dieser mächtige Ruck nach vorwärts nicht mehr im Stande gewesen, das Bauernvolk aus der Jahrhunderte alten Gewöhnung an Unselbstständigkeit und Knechtsseeligkeit herauszureissen? Oder war die Aufhebung der Frone zu schnell zu unmittelbar gekommen? Hatte sie den Bauern nur äusserlich selbstständig gemacht, ohne ihm die zum Genusse der Freiheit nötige Erleuchtung und Vernunft gleichzeitig geben/können? 94

Polenz does not answer these questions directly in this or any other work. There is however some further indication of his views on feudalism and its social system in a later passage of the novel, in which he suggests that the emancipation of the peasant-farmer has not led in Böttner's case to liberty, but in consequence of the power that the capitalist, Harrassowitz, has gained over him to subjection to an even worse tyranny than that of the feudal lord:

Es war eine Art Leibeigenschaft. Und gegen dieses Joch waren die alten Fronen, der Zwangsgesindedienst, die Höfegangerei und alle Spann- und Handdienst der Hörigkeit, unter denen die Vorfahren des Böttnerbauern geseufzt hatten, federleicht gewesen. Damals sorgte der gnädige Herr immerhin für seine Unterthanen, mit jener Liebe, die ein kluger Haushälter für jedes Geschöpf hat, das ihm Nutzen schafft, und es gab manches Band gemeinsamen Interesses, das den Hörigen mit der Herrschaft verband. Bei dieser modernen Form der Hörigkeit aber fehlte der ausgleichende und versöhnende Kitt der Tradition. Hier herrschte die parvenuhaftige Macht von gestern protzig und frivol, die herzlose Unterjochung unter die kalte Hand des Kapitals. 95

In Der Grabenhger, in which Polenz reveals a far greater degree of optimism concerning the survival potential of traditional rural values and social relationships than is evident in Der Bttnerbauer, the Junker Klaven implies that the best elements of the feudal social system - 'Treue und Pflichtbewusstsein' - could have been retained in the modern age, to the benefit of all. Polenz sees the best hopes for stable class and social relationships in the countryside resting on the revival of these elements, on the implementation of the principles of benevolent patriarchy. The most sympathetic of his landowning characters in the novel combine the establishment of the personal relations with their workers missing in capitalist labour relations with an active concern for their physical, mental and moral welfare. Polenz recognised that a better educated and more vocal working class would resist exploitation, whether that exploitation occurred under a capitalist employer or a Junker who continued to think of his labourers as docile serfs. He had sympathy with resistance to both kinds of oppression, but he was not prepared to support the predominant form which that resistance took. A revival of patriarchy could, he believed, wean the workers from their allegiance to the Social Democratic Party.

Polenz was not completely unsympathetic to Socialism. In Der Bttnerbauer he sees adherence to the movement as the inevitable reaction of working men who can find no other way of improving their unattractive lot. Gustav, who comes into contact with Socialists for the first time during his return from the West, comes to the conclusion that

schlecht waren diese Menschen nicht. Nicht Bosheit und Niedertracht beherrschte sie; sie trieb ein Streben, das auch ihn beseelte, wie jeden anderen Sterblichen: das Verlangen nach Besserung. 96

Elsewhere in his work, however, Polenz adopts a less tolerant attitude towards Socialism. He portrays a number of characters who turn to left-wing politics purely from personal rancour, often caused by an isolated clash

with the authorities which leads them to condemn the whole existing social system. In Kamerad und Genosse, Polenz writes approvingly of the triumph of loyalty to friend over loyalty to party, and in another short story Die Genossen he portrays the ruthless exploitation of the artisan Grule by his Socialist companions.

But the roots of Polenz' hostility to Socialism become evident when we examine the author's solutions to the class conflict that he depicts in his novels. He did not consider an elimination of classes desirable. He was far from enthusiastic about the consequences of democracy and the drive towards social equality that he saw manifested in America. In Das Land der Zukunft, he writes of the American: 'Er ist Herdenmensch, trotz seiner sprichwörtlichen Freiheitsliebe; gerade seine Gleichheitstrieb, seine demokratische Gesinnung machen ihn dazu.'⁹⁷ He was even less enthusiastic about the means proposed to remove class barriers. The prospect of a class war was abhorrent to him, primarily because it would have destroyed the German nation as a cohesive unit, but also, it would seem justifiable to surmise, from evidence in Polenz' fiction, because the author feared that he might be on the losing side in such a struggle.⁹⁸

He saw the monarchy and the princes as essential elements in the German nation⁹⁹ and believed in the desirability of a hierarchical social system based on the traditional class divisions, seeing the existence of order and authority at all social levels as dependent upon the maintenance of such a hierarchy. He claimed:

Ein Volk ist nur frei, wenn es aus lauter Herrn besteht, da Freiheit die Achtung der Rechte Anderer zu Ihrer Bedingung hat, und darum das Vorhandensein von Rechten Anderer verlangt, um selbst existieren zu können. Aus Herren bis in die untersten Schichten herab. Die Haus-, Lehr-, und Brotherrn - alles gute, alte, deutsche Wörter - sind leibliche Brüder der Fürsten, und stehn und fallen mit diesen, wie diese mit ihnen stehn und fallen. 100

Polenz wished for a reconciliation of the classes, not their disappearance. His ideal community was one in which the various classes worked and lived harmoniously together, an ideal temporarily realised in the scene in Der Grabenhäger in which the villagers join their master for Christmas: 'Hier ständen sie - Herrschaft und Dienerschaft! alle Stände, jedes Alter, jedes Geschlecht, eine Gemeinde, geeint durch den Geist der Gerechtigkeit, den Jesus Christus in die Welt gebracht',¹⁰¹ - another example of the manner in which Polenz sanctifies the social order he considers desirable by referring to the Christian faith. The basis of that order is loyalty between class and class and the absence of that aggressive desire for self-advancement which Polenz considered a hallmark of capitalism.

The second major objection to Socialism inherent in Polenz' social thought is his support for the rights of property. In Der Grabenhäger, patriarchy is seen to remove some of the causes of present social conflict, but the landowner Merten provides a solution that he believes will prevent unrest in the future. He buys a Junker estate and parcels it out to local agricultural workers. His action represents a complete break with tradition but this Polenz approves in the interests of social harmony. Merten's hopes for the future rest on the vision of a village with

lauter selbstständiger Wirte, die auf ihrem Eigentum sassen, Leute, welche die Füße unter dem eigenen Tisch wärmen könnten, die auf dem eigenen Acker sich ihr Brot erbauten, Besitzer, die sich nicht vor jedem Quartalswechsel fürchten mussten, weil sie in einer Schuldjacke stecken. 102

Such a solution would solve many of the social problems raised in Der Büttnerbauer. By increasing the number of plots of land available, it would help to prevent the drift from the land and the decline in the agrarian population, the continued existence of which Polenz regards as so essential to the well-being of the German nation. Gustav leaves the village primarily because he has no chance of farming his own property:

Ja, wenn er's so hätte haben können, wie sein Grossvater Leberecht...wenn er auf freiem Gute hätte selbstständig schalten und walten dürfen, als sein eigener Herr, da hätte er wohl jede Arbeit auf sich nehmen wollen, wäre sicher gewesen, etwas sicher vor sich zu bringen. Aber so, wo das Glück der Familie vernichtet war! Wo einer hätte wieder ganz von vorn anfangen müssen! 103

The widespread possession of property would also help to lay the spectre of class warfare. Polenz never explicitly gives this as a ground for his sympathetic portrayal of Merten's scheme, but it seems legitimate to point out that the practice of giving discontented workers a stake in the existing social order was attempted by Bismarck in his promotion of the Social Security laws in the 1880's. Polenz, however, does recognise that possession of property will increase a man's adherence to the existing moral order. The vagrants whom Gustav meets on his travels have abandoned all allegiance to conventional moral codes:

Unter diesen hier galt kein Gesetz, als das der Gaunerei, keine Ehre, ausser der Vagabundenpflicht, Genuss und Vorteil waren die einzigen Autoritäten, die anerkannt wurden, Redlichkeit und Frömmigkeit wurden verlacht...Wie konnte der auch rechtlich sein, der nichts zu gewinnen und nichts zu verlieren hat. 104

These vagrants, many of them ruined farmers, share in common

die Heimatlosigkeit. Von der Scholle waren sie getrennt, deren mütterlich nährnde Kraft nichts ersetzen kann. Das waren die wirklichen Hinterbten, denn sie hatten nicht, worauf jeder von Geburtswegen Anspruch hat, ein Stück Erde, darauf er seine Füsse ausruhen, auf dem er leben und sterben darf. 104

It should be noted that although not all these vagrants are country folk, Polenz uses the word 'Scholle' and 'Erde'. When he speaks of 'Heimatlosigkeit', he is clearly thinking of a rural home. Inhabitants of the cities, although they have a permanent roof over their heads, are shown in the work of Polenz and other 'Heimatkünstler' to display the same signs of moral decline, to suffer from a similar disruption of stable social relationships as the drifting population of the roads'. Only true rootedness in the earth is

capable of providing man with a firm base upon which he can establish lasting and valid social conventions.

Polenz nowhere states explicitly why this should be so. However, certain suggestions can be made as to why he should see a life lived close to nature as favourable to the existence of a regulated and moral social order. Agriculture must necessarily commit its practitioner to a life that is ordered - for the repetitive patterns and rhythms of natural growth, consumption and decay govern not only his yearly and seasonal activity, but also his daily behaviour. These rhythms affect not only the individual, but also help to stabilise the life of the social units to which he belongs - the family and the rural community. Furthermore, it seems likely that Polenz believed that the natural world order was essentially moral. In his dying breath, Dr. Burt, the figure who enjoys so much of Polenz' sympathy in Die Sühne, tells Friedrich with reference to the latter's adultery that "es gibt einen sittlichen Weltzusammenhang und darum sittliche Pflichten; keiner vernachlässigt sie ungestraft".¹⁰⁵ Since Polenz considers that the natural world can offer man both a model for his social organisation and a life force, it seems possible that he believed closeness to nature would also allow him access to the moral drives of the world order.

It is true that Polenz presents a number of highly sympathetic non-rural characters in his fiction - many of whom, however, have or develop ties with the countryside. But, significantly, the only novel in which he promotes an extensive solution to the social problems he deals with is one with a rural setting - Der Grabenhäger. The reforms that Polenz promotes through his characters are exclusively concerned with the social and economic aspects of agriculture. They contain no mention of industry and the class alliance that he favours - aristocracy, peasant farmer and agricultural labourer - excludes both the proletariat and middle classes. For, however much Polenz'

portrayal of the modern world may be tempered by the recognition that it has introduced irreversible changes into German life, not all of them evil, the force which had brought that world into being - urban-based capitalism - and which is primarily responsible for the ruin of Traugott Büttner is seen to be one that is fundamentally inimical to those qualities and values he rates highest and to the type of society which embodies them.

References - Der Büttnerbauer

- 1) As well as receiving favourable notices in most conservative literary periodicals - not necessarily an indication of great literary merit, as reviewers for these were often more concerned with a work's ideological position than with its artistic quality - Der Büttnerbauer was greeted with considerable enthusiasm by Theodor Fontane, who referred to the "grossen künstlerischen Genuss" which the novel had given him (Theodor Fontane, Letter in 'Unbekannte Briefe Fontanes an Wilhelm von Polenz und seine Tochter Meta - 1895-7', Sinn und Form, Vol. 21, 1969, p.1920). It also received a highly sympathetic reception from Leo Tolstoy (Heinrich Ilgenstein, Wilhelm von Polenz, Berlin, 1909, p.51). The novel gained the attention of at least one major non-literary figure - Adolf Hitler believed that it had somewhat influenced his thought (George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, London, 1970, p.27).
- 2) The novel is not without faults, particularly in the characterisation. Büttner's initial trust of the Jew is inadequately explained. Polenz indicates the suspicious nature of Büttner's character on a number of occasions yet the only character outside the family he trusts is Harrassowitz. The latter's reputation is already well-known to the captain and it seems unlikely that Büttner would not have heard of his unwelcome activities in the area.

One is also tempted to see Polenz' portrayal of Harrassowitz and the other Jewish characters in the novel as stereotyped. How far our standards of judgement are at variance with those of even talented literary figures of Polenz' Germany is indicated in a letter that Polenz received from Fontane, in which the latter wrote: "Ich füge noch hinzu, dass die Juden, weil verhältnismässig "milde" gehalten, alle wundervoll sind" ('Unbekannte Briefe', p.1291).

- 3) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer (Berlin, 1895), Frontispiece.
- 4) Quoted, Adolf Bartels, Wilhelm von Polenz (Leipzig, 1909), p.102.
- 5) Particularly in Sühne (1890 - Gesammelte Werke, Edited by A. Bartels, Vol. 1 Berlin, 1909); Die Versuchung (1891 - Gesammelte Werke Vol. 7); Die Unschuld (1891 - Gesammelte Werke Vol. 7). Characters in all these works are predominantly explained in terms of individual heredity and milieu. Sühne contains lengthy physiological descriptions, as in the following explanation given by Burt to Friedrich of the effects of delirium tremens in Krolup:

"Im Staatswesen seines Körpers ist völlige Anarchie ausgebrochen, die kleinen Nervenzentren gehorchen nicht mehr dem obersten, die Muskeln nicht mehr ihren Nerven, die Drüsen wollen nicht sekretieren, der Kreislauf des Blutes ist gestört und die Glieder wollen sich in dieser allgemeinen Unordnung als selbständiger Herren aufspielen, wie du an diesen zappelnden Händen siehst." (p.146)

- 6) Lehmfink, who operates as a moral touchstone and arbiter of literary standards throughout the novel, makes various complaints about Naturalism and the attitudes of the young literary lions who associated themselves with the movement. He condemns its preoccupation with man's animal side to the exclusion of the spiritual, rejects its "ängstliche Forschen, Sezieren, pedantische Wiedergabe der Wirklichkeit" (Wilhelm von Polenz, Wurzelocker, Berlin, 1902, Vol.1, p.117) and claims that Naturalism and Socialism which he links as "Geschwisterkinder" touch only the surface of man's existence and furthermore allow little room for "Mannigfaltigkeit und Originalität" (Vol. 2, p.190).

But his most telling accusation is the following:

"Zwei Sünden werfe ich den Jungen vor, zwei Todsünden: dass sie kein Verhältnis haben zur Religion,

und das gleich schwere Verbrechen: dass sie dem Vaterlande kühl gegenüber stehen." (Vol.2, p.192)

In as early a work as Sühne, Polenz portrays his hero rejecting Naturalism.

As Wilhelm Tholen points out, there were personal as well as ideological grounds for Polenz' eventual coolness towards the movement. He was too attached to the life of the Junkers to have been able to maintain a permanent link with the bohemian world of the Berlin literary scene (Cf.

Wilhelm Tholen Wilhelm von Polenz: Ein deutscher Kulturhistoriker des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts. Diss., Cologne, 1924, p.162).

- 7) However, it should be noted that a decade before the attack on Naturalism made in Wurzellocker, Polenz, reviewing Dr. Pascal, condemned Zola's exclusive reliance upon hereditary factors to explain his characters. He writes:

'Ist dieser ganze Versuch, an den Gliedern ein und derselben Familie die Evolutionstheorie zu entwickeln, alle Eigenschaften des Individuums aus der Blutmischung herzuleiten, ist dieser Versuch nicht ein doppelter Missgriff? Nach der künstlerischen Seite ein Missgriff, weil Beweisen nicht Sache der Kunst ist; nach der naturwissenschaftlichen, weil die Wissenschaft viel bessere und wirksamere Mittel hat, wenn sie Theorien feststellen will, nämlich die Erfahrung, und nicht die Phantasie.'
(Wilhelm von Polenz, 'Der Schluss der Rougon-Macquart', Der Zuschauer Vol.1, 1893, p.230)

- 8) Quoted, Heinrich Ilgenstein, p.15.
- 9) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf (1893), 3rd edition, Vol.2 (Berlin, 1904), p.236.
- 10) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.256.
- 11) Wilhelm von Polenz, Das Land der Zukunft (Berlin, 1903), p.246.
- 12) In Das Land der Zukunft, Polenz links the uniformity he found in American society with the uniformity of much American landscape, commenting on the latter that "Grösse hat sie nur in Ausdehnung" (p.81).
- 13) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.76.
- 14) Wilhelm von Polenz, Das Land der Zukunft, pp.1/2.
- 15) Ibid., p.144.
- 16) Ibid., p.147.

- 17) In Das Land der Zukunft, Polenz claims that the German emigrants did not remain in the American cities, but trekked "ihrer Bauernnatur getreu, ins platte Land" (p.18).
- 18) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.70.
- 19) Wilhelm von Polenz, Das Land der Zukunft, p.111.
- 20) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.38.
- 21) Ibid., p.158.
- 22) In Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf, Polenz contrasts the high-living Finke with his peasant-farmer father. The former "verbrauchte in einem Jahr mehr für Wein und Cigarren, als der alte Finke in seinem ganzen Leben für Knaster und dünnes Bier ausgegeben hatte" (Vol.1, p.195).
- 23) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.119.
- 24) Ibid., p.152.
- 25) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Grabenhäger (1897) in Gesammelte Werke, Vol.2, pp.81/2.
- 26) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.75.
- 27) Ibid., p.167.
- 28) Ibid., p.20.
- 29) Ibid., p.181.
- 30) Ibid., p.180.
- 31) Polenz complains of the isolation of American farms, which
 'hat...jenes Heimgefühl unterbunden, mit dem der
 deutsche Bauersmann am eigenen Herd, an der
 heimatlichen Flur, den Dorfmarkungen, den Gemeinde-
 einrichtungen, kurz an der alt gewohnten Nachbarschaft
 hängt.' (Das Land der Zukunft, p.105).
- 32) In Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf it is the most unattractive characters who organise a cabal to remove Gerland - but this cabal stems from the hostility of most of the villagers to the changes in their traditional attitudes that Gerland attempts to bring about and is one to which they lend their active support.

- 33) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.116.
- 34) Ibid., p.118.
- 35) Wilhelm von Polenz, Thekla Lüdekind (Berlin 1899), Vol. 2, p.306.
- 36) Polenz, while adhering to a stricter sexual morality than Gustav Frenssen was occasionally, like him, prepared to give implicit approval to a woman bringing up a child without a husband (Karline in Karline. Novellen und Gedichte, Berlin, 1894, pp.36/7).
- 37) When Pauline and the countess begin to discuss Pauline's child, the initial awkwardness caused by the social gulf between them begins to disappear:

'Jetzt wo sie (Pauline) von dem Wichtigsten sprechen konnte, was es für sie auf der Welt gab, fand sie ihre gewöhnliche Lebhaftigkeit und Offenheit wieder. Das Eis war gebrochen. Nicht mehr die Komtesse stand vor ihr, sondern eine Frau wie sie, der sie ihr Herz rückhaltlos ausschütten durfte.' (Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.79).

- 38) Gerland takes his love, Gertrud, into the arbor:

'Jeder seiner Bewegungen folgte sie. Bald hatte er sie ganz in seiner Gewalt - sein Arm lag um ihren Körper, sein Kuss durchdrang ihre Lippen - sie schien keinen Willen mehr zu haben. Wie ein Schüler folgte sie willig seiner Anleitung.' (Wilhelm von Polenz Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf Vol. 2, p.185).

- 39) Wilhelm von Polenz, Das Glück der "Riegels von Petersgrün" in Gesammelte Werke Vol. 8, p.220/1.
- 40) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.103.
- 41) Wilhelm von Polenz, Sühne in Gesammelte Werke Vol. 1, p.337.
- 42) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf Vol. 2, p.274.
- 43) In Die Unschuld, Polenz presents a sympathetic doctor who proclaims with reference to Therese, whose tragedy results from ignorance of the facts of sex: "Das Natürliche soll man so nehmen, wie es ist, vor allem sollte man viel offener darüber sprechen." (p.139).

44) One of the stranger aspects of Polenz' cautious approach in this area is his attribution to his more refined female characters of ignorance of basic bodily functions. It seems unlikely that Klara in Der Grabenhäger would have had to consult her best friend for an interpretation of the more dramatic symptoms of pregnancy from which she begins to suffer, and even more improbable that she would not have been aware of her condition before the appearance of these symptoms.

45) Grützingler feels that a substitute must be offered to wean the villagers away from promiscuity:

"Sodann muss den Leuten Freude an edleren Vergnügungen und Beschäftigungen anezogen werden. Dazu schlage ich vor, einen Leseverein zu gründen mit einer kleinen Bibliothek für die Männer; für die Frauen besondere Zusammenkünfte mit Unterredung und gemeinsamer Handarbeit." (Der Grabenhäger, p.533).

This would seem to be a somewhat untempting alternative to illicit sexual activity.

46) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Grabenhäger, p.256.

47) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.160.

48) Ibid., p.161.

49) Ibid., p.331.

50) 'Manchmal in früher Morgenstunde, wenn er auf dem Felde stand, und die Welt erstrahlte in überirdischem Glanze dann fühlte er Gottes Nähe, da nahm er die Mütze vom Haupte und sammelte sich zum kurzen Gebet. Oder ein Wetter brauste daher über sein Haus und Land mit Blitzschlag und Donnergerollen, dann spürte er Gottes Allmacht. Oder nach langer Dürre ging ein befruchtender Regen nieder, dann kam der Allmächtige selbst hiernieder auf seine Erde.' (Ibid., p.160).

51) In Söhne, the peasant belief that evil spirits spread disease results in an outbreak of typhus (p.433). Occasionally, superstitions are shown to have validity - the boiling drops of lead dropped onto water to reveal the future do, in fact, predict the fates of Friedrich, Mörner and Eva. But such instances are rare and are of an insignificant number when

compared with the frequent superstitions portrayed and validated in the work of Gustav Frenssen.

- 52) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.423.
- 53) Polenz declared his hopes for the future development of Germany to be for "soziale Evolution - ohne Revolution - auf der doppelten Grundlage des Christentums und der nationalen Idee" (Quoted, Wilhelm Tholen, p.26).
- 54) Dr. Merten Schian, 'Religion und Kirche bei Wilhelm von Polenz', Deutsche Evangelische Blätter Vol.3 (1906), p.713. Quoted, Wilhelm Tholen, p.130.
- 55) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf Vol.2, p.289.
- 56) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.160.
- 57) George Mosse, p.15.
- 58) Science is seen as capable of enhancing man's appreciation of God's creation. Gerland reflects:
- 'Mochte die Wissenschaft mit jedem Tage ausserordentliches entdecken, mochten die Naturforscher Beobachtung auf Beobachtung häufen, neue Gesetze feststellen und alte über den Haufen werfen, das konnte nur dazu dienen, die Wunderbarkeit der Schöpfung zu erhöhen, Grösse und Ruhm des Schöpfers zu vermehren.' (Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Pfarrer von Breitendorf Vol.1, p.3).
- 59) Ibid., Vol.2, p.284.
- 60) Wilhelm von Polenz, Wurzellocker, Vol.1, p.83.
- 61) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.49.
- 62) Ibid., p.335.
- 63) Ibid., p.234.
- 64) Ibid., p.145.
- 65) In Der Grabenhäger, Karl Tuleveit, a peasant-farmer's son, puts into practice the theories that he has learnt at agricultural school. The result is one poor harvest after another and, in consequence, the farm falls into the hands of Isodor Feige, a Jewish moneylender who plays much the same role in this novel as Harrassowitz does in Der Böttnerbauer.

- 66) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Grabenhäger, p.555.
- 67) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.71.
- 68) Ibid., p.294.
- 69) Ibid., p.54.
- 70) Ibid., p.243.
- 71) Ibid., p.362.
- 72) Quoted, Adolf Bartels, Wilhelm von Polenz, p.104.
- 73) Quoted, Wilhelm Tholen, p.26.
- 74) Wilhelm von Polenz, Wurzellocker, Vol.1, p.216.
- 75) Wilhelm von Polenz, Wald (1899) in Gesammelte Werke Vol.8, p.321.
- 76) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.174.
- 77) Wilhelm von Polenz, Das Land der Zukunft, p.198.
- 78) Tuleveit's city-bred wife persuades her husband not to eat with his workers and she educates her children above their station, "aber auch manche Verbesserung führte die junge Frau ein...das ganze Hauswesen, die Innenwirtschaft, alles, wo der weibliche Einfluss hinreichte, hatte etwas Schmuckvolles und Gewähltes angenommen" (Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Grabenhäger, p.225).
- 79) Wilhelm von Polenz, Abdul in Gesammelte Werke, Vol.7, pp.267/8.
- 80) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.189.
- 81) Wilhelm von Polenz, Bezahl's Gott in Gesammelte Werke, Vol.7, p.28.
- 82) Like most 'Heimatkünstler' Polenz saw alcohol in particular as a threat not only to the well-being of the peasant-farmer, but to the whole nation. The horrors of delirium tremens are recorded in Sühne (Cf. Note 5) and in Das Land der Zukunft he states approvingly that he found the American workers "enthaltamer als der Durchschnitt unserer Leute" (p.91).
- 83) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.39.
- 84) Ibid., p.67.

- 85) Polenz' view of commercial activity may be contrasted to that of Gustav Freytag. In Soll und Haben (1855) Freytag sets his unscrupulous Jewish merchant, Veitel Itzig, against the conscientious German businessman, Anton Wohlfahrt. Polenz is suspicious of commercial activity under any circumstances, whether undertaken by Jew or German.
- 86) Wilhelm von Polenz, Wurzellocker, Vol. 1, p.55.
- 87) Wilhelm von Polenz, Sühne, p.246.
- 88) Wilhelm von Polenz, Sühne, p.246.
- 89) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.336.
- 90) Ibid., p.277.
- 91) Ibid., p.277/8.
- 92) Böttner believes "dass die Behörden nur dazu seien, dem Bauern das Leben sauer zu machen" (ibid., p.110).

In Das Land der Zukunft, Polenz criticised the excessive influence the bureaucracy had in German society, which he believed to be as great an evil as the corruption he found in American public life. Klaven, in Der Grabenhäger, welcomes Marten's proposed land reforms, but comments:

"Praktisch, nicht bürokratisch muss so etwas angefasst werden. Auf dem Wege der juristischen Instanzen wird die gesetzgeberische Wohltat oft so verdünnt, dass sie schliesslich dem Kranken als schwaches Tränklein ankommt." (p.618).

- 93) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.253.
- 94) Ibid., p.276.
- 95) Ibid., p.336.
- 96) Ibid., p.370.
- 97) Wilhelm von Polenz, Das Land der Zukunft, p.333.
- 98) In Der Grabenhäger, those landowners who do not respond to their workers' demands for better conditions face ruinous revolt. Self-interest plays a large part in the actions of more generous employers like Merten. Commenting

on his experience of building new accommodation for his workers, he tells Erich von Kriebow: "Und da habe ich eine Erfahrung gemacht; die Leute, die in den schöneren Katen wohnten, zeigten sich besonders tüchtig." (p.449).

- 99) Wilhelm Tholen, pp.121/2.
- 100) Quoted, *ibid.*, p.123.
- 101) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Grabenhäger, p.246.
- 102) *Ibid.*, p.617.
- 103) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.375.
- 104) *Ibid.*, p.363.
- 105) Wilhelm von Polenz, söhne, p.462.

Chapter 3: Adolf Bartels - Die Dithmarscher

With the exceptions of his verse satire on contemporary Germany and some of his poetry, Adolf Bartels gave all his literary works historical settings. The reasons for his preoccupation with historical subject matter become apparent in exhortations he made to his fellow writers to join him in using such material - exhortations which also indicate much of his purpose in the writing of Die Dithmarscher, his fictionalised depiction of the history of his own province during the sixteenth century. In an article published in Der Kunstwart three years before the appearance of Die Dithmarscher, Bartels condemned those writers who had turned their backs on historical material because it was no longer fashionable:

Unsere modernen Talente haben leider immer jenes
Premierepublikum im Auge, das das Moderne in den
modischen Phrasen, Parfüms, Sensationskonflikten
(vulgo Skandalen) und neuesten Pariser Toiletten
sucht und findet und das will auf der Bühne wie
im Buche nur die Menschen und Dinge vom Tage sehen. 1

Such writers he gives short shrift, demanding bluntly that the modern author 'muss heraus aus der Atmosphäre der modernen Banalitäten und Trivialitäten' and asserting that only by turning to the past for material

können wir aus der ewigen Grossstadtsatmosphäre
heraus, die den meisten unserer Dichter nicht bloss
eine Binde um die Augen, sondern auch noch...einen
eisernen Reifen ums Gehirn gelegt. 2

But he admitted too that writers who did not chase public acclaim and financial

success were also turning away from historical themes, for they considered the literary representation or treatment of contemporary problems to be a more important artistic activity than the fictionalised or dramatised portrayal of past events. Bartels respected their concern with their own times, but claimed that the writer need not - indeed, should not - ignore the nature and needs of the era in which he lived when using historical material. He asserts:

Der Dichter (ist)...freilich ein Sohn seiner Zeit und schreibt für seine Zeit und wie ihn da natürlich nur die Stoffe reizen werden, deren Gehalt in guten Sinne modern ist, oder mit denen sich moderner Gehalt zwanglos verbinden lässt, so wird er bei der Ausführung den Stoff in der Weise modernisieren, als es zum Verständnis seines Werkes bei den Zeitgenossen nötig ist. 3

The belief that the modern writer could find material in history which could be presented in a manner having relevance to his own contemporary situation is in itself hardly remarkable. Authors of many eras, nationalities and social and political persuasions have found in fictionalised or dramatised history an excellent vehicle for commenting on their own times. What marks out Bartels' approach is the kind of relationship he demanded the author should have with that history. In the previously quoted article in Der Kunstwart, he comments at length on the task of the historical novelist - he pays relatively little attention to the historical dramatist, perhaps because his own dramas deviated from principles established in this article⁴ - and among his assertions is the following:

Beim historischen Roman pflegt die Heimatliebe wie einmal Adolf Stern sagte "die innerste, ja leidenschaftliche Beteiligung an der Vergangenheit der Heimat" eine grosse Rolle zu spielen. Man kann nur historische Romane aus der Geschichte seiner Heimat schreiben. 5

This theme recurs and is expanded upon in comments Bartels made on the historical novel in numerous literary histories and critical articles. He condemned the 'archäologische Romane' of the 1870's, because he believed that the authors of

these works lacked the necessary devotion and love of the homelands and inhabitants they wrote about. In the first edition of Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, he writes:

Leider ward die Vergangenheit kaum in einem der Verfasser archaologischen Romane wirklich lebendig, es fehlte die notwendige leidenschaftliche Teilnahme an Volk und Stamm, die leidenschaftliche Liebe zur Heimaterde, zur engen Heimat, die die Schöpfer grosser historischer Romane wie Walter Scott und Willibald Alexis zeigten. 6

Not surprisingly, once the term 'Heimatkunst' had been put into general circulation by Bartels and Lienhard, the former frequently emphasised the links between the newly proclaimed literary phenomenon and his own preferred kind of historical novel. Die Dithmarscher was identified as 'Heimatkunst', as were many other historical novels of which Bartels approved. In the 1902 edition of Die Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, Bartels asserted: 'Der historische Roman muss Heimatkunst...sein.'⁷ Conversely, Bartels also believed that 'der echte Heimatkünstler' was always deeply involved in the history of his homeland and its people. In an article on 'Heimatkunst' in the journal Deutsche Arbeit, he describes at length the 'Heimatkünstler's' relationship to the past of his region:

Nicht bloss in der Gegenwart ist der Heimatdichter zuhause, er kennt auch die Vergangenheit des geliebten Bodens, in den Zügen seiner Zeitgenossen erkennt er die Ahnen wieder, neben den Lebenden schreiten ihm auch die Toten aus den alten Kirchen und Häusern hervor, und wo sich jetzt wallende Kornfelder sich ausbreiten und friedliche Herden grasen, da sieht er das wilde Getümmel einer Schlacht. Flucht vor der Gegenwart und ihrem Geiste will darum eben der echte Heimatdichter doch nicht; es hat für ihn auch Reiz, den rollenden Zug mit den feurigen Augen durch die nächtliche Landschaft rasen zu sehen und selbst mit den ragenden Fabrikschornsteinen söhnt er sich aus, wenn er an die hundert fleissigen Hände, die nun nicht mehr zu feiern brauchen, denkt...Freilich der Mann des Fortschritts um jeden Preis ist er nicht, der Bauer steht seinem Herzen näher als der heimatlose Grossindustrielle. 8

We saw in the introduction why Bartels expected the 'Heimatkünstler' to feel a particular reverence for his native region. What is now necessary is some discussion as to why Bartels also expected him to be deeply aware of the history of that region, to be conscious of its past in his experience of its present. One aspect of its historical continuity is pointed to in the reference to the 'Heimatkünstler' seeing 'die Ahnen' in the physical features of his contemporary compatriots. These physical features, we can surmise on the basis of our familiarity with the ideological basis of Bartels' social thought, have remained the same because all inhabitants of the region are open to the influence of the same natural environment and racial heritage. But these influences have been responsible for more than just the creation of a permanent physical typology. Nature in general provides a life force, but nature in its regional and racial variations dictates the forms of that life. It provides an authentic and stable identity for the inhabitants of any given rural region, and this identity is manifested in the personalities of the individuals it conditions and in the conventions and social forms of the communities in which those individuals live. To be aware of a region's past is to be aware of the revelation in history of that identity, of that 'Grundcharakter der Bevölkerung' in which Bartels believes. He often seems to be convinced that that character, reflecting as it does the conjunction of landscape, race and the basic culture which these two produce, is changeless, that in spite of all technological and social changes, the 'Heimatkünstler's native region will remain 'die alte Heimat'.⁹ At first sight, then, it seems that the 'Heimatkünstler' is expected only to bear witness to an unalterable historical continuity.

But, as was pointed out in the introduction, Bartels was not always so confident about the capacity of regional populations to maintain their nature-based identity. His uneasiness is suggested in the passage quoted above, for

his model 'Heimatkünstler' reveals a relatively unenthusiastic attitude towards features of the modern age, feeling the need to reconcile himself to factory chimneys and preferring the peasant-farmer to the industrialist. Industrialisation offered too great a threat of change to the natural environment and to long-standing racial groupings and cultural patterns for Bartels to be able to welcome it wholeheartedly. He was not opposed to all change in a nation or community - indeed, if, as he believed, the ills which afflicted Wilhelminian Germany were curable, he had to have faith in the efficacy of historical transitions - but the type of change he approved of was that which evolved from a homogeneous, nature-based culture, which 'wirkt von unten herauf, von innen heraus', which represented 'die eigentliche Elementar-, die Naturkraft, die jedem Volke inne wohnt'.¹⁰ Such a change was expected to develop within social and cultural forms which preserved the indigenous character and conventions. But the individual had to be aware of the nature of that character and those conventions, their roots and their social forms of expression - hence the importance of the writer who had a deep and loving knowledge of his region's history. It was his task to communicate this knowledge to the broad mass of the population. In Die Dithmarscher, Marcus Swyn discusses the task of writing a history of Dithmarschen. He asserts:

"Nicht lateinisch müsste man schreiben, sondern in unserem wackeren, treuherzigen Niederdeutsch, dass es jeder im Volke lesen und verstehen könnte. Das ganze Herz eines ehrlichen Dithmarschers müsste darin sein. Nichts würde die alte Freiheitsliebe und die alte Sitte lebendiger erhalten als ein solches Buch." 11

Bartels viewed with disfavour those who lost interest in the evolution of their culture and the maintenance of its homogeneity. His literary histories and works of criticism abound with exhortations to writers to look for earlier German models for their work and attacks on those Germans who turned their backs on their own culture to embrace non-Germanic literary movements, social

and political institutions, fashions and customs. He was not totally opposed to all use of foreign models, provided these could be assimilated into existing traditions and his early work does contain words of praise for some foreign authors. But he was always, at the very least, suspicious of external cultural influences, for, in his view, cultural adulteration could be as dangerous as racial adulteration. This suspicion emerges clearly in Die Dithmarscher, where race, landscape and culture are viewed as an indivisible whole and where, just as an entire biological organism can be threatened by a disease affecting one of its functions or parts, the whole human community is shown to be threatened by the absorption of certain alien cultural influences. The novel offers the reader both a celebration of a community which, up to a certain point in history, had preserved its cultural homogeneity and a cautionary tale of what occurred once that community attempted to assimilate concepts and social forms which had not grown out of its own character and traditions.

The opening passages of the novel give firm indications of the ideological tendencies which inform Bartels' social thought. Man is seen, not as a being aloof from the natural world, but as one of its many elements. By giving a list of the animals and birds which settled in Dithmarschen, only at the end of which the arrival of man is referred to, Bartels indicates that man is part of the natural order - and by no means an all-important part. Before man,

die Seehunde hatten auf dem grossen Watt zwischen Elbe- und Eidermündung ungestört ihre Rast gehalten, Möwen waren hin- und hergeschossen, um bei Ebbezeit vom Meer zurückgelassene Beute zu erhaschen, und erst allmählich hatten der Kiebitz und später die Lerche an höheren, begrünten Stellen ihr Nest zu bauen begonnen. Und nur zögernd war ihnen der Mensch gefolgt. 12

Like these birds, man is also dependent on his environment for food and shelter, but neither is willingly given. The struggle between man and environment is emphasised throughout these opening paragraphs. The 'rüstige Germanenjugend' founded 'neue Dörfer auf dem Watt' which were only 'meerumflossene winzige

Inseln im Winter' and on the marshes 'Hirten und Fischer kämpften...den Kampf ums Dasein'. The nature of this interaction between man and environment shows itself in the character of the inhabitants who live hundreds of years after the original period of settlement. Bartels does not explicitly claim a causal link between the qualities of the fifteenth century Dithmarscher and the experience of the early settlers but our knowledge of Bartels' ideological sympathies and the personalities of the Dithmarschen inhabitants presented in the novel leave little room to doubt that these early passages were written with such a link in mind.

The traits which Bartels and his characters ascribe to the Dithmarscher are distinctly those of a frontier people, of colonisers, which recur in other national literatures of conquest, such as the English tale of colonial adventure and the American Western novel.¹³ Examples of both individual and collective strength are given throughout the work, attributes which are shared by both sexes. Defiant pride is also presented as a common characteristic. Rolves Karsten, an earlier Duke of Dithmarschen, is described as 'ein echter Dithmarscher...hochfahrig und halstarrig bis zum letzten Atemzuge' and Johannes Holm, who both represents and defends traditional Dithmarschen qualities throughout the novel is told that "'du bist der richtige Dithmarscher; Gestalt, Gesicht verraten 's, das trotzige Auge vor allem"'.¹⁴ These qualities both produce and reflect successful conquest of a rugged environment. But it is not only the achievement of victory which is reflected in the Dithmarschen character. The struggle which leads to victory is seen as being of continuing necessity to the inhabitants. Johannes Holm asserts that "'wir müssen Kampf, Streit, Blutvergiessen, wilde Leidenschaften...haben"'.¹⁵ "'In Dithmarschen ist nie lange Ruhe"', he claims, "'und es ist auch gut so. Der Baum wird stark durch den Sturm"'.

There is little doubt that Bartels regarded these qualities as admirable.

They are asserted as ideals not only in his fictional work, but in his literary criticism and polemical writings as well, where specific reference is frequently made to the Dithmarscher as a people who embodied them. But these qualities of his provincial fellow countrymen are not only revered in their own right. They are seen to combine to produce a fierce sense of independence and a desire for regional autonomy. When faced with the threat of invasion by the Danish King, the people give their support to the heroic Wolf Isebrand, who declares that "wir müssen alles für die Freiheit wagen, lieber für die Freiheit sterben, als ohne sie leben wollen".¹⁶ The adjective 'frei' is frequently associated with the inhabitants. The narrator refers to the 'freiheitsstolze Bauern' who maintained Dithmarschens independence while Charlemagne was expanding his empire; he makes reference to the 'Sitte der freien Dithmarscher' and one of his characters, Jan Splieth, proclaims his right to free speech by asserting that "ich bin freier Dithmarscher".¹⁷

In emphasising this sense of independence, Bartels would appear to be giving dramatised representation to historical fact. According to his study Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, Dithmarschen retained autonomy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the princes of the Holy Roman Empire were tightening their grip on the various regional communities of Germany, using military might and a revived Roman jurisprudence to gain increased power over the economic and social life of the peasantry.¹⁸ By remaining free from such pressures, the Dithmarscher were able to retain a state where

fast allein auf deutschem Boden hat sich die Entwicklung des Volkes frei und unbeeinflusst vom Fremden, man möchte fast sagen, folgerichtig vollzogen...hier hat sich die urgermanische Volksfreiheit durch Jahrhunderte ungebrochen erhalten. 19

Bartels' approval of this autonomy is not difficult to account for. It gave the Dithmarscher the freedom to evolve a culture and social organisations

which were based on indigenous characteristics and their own historical experience.

We must now turn to examine the exact nature of the society which the Dithmarscher developed. The economic basis of that society has remained constant since the first days of settlement - agriculture. We see little of the day to day business of farming in the novel, but the agrarian background of the inhabitants is constantly drawn to our notice. Indeed, both author and characters often seem to ignore the fact that not all the population are engaged in agricultural pursuits. The narrator refers to the people of Dithmarschen as 'freiheitsstolze Bauern'; the members of the invading armies talk of crushing 'die alte Bauernherrlichkeit' of the province; the battle cry of the Dithmarscher is "wahr Garr, die Bur de kommt". The profession of farming is considered by the Dithmarscher to be one worthy of the greatest respect and youths of non-farming families yearn to work the land.

This respect for the farming profession, this identification and self-identification of the Dithmarscher as peasant-farmers is of some ideological significance, for it confirms Dithmarschen - which Bartels refers to as a 'Bauernstaat' - as a nature based community par excellence. For Bartels, as for all the authors treated in this thesis, the peasant farmer was a dominant cult figure, his profession and life-style facilitating the realisation of an ideal existence, the development of authentic and lasting values and a truly indigenous character. From these values and this character and from the practical demands of the environment evolve cultural and social forms which represent 'das Knochengerst der Volkspersönlichkeit', the life style of the 'Volk' in its original, unadulterated state. But the peasant-farmer is not only the progenitor of a people's character and culture; he is also its preserver, for he alone retains contact throughout history with the natural elements which have informed them. Bartels asserted: 'Alles bäuerliche Leben ist eng mit

der Natur verknüpft, und so muss es sich auf demselben Boden zu allen Zeiten gleich bleiben.'²⁰

But Bartels' respect for the peasant-farmer does not rest solely on his position as the guardian of the naturally induced character and culture of his people; many more prosaic qualities which Bartels attributes to him are found to be highly admirable in their own right. Thus in his history of the German peasantry, the author credits the peasant-farmer with the capacity for hard work, with the 'altgermanische Wertschätzung des Weibes' and with a harsh but practical approach towards the education of his children. Bartels attributed his own self-proclaimed capacity for toughness and endurance to the 'zähe niedersächsisch-friesische Bauernkraft in mir'.²¹ Many of these and other qualities which Bartels attributes to peasant-farmers in general are closely related to the ascribed characteristics of the Dithmarschen people.

Let us take, for example, the attitude towards women which Bartels proclaims to be prevalent among peasant-farmers. Their respect for the opposite sex, he asserts, is not based on sex-appeal - 'der ungesunde Frauenkult des Rittertums blieb den bäuerlichen Kreisen fern' - but on the woman's capacity to perform essential domestic and social functions. He writes: 'In der Erfüllung ihrer Pflichten lag ihre Ehre.'²² These functions are clearly defined in Die Dithmarscher and are of an extremely limited nature. Women's interest in the wider affairs of the community is not prohibited - Anna, the patriotic wife of the traitor Karsten Holm, declares 'Es ist immer Sitte in Dithmarschen, dass sich auch die Frauen um Freiheit und Wohlfahrt des Landes kümmern',²³ and women come out to fight alongside their men in both the battles depicted. But this interest is not permitted to manifest itself in active participation in the government of the community. The woman's basic role is typified by the life of Wiben Junge, an ageing farmer's wife, who sums up her past in the following terms: "Ich bin eine alte Frau, habe mich mein

Lebelang rechtschaffen geplagt, wie es einer Bauernfrau geziemt, Kinder geboren und erzogen, sie dann verheiratet."²⁴ A capacity for such duties and the practical benefits they bring their husbands are the dominant criteria used by the Dithmarschen men when looking for a wife. A number of examples are given in the novel of marriages which bring about a rise in social status for the man, the linking of local clans or financial advantage. Bartels is unwilling to admit that purely financial considerations are uppermost in the minds of those seeking a marriage partner, but he does state:

Zwar war es nicht Sitte in Dithmarschen, nach Geld zu heiraten, sondern nach "guter, löblicher Herkunft, Geblüt und Natur", aber man verachtete das Geld doch auch nicht. 25

Love matches are not frowned upon, but marriage without love is considered better than no marriage at all. Two of Bartel's major female characters, Anna and Maria, the sweetheart of Karsten Holm's son, are forced by social convention and parental pressure to marry men they do not love when their true loves are in social disgrace, for, as Anna's father says: "Ein Nonnenkloster gibt's in Dithmarschen nicht, ledig zu bleiben ist nicht gut."²⁵ Little emphasis is placed in the novel on the purely sexual aspects of the male-female relationships depicted and manifestation of sexual activity are confined to vocal expressions of love and chaste physical expressions of affection. Such an approach to the matter is directly in line with Bartels' view of sex as a minor and rather distasteful aspect of human existence. He referred to 'die dunklen Winkel des sexuellen Lebens' and once having abandoned his earlier, more tolerant attitude towards the presentation of sex in literature, held fast to the view that

die Wahrheit ist, dass der wahre Künstler alles, was mit dem Geschlechtsleben zusammenhängt, nur notgedrungen bis zu einer bestimmten Grenze und dann nur mit der grössten Reserve und Dezens, wenn nicht gar mit Abschreckungstendenzen darstellt. 26

Bartels shows more interest in portraying the harsh codes governing sexual morality in Dithmarschen. Once married, absolute fidelity is expected of women and is ensured by the practice of putting adulteresses to death. Pre-marital virginity is guarded just as zealously as post-marital faithfulness - in Dithmarschen, it is declared, "die Reinheit findet überall Schutz", even in the unlikely environment of a military camp.²⁷ Offences against the prevailing codes are savagely punished. The revered Dithmarschen statesman, Peter Swyn, once burned an unmarried mother and her child alive and, we are told: "In Dithmarschen pflegt man ja die gefallenen Jungfrauen lebendig im Sumpfe zu begraben."²⁸ However, pre-marital male virginity is not demanded. It is regarded as acceptable that Reimer Wollters, Anna's exiled sweetheart should have indulged himself sexually during his travels in regions where "die Jungfrauen sind nicht...so spröde wie in Dithmarschen". But although male pre-marital sexual activity - outside Dithmarschen, at least - is condoned, inside the province there is no evidence that males are free from the prohibition on fornication. Reimer shows no signs of sexual designs on Anna when he returns to Dithmarschen, although they love each other and she is unhappily married.²⁹

We see little of the life of children or their relationships with their parents in Die Dithmarscher. A few points of conduct do emerge, however. Clearly, a tight rein is kept on their activities - at the May fire celebrations depicted, the young people are carefully watched by adults whose task is 'auf Zucht und Sitte zu achten'. Respect for their elders is expected, even when the parent-child relationship is an adult one. Johannes Holm, for example, demands the obedience of the grown-up son and daughter-in-law with whom he lives. The narrator comments:

Wehe dem, der Widerspruch wagte! Seine Schwiegertochter hat es einmal versucht, hatte ein Pferd gegen den Willen des Alten verkauft wissen wollen; da hatte der Achtundvierziger in seinem Jähzorn das Pferd einfach niedergestossen. 30

To some extent, the relatively limited account that Bartels gives of family life in Dithmarschen is a reflection of the novel's predominant concern with events in which the entire community is involved - wars, a change in religious allegiance, the processes of government. But his thematic bias also reflects what Bartels claimed was a historical fact - that the family was not the most important social unit based on blood relationship that existed in Dithmarschen. We have seen that the inhabitants of the province were ascribed some of the qualities and values Bartels associated with German peasant-farmers in general. But the author also claimed that the Dithmarscher retained a number of features of German agrarian culture that were eroded in the rest of Germany during the later Middle Ages by cultural and military conquest, and above all by the growth of a thorough-going feudalism from which Dithmarschen remained free. The most important of these was the dominance of the regional community by the clan groups whose power had elsewhere been weakened by 'die grössere Bewegungsfreiheit der ländlichen Bevölkerung...(und) die gesicherte Kompetenz der grundherrlichen Gerichte'.³¹ After the decline of the clans, German peasant-farmers turned increasingly to their immediate family as the basic economic and social unit, but in an isolated and politically autonomous Dithmarschen, the codes and conventions of the tribal group held considerable sway over the life of the individual up to the middle of the sixteenth century.

Essentially extended family groups, these groups - the 'Geschlechter' - parallel and often exceed in practical authority the formally constituted government of the province. To their individual members they offer communal help in times of distress, an instrument of revenge for wrongs committed by members of other groups and above all a proud corporative embodiment of Dithmarschen's legal and cultural heritage. By dint of their devotion to the traditional values of the province, they have become bastions of 'Freiheit,

Ehre, Tugend, Sitte'. Of their members is demanded obedience to their established conventions, and where such obedience is lacking, punishment is exacted - by expulsion in the case of felony, but death in the case of treason or offences against the established sexual morality. It is to these clans that the well-being and order of Dithmarschen is attributed. Peter Swyn, who is presented throughout the novel as a devoted patriot, declares:

"Und wenn es heute in Dithmarschen keine Armut gibt, wenn auch der gemeine Mann sein Haupt hochträgt, wenn unsere Frauen und Jungfrauen wissen, was Sitte ist, was hat das alles anders verursacht als die Geschlechtsverbündnisse?" 32

Their independence as social power bases within the community does not, according to Johannes Holm, make for divisiveness in the community as a whole. Because the basic clans hold similar values in common and because they give the individual a recognised set of codes within which to act, they offer stability and unity to the whole province. Johannes claims of the clans:

"Sie sind die Ständer und Balken unseres Hauses, nehmt sie weg und das Haus stürzt zusammen...Die Geschlechter sind die eisernen Ketten, die alle Dithmarscher miteinander verknüpfen." 33

There are some like Karsten Holm whose adoption of non-indigenous attitudes leads him to reject the traditional codes which the clans protect. There are others who question their leaders' manner of interpreting and implementing these. Although Bartels has little sympathy with the former, he approves of the free debate conducted by the latter and the powers of decision possessed by the population as a whole. He writes favourably of the fact that the Dithmarscher had political rights which other Germans did not gain until after the French Revolution,³⁴ and in Die Dithmarscher depicts at length the open meetings at which the inhabitants discuss matters concerning the external and internal policies which are to be adopted for the province. Campaigns for both wars are decided at such meetings and during the second,

military leaders are elected by local committees. In Bartels' second novel, Dietrich Sebrandt, set in the province during the 1848 revolution, the hero proclaims that, as a Dithmarscher, it is 'mein ererbtes Recht' to be a democrat.³⁵

Yet a few years later, in an article entitled 'Der deutsche und der jüdische Demokratismus', we find Bartels condemning the contemporary democratic system as a device being used by the Jews to gain a dominant position in German society, and a form of political activity hostile to the development of individual talents, furthering only 'die allgemeine Verplebejerung' of the nation. However, the same article contains Bartels' approving claim that the nationalists were 'vielleicht die besten wirklichen Demokraten, die es zurzeit in Deutschland gibt'.³⁶ This is not in fact evidence of a confused political position, but of Bartels' manipulation of political, social and literary terms to his own ends. Bartels frequently used such terms in an arbitrary fashion - as derogatives when associated with those personalities and movements he disapproved of, in a positive sense when linked to causes he supported. In the latter case, he redefined the terms employed so that they became compatible with his own ideological viewpoint, yet allowed them to retain sufficient vestiges of their old meaning to hold something of their original appeal. Thus the term 'Naturalist' is applied, without any of Bartels' usual qualifying criticisms, to Jeremias Gotthelf on the basis that he wrote of the common people in a realistic manner and the nationalists are declared to be modernists, because, according to Bartels, liberalism must cede its place to a newly orientated racialist-based conservatism. He treats the term 'democracy' in a similar fashion. The racial theory, he argued, could be viewed as the basis of 'eine bestimmte Art des Demokratismus' because 'alle wirklichen Blut-, Volks-, und Rassegenossen' may be presumed to be of similar attitude and heritage and thus may be

acclaimed as equals, but:

Es sollen nicht absolut gleich werden - das ist ja unmöglich - aber es sollen alle das werden, was sie von Natur werden können. Ich denke, das ist auch Demokratismus, und das ist das Gegenteil von Reaktion. 37

The validity of social equality is thus rejected. And so is universal suffrage and the use of the secret ballot - which, Bartels declares, panders to cowards. The democracy he promotes is reduced to 'dem der Herrenrasse eigentümlichen Gleichheitsgefühl'.³⁸

Once we understand Bartels' methods of manipulating political and social terms it becomes possible to understand how he could describe Dithmarschen in such apparently contradictory terms as 'eine kleine Musterrepublik auf breiter demokratischer Lage, aber mit im Ganzen aristokratischer Verwaltung geschaffen'.³⁹ There are admittedly certain aspects of the political system portrayed in Die Dithmarscher which have affinities with democracy. In formal terms, these are represented by the right of the individual to free speech and participation at mass meetings, in informal terms by the feeling of equality which exists between Dithmarscher - 'die Gleichheit, welche Waffenbrüderschaft und Geschlechtsgenossenschaft gebracht'.⁴⁰ But formal government resides in the hands of a select few. There is no suggestion that the main body of political control in the province, the 'achtundvierzig erkorenen Richter des Landes Dithmarschen', are an elected body. Bartels never makes clear exactly how they are chosen, but his description of their central committee in which are represented 'was Dithmarschen an allerbestem Blut, Einsicht und Reichtum besass' suggests qualification by hereditary right, property and political talent. However, it would seem that the first two are of prime importance, for whereas there appear to be a number of regents with little political ability, all are property owners or prominent members of their clans.

But there is evidence of Bartels' sympathy for a type of authority which is not derived from a formal title or position in the official government. Such authority rests on the capacity of an individual, no matter what his social origins, to command the loyalty and respect of large numbers of the population. A number of the formally instated members of the governing bodies of Dithmarschen possess such a capacity. But there are others without formal authority who are able to persuade and lead. One such character is Wolf Isebrand, an aggressive peasant-farmer who, at a meeting held to decide what action is to be taken against the impending invasion by the Danish king, proves to be a far more effective leader and policy-maker than the attending regents. What all the effective leaders - both official and unofficial - share is the capacity to divine forces and desires in the people and give expression to these. Their role is that of service, not domination, for they are devoted to the people they lead. Indeed, even the most exalted have their roots in the people. In Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, Bartels lays stress on the fact that Dithmarschen 'hat seinen Adel gezwungen, Bauer zu werden'.⁴¹ Identification with the people alone makes for good leadership. Karsten Holm opposes Wolf Isebrand because the latter has no formal status in the government - "'Ist denn dieser Bauer, den niemand kennt, unser Feldhauptmann?'" - but Karsten himself is an inferior leader because he has no faith in, or even sympathy for the people he governs. He feels rightly 'als ob er den Zusammenhang mit dem Volke völlig verloren hätte' but instead of attempting to regain this contact when his appeasement policies are rejected, he merely vaunts himself as 'ein wirklicher Politiker, während die andern nur schlaue und hartnäckige Bauern (waren)'.⁴² Bartels repeatedly emphasises in this novel and in other works that the guardians of the most worthy human qualities are the common people⁴³ and that leaders will only be revered and followed if they represent and give expression to the corporate

character and value system of those they govern.

But the value system of both governors and governed in Dithmarschen can only survive if their state is maintained in its traditional form. That survival is dependent on a number of conditions. The first is that the inhabitants remain ever conscious and respectful of the history of their community, the values and local characteristics manifested in that history and the culture which has evolved from it. Of the provinces in Germany, Bartels asserted, 'nur in Dithmarschen ruhte das Volksleben auf einem mächtigen historischen Untergrunde'.⁴⁴ A historical awareness is manifest in the majority of characters Bartels portrays. To a certain extent, their frequent conversations about past events are literary devices, employed to inform the reader of the background to the external and internal conflicts which occur during the period directly depicted in the novel. But such conversations and memories are also important to the characters themselves, for they bolster the Dithmarscher's involvement with his regional past and help to sustain his morale during times of stress. When threatened with the invasion of the Danish king, the population recall earlier battles in which they were victorious and 'an solchen Erinnerungen der Vorzeit labte man in diesen Tagen sein Herz und stärkte man sich zu weiterem Widerstande'.⁴⁵

Such morale boosting is only possible because the Dithmarscher feel their qualities have remained constant throughout their history. Such feelings are enforced by their continuing devotion to traditions - in dress, in the conduct of their public meetings, in custom and convention, to which they often refer as if no other standard of behaviour had ever been known in their land. Anna Holm asserts that the active concern of women for the state of the province 'ist in Dithmarschen immer Sitte gewesen'.⁴⁶ Devotion to tradition and an unwillingness to admit the benefit - or even the power - of social change is embodied in the figure of Johannes Holm, one of the few characters in the

novel who is actively involved in public life throughout the period depicted. At all times, he gives support to the established social forms and values of the province, struggling at considerable personal cost to maintain their dominance in a society, which, whether he likes it or not, is rapidly changing. The narrator, clearly revealing his sympathies, writes of him: 'Johannes wollte das Beste für Dithmarschen, wollte, dass seine Leute das wilde, kraftvolle Geschlecht blieben, das sie immer gewesen'.⁴⁷ He stands in marked contrast to his brother Karsten, who embodies many of the characteristics which eventually lead to Dithmarschen's decline as a military power and a cultural unit. Not only does Karsten stand apart from his people; he also has little faith in them, believing that in the approaching war with Denmark "es wird eine allgemeine Verwirrung einreißen" and he looks on their attempts to prepare for the conflict with contempt and cynicism - the adjectives 'spöttisch' and 'höhnisch' are repeatedly used to describe his tone of voice when he discusses the efforts of those who believe that they can defeat the invading armies. Karsten draws no hope from past events and does not attempt to stiffen morale by referring to earlier victories when addressing the people, speaking 'kein Wort von den alten Siegestaten der Dithmarscher, ihrer Volkskraft und Freiheitsliebe, ihrem Gottvertrauen'.⁴⁸ He believes in that which Johannes rejects - the power of historical change to alter fundamentally the nature and role of the community. He sees past victories as no guarantee of future successes, claiming "Die Zeiten sind anders geworden" and commenting scornfully on the views of those who refer to the province's past record in battle: "Immer die alte Geschichte! Wir leben nicht mehr in jenen alten Zeiten, wo Mann gegen Mann stand. Es gibt jetzt Kanonen und Büchsen, Pulver und Blei."⁴⁹

It is important to note that Karsten's cynicism, his separation from the rest of his people and his defeatism are all related to one particular

attribute - his academically trained mind, his intellectual ability. We are told that one of the reasons for his becoming regent lay in the fact that he knew Latin - the mark of an educated man in Medieval Europe. His reports of the military situation to his fellow regents - 'verstandesscharfe Darlegungen der feindlichen Übermacht' - and his speeches to the people on the same subject are marked by an unemotional, logical approach: 'Er liess Tatsachen und Zahlen sprechen,...alles nüchtern, scharf, scheinbar unwiderleglich, die Aussichtslosigkeit des Kampfes dartuend.'⁵⁰ The link between Karsten's rational approach to the situation and his defeatism is made explicit in an argument which he has with Johannes, in which the latter fiercely rejects any attempt to negotiate with the invading forces. Karsten asserts: "Mit dir ist nicht zu reden! Dir steigt das Blut gleich zum Kopfe und unnebelt den Verstand. Aber es gibt noch vernünftige Leute in Dithmarschen."⁵¹ To this Johannes replies "Ja, Feigling und Schurken". Karsten's calculating rationality marks him out from the majority of Dithmarscher. "Nachdenken (ist)...der meisten Dithmarscher Sache nicht", asserts Johannes Splieth, "sie hauen lieber zu". This quality is evident in the attitude of Wolf Isebrand, who interrupts the regents' debate on the advisability of suing for peace with the Danish king with the following speech:

"Mit Verlaub, ihr Herren...es sind da hinten Leute, die meinen, es wird zu viel geredet, und ich bin auch der Ansicht. Nicht ob zu unterhandeln oder zu kämpfen, sollte hier gesprochen, sondern nur wie der Feind am besten zu schlagen. Und auch das ist eigentlich nicht nötig, man schlägt ihn eben, wo man ihn trifft." 52

Sober reflection is not rejected by all sympathetic characters - Anna, Karsten's wife, asserts that "Dithmarschen kann beides brauchen, den wägenden Verstand und die leidenschaftliche Tapferkeit",⁵³ - nor is the expression of uncontrolled emotion always approved. A refusal to give way to depression is seen to be manly⁵⁴ and the repression of declarations of love a sign of good manners - young Reimer Christiani and Wiebke Boje love each other, 'obwohl sie bis heute

noch kein Liebeswort gewechselt und nur Gleichgültiges miteinander geredet hatten, wie es sich in Dithmarschen und auf der ganzen Welt schickt'.⁵⁵

However, most of Bartels' sympathetic characters are suspicious of those who place too much emphasis on a purely cerebral approach to life - a suspicion which reflects Bartels' own hostility to intellectuals and intellectual activity. He saw the analysis involved in intellectual perception at best as a negative process, for such perception precluded appreciation of a phenomenon as a totality, and at worst a destructive process, totally antithetical to the principle of organic growth and wholeness which informed the natural world. The knowledge which came from emotional involvement and intuitive perception was considered superior; writing of Goethe's theory of colour, Bartels said: 'Ich kann nicht leugnen, ich würde mich königlich freuen, wenn Goethe auch noch hier recht bekäme und die geniale Intuition einen Sieg über die gelehrte Forschung davontrüge'.⁵⁶

Bartels also rejected the universalising tendencies of intellectual and scientific activity. Such universalisation was a negation of the racial theory and of racial culture - which itself, Bartels claimed, defied intellectual comprehension.⁵⁷ Universalised knowledge could only produce 'Gemeinplätze' and in any case belonged to the moribund ethos of humanism - he refers to 'wissenschaftliche Allgemeinheiten, die zudem meist dem Geist eines Überwundenen, alles vermenschenden und salbadernden Humanismus entstammen'.⁵⁸ What Bartels demanded of science, as he demanded of art, was that it should discover its roots in racial culture and build on these. According to Bartels, all thought of worth was born out of this culture - 'Reines Denken gibt es nicht' - and intellectuals should rid themselves of the universalist pretensions and devote themselves to the service of the nation and the race.

But the demand that intellectual activity should become subservient to

the demands and needs of the racial community was only one aspect of a more wide-ranging principle which underlies much of Bartels' social and literary criticism - namely, that all individual and sectarian interests should be placed second to those of the racial unit as a whole. This principle is put into action by a large number of characters in Die Dithmarscher who sacrifice, or are forced to sacrifice, their personal interests and inclinations in order to adhere to the traditional values and conventions of the community. Reimer Wolters prefers the opprobrium of serving in a mercenary army to accepting the subservient position of employee, commenting on his decision that "den Bauernknecht zu spielen oder den Lastesel eines Kaufherrn, dazu war mein Dithmarscher Nacken zu steif."⁵⁹ Anna, who is only allowed to marry outside the province after the death of her treacherous husband, refuses to neglect her responsibilities as a mother and abandon her son who must remain in Dithmarschen. She is thus forced to give up her true love, Reimer Wolters. Her son, Johannes, is dedicated by his uncle, Johannes Holm the Elder, to a life-long penance in a monastery for the crimes of his father, in accordance with clan conventions. The child, claims the uncle, is not the property of the mother, but "er gehört mir, dem Geschlecht...Und Karsten Holms Sohn soll seines Vaters Sünde büssen, wie das Gesetz spricht"⁶⁰.

In his failure to respect indigenous codes of behaviour Karsten Holm again embodies attitudes and qualities which are the negation of principles whose maintenance is necessary for the survival of Dithmarschen. He is prepared to flaunt morality and convention to gain his own ends. He deceitfully engineers the events which lead to Reimer Wolters, his rival for Anna's hand, being exiled, and his policy of appeasement during the days before the invasion of the Danish King is also largely based on self-interest. He is unwilling to stay by his people should they be defeated: 'Er, Karsten

Holm, wollte kein niedriger Knecht werden, er wollte der reiche, hochangesehene Mann bleiben, wenn nicht als freier Dithmarscher so im Dienste der Fürsten.⁶¹ It is this self-concern which leads him to betray his country and act as a guide to the invading armies. His brother Johannes realises that such self-concern can only destroy the community of Dithmarschen. He opposes the weakening of the power of the clans for precisely this reason, claiming that if their power is limited, "der Tag wird kommen, wo in Dithmarschen kein Zusammenhalt mehr sein, jeder auf seine eigene Faust handeln wird, wo die Bürger und Bauern sich zanken, die Reichen die Armen unterdrücken werden".⁶² Only if individuals are prepared to live for their community can it survive in its present form.

But they must not only be willing to live for their province. They must also be prepared to die for it. The final condition of Dithmarschen's survival as a cultural unit in its traditional form is that the inhabitants should be willing and able to repulse any physical threat to their autonomy. They should not rely on their wealth to purchase the services of mercenaries who have no feeling for the land they are defending⁶³ or on alliances, for 'ein freies Land aber hilft sich immer wieder selbst',⁶⁴ but on their own military skill. Bartels discusses this skill in detail and lengthy passages of the novel are devoted to depicting conversations on proposed tactics, descriptions of the preparations for battle and the portrayal of the battles themselves. The extensiveness of the author's treatment of military matters may be justified, if we accept his account of Dithmarschen history, by the fact that the two wars dealt with had a crucial effect on the development of the province, although he would seem to be overstating the case for the importance of the first war, when he asserts that the Dithmarscher were opposed by 'dem stolzesten Heere, das Nordeuropa je gesehen'. But historical fact alone does not explain the manner in which Bartels portrays the clash

of arms, nor the attitude toward military matters which he attributes to his characters.

His descriptions of war reveal little of the misery and pain which we find depicted in the work of his fellow 'Heimatkünstler', Gustav Frenssen. His emphasis is all on exhilarating action. In the following quotation he describes the attack at the battle of Hemmingstedt by the Danish forces on the Dithmarschen redoubt. The Black Guard push forward and their troop of musketmen commence firing:

Doch ist das der Dithmarscher weit besser bedient und räumt mit der feindlichen Bedienungsmannschaft sehr schnell auf, teilt auch die vordringende Garde in einzelne Haufen und lässt keinen geschlossenen Angriff aufkommen. Kleinere Quergräben auf den Feldstücken rechts hindern diesen ebenfalls, wohl aber kommt nun auf dem Wege selbst ein Trupp Garde an den Graben der Schanze heran, verwegene Kerle werfen ihre langen Spiesse hinüber und schreien nach Faschinen und Brettern. Die Hakenschützen der Dithmarscher zielen doch gut, und nur wenige kommen zurück. 65

The presence of corpses on the battlefield is mentioned but their anonymity prevents the reader from associating them with characters seen alive. The pain of those wounded is rarely referred to and in the portrayal of the aftermath of the victorious Dithmarschen campaign, relatively little attention is paid to the personal losses which have been suffered. War, in sum, is presented by Bartels as an attractive adventure, at least as long as the Dithmarscher are on the winning side. His view is shared by many of his most sympathetic characters. Hans Bahr looks forward to the battle with the Danish King, telling Johannes Holm the Elder:

"Verlass dich darauf, König Hans und sein Bruder haben den Zug nach Dithmarschen beschlossen. Leute wie wir können uns freuen; es gibt die Arbeit, die der Mann am liebsten macht, bald in Hülle und Fülle." 66

Johannes himself marries when the enemy has already invaded the province, declaring 'in fröhlicher Laune...er wünsche sich keine bessere Hochzeitsmusik

als das Brummen des feindlichen Geschützes'.⁶⁷

The warrior stands in an exalted position in the society as the peasant-farmer. Indeed, the two roles are linked by Bartels, who asserts in Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit: 'Wo der Bauer sich frei erhalten, spielten selbstverständlich auch die Waffen in seinem Besitz eine Rolle.'⁶⁸ Johannes Holm the Younger similarly sees a conjunction of war and farming in the lives of peasant-farmers, telling his sweetheart Maria of his wish to be "ein stattlicher Bauer und Kriegsmann wie die andern Dithmarscher, den Spiess schwingen wie sie und den breitesten Graben im Sprung nehmen".⁶⁹ The more savage qualities they demonstrate in their dealings with adulteresses and traitors come to the fore on the battlefield, for they show no mercy when fighting. After turning back the enemy advance at Hemmingstedt, they attack the Danish knights:

Die stolzen Ritter, die den Tod vor Augen sahen und sich nicht zu helfen vermochten, erhoben ein fürchterliches Wehgeschrei, aber die Bauern kannten kein Erbarmen ...die Gräben füllten sich mit Leichen und das Wasser ward weithin rot. 70

Johannes fully approves the brutal traits in his fellow-country men. After the death of Peter Swyn, whom Johannes regarded as too mild a leader, he reflects: "Weg mit Milde, Demut, Ergebung! Unbezähmbarer Trotz, Rachsucht, Leidenschaft, das ist Dithmarscher Art."⁷¹

But it is not only the warlike individual and his attributes which are presented favourably, but the warring community as a whole. For Bartels sees a community at war as a united community, in which disparate elements come together in a common cause. Referring to the first period of impending war, the narrator claims that 'in diesem Jahr ruhte alle innere Fehde, man sparte Kraft und Blut für den äusseren Feind'.⁷² War, Bartels believes, brings out the best, not only in the individual,⁷³ but in a whole nation. In his work on Klaus Groth, Bartels discusses the Dithmarschers' struggle to retain their

freedom, commenting that 'gerade durch den Kampf sind sie gross geworden'.⁷⁴ He makes similar claims for the beneficial effects of the Franco-Prussian War on the German nation: 'Der Krieg von 1870/1 hat ganz ohne Zweifel alles was noch gut und tüchtig im deutschen Volke war, aufgerüttelt und hervorgetrieben.'⁷⁵ Bartels does not claim that war can create great qualities in a people; he claims only that it can bring them to the fore. The qualities of military skill, unselfishness, patriotism, unity of purpose are evident in the battle of Hemmingstedt; most of these are regrettably absent in the war that takes place some fifty years later with the Duke of Holstein. We must now turn to examine the causes of their absence, an absence which reflects the erosion of traditional social forms and values during the intervening years.

To some extent, the harmful changes and instability which occur are the consequences of the victory over the Danish King. Peter Swyn claims that a growth of 'Übermut und Bosheit' in the land is due to the spread of wealth which resulted from the capture of valuable booty at Hemmingstedt. He claims:

"Nach Hemmingstedt hat es begonnen, mit der grossen Beute, und es ist immer schlimmer geworden, je mehr wir seitdem ungeschoren geblieben und je mehr unsere Macht und unser Reichtum gewachsen...Nicht umsonst sagt man uns nach, dass unsere Hunde an güldenen Ketten lägen und unsere Schweine aus silbernen Trögen frässen - ein Weslingsburner Marschbauer wäre im Stande, das Wort wahr zu machen." 76

This increase in wealth is directly linked to the growth of moral decay, for Swyn claims: "'Man munkelt gar von Ehebruch und Hurerei im Lande."⁷⁷ Symptomatically, Karsten Holm lives in considerable luxury. This association of material wealth with a decline in traditional values finds a direct parallel with Bartels' own comments on modern Germany. In his Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, he draws a clear connection between the 'zunehmenden Genusssucht' of the prosperous years after the formation of the Empire and the growth of pessimistic philosophy, immorality and concern with trivialities at that time.⁷⁸ We have seen Bartels and his characters claim that hardship and struggle made the Dithmarschen a hardy people; their comments on the effects of luxury and

hedonism indicate the belief that the reverse is also true - that a life of ease will weaken the moral fibre.⁷⁹

But the dominant cause of Dithmarschen's decline is not an internal development, but changes introduced from outside the community. In Die Dithmarscher small details often indicate the link between the weakening of the community and the introduction of non-indigenous practices and elements. Hans Bahr, one of the participants in the battle of Hemmingstedt, suffers considerable ill-health from drinking, not the traditional beer, but '"Branntwein und solches Teufelszeug, das man in Dithmarschen sonst kaum kennt"'.⁸⁰ Karsten Holm, typically, has had his house built and decorated using imported materials and styles. Contemplating the fate of the province when the news of the Danish threat is announced, 'er warf einen Blick durch das im Stil der Patrizierhäuser jener Zeit ausgeschmückte hohe Zimmer...(mit) dem venetianischen Spiegel, den er mit grossen Kosten aus Hamburg bezogen'.⁸¹ But brandy and Venetian glass do not bring about major cultural changes in Dithmarschen. The most potent instrument of such change is Protestant Christianity and here Bartels shows a somewhat ambiguous attitude towards the introduction of an alien element into the Dithmarschen community.

Christianity was rejected by Hermann Lüns as a non-indigenous religion imposed on the Germans by Charlemagne the Great. Bartels also records in Die Dithmarscher that the religion was introduced during the Emperor's reign - although he implies the Dithmarscher accepted the faith of their own free will - but he nowhere condemns it. Indeed, in his other writings he referred to Christianity as the 'Hauptvertreterin der Kultur' and the Christian Church as 'eine konservative Lebensmacht'.⁸² He attacked those of his contemporaries who wished to return to heathenism, asserting that such attempts to revive it as the reintroduction of the pre-Christian calendar were merely 'teutomanische Spielereien'.⁸³ The victors of Hemmingstedt have

a strong faith in God and offer up many prayers for their martial success, and it would seem that these are answered, for the thaw that many pray for to aid their campaign materialises. Significantly, Karsten Holm is portrayed as a faithless man.

The debate on Christianity in Die Dithmarscher centres not on Christianity itself but the variety of Christianity adhered to. Bartels was far from uncritical of the Catholic Church. Although he criticised the 'Kulturkampf' as an ill-judged attack on an essentially conservative institution, like many who supported that unsuccessful attempt to curb the political power of the German Catholics he saw them as a potential source of foreign influence in German affairs and in his work on Heinrich Heine he linked Catholicism with Judaism as enemies of nationalism.⁸⁴ His criticisms of the sixteenth century Catholic Church, albeit containing no references to the Church's internationalist tendencies, are none the less extensive. As narrator he refers to the 'Pfaffentrug und Pfaffenlist und...Schein und Schutt, der die römische Kirche bedeutete'. Peter Swyn complains of the monasteries that "'die Mönche sind dick und fett geworden und kümmern sich um das Seelenheil des Volkes fast gar nicht'",⁸⁵ and their lack of concern for lay members of the Church is shared by certain parish priests, whose callousness and greed is illustrated by the refusal of a local church to send a confessor to a dying peasant-farmer because he is too poor to pay the required fee. This self-concern is also manifested by the prior August Tonneberg, who is less preoccupied with the spiritual validity of the conflicting faiths of Catholicism and Protestantism than with his own power and safety: 'Ihn kümmerte die Lehre der Ketzer nur wenig; er wusste nur, dass er die längste Zeit Prior des Meldorfer Klosters gewesen sei, wenn sie siegte.'⁸⁶ The lay supporters of Catholicism are often equally unattractive in their attitudes. Peter Nanne demonstrates little interest in the spiritual well-being of those less well-off than himself. He seems

to believe that only the rich should enter the Kingdom of Heaven, rejecting Protestantism as 'ein Glaube für die Pracher, das Bettelvolk, das nichts für das Heil seiner Seele tun kann'.⁸⁶

In contrast, many of the most sympathetically portrayed characters in this novel and in other works by Bartels are identified as supporters of Protestantism and Bartels considered the faith's founder to be one of Germany's greatest heroes. In a drama based on the life of Luther, Bartels depicts him as a character who embodied many of the qualities the author held most dear - he is shown to come from peasant stock, to be an overtly masculine figure, and to hold views which are anti-materialistic, anti-intellectual and sexually puritanical. In Die Dithmarscher, Heinrich von Züpfthen, the travelling preacher who brings the Protestant faith to Dithmarschen, is similarly portrayed with characteristics of which Bartels approved - he is unselfish, courageous, much concerned with the practical life of the common people and willing to respect local customs and conventions. Among the local defenders of Protestantism are such sympathetic characters as Nikolaus Boje, Johannes Holm the Younger and Wiben Junge, the old peasant-farmer's wife who embodies so many Dithmarschen virtues. Bartels gives these characters speeches which present an attractive portrait of the new faith. Wiben Junge tells Nikolaus Boje of her reading of Protestant pamphlets:

"In die Kirche bin ich gegangen und habe gebeichtet und das Abendmahl genommen, wie es üblich ist im Lande, und das Heil meiner Seele hat mich nicht weiter gekümmert. Da bringt mir ein Krämer heimlich Luthers und anderer Flugschriften ins Haus und ich lese sie, zum Zeitvertreib, wie ich vermeine, um doch etwas von der grossen Ketzerei zu wissen, wovon die ganze Welt voll ist. Da spüre ich, wie etwas Gewaltiges über mich kommt, und ich erkenne, dass ich völlig blind dahin gelebt, dass alles, was ich Gutes getan zu haben glaubte, weiter nichts als Eitelkeit und Gewohnheit gewesen, und ich sehne mich am Ende meines Lebens, noch wahrhaft zu glauben und immer tiefer zu erkennen." 87

But the introduction of Protestantism is not judged solely in terms of its merits in comparison with Catholicism as a form of Christianity, but also in terms of its effect on the community. In the ranks of the opposition to Heinrich are not only the egoistic Torneberg and the elitist Peter Nanne⁸⁸ but also Johannes Holm and Peter Swyn, both characters who are presented throughout the novel as men whose first concern is the well-being of the Dithmarschen community. Johannes is in part motivated by personal reasons in his opposition to Protestantism. Although convention justified his action, he feels guilt for the murderer of his brother and sees in 'die alte Kirche und ihre Gnadenmittel' the means for the expiation of that guilt. But this is only a secondary reason for his opposition - he does, after all, tell his pro-Protestant nephew, who pleads with him to pay more attention to spiritual matters, that "Ihr Jungen versteht uns Alte nicht mehr. Wir fragen nicht nach Himmel und Hölle, das mag wahr sein."⁸⁹ What he is primarily concerned with are the practical and political consequences of the Dithmarscher abandoning their old faith for the new. When discussing the matter, he says:

"Ob die alte oder die neue Lehre die richtige ist, das weiss ich nicht, aber das weiss ich, dass Dithmarschen durch die alte Lehre gross geworden und frei geblieben ist. Mit der Jungfrau Maria und den Heiligen auf unseren Fahnen und sie anrufend, sind wir selber in die Schlacht gezogen und immer haben wir gesiegt...Nicht bloss dieses jedoch bedenkt, auch viel anderes noch: was soll unser gnädiger Herr, der Erzbischof, dazu sagen, wenn wir Ketzer werden? Wir können tun, was wir wollen, wir sind frei, gewiss, aber oft genug ist uns die alte Landeshoheit des Erzbischofs ein Schutz gewesen, wenn andre Fürsten Anspruch auf Dithmarschen erhoben. Und dann: nehmt einmal an, halb Dithmarschen fiele der neuen Lehre zu. die andern Hälfte blieb bei der alten!...Wir würden unter uns in ewigen Kämpfen liegen, und unsre Uneinigkeit würde gar bald den Feind ins Lande ziehen. Darum sage ich euch: Lasst es beim Alten! Für uns ist die neue Lehre nicht gut." 90

Peter Swyn is similarly concerned with the tensions the introduction of Protestantism may bring to the province, stating: "Ich denke als Dithmarscher

immer erst ans Land und dann an andre Dinge...Am meisten fürchte ich die Zwietracht im Volke."⁹¹

His fears prove justified and his attempts to avoid open conflict are foiled. Not only does a struggle between the defenders and opponents of Protestantism break out, but that struggle brings out the worst side of many Dithmarscher. The machinations of those who organise the plot against Heinrich are only matched in their reprehensibility by the actions of the drunken mob who act as the conspirators' agents in the death of Heinrich. They remove him from his lodgings, drag him through the streets, and beat him up before they finally kill him. They are portrayed as cowardly, sadistic, unwilling to give their captive a free hearing and they assault old Wiben Junge, who attempts to defend him. If the battle of Hemmingstedt shows the Dithmarschen community at its best, then the murder of Heinrich shows it at its worst, and Bartels makes no attempt to excuse their mindless brutality.

Furthermore, in the course of the struggle between Protestants and Catholics, both formal laws and informal conventions are defied. The supporters of Heinrich reject the orders of the regents. The mob who murder Heinrich loot and pillage and only the travesty of legality is preserved when he is finally done to death. Ironically it is Johannes Holm the Older who deals Heinrich the final death blow, albeit as an act of mercy. His involvement in Heinrich's murder and his actions and reactions throughout the conflict that leads up to it underline the consequences that the arrival of Protestantism in Dithmarschen has for the community. Johannes admits on occasions the 'Berechtigten der neuen Lehre' but joins the conspirators to defend Dithmarschen's traditions and values, for he feels that these have a prior claim. Yet by his very involvement in the conspiracy and the murder of Heinrich he is implicated in the resultant offences against the same traditional value system he is trying to protect. Bartels does not explicitly condemn the introduction of

Protestantism for pushing Johannes into such a position, but only the arrival of the alien faith can be blamed for Johannes' dilemma and the disunity in the population.

Protestantism eventually triumphs in Dithmarschen and with this triumph new sources of disruption are introduced, while old ills remain. Although some members of the Protestant clergy, such as Nikolaus Boje, are portrayed as men whose sole concern is the welfare of the community they serve, others show signs of reverting to the ways of their predecessors indulging themselves in considerable luxury.⁹² More seriously, the Protestant pastors begin to challenge traditional attitudes, customs and conventions outside the purely religious sphere. Boje calls the Holsteiners brothers, in spite of the long-standing enmity between them and the Dithmarscher. When Johannes Holm the Elder expresses surprise at this, Boje claims "Einer ist unser Meister, nämlich Christus, wir aber sind alle Brüder" - a refutation of the importance of national identity. But the main focus for the Protestant challenge is the clan system. When the third section of the novel opens, newly introduced laws governing clan activities are being debated and the Church supports these as limits on organisations that it believes have become too powerful and too willing to defy the law. Johannes Holm the Younger accuses the clans of defending criminal elements and promoting perjury. He asserts:

"Wie oft kommt es vor, dass einer aus einem Geschlechte einen Totschlag, oder da hier Berechnung dabei ist, einen Mord begeht, im Vertrauen darauf, dass ja die Geschlechts-genossen mit für diesen Mord einstehen müssen, oder dass er einen Schaden erlitten zu haben angibt und die Geschlechtsgenossen zwingt, diesen mit einer Geschlechts-nemede darzutun, ihm Eidehilfe zu leisten, ob sie nun wissen von dem Schaden oder nicht." 93

But underlying the attacks made on the clans by the Church is a principle which is more wide ranging than that of opposition to the sheltering of criminal elements. In the narrative it is stated 'dass sich manche Verfügungen

der Bundesbriefe in der Tat nicht mit dem Worte Gottes verträgen',⁹⁴ and it is this incompatibility which leads the clergy to speak both privately and from the pulpit for a limitation, if not the abolition, of the clans' power. In a sermon Nikolaus Boje refers to the rules governing clan behaviour, 'die ja gerade Leib und Leben und irdisch Gut sichern und bewahren sollte. Der wahre Christ, der Christum liebebedürfte ihrer nicht, sagte der Pfarrherr'.⁹⁵

The main burden of argument, as in the debate on the introduction of Protestantism and the later analysis of why Dithmarschen loses the 1559 war, is transferred from narrator to characters, although, it should be noted, Bartels does assert that 'die Aufhebung, ja die Verlockerung der Geschlechtsverbündnisse ein Unglück für Dithmarschen sein werde'.⁹⁶ Once again, key figures in this debate include Johannes Holm and Peter Swyn, but this time their views are considerably further apart. Swyn's main concern, as before, is to preserve unity and order in Dithmarschen. But in order to preserve that unity, he feels the need to take a stand against the traditional codes governing the power and behaviour of the clans. He begins by supporting the new laws, and, after the murder of Peter Heim, declares a belief in the necessity of placing even further limits on the clans' authority. What is most significant in his criticism of the clans is that his views are related to attitudes which may be associated with personalities and elements offering a threat to the very basis of Dithmarschen society. Like Karsten Holm, he admits the power of social change, arguing that the old codes which govern clan activity may have become outdated:

"Es hat Zeiten gegeben, wo man nicht allein, sondern nur durch Hilfe seiner Geschlechtvettern sein gutes Recht durchsetzen konnte, und die alte Dithmarscher Ehrlichkeit hat gewiss lange genug verhütet, dass man fälschlich Schaden erlitten zu haben vorgab und die Geschlechtvettern im Vertrauen auf den Wortlaut der Bundesbriefe zum Meineide zwang. Heute freilich geschieht es, und so habe ich nichts dagegen, dass die Briefe reformiert werden." 97

He opposes the violence of the clan feuds, shows sympathy for the individualist nature of Protestantism and pleads for the warring clansmen "in Demut zu knien, nicht vor Menschen aber vor Gott" - a plea which implicitly places God's law above that of man, and thus above those codes or conventions which bind the Dithmarschen community together.

Johannes Holm, in contrast, supports clan power. He believes that violence is essential to the Dithmarscher, and that it is the clans, not the clergy and the Church, who have maintained discipline and honour in the province:

"Wir Dithmarscher sind nie die frömmsten gewesen. So gutgläubig wir immer waren, wir haben manchen zum Himmel und zur Hölle geschickt, ohne dass er noch Zeit zum Beichten hatte, wir haben das Gut unserer Nachbarn oft genug als gute Beute angesehen; dennoch ist Zucht und Ehre im Lande gewesen, ohne dass die Pfaffen dafür hätten zu sorgen brauchen - das taten die Geschlechter." 98

Peter Swyn believes that the clergy who come from outside the province and criticise the clans without a full understanding of their traditional role in Dithmarschen society are in the wrong, but he does not attack them with the vehemence of Johannes. For the latter these clergy are not the servants of God but

"Ehrgeizige...die herrschen wollen im Lande, die es nicht ertragen können, dass der Bauer so viel und mehr gilt als sie...Aber wir haben uns den alten Pfaffen nicht gefügt, wir werden's den neuen nicht tun. Hinaus aus dem Lande mit denen, die nicht Dithmarscher sein können oder wollen." 99

So mistrustful does Johannes become of Peter Swyn that he sees him as an ally of those who would destroy Dithmarschen and associates his behaviour with that of Karsten Holm, accusing him of similar 'Grossmannsucht'. These accusations are not supported by the narrator and Peter Swyn is treated as a sympathetic character throughout the novel. But we should not ignore the affinities that his underlying attitudes have with those of Karsten and others, who, well-meaning or otherwise, hold to concepts and beliefs which contribute to the erosion of traditional Dithmarschen values.

But if anything the rigidly conservative tendencies of Johannes are even more responsible for the eventual disruptive outcome of the conflict than Swyn's desire for internal peace at the cost of weakening the clans. Johannes' son-in-law is murdered following an argument over the new clan conventions and a clan feud breaks out. Peter Swyn does all he can to contain the conflict, but Johannes Holm the Elder actively encourages it. He rejects the pleas of his friend Werner that he should use his good offices, saying: "Nein, lasst nur wieder etwas Blut fliessen. in Dithmarschen, dass man sich nicht entwöhnt."¹⁰⁰ To those who wish to pursue the feud, he says:

"Bleibt ihr Russebellinger nur standhaft und fechtet eure Fehde aus! Das wird der Geschlechtersache, die Sache des ganzen Landes ist, einen guten Halt geben und wir werden nicht in die Knechtschaft der Geistlichen fallen." ¹⁰¹

He also encourages the Russebellinger to hire the criminal Bahr brothers to assassinate Peter Swyn. Once again those fighting to preserve traditional Dithmarschen society commit offences against values and conventions on which that society is based. And once again Johannes is conscience-torn - so much so that he publicly admits his involvement with the assassination plot. At the same time, he also confesses killing his brother and is struck down by lightning - an incident for which the import is never made completely clear, but is generally interpreted by other characters as being a punishment from God.

It is far from evident which way Bartels intends that the reader's sympathy should be directed. Both Johannes and Peter Swyn are guilty of offending against traditional codes, yet both have the well-being of their province as their main concern. Peter Swyn's moderation and desire for peace plays into the hands of those who would suppress the clans; Johannes Holm's fanaticism contributes to the death of a recognisably great patriot and, as a consequence of the reaction to the murder, to the demise of those very clans whose power

he wished to preserve. The narrator suggests no means by which the clans could have been preserved without conflict. In view of the clear guidance Bartels gives the reader on other occasions in the novel, the most likely interpretation we can place on this absence of comment is that he viewed disruption and disunity as the inevitable result of Church interference with established traditions - once more, the actions of supporters of the alien faith weakens the fabric of Dithmarschen society.

But the ultimate retribution for Dithmarschen's failure to preserve her indigenous cultural and social values is delayed until the invasion of the province by the Duke of Holstein. The threat of invasion remains in the background throughout the episode of the clan conflict - indeed, there are those who fear the internal struggle will tempt their enemies to attack¹⁰² - but this threat is not realised until twenty-five years later. In this second invasion, as in the first, the values and qualities of the community attacked are revealed in battle - only on this occasion the result is the defeat of Dithmarschen, a defeat which reflects the changes that have taken place in the province.

To some extent, the victory of the Holsteiners and their allies is the result of their superior numbers - their forces are three times greater than those of the Danish King at Hemmingstedt¹⁰³ - and to superior strategy. But this strategy itself is seen as one which could have been defeated by the Dithmarscher and Bartels allows one of his characters to analyse at length the tactical mistakes which led to the defeat.¹⁰⁴ From this and other analyses of the battle and from statements made by both narrator and characters, we can formulate the weaknesses in Dithmarschen society to which military failure is attributed.

One character asserts that the Dithmarscher are "nicht nur nicht die alten geblieben, sondern geradezu entartet".¹⁰⁵ The claim is not totally valid.

A mass meeting rejects outright the princes' demands for surrender and many look forward to the war. Their fighters show themselves capable of 'fast übermenschlicher Tapferkeit' and demonstrate their allegiance to memories of old Dithmarschen when they rally to the charge led by Johannes Holm the Elder. However, although like their forebears they bolster their morale with memories of past victories, they themselves have lived too long in times of peace and have not developed their military skills. They are in consequence overconfident and inexperienced. "Sie sind voll Übermut", asserts the rector of Weslingsburen, "wenigstens zehn Feinde zu erlegen vermisst sich jeder, auf vernünftigen Rat hören aber will keiner...Fechten werden sie...aber ohne Zusammenhang, ohne Überlegung".¹⁰⁶

Furthermore they lack leaders who can impose on them the necessary coordination and preparation. Even with the odds against them, they believe that they can win "wenn wir den richtigen Mann finden". But that man does not emerge. Both young and old look to the past for models of the leaders they need. "Wo haben wir unsern Wolf Isebrand?" asks the young lawyer Reimer vainly and the question is echoed and expanded by the dying Reimer Wolters: "Wo ist Wolf Isebrand, wo Peter Swyn, wo Peter Nanne, wo sind sie alle, die alles bedachten und alles wagten?"¹⁰⁷ It is ironic and perhaps symbolic that the last surviving leader of Hemmingstedt, Johannes Holm the Elder, is shot down accidentally by his own men when he leads the charge against the Holsteiners, for it is the state of the Dithmarschen community itself that is largely responsible for the lack of inspiring leadership.

The majority of the young men who appear in the last section of the novel are academically trained - lawyers or clerics. They admit that "wir sind keine Kriegsleute" and that their education has divorced them from the simple people of the province. They feel that they are "zu fein und zu gelehrt, als dass wir das ganze Volk fortreißen könnten". Some of these young men place

their hopes in alliances, rejected by their forebears as alien to the way of true Dithmarscher, and others come to terms with what they regard as the inevitability of defeat, and indeed expect to benefit from it. Michael Boje tells his friend Christian:

"Wir Juristen, mein Lieber, werden dann in Dithmarschen grosse Leute werden, Vögte, Räte und Richter, mächtige Herren, vor denen der Bauer sich bücken muss. In diesem freien Lande sind wir gar nichts, da kennt jeder Bauer das Recht...Unter der Fürsten Herrschaft wird das anders werden, da kommen neue Rechte, Fürstenrechte, die nicht so klipp und klar sind wie die unseren, die in lateinischen Büchern stehen, tausend Paragraphen haben und dem Volk ewig fremd bleiben; da braucht man uns, sie zu erklären und anzuwenden...Kurz werden wir Mittler zwischen Fürst und Volk, ganz unentbehrlich, und wenn wir gewandt sind, können wir so viel Ruhm, Ehre, Macht, Geld haben, wie wir wollen, die wahren Herren und Regenten des Landes sein." 108

The attitudes expressed by Michael Boje bear a strong resemblance to those of Karsten Holm, and, like the latter, Boje proves himself in the course of the battle to be a treacherous coward.

But self-concern is also manifested by those who do fight for the defence of their province. The farmers, not taking the threat of invasion seriously, refuse to flood their land as a defence barrier. Commanders like Reimer Groth, who regrets losing men in the battle for Meldorf "'das uns nicht anging'", are unwilling to risk endangering their local areas for the chance of a decisive victory for the whole of Dithmarschen. These attitudes reflect the views of the majority of Dithmarscher: "'Jeder denkt an sich, will nur sich, sein Leben und sein Gut verteidigen und möchte den Feind am liebsten vor seinem Hof erwarten"', asserts the rector of Weslingsburen, to which Reimer Wolters adds:

"Ich habe es lange kommen sehen. Die alten Geschlechter haben die Pfarrherrn zerrissen, um die alten Übeltaten aus der Welt zu schaffen. Die Übeltaten sind nicht weniger geworden, aber die alte Kraft ist dahin gesunken. Nun ihnen ihr Geschlecht nicht mehr alles ist, ist ihnen das Vaterland auch nicht mehr." 109

The Protestant Church has weakened the structure of Dithmarschen society,

and at the same time has failed to imbue the population with the inspiring piety of the past. Bartels comments as narrator that 'so viel um den Sieg wie vor Hemmingstedt gebetet wurde diesmal nicht, die Frömmigkeit war nicht mehr die alte'¹¹⁰. But if the Dithmarscher's devotion to God has declined, so, according to certain commentators on the war, has God's devotion to the Dithmarscher. Reimer Wolters, when reminded that God can work miracles, replies '"Er tat es vor Hemmingstedt, als wir's verdienten, jetzt tut er es nicht wieder"', and, indeed, this time the weather conditions favour the enemy. According to Bartels, contemporary chroniclers also attribute Dithmarschen's defeat to God's disfavour, writing that 'Gott hatte die Dithmarscher verlassen'.

It is important to note that Bartels does not comment on this directly as narrator, neither affirming nor denying any link between a decline of piety and Dithmarschen's defeat. However, one episode is perhaps relevant to this issue. When Johannes Holm the Younger visits the dying Reimer Wolters, the latter asks '"Sag mir eins, Johannes; glaubst du an Sieg?"' Johannes replies: '"Er steht in Gottes Hand."' Reimer comments: '"Du glaubst also nicht daran. Ich auch nicht."' He then goes on to ask: '"Wo ist die alte Dithmarschen?"'¹¹¹ and to refer to the absence of men like the Dithmarschen heroes of old. Reimer, a character who throughout the novel is accredited with traditional Dithmarschen virtues, clearly believes that it is what men do and are in this world, not what reliance they place on the powers of the next, that affects the course of history. And indeed there is nowhere in the novel's narrative confirmation that God takes a hand in human affairs, nor is there any indication that either Protestantism or Catholicism is divinely favoured.

But there are indications that the nature of the Christian faith adopted is important, not because of its ultimate validity in theological terms, but because of the way it affects men's social behaviour and values. Catholicism

is criticised by Nikolaus Boje for, among other things, the manner in which it promises divine forgiveness. He wishes

"dass ich doch helfen, dass ich in den Seelen meines Volkes einprägen könnte, dass nicht Wallfahrt und Ablasszettel und gute Werke es tun, sondern allein der Glaube, wahrhaftige Reue und Busse." 112

But the practices of the Catholic Church did at least leave men free, once they had done their penance, to separate their religious life from their secular one, just as the Catholic clergy did not interfere with the structure of Dithmarschen's political life, provided they received material support and formal allegiance. The Protestant clergy, in contrast, were not willing to confine their activities within such limits and, moreover, their emphasis on abstract principles and spiritual values could not but damage a society whose codes and conventions were based on practical needs and a materially conditioned culture. Bartels as narrator comments directly on the detrimental effects of this aspect of the Protestant ethos. Discussing the majority support given at a mass meeting to those who want to reform the clans, he remarks:

Wie hätte das auch anders sein können in diesem Zeitalter, das nach der Kirchenreformation den Namen trägt, wie auch noch das . . . ihm folgende, das ganze Leben und alle Verhältnisse nach religiösen Standpunkte betrachten müsste, darüber freilich den Zusammenhang mit dem Volkstum mehr und mehr verlor? 113

Inspired by lofty motives, the Protestants destroy the clans whose existence contributes so much to the cohesion, and thus the survival, of the Dithmarschen community. Both the Protestant faith and many of its defenders are presented with some sympathy in the novel, but nowhere does Bartels suggest that its triumph and dominance in Dithmarschen compensate for the province's defeat, for only political independence can guarantee that cultural autonomy that Bartels regards as essential for the maintenance of an authentic national existence.

He records the consequences that losing that political independence has for Dithmarschen. The mass meetings at which the whole population took a part

in deciding political and social matters are brought to an end; the Dithmarscher learn to obey foreign masters; the clans die out and 'endlich wusste niemand mehr, welchem Geschlecht er entsprungen, wo seine Väter ruhten, und fremdes Blut galt soviel wie altes Dithmarscher'.¹¹⁴ Yet 'war Altdithmarschen nicht ganz tot', for the peasant-farmers hold onto their land and the feeling, if not the reality, of independence, and 'auch in dem Tagelöhner floss das alte Dithmarscher Blut', which preserves the traditional pride and wildness. Moreover, Dithmarschen remains isolated and thus more capable of preserving its folklore and ancient customs than other areas. But Bartels' closing sentence is revealing. He writes: 'In unseren Tagen, unter dem Hauch des Geistes der neuen Zeit, scheint Altdithmarschen dann wirklich gestorben zu sein.'¹¹⁵ As our knowledge of Bartels' writings on 'Heimatkunst' and other matters reveals, he believed that the modern age was destroying the very conditions which made a maintenance of rural provincial traditions possible. Many of the hallmarks of that age he saw manifested in contemporary Germany were directly related to those that he portrays as contributing to the decline and fall of Dithmarschen - the absorption of alien cultural elements, the influence of rational free-thinkers divorced from loyalties to their race, the separation of large sections of the population from their cultural heritage. It seems very likely that Bartels wrote Die Dithmarscher with these parallels in mind.

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She also points to another aspect of the violence in the American Western which we can usefully compare with the attitudes of the authors of Die Dithmarscher and Der Wehrwolf. Commenting on the heroic code promoted in the former genre, she states that it "works best when it is stripped of an essential sentimentality and becomes a bare issue of survival. In the city issues are too complex for the code to function" (p.192).

- 14) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.11.
- 15) Ibid., p.310.
- 16) Ibid., p.105.
- 17) Ibid., p.163.
- 18) Like other 'Heimatkünstler', Bartels attacked the introduction of the Roman system of law into Germany. Writing of the Princes' oppression of the peasantry in Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, Bartels asserts:
- 'Ihren Höhepunkt erreichte sie nach 1400 und empfing ihre scheinbar gesetzliche Stütze durch das römische Recht, indem sie die von der Sklavenwirtschaft des alten Roms auf die andersgearteten deutschen Verhältnisse übertragen wurden.' (Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, Leipzig, 1899, p.84).
- 19) Adolf Bartels, Klaus Groth, . . .
- 20) Adolf Bartels, Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, p.8.
- 21) Quoted, Friedrich Quehl, Adolf Bartels (Leipzig, 1922), p.5.
- 22) Adolf Bartels, Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, p.49.
- 23) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.22.
- 24) Ibid., p.170.
- 25) Ibid., p.55.
- 26) Adolf Bartels, Geschlechtsleben und Dichtung, pp.15/6.
- 27) When young Reimer questions the mother of a young girl about her daughter's safety in an army encampment, the mother replies indignantly: "'Sind die

Dithmarscher so tief gesunken, dass ihre eigenen Jungfrauen in ihrer Mitte nicht sicher sind?" (Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.453).

28) Ibid., p.57.

29) Significantly Bartels excludes from his rather idealised portrait of the farming society of Dithmarschen any mention of one practice of the German peasant-farmer which he discusses in Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit - that of the host offering his guests the sexual services of his wife (p.48).

30) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.427.

31) Adolf Bartels, Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, p.52.

32) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.287.

33) Ibid., p.310.

34) Adolf Bartels, Klaus Groth, p.10.

35) Adolf Bartels, Dietrich Sebrandt (1897), 2nd impression (Hamburg, 1927), p.19,

36) Adolf Bartels, 'Der deutsche und der jüdische Demokratismus' in Rasse und Volkstum, pp.66/7.

37) Ibid., p.67.

38) Ibid., p.68.

39) Adolf Bartels, Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, p.112.

40) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.515.

41) Adolf Bartels, Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, p.112.

42) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.82.

43) For example in Die Dithmarscher, Bartels narrates the reception of the news of the impending invasion of the Danish Kings in the following terms "Wirkliche Mutlosigkeit fand man jedoch nur selten im Lande, und eher bei den Regenten als im Volke." (p.31).

44) Adolf Bartels, Klaus Groth, p.43.

45) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.94.

46) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.21.

47) Ibid., p.375.

48) Ibid., p.61.

49) Ibid., p.41.

50) Ibid., p.61.

51) Ibid., p.37.

52) Ibid., p.65.

53) Ibid., p.38.

54) Reimer Wolters, his hopes for marriage with Anna dashed by her decision to remain in Dithmarschen with her son

'setzt sich am Feuer nieder...und indem der Schmerz in gewaltigen Wogen über ihn herbrach, fühlte er, dass Jugend und Glück für ewig von ihm Abschied genommen. Aber er war ein Mann, und so raffte er sich auf.' (Ibid., p.148)

55) Ibid., p.421.

56) Adolf Bartels (editor), J.P. Eckermann: Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens (Leipzig, 1902), p.XVIII.

57) Adolf Bartels, 'Lebensformen' in Rasse und Volkstum, p.109.

58) Adolf Bartels, 'Zur Rassenforschung', ibid., p.62.

59) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.45.

60) Ibid., p.147.

61) Ibid., p.82.

62) Ibid., p.350/1.

63) One of the members of the regents' war council before the invasion of the Danish King states:

"Es ist besser, keine Mietsknechte zu nehmen... Unsere Väter haben es nie getan, und mit Recht: Es ist kein Verlass auf Leute, die für Geld fechten. Sie können kein Herz haben für die Freiheit." (Ibid., p.39).

64) Ibid., p.288.

- 65) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.116
- 66) Ibid., p.11.
- 67) Ibid., p.71.
- 68) Adolf Bartels, Der Bauer in der deutschen Vergangenheit, p.42.
- 69) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.156.
- 70) Ibid., p.119.
- 71) Ibid., p.375.
- 72) Ibid., p.32.
- 73) In his work on Friedrich Gessler, Bartels claims that the latter's participation in the Franco-Prussian War "hatte ihn...zum Manne gemacht" (Friedrich Gessler, Jahr, 1892, p.50).
- 74) Adolf Bartels, Klaus Groth, p.8.
- 75) Adolf Bartels, Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, 1st Edition, p.53.
- 76) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.287.
- 77) Ibid., p.288.
- 78) Adolf Bartels, Die Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1902), p.575.
- 79) This view is echoed by other authors treated in this thesis and by earlier writers to whom Bartels refers with approval. Thus Wilhelm Riehl, comparing the life of those who live in the harsher environment of the German forests with that of those who live on the plains, writes that "Hier steht meist mehr feister Wohlstand neben grösserer Entartung als dort" (Vom deutschen Land und Volk - Ausgewählt aus den Schriften von Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, Saarlautern, 1938, p.14).
- 80) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.176.
- 81) Ibid., p.20.
- 82) Adolf Bartels, 'Schuster Goethe - Eine Unterhaltung mit Herrn Bebel' in Rasse und Volkstum, p.104.

- 83) Adolf Bartels, Deutsches Schriftum, p.126.
- 84) Adolf Bartels, Heinrich Heine - Auch ein Denkmal, p.334.
- 85) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.176.
- 86) Ibid., p.201.
- 87) Ibid., p.170.
- 88) Bartels' attitude towards Nanne is a little ambiguous. While he lives, he is presented as an unattractive character. But he is included in the dying Reimer Wolter's list of Dithmarschen's great men (ibid., p.456).
- 89) Ibid., p.329.
- 90) Ibid., p.223.
- 91) Ibid., p.227.
- 92) Peter Swyn comments:
- "Die Herren Prediger wissen zu leben. Tischgerät hat der Kaland, silberne Schüssel, Becher, Linnendecken - man sieht sie nirgends so schön!"
(Ibid., p.284)
- 93) Ibid., p.285.
- 94) Ibid., p.304.
- 95) Ibid., p.291.
- 96) Ibid., p.304.
- 97) Ibid., p.286.
- 98) Ibid., p.351.
- 99) Ibid., p.328.
- 100) Ibid., p.353.
- 101) Ibid., p.359.
- 102) Peter Swyn fears that as a result of the feud "das ganze Land kann bei der herrschenden Erregung auflodern". When Peter Nanne says "Mag es!", Swyn retorts:
- "Und die Feinde Dithmarschens? König Christian II ist freilich friedlich gesinnt, aber das zerrissene, ohnmächtige Dithmarschen würde doch vielleicht auch er angreifen." (Ibid., pp.336/7)

- 103) Ibid., p. 431.
- 104) Ibid., pp. 504/5.
- 105) Ibid., p. 579.
- 106) Ibid., p. 480.
- 107) Ibid., p. 456.
- 108) Ibid., p. 480.
- 109) Ibid., p. 456.
- 110) Ibid., p. 440.
- 111) Ibid., p. 456.
- 112) Ibid., p. 169.
- 113) Ibid., p. 309.
- 114) Ibid., p. 515.
- 115) Ibid., p. 517.

Chapter 4: Gustav Frenssen - Jörn Uhl

Gustav Frenssen's best-seller Jörn Uhl was acclaimed by numerous critics as a victory for 'Heimatkunst' and the literary and social attitudes associated with the movement. It was declared to be 'ein Spiegel unserer deutschen Art - schlicht, blank und ehrlich'¹ and to offer the German reading public 'etwas Gesundes, Starkes, Fröhliches'.² It was also praised by other 'Heimatkünstler' and by two authors of note who stood outside the movement - Knut Hamsun³ and Rainer Maria Rilke. Claiming the novel would belong 'zu dem dauernden Besitzstand und Reichtum der deutschen Literatur', Rilke extolled Jörn Uhl as

das Buch eines Menschen, der eine Heimat hat, nicht eines, der sich im Getümmel der Grossstadt und der Literatur, vom Zeitwind angeweht, wieder seiner Heimat erinnert, um sie "schriftstellerisch" zu verwerten; der Mann, der dieses Buch schreiben musste, hat eine Heimat, wie man Herz hat, wie man Hände hat. ⁴

However, not all critical reactions were as enthusiastic as that of Rilke. The novel was criticised for being poorly constructed,⁵ representative of a 'Renaissance des Spiessertums'⁶ and 'einfach langweilig'.⁷ One of the most biting attacks on Frenssen's work is to be found in an article published in Der Kunstwart in 1905. Its author writes of Frenssen:

Ein geborner Anempfänger, hatte er sich der Welt der grossen Erzähler des Realismus von Dickens, Reuter, Otto Ludwig, Freytag an bis zu Storm, Keller, Klaus Groth, Wilhelm Raabe bemächtigt, mit ihren Augen zu sehen und mit ihren Worten zu reden gelernt. ⁸

The merits of Jörn Uhl are claimed to be only superficial, for 'die wahllose Verwendung aller möglichen Motive aus Literatur und Leben ruft...den falschen Schein des Reichtums hervor'.⁹ Frenssen is criticised for lacking genuine feeling for the region and people depicted in the novel:

(Frenssen) stopfte...alles, was er über seine Heimat und ihre Menschen gelesen und gehört hat und was er selbst beobachtet hatte, in sein Buch hinein, freilich nicht in dem Geist der Liebe und Treue, der das grösste Prinzip der Heimatkunst ist, sondern dem Geist der blossen Unterhaltungs- ja selbst der Sensationskunst. 10

The critic who thus assaulted the reputation of Gustav Frenssen was Adolf Bartels.

Now, as we saw in the introduction to this study, Frenssen was not the only author associated with 'Heimatkunst' to be criticised by Bartels. But no other 'Heimatkünstler' was attacked with such severity or in such detail. Some of Bartels' aesthetic criticism is valid. Jörn Uhl is a poorly constructed novel, comprising many different and often conflicting styles and elements. But Bartels was prepared to lavish praise on works by other 'Heimatkünstler', such as those of Wilhelm von Polenz, which also suffered from deficiencies in fictional craftsmanship. The underlying grounds for Bartels' attack on Frenssen were not aesthetic, but as so often in his literary criticism were based on his social and ideological sympathies and antipathies. He was suspicious of Frenssen's commercial success, believing as he did that the true 'Heimatkünstler' should not seek material rewards for his work and he was even more suspicious of some of the attitudes and values which Frenssen promoted in his novels - in particular, of Frenssen's attacks on the provincial middle classes and his criticism of conventional sexual morality. His criticisms of Frenssen's work and personality were often invalid,¹¹ but there were elements in the novelist's writings - although not necessarily those which Bartels attacked - which were alien to the ideology and complex of attitudes which informed Bartels' thought and the work of other 'Heimatkünstler' treated in

this thesis.

These elements do not include Frenssen's view of the role which natural influences play in the formation of men's characters. As much as any other author treated in this thesis, he attached great importance to inherited racial or family characteristics as determinants of personality. In his first collection of aphorisms, anecdotes and comments on varied aspects of human society, Grübeleien, he claims that, of any individual, 'das Grundwesen seines Charakters ist entweder gut oder böse, fromm oder unfrohm, wie es von den Eltern her vererbt ist'¹² and his belief in this principle is frequently illustrated in the manner in which he accounts for the behaviour and attitudes of his fictional characters, both major and minor. Repeatedly, Frenssen or his characters attribute Jörn's physical characteristics or personal qualities to the fact that, as his father admits, "Er ist ein Thiessen", an inheritor of the traits of his mother's family. His morose brooding, his isolation from others and his individuality are seen to derive from her family line, for the Thiessens are 'ein wunderlich, nachdenkliches Volk'. His willingness to remain a bachelor, his occasional searches for relaxation and even his sleeping habits are similarly explained. He has luckily inherited little from his father's line, which in recent generations at least has produced a series of undesirable offspring - men who are irresponsible braggarts, idlers and devotees of the card table and the inn. Frenssen's concern with racial as well as family characteristics is illustrated by his presentation of a secondary narrator who is allowed to debate at length as to whether Krey characteristics are derived from gypsy forebears or from 'dem Volk der Wenden' and the declaration made by Jörn's fellow students that he is a true descendant of north coast farmers, sharing their qualities and talents. On occasion, Frenssen admitted that external influences could overlay inherited characteristics, but denied that they could destroy them. In Die drei Getreuen, he writes of the cynical

attitude towards romantic love adopted by one of his characters, Franz

Strandiger:

Nicht die Anlage seines Charakters hinderte ihn, eine keusche Liebe zu hegen - das gute, treue Blut der Strandiger war auch in ihm - sondern eine seelentötende Erziehung und eine auf diesem Boden gewachsene innere Unreinigkeit. 13

Frenssen's belief in the powerful influence of heredity was so strong that he was later to claim that an ideal society could be established if those who carried hereditary disease or manifested anti-social tendencies were castrated and talented human beings were encouraged to reproduce in great numbers.¹⁴ As early as 1890, he had suggested that humans adopt the agricultural techniques of selective breeding in their own mating processes.¹⁵

Frenssen also laid considerable emphasis on the importance of natural environment as a determinant of human personality and social activity. Jörn's mother was born and grew up in the sandy and infertile uplands of Dithmarschen and consequently feels ill-at-ease among the wealthy peasant-farmers of the rich marshlands. The Kreys are described as 'ein unruhig Geschlecht' and have developed a love of travelling, manifested in Fiete Krey's journeys to America, largely in consequence of the infertility of their native soil:

Da nämlich das Land, auf dem sie wohnen, also leicht und sandig ist, dass ihnen in trockener Zeit zuweilen der ganze Garten gleich wehendem Schnee gegen die Hausmauer fliegt, und weil sie davon keine Nahrung gewinnen können, und weil sie zu ständigen Tagelöhnern nicht viel Gelegenheit noch weniger Stetigkeit haben, so wandern sie als Handelsleute in die Umgegend. 16

Deep attachment to their native region is felt by many of Frenssen's rural characters. On numerous occasions, they leave their home village, but after a period of voluntary or involuntary exile, discover that they can only find true happiness by returning whence they came. Those who are unable to return suffer much from homesickness. Jörn's uncle, Thiess Thiessen, living temporarily in Hamburg while searching for Jörn's erring sister, Elsbe, endeavours to make

his life tolerable by maintaining contact with other migrants from his area and burning peat from his local peat bogs. When his friend Strackelmeier, unhappy with his life in Hamburg, enters Thiess' room and smells the burning peat 'hebt er schon die Nase hoch und ist furchtbar gemüthlich'. Thiess tells Fiete Krey:

"Fiete! Fiete! Wieviel Heimweh überhaupt in dieser grossen Stadt ist, das glaubst du nicht. Jeder dritte Mensch hat Heimweh, nicht bloss die, welche auf dem freien Land geboren sind, nein, es liegt auch noch ihren Kindern im Blut." 17

Frenssen shares the views of other 'Heimatkünstler' on the benefits of living in a natural environment and the harmful effects of the city on its inhabitants. Heim Heidereiter, a sympathetic character who appears in both Jörn Uhl and Frenssen's previous novel Die drei Getreuen, comments in the latter work:

"Wenn ein Mensch keinen Boden mehr unter den Füssen hat...dann ist er verloren. Das haben Andrees und ich beim Ringen probiert. In die Luft! Pardaui! Da liegt er. Daher haben die Bewohner der Städte so etwas Unruhiges, Haltloses, Raffiges an sich...Das Land, das macht die Bäume und die Menschen stark." 18

A city-dwelling grandmother of delinquent boys who appears in Frenssen's fourth novel Hilligenlei shares Heim's sentiments, claiming: "Der Mensch aber, der nicht in der Erde wächst, der Mensch ohne Land, ist verwirrt und verweht." Frenssen portrays a number of characters who are corrupted or exploited as a result of their contact with urban society and he expressed the view that the loss of 'das Ackerbauende im Menschen' was 'die grosse Gefahr' for modern man. He was an active supporter of political and social organisations, such as Damaschke's Land Reform Party, which urged that more land be made available for small scale cultivation by landless agricultural workers, thus curbing rural unrest and a drift to the towns.

But in spite of Frenssen's affection for rural life in general and for aspects of the life of his native Dithmarschen in particular, it would be wrong

to see all the values promoted in Jörn Uhl as deriving from and pertaining to a purely rural culture. Many of the attitudes affirmed in this and in Frenssen's other work do stem from the conviction which he shares with all the other novelists treated in this thesis - that only by living in accord with nature can man achieve an authentic existence - but Frenssen's outlook was strongly influenced by other elements which had no necessary connection with this conviction - liberal theology, a vague humanism, a sympathy for the working class and a series of values which, given Frenssen's training and employment as an Evangelical pastor, can probably be related to Christian ethics. Frenssen himself rejected the view that Jörn Uhl was a work relevant solely to rural life, declaring:

Es kommt mir nicht darauf an, die Geschichte eines Bauernsohnes zu erzählen, sondern die Tiefe und den Glanz der Menschenseele aufzuzeigen, die überall in der Welt in allen Dingen und Geschehnissen vorhanden ist. 20

Frenssen's hero, Jörn Uhl, is given more freedom to explore and to challenge the existing codes and conventions of his native community than are most of the sympathetic rural characters portrayed in other novels analysed in this thesis, and the values he adopts as a result of his chequered career are seen to be the products of individual rather than communal experience, although they are not denied relevance to the community.

Jörn is an unusual hero in the novels of 'Heimatkunst' in that he is in many ways alienated from an early age from the customs and values of his immediate family and to a lesser extent from those of his native community. He is well aware of his isolation from most of those he lives among and accepts the situation. He reflects on the workers of the farm, and recognises 'dass er doch mehr sein wollte, als sie'²¹ - personal ambition which accords ill with the ethic of communal concern promoted by other 'Heimatkünstler'. Frenssen, who portrays protagonists in his other novels who are similarly isolated from

their community, approves this individualistic trait in his hero, commenting as narrator: 'Es war ja alles ganz gut und ganz recht, dass...Jürgen Uhl bei seinen jungen Jahren nicht in der Herde lief, sondern gedankenvoll wohlerzogene Wege selbständig ging.'²²

Some possible reasons for Frenssen's choice of such a hero may have been personal. As a youth, Frenssen felt frequently isolated from those around him. Arno Schmidt, in a recent article on Frenssen, records 'dass er 4 Jahre zu spät auf die höhere Schule nach Meldorf geschickt werden konnte und ergo unter lauter jüngeren Klassenkameraden stets ein Fremdling blieb'.²³ Jörn is faced with a similar prospect when his failure to have learned Latin results in his being unprepared to enter the high school at the same level as his peers. Frenssen himself explained his own separation from his contemporaries as a consequence of his early maturity:

Ich war durch die mir angeborenen oder in fröhster Jugend überkommenen Erfahrungen - ich weiss es nicht - so alt, dass ich nur mit erfahrenen, reifen Menschen...hatte verkehren können und mögen. 24

This trait too appears in the character of Jörn Uhl. A third personal factor which may have coloured Frenssen's characterisation of Jörn was a preoccupation with his own position as a physically weak brooder, separated by temperament, physique and profession from the healthy peasant-farmers who were his parishioners, an influence on Frenssen's work and life which has been emphasised by at least two of his critics.²⁵ There is evidence of this preoccupation in Jörn Uhl, in which Frenssen asserts that the peasant-farmers of Jörn's village were hostile to the young pastor who befriends the hero, for they wanted 'einen Sicherem, einen Breitspurigen'. They also wanted 'einen, der voll bliger Salbung wäre und ein guter Kartenspieler'.²⁶ There is a tone of bitterness in Frenssen's comment on this attitude:

Die evangelischen Gemeinden können dreihundertfünzig Jahre nach Luthers Tod noch keinen Pastor ertragen,

der nichts weiter ist noch sein will, als ein schlichter, ehrlicher Mensch. Es giebt viel schweres und ganz zweckloses Herzeleid in den Landpastoraten. 27

There are also technical reasons for Frenssen's choice of an untypical peasant-farmer as hero. Frenssen, as we have seen, wished to present Jörn's experience as having a universal relevance. In order to do this, and to employ Jörn as a character capable of commenting on a wide range of topics in which he himself was interested, Frenssen had to attribute to him preoccupations, capacities and insights which set him off from the rest of his community, rendering his outlook both wider and more profound than theirs. He does, however, seek to indicate that Jörn's interests are to some extent compatible with local traditions. In a rather belated attempt to link Jörn with his forebears, he allows one of Jörn's fellow students to make a farewell speech, in which Jörn is told

"dass du ein rechter Nachkomme wäirst von jenen Bauern, welche auf eigene Faust Meer und Land und Sterne studierten, und welche Deiche bauten, die hielten, die der Nordsee widerstanden, und welche die Lippen zusammenpressten, bis sie schmal wurden, und sich aus Neugier und Ehrfurcht eine Weltanschauung bauten, mit der ein ernster Mensch wohl hausen kann." 28

But the dominant contextual grounds for Jörn's isolation must be deemed his rejection of the unsavoury way of life of his father and brothers. The financial failure of the Uhl is predominantly their responsibility. They waste the profits from the farm on gambling and drinking. Heavy drinking in particular is presented throughout Frenssen's work as a major cause of social and financial ruin and in Jörn Uhl is the direct or indirect cause of three deaths. Although Frenssen was willing to admit that alcohol, consumed in moderation, could be of benefit,²⁹ he regarded alcoholism as a threat, not only to the well-being of the peasant-farmer, but to the German nation as a whole. In Hilligenlei, the hero is told by the alcoholic captain of his ship: "Verflucht ist die Flasche, Steuermann; aber ich kann sie nicht entbehren.

Wie weit wären wir Deutsche ohne das verfluchte Saufen."³⁰ Other factors also contribute to Klaus Uhl's loss of financial control of the land which has been in his family's possession for centuries. Mismanagement, expensive living, heavy and unnecessary borrowing of capital and general idleness all play a part. But underlying all these factors is Klaus Uhl's lack of a sense of responsibility and his search for personal comfort, both of body and mind. Hinnerk Uhl justifiably accuses him: "Du hast immer das Bequeme ausgesucht."³¹

It is not only as a farmer that Klaus Uhl fails in his responsibilities, but as a husband and father. He fails his wife, who dies because Klaus is too busy drinking with his relatives to concern himself properly with her delivery. He fails Jörn on numerous occasions, most notably by neglecting to find out what subjects the boy needs to study to enter the secondary school. He fails to prevent Elsbe's involvement with Harro and her consequent elopement. The only occasions on which he concerns himself with his younger children are when it seems they can enable him to increase his own social standing or popularity and he is quite prepared to join his friends in making fun of them to this end. His blustering, extrovert air and his vitality are seen to be insufficient compensations for his neglect of his duties as a husband and father. In consequence of his father's neglect and the ill-treatment he receives at the hands of his brothers, Jörn is forced to turn for adult affection and guidance to the housekeeper, Wieten Penn, whose tales of the supernatural and gloomy forebodings do little to divert him from his tendency to brood morosely. He also turns with more beneficial effects to a number of sympathetic characters in the village. The values Jörn learns from these latter mentors and which he evolves from his own experiences are directly opposed to those manifested in the character and behaviour of Klaus Uhl and his elder sons.

The basic difference in attitude between Jörn and his father and brothers is that Jörn is willing to involve himself in 'Mühe und Arbeit' - two words

which recur jointly and separately throughout the novel and, as concepts, provide important reference points for the value system established. But before we can understand why this should be so, we must look briefly at one aspect of Frenssen's view of the human lot. In old age, Frenssen criticised his own writings for their failure to deal adequately with 'das Abstossende... und das Schmerzliche'.³² This self-criticism seems unjustifiably harsh, particularly if we compare Frenssen's fiction with the genuinely escapist novels of Ludwig Ganghofer or his social attitudes with Lienhard's polemics in favour of flight from the trials of the workaday world. Unlike these authors, Frenssen was willing to treat at length the harsher aspects of reality - his fiction includes detailed descriptions of painful childbirth, slow death and grinding labour and deals with subjects such as alcoholism, delinquency, slum families and broken marriages. Furthermore, he promoted a facing up to a world in which such things could happen. In Jörn Uhl, he writes as narrator:

Man kann sich nicht so leicht von der Welt abwenden:
 Man dreht sich um: sie ist da; man dreht sich noch
 einmal um: sie ist noch immer da. Man hält sich die
 Augen zu, so hört man ihr Summen und Schreien; man
 hält sich die Ohren zu, so macht sie vor unseren
 Augen ihre Fratzen und Sprünge. Man muss Stellung zu
 ihr nehmen. 33

The attitude towards this world that Frenssen promotes in the novel is the acceptance of the yoke of labour, duty and intermittent pain which he sees as man's lot. His unsympathetic attitude towards Klaus Uhl and his elder sons, who attempt to shake off this yoke, is prefigured at the very beginning of Jörn Uhl, in which he implicitly criticises those who do not fulfil their duties or behave recklessly. The novel commences:

Wir wollen in diesem Buch von Mühe und Arbeit reden.
 Nicht von der Mühe, die der Bierbrauer Jan Tortsen sich
 machte, der versprochen hatte, seinen Gästen einen
 besonders guten Eiderfisch vorzusetzen, und sein Wort
 nicht halten konnte und darüber tiefsinnig wurde und
 nach Schleswig musste. Wir wollen auch nicht von der
 Mühe reden, welche jener reiche Bauernjunge sich machte,

dem es trotz seiner Dummheit gelang, seines Vaters Geld in vier Wochen durchzubringen, indem er tagelang die Thalerstücke über den Fischteich schunkte. 34

These characters are contrasted with others who suffer because of their devotion to duties of which Frenssen approves, the one to mother love, the other to soldiering:

Sondern wir wollen von der Mühe reden, auf welche Mutter Weisshaar zielte, wenn sie auf ihre acht Kinder zu sprechen kam, von denen drei auf dem Kirchhof lagen, einer in der tiefen Nordsee, und die übrigen vier in Amerika, von welchen zwei seit Jahren nicht an sie geschrieben hatten. Und von jener Arbeit, über welche Geert Doose klagte, als er am dritten Tage nach Gravelotte noch nicht sterben konnte, obgleich er die furchtbare Wunde im Rücken hatte. 35

But Frenssen did not portray the trials of human existence in a negative spirit. Indeed, although his subject matter and his treatment of it often has affinities with the work of the Naturalists, it was to a great extent what he considered to be their pessimism that led him to reject their work.³⁶ As Bartels had demanded of 'Heimatkünstler', Frenssen approached his writing in a didactic spirit, resolved to offer his readers a positive attitude towards life. He wrote: 'Wofür arbeite ich sonst, als dafür, dass unser Volk endlich eine einheitliche, schlichte und schöne (Äussere und innere) Bildung bekomme.'³⁷ His positive approach is evident at the close of the opening section of

Jörn Uhl:

Aber obgleich wir die Absicht haben, in diesem Buche von so traurigen und öden Dingen - wie viele sagen - zu erzählen, gehen wir doch fröhlich, wenn auch mit zusammengebissener Lippe und ernstem Gesicht, an die Schreibung dieses Buches; denn wir hoffen, an allen Ecken und Enden zu zeigen, dass die Mühe, die unsere Leute sich machen, der Mühe wert gewesen ist. 38

Like Ganghofer, whose work in other areas differs so much from his, Frenssen presents - in Jörn Uhl, at least - a world in which the characters who are morally good for the most part gain material benefits and personal happiness from their endeavours, whilst those who offend against the values established in the novel are frustrated, ruined or even killed by their own failings.

The personal quality most responsible for Jörn's eventual material success is his capacity for hard work. The value of industriousness is emphasised throughout Frenssen's work and the term 'Arbeit' is employed to refer not only to mental and physical labour but to all manner of human activity where effort is demanded. Jan Guldts struggle to avoid drowning in Der Untergang der Anna Hollmann is described as 'Arbeit'; the business of war is referred to in Jörn Uhl as 'ein Arbeiten'; Christ's death on the cross is referred to in one of Frenssen's sermons as 'die übermenschliche Arbeit'. Even the Creator is portrayed as 'ein Mann der Arbeit'. Frenssen's emphasis on Jörn's capacity for hard work is continual. Even as a child, Jörn asserts: "Das Beste in der Welt ist die Arbeit." From youth onwards until he is forced to abandon the Uhl, his days on the farm consist of little but relentless toil:

Sein Äusseres Leben war wahrlich nichts als Mühe und Arbeit...Heute pflügen, morgen säen, übermorgen schwere Arbeit im Hause. Morgens der erste und abends der letzte: ein Mensch, der keinen Feierabend und kaum einen Sonntag hat. 39

Frenssen emphasises the physical benefits of Jörn's labours:

Der Leib schoss hoch und hager auf, der Schritt wurde vom Gehen in dem schweren Pflugland stark und schwerfällig. Die Muskeln wurden stark von Sehnen...Seine Schultern wurden breit, wie nach den Seiten hin ausgebaut, und sein Gesicht wurde braun von Sonne und Salzwind. 40

Frenssen's approval of hard work and struggle against difficulties may be related to a principle which is echoed in the work of other authors treated in this thesis. He felt that it was essential for both individuals and peoples to have to fight against difficulties in order to establish their worth, believing that comfort and ease could only sap the strength and the will. In his collection of sermons, he states that God makes a people 'inwendig stark und tüchtig...indem er es ein hartes Joch tragen lässt'.⁴¹

Jörn disapproves of a wide range of human activities which he considers conflict with dedicated labour or needlessly waste its financial products.

From an early age, he is aware of the heavy drinking in which his father and brothers indulge and vows never to enter an inn. Only once does he become drunk and afterwards he bitterly regrets his action. His admiration is for 'die Sparsamen, die Nüchternen' and from his mentor, the sober and successful peasant-farmer Wilhelm Dreyer, he learns in his youth the 'frohe Botschaft' of 'arbeiten und nüchtern sein und sparsam und klug wirtschaften'.⁴² Unfortunately with the acquisition of a single-minded dedication to work and sobriety, he also develops a prissy self-righteousness and disdain for the pleasures of youth. Frenssen is well aware of this unattractive trait in his hero and criticises Jörn's premature seriousness and his censorious attitude towards his fellows, commenting:

Dass er seine Jugend für tot hielt und zur Feier ihres Begräbnisses dies lange, gerechte Gesicht machte und Augen dazu, als wenn alle vorsichtige Überlegung aller vorsichtigen Menschen in ihm war: Das war seine Lächerlichkeit. Die Jugend wird sich an dir rächen, Jörn Uhl! Auf, junges Blut! Dass Jörn Uhl kein Narr wird! Es ist besser, ein Sünder zu sein als so ein Gerechter. 43

Jörn's dedication to his work is not only an expression of his rejection of the standards of his father and brothers, but is also a consequence of his dedication to the land which the latter are neglecting. From early youth, he is aware of the consequences of their neglect. He is beaten by his father for expressing his concern and is hated, mocked and exploited by his brothers, for he 'war ihnen das böse Gewissen'. He adopts a stoical attitude towards their treatment of him, for 'es war ihm alles gleichgültig, wenn nur das Land und der Viehstand auf der Uhl ihr Recht bekämen'.⁴⁴ It should be noted, however, that Jörn's devotion to the Uhl does not override his honesty. He refuses to deal illegally with his main creditor, although such a deal would be to his financial advantage and later, when he decides to give up the Uhl, explains his decision as stemming partially from his refusal to cling to a possession which in reality belongs to his creditors: 'Ich habe die Uhl festgehalten,

die mir nicht gehörte, und damit die Lüge fortgesetzt, die Vater und Brüder getrieben haben und damit ihren Jammer."⁴⁵

The well-being of the farm is not the only responsibility that Jörn takes over from his father and brothers. The absence of a mother and the lack of care shown to her by the other members of the family drives Elsbe Uhl to seek affection outside the family. She finds what seems to be love in Harro Heinsen, a ne'er do well associate of her elder brothers. Jörn, previously too wrapped up in his work to involve himself in his sister's affairs becomes aware of the relationship and attempts to divert Elsbe from her involvement. Eventually, discovering the pair in embrace, he tears his sister away, asserting: "Für dich bin ich verantwortlich." In the ensuing argument, he advises her to reject the company of Harro and find a man similar to himself. He tells her: "Ich will nicht, dass du irgend einen von diesen Säufern zum Mann nimmst; sondern du sollst einen von meiner Sorte haben, einen, der arbeiten kann und mag."⁴⁶ His advice goes unheeded and Elsbe eventually elopes with Harro who takes her to America and then deserts her and her child.

Jörn's first wife has the qualities he advises Elsbe to seek in a partner. Lena Tarn is 'ein frisches und ordentliches Mädchen' who shares with Jörn a capacity for thrift and hard work:

Sie "strebte" vom frühen Morgen bis in die Nacht.
Die Arbeit flog ihr aus der Hand. Sie gab keinen Groschen unnütz aus. Thiess hatte ihr zur Hochzeit einige Meter grauen Lämsterstoff geschenkt...Darin arbeitete sie nun, immer gesund, immer munter, immer mehr aufblühend. 47

But although Frenssen portrays her as a totally sympathetic character, he also indicates that she is unable to offer Jörn real spiritual companionship: 'Das junge Weib lachte, sang, arbeitete und liebte, und kam mit alledem nur bis vor das Thor seiner Seele. Sie klopfte zuweilen an; er liess sie nicht ein.'⁴⁸ Her death enables Frenssen to reunite Jörn with his childhood sweetheart, the more sensitive and better educated Lisbeth.

Jörn's relationship with Lisbeth reveals many of his values and ambitions. Like Jörn, Lisbeth is in many ways an exceptional and isolated figure in the village community. But whereas Jörn's isolation stems largely from personal preoccupations and qualities, Lisbeth's derives from her social position. The daughter of a schoolmaster, 'sie hielt sich...etwas gesondert und sprach hochdeutsch'. Fiete Krey does not like her company: '"Sie ist zu sipp...Wenn ich 'mal ein grobes Wort sage, dann piept sie gleich: 'O, Fiete, was sagst du da?' Sie ist immer bange, dass ihre Hände schmutzig werden oder ihr Haar sich vertesselt."⁴⁹ But Jörn is very attached to her, partly because her inability to hold her own in the village children's rough and tumble leads her to seek his help, partly because she is 'so still und ordentlich', standing in marked contrast to the coarseness of his brothers and the wildness of his sister. There is a strain in Jörn which appreciates the gentility and orderliness of middle class, urban life. Whilst on military service he regularly visits a minor official who, although himself an unattractive character, has a home which the hero finds appealing: 'Es war ihm in der geleckten, sauberen, kleinen Häuslichkeit und in dem friedlichen, kinderlosen Heim sehr behaglich.'⁵⁰ He finds Lisbeth's town manners and relative sophistication equally attractive and her possession of these qualities makes him feel inferior to her. In later years, Lisbeth attempts to reverse the positions, claiming that his gauche behaviour - which she describes as 'natürlich' - was preferable to her sophistication and that her materialistic concerns were not as laudable as Elsbe's awareness of 'das Wirkliche und Wahre' - the need to love. Lisbeth tells Jörn that Elsbe '"schwärmte und redete nicht über Dinge, welche des Ansehens nicht wert sind, über Gardinenspitzen, Jürgen, und dergleichen Dinge"⁵¹

But she retains her sophistication, of dress and of speech. It is impossible to imagine her as a peasant-farmer's wife, just as it is impossible to imagine Lena Tarn joining Jörn in his new life as an engineer. Jörn's second

marriage is a definite step up the social scale. Now, Jörn Uhl is not the only hero in the novels examined in this thesis to marry above his class and education. Two of Löns's heroes - Iuder Volkmann and Harm Wulf - do the same. But their wives are expected to accept the way of life of their husbands' communities. Jörn's marriage to Lisbeth is only possible because of his change of profession and because he has rejected the rough manners and customs of his brothers and their ilk. This fact should not be presumed to constitute proof of Frenssen's outright approval of gentility and sophistication, particularly since he frequently attributes the qualities of naturalness and simplicity to approved characters. However, it is noteworthy that he never condones the coarseness and brutishness which Hermann Löns accepted as manifestations of a nature-based vitality.

He would also have given little approval to the self-centred attitude towards women manifested by some of Löns's characters, who saw women as little more than testing grounds for their masculinity. Jörn treats both his wives with the respect and consideration that is lacking in Klaus Uhl's attitude towards his wife. He errs only once. He allows Lena to leave her bed and recommence work too soon after childbirth and as a result she dies. Jörn blames himself for her death, and views himself as "ein schlechter Mensch und ein Mörder", but in general, Jörn proves himself to be a loyal and thoughtful husband. He sees marriage as a partnership, which requires that each partner respects the other's individuality. He tells Lisbeth before they marry:

"Siehst du: wir wissen beide, wen wir heiraten, dass es ein heiliger nicht ist; und wir haben die Absicht, jeden in seiner Haut und seiner Art zu lassen. Darum gehen so viele Ehen in die Brüche, dass einer den anderen drängen und zwingen will, zu denken und zu thun wie er selbst. Ich meine im Gegenteil, man muss den anderen in seinem Eigenen, wenn er gar nicht unklug ist, bestärken, damit man doch einen ganzen Menschen neben sich hat, einen runden, ganzen Menschen. Was sagen sie? Esche und

Epheu? Tasse und Untertasse, was? Bett und Unterbett, nicht? Ach, die Dummheit! Sondern sie sollen nebeneinander stehen wie ein Paar gleiche, gute Bäume. Nur dass der Mann an der Windseite stehen soll. Das ist alles." 52

Jörn's penultimate sentence, however, indicates his attachment to the conventional view of male and female roles within marriage. In both his marriages, it is Jörn's interests and activities which dictate the role played by his wives. In all his works, Frenssen emphasised that he regarded the man as the breadwinner and head of the family. The woman's primary role was domestic. She was expected to devote herself to home and to children. The production of the latter Frenssen regarded as a woman's main purpose in life and although he was willing to allow her a certain amount of sexual liberation, he refused to believe in woman's emancipation from her role as breeder, denying that any career or intellectual achievement could be an adequate substitute for motherhood.⁵³ In Jörn Uhl, women who indulge themselves in outside interests are contrasted unfavourably with those who devote themselves to home and family. A local councillor in the village speaks harshly of mothers who neglect their children for constant social visits and points in contrast to other women who 'sitzen still und vergrämt im Hause, thun ihre Arbeit, sorgen für den Hof und machen sich um die Zukunft bittere Sorge'.⁵⁴

This devotion to domestic duties, like many other principles and values promoted in Jörn Uhl, is seen to be representative of the best traditions in the rural community. Generalisations made about older generations of peasant-farmers indicate that Jörn's qualities of industriousness, honesty and powers of endurance are very much in line with these traditions.⁵⁵ Similar qualities are attributed by other 'Heimatkünstler' to the peasant-farmers they depict in their works. But there are significant differences between Frenssen and some of the authors treated in this thesis in a number of areas which concern their views of this rural class.

Firstly, Frenssen believed that the personal qualities attributed to peasant-farmers could be relevant and effective in a non-rural environment. Although Jörn himself relates many of his values and social attitudes to a rural life⁵⁶ - at any rate, until the destruction of the Uhl leads him to change his profession - his qualities are appreciated by men in very different social spheres - the officers in the army and his fellow students - and can be seen as contributory to his success in his new career. In a later novel, Frenssen makes explicit assertions as to the relevance of peasant-farmer virtues in non-rural professions. In Klaus Hinrich Baas, his hero is born in the country as the son of a peasant-farmer. After the family moves to the city, he becomes a successful businessman, largely thanks to the qualities he has inherited from his rural forebears:

Der frische Mann...vom alten Bauerngeschlecht, in welchem Arbeitslust und Zuverlässigkeit immer die ersten Tugenden waren, mit einer guten Gabe Schlaueheit aus derselben Quelle begabt, mit dem starken Drauflosgehen des guten Pferdes...brachte neues Wollen und Planen in das etwas zage und unsicher betriebene Geschäft, an dem er nun Teilhaber war. 57

Furthermore, in spite of a claim made by an urban-dwelling character in Klaus Hinrich Baas that "'ein Bauer, ein Pferd, ein Ochse; das wären Wirklichkeiten"⁵⁸ Frenssen was willing to concede both in this novel and in Hilligenlei that commerce had social value and that a career in business could be an honourable one. The sympathetic Weddenkop in the latter novel speaks of a businessman he much admired:

"Aber bei aller Geschäftstüchtigkeit und Geschäftsklugheit vergass er nie den innern, idealen Sinn des kaufmännischen Berufs. Er sprach mit starker aber sinniger Bitterkeit über die Kaufleute, welche meinen, ihr Lebenszweck wäre Geld über Geld zu verdienen; und sprach in klugen und köstlichen Worten von dem wahren Königstum des andern Kaufmanns, welcher sorgt dass die Güter der Erde zu allgemeinem Nutzen hin- und hergeschoben und verteilt werden, dass sie an rechter Stelle den Menschen nützen, die Not abhalten und die Lebensfreude erhöhen." 59

This somewhat idealistic view of trade and commerce stands in marked contrast to the attitude displayed by writers such as Polenz and Löns who portrayed commercial interests as inherently exploitive.

The second major difference between Frenssen's attitude towards peasant-farmers and their ascribed qualities and that of writers such as Polenz and Löns is that he was far more critical of the contemporary peasant-farmer than they were. Like them, he was aware that recent economic and social developments were undermining both the financial and cultural basis of the peasant-farmer's life. He states that during his youth

ein frischer kalter Wind von dem grossen neuen industriellen Deutschland her wehte auch in unsre abgelegene Landschaft hinein und überschwenkte uns mit jeglicher Geschmacklosigkeit und Unechtheit. Es verführte die alten Bauernfamilien zu unsolidem Leben und Spekulationen, dass sie ihre Höfe in Gefahr brachten. 60

But although Frenssen here attributes their decline to external influences, in Jörn Uhl, inspired in part by his observations of the behaviour of peasant-farmers in his region,⁶¹ he laid far more emphasis on their own weaknesses. Klaus Uhl clearly brings about his own downfall. No corrupting agent from outside the community tempts him to drink or gamble or to borrow and waste capital. Indeed, his creditors, in contrast to Harrassowitz in Polenz' Der Büttnerbauer are shown to be genuinely sympathetic to the plight into which he brings his farm and family. There are agents from the town in the area ready to persuade peasant-farmers to enter into unwise financial transactions and one minor character is cheated at the Hamburg stock exchange but Frenssen lays no stress on these matters and in general attributes financial failures to the farm owners' stupidity, laziness and predilection for expensive pleasures and vices. Frenssen does not call for sympathy for those who ruined themselves, for he believed that men should be obliged to carry the burden of their own failings. In Grübeleien, he writes:

Dem, was fallen und stürzen will, soll man nicht aufhelfen, man soll es lieber erst recht stürzen lassen, damit die erste Generation den Lohn des untreuen Haushalters bekomme, die zweite wieder lerne, was ein fleissiges Tagewerk ist, und die dritte sich wieder erhebe. 62

Frenssen's unwillingness to present an idealised picture of the peasant-farmer was influenced by other factors apart from his conviction that many were in large measure responsible for their own decline. As the son of a jobbing craftsman, he felt his social origins to be among 'die sogenannten kleinen Leute' and he had much sympathy for the working classes. Although he criticised the Social Democrats for being opposed to Christianity, monarchy, nationalism and for being generally 'so überaus gehässig und verneinend', he had sympathy with their aim of improving the lot of workers. From 1896 until 1903 he was a member of Naumann's National Social party,⁶³ which called upon the Kaiser to recognise his obligations to all his subjects. Frenssen himself severely censured both Kaiser and aristocracy, accusing them of being divorced in attitude from the bulk of the German people. He bore a particular grudge against the Junker landlords of Eastern Germany for their failure to make more of their land available to landless peasants and workers. He rejected the suggestion made to him by an East Elbian prince that he use his influence to defend the German people against Socialist influence. He wrote of the prince in Grübeleien:

Der Mann bedenkt nicht, dass es in mir so anders aussieht, als in ihm, der seit sechshundert Jahren oder länger in reichem und privilegiertem Stand lebt. Er bedenkt nicht, dass ich aus einem Handwerkerhause stamme, unter Arbeiter und Arbeiterkindern aufgewachsen bin und immer noch unter ihnen lebe, und weiss, wie, trotz aller wirtschaftlichen Besserung seit der Gründung des Reiches ihre Existenz, ihr Ehrgefühl und ihr stetiges wenn auch langsame Emporkommen gehemmt oder doch nicht genug gefördert wird. 64

Frenssen, alone among the authors treated in this thesis, felt his social origins to be lower than that of a peasant-farmer, writing that as a child

bei gelegentlichen Aufträgen meines Vaters stand ich
 scheu und voll ehrfürchtigen Staunens auf den grossen
 Bauernhöfen, und sah wie zu halben Göttern zu den
 grossen Besitzern und ihren Kindern auf. 65

His suspicion of all privileged classes and his sympathy for the rural proletariat led him to give a different picture of the relationship between worker and peasant-farmer to that which we find, for example, in the works of Hermann Löns. Löns claimed that workers and farmers were bound by mutual respect and dependence, but Frenssen accused the latter of exploiting their employees and thus creating social unrest in the countryside. He was also dissatisfied with the discrepancy in living standards between the two groups. In Grübeleien, he writes of his harvest festival sermon:

Es ist mir schwer, die Erntepredigt zu halten. Es
 ist eine Predigt über eine ungerechte Sache; der
 Bauer dankt für Land und Korn, der Arbeiter für
 Schweiss und Kartoffeln. 66

There is a third aspect of Frenssen's attitude towards peasant-farmers and their social values which demonstrates significant differences between himself and other authors treated in this thesis. There are a number of instances in Jörn Uhl where he demonstrates sympathy with or condones the actions and attitudes of characters who come into conflict with established conventions associated with farming families. Löns, Bartels and Polenz all make reference to and approve the absolute authority which the father in a farming family exercises over other members of his family. Frenssen, in contrast shows manifest sympathy for sons who are forced to obey their fathers' commands against their own wishes and interests. Here he describes the effect of the imposition of the 'Willen des eisernen Vaters' on the youth who wishes to study but is told by his father: "Du wirst Bauer". The boy is forced to work

in den Ställen und hinterm Pflug, heute die Forke
 in der Hand und morgen die Leine, den ganzen Tag.
 Und während der Arbeit fängt der unruhige Geist an, zu
 wühlen, zu laufen, zu rennen. So wie ein edles freies
 Tier in der Gefangenschaft am Gitter hin und her geht,

hin und her in trostloser, vergeblicher Unruhe und Verzweiflung, so geht sein Geist auch unterwegs und sieht zwischen all den Gitterstäben und sieht und sieht. 67

Here the character suffers passively from his acceptance of established conventions. Jörn, in contrast, actively rejects them. He rejoices that the Uhl is handed over to him by his father's creditors, in spite of the fact that this contravenes the tradition that the eldest son should take over the farm from the father. He shows little loyalty to his father and brothers, wishing the former dead and allowing Hinnerk to be buried as a pauper. Frenssen nowhere comments adversely on his hero's actions, which contrast markedly with the allegiance shown by the most sympathetic rural characters of Bartels, Löns and Polenz to traditional conventions concerning modes of inheritance and family loyalty.

There are two main reasons for Frenssen's willingness to countenance his protagonists' rejection of established conventions. The first is that the author frequently adopted a pragmatic attitude towards traditional customs and modes of life. As we have seen, he was willing to approve commercial activity which other 'Heimatkünstler' condemned. This approval may be linked to the sympathetic attitude he displayed towards the period of industrial and commercial expansion which Germany enjoyed following unification,⁶⁸ a period which Bartels condemned as highly materialistic. Frenssen's willingness to applaud the political rise of the working class, his criticism of privileged groups, his interest in liberal theology all indicate a strain of sympathy for the forces of progress. Like Polenz, who shares a certain, limited, affinity with him in this area, he regarded blind clinging to outmoded traditions and beliefs as positively harmful. In Schlusswort zu Hilligenlei, Frenssen wrote, with reference to Christian doctrines which he regarded as outmoded, that 'die Geschichte Beweise hat, dass gerade das lange Halten an einem alternden Glauben Throne ins Wanken und Länder in Verfall gebracht hat'.⁶⁹ In his second

collection of aphorisms and anecdotes, Möwen und Mäuse, he asserted that traditions should only be maintained if they had continuing social validity.⁷⁰ Clearly, the conventions which Jörn ignores have little practical relevance to the situations in which they are expected to be operative. His brothers are not capable of running the farm and the wastrel Hinnerk to whom he refuses a formal burial deserves scant sympathy.

Frenssen also placed emphasis in Jörn Uhl on the right of the individual to personal fulfilment, if this could be honourably achieved without harm to others. It is indicated early in the novel that Jörn's real professional inclinations are towards some form of academic study. When, as a youth, he recognises that he must devote his life to the Uhl if the farm is not to be totally neglected, he tells Wieten Penn: "Meinst du denn...dass ich es gern thue?...Nun kann ich gar nichts mehr lernen. Kein Buch kann ich mehr anfassen! Nun bleib' ich dumm, wie all die anderen."⁷¹ He suppresses his own wishes for many years, but when the Uhl burns down, he welcomes the opportunity this event offers him to unburden himself of the responsibility he has shouldered. He does not leave without regrets, for he is deeply attached to his home and the memories associated with it, telling Thies: "Das Davongehen: das ist nicht so leicht." But his predominant emotion is relief that he now has a legitimate excuse to leave, and fulfil long held ambitions. He tells his uncle:

"Ich bin nun fertig damit. Ich lasse die Uhl nun fahren, samt allen ihren Sorgen. Ich bin ein Mensch...ich habe in fünfzehn Jahren keinen Sonntag gehabt; ich glaube, ich bin ein armer, unglücklicher Narr gewesen...Aber nun wahrhaftig, nun will ich wirklich versuchen, was du gestern sagtest: ich will sehen, dass ich meine Seele wiederbekomme, die hier in der Uhl gesteckt hat. Her mit meiner Seele! Her mit meiner Seele! Die gehört mir." ⁷²

He later echoes the theme: "Die Uhl...was ist die Uhl? Was ist die Uhl gegen meine Seele?" His attitude stands in marked contrast to that of Polenz' character Traugott Büttner, who is so bound to his farm that he is willing to

suffer one humiliation after another after ownership of the land has been transferred to Harrassowitz in order to remain living on his former property. Büttner's attitude is a manifestation of the principle of identification of the peasant-farmer with the soil he works approved by so many 'Heimatkünstler'.

The identification is also made by Frenssen in other works. In Die drei Getreuen, Franz Strandiger can only achieve personal happiness by reassuming responsibility for the family farm. But it must be noted that Frenssen emphasises that adherence to a tradition - in this case, attachment to property - should be linked to personal fulfilment. Jörn can only achieve his ambitions by leaving the farm and his decision is nowhere criticised by Frenssen. The author does not condone, as does Hermann Löns, the sacrifice of an individual to traditions in which he does not believe for the sake of the cultural continuity which the maintenance of those traditions is claimed to guarantee.

However, Frenssen's implicit challenges to certain rural traditions and his criticism of peasant-farmers were in general less rigorous than his attacks on other social codes and groupings. Not only the upper but the middle classes too were the objects of his social criticism. Although in Jörn Uhl his hero shows some affection for certain aspects of bourgeois life, in his next novel Frenssen or his sympathetic characters make numerous criticisms of the provincial middle class. In Hilligenlei there are attacks on their hypocrisy, dishonesty and self concern. Middle class education is criticised and local government officials are shown to be mostly either fools or knaves. Bourgeois sexual morality is severely censured. Adolf Bartels complained, referring to this portrait of middle class life, that 'Frenssen sieht alles schwarz' and considered Frenssen's social criticism as dangerously un-German. In the novel, Frenssen's hero proclaims:

"Es geht wie alle hundert Jahr , eine Zeit der Unruhe durchs Volk, ein Fieber, aber ein Fieber zur Genesung. Altes und Faules wird im fiebernden Blut verzehrt und ausgeschieden. Neues und Starkes und Frisches will werden". 73

Bartels admitted that there was a demand for change in the German population, but denied that Frenssen's criticisms and attitudes pointed out the correct direction for that change. He writes:

Es geht ein Sehnen und Suchen durch unsere Zeit, ganz gewiss, aber sich selbst, sein Deutschtum will unser Volk wiederfinden. Die alten starren Formen, wen genieren sie noch? Dass der deutsche Geist aus unserm Leben entschwunden ist, das ist das Schlimme. Frenssen und seinesgleichen werden ihn schwerlich wiederbringen. 74

But Frenssen believed that the challenges to established authority and convention he made in Hilligelei derived from his attachment to the best qualities in the German people, were expressions of 'ein Wille und Wunsch zur Natur zu kommen...zu einem einfachen, edlen, germanischen Menschentum'. What Bartels failed to see - or perhaps, did not want to see - was that elements of Frenssen's social criticism stemmed from the same basic beliefs held by other authors associated with the 'Heimatkunst' movement who enjoyed more of the approval of the movement's original promoter.

Frenssen's criticism of bourgeois sexual morality is a case in point. Although Frenssen called for more sexual freedom for both men and women in a number of his works, his sexual codes did not derive from libertarian decadence, but from the conviction that man, as a natural being, should not have to suppress his natural instincts. In Hilligenlei, Weddenkop tells Anna Boje:

"Die bürgerliche Sitte ist die grosse Mörderin, sie mordet dir und vielen deiner Schwestern die Jugend... beim Stand der sogenannten gebildeten Leute hat die Sitte die ganze schöne Natur verdreht und verzerrt." 75

In Grübeleien, Frenssen expanded his discussion of sexual relationships and morality to deal with a wide variety of related topics, attacking the concept of 'die geschlechtliche Zugehörigkeit und Gebundenheit an ein einziges Wesen', criticising the attitude of Church and State towards illegitimacy, promoting a diminution of hypocrisy in the literary treatment of sexual themes and

claiming that the social problems caused by spinsterhood were no less important than those caused by prostitution.

In Jörn Uhl we see only hints of this promotion of increased tolerance and enlightenment in sexual matters. In general, there is considerable ambivalence in Frenssen's treatment of Jörn's sexual experiences. The sexual drive is portrayed as both natural and God-given and Frenssen's hero disapproves of those who regard sexual matters with levity. Jörn's illicit relationship with Telse Dierke is presented as a positive gain in experience and his actions are condoned by the sympathetic Jasper Krey. But Frenssen does not give absolute narrative approval to extra- or premarital sexual relations. He records with approval that Telse Dierke struggled 'tapfer wie keine im Lande gegen ihre Leidenschaft' when in danger of being drawn into an affair with a married man. Telse talks of 'Schuld' with reference to the relationship she has with Jörn, who himself regards his liaison as a 'Sünde' and feels that his experience separates him from the virginal Lisbeth. The other occasions on which Frenssen deals with sexual morality in the novel in no way help to give a clear cut indication of Frenssen's position. He shows a sympathetic understanding of the motives which lead Elsbe to take up with Harro and allows Fiete Krey to declare his wife free of all guilt for her unfaithfulness, for, as Fiete sees it, "' war ein Schicksal über sie gekommen und damit über mich, das stärker war als wir beiden Menschen"'.⁷⁶ Yet the behaviour of Elsbe and Trina is not portrayed in a positive light, contrasting markedly with Frenssen's treatment of the adulterous activities of Anna Boje in Hilligenlei, who receives far more of her creator's approval. She declares following an affair with a married man:

"Wem bin ich Rechenschaft schuldig über das, was ich mit meinem Leib gemacht habe?...Ich, ein freier, gesunder, erwachsener Mensch?...Habe ich ihn schmutzig gemacht? Habe ich Unnatürliches oder Unreines getan? Ich bin darob guter Dinge." 77

The fact that Frenssen had privately advanced a more liberal approach to sexual morality on occasions for some years before writing Jörn Uhl and that in the first novel he published after leaving the ministry he gave public expression to these views might suggest that fear for his position caused him to make concessions to convention in his bestseller. This suggestion must, however, remain a tentative one. Grübeleien contains recommendations for fidelity in marriage and even in Hilligenlei permanent and stable union is seen as a desirable goal. It seems likely that the ambiguous approach to contraventions of sexual codes in Jörn Uhl resulted more from Frenssen's own doubts as to the wisdom of completely overthrowing them than from fears of the consequences of running into conflict with the Church authorities. It should be noted that he did not shy away from such conflict in other areas. Attacks made on conventional Christian doctrine in Die drei Getreuen and Jörn Uhl resulted in both novels being condemned from Evangelical pulpits.⁷⁸

More than any other author treated in this thesis, Frenssen was preoccupied with questioning the role that the Church and Church doctrine played in the lives of his fellow countrymen. The religious views promoted in Hilligenlei caused considerable controversy among the German clergy and Jörn Uhl brought forth sufficient criticism for its attack on the Church for Frenssen to feel the need to defend it as 'das frömmste Buch, das seit fünfzig Jahren geschrieben ist'.⁷⁹ It would need more space than can be devoted to the subjects in this thesis to deal comprehensively with Frenssen's criticisms of conventional Christian doctrine, his reliance on recent developments in liberal theology, the nature and sources of his portrait of Christ in Hilligenlei and the frequent shifts in his attitude towards both the figure of Christ and Christianity in general. It will, however, be possible to point to the main features of his criticisms of the Evangelical

Church and its teachings, as presented in Jörn Uhl and to indicate how these may be related to other aspects of his view of man and society.

Frenssen's main concern, which he shares with Wilhelm von Polenz, was to make Christianity more relevant to the experience of the common man. Jörn becomes a regular churchgoer, primarily because he respects the social values associated with other members of the congregation:

Er sah, dass die Sparsamen, Nüchternen und die ein wenig altmodischen Leute in die Kirche gingen; und er hatte sich fest vorgenommen, gerade ein solcher Mann zu werden. 80

But Jörn gains little from the teaching he hears in the sermons:

Diese rechte Lehre...die ging Jörn ganz und gar gegen den Strich. Es hiess da nämlich: "All unser Dichten und Trachten ist böse von Jugend auf", und "Wer auf sein Leben und seine Werke baut, der wird ewig verdammt", und: "Die Dreieinigkeit, gelobt in Ewigkeit", und: "Der Sohn Gottes in Ewigkeit geboren", und: "Glaube nur, so wirst du selig werden." Das war der Inhalt der Predigten.

Jörn Uhl sass und hörte aufmerksam zu und konnte ganz und gar nicht entdecken, was diese Lehren mit dem wilden Leben im Dorfe und seinem eigenen Pflügen und Eggen zu thun hatte. Er wunderte sich im Stillen, dass Gottes Wort so unpraktisch war. Nach seiner Ansicht musste es heissen, ein Vers nach dem anderen, ungefähr so: "Der Bauer, der die Quäke und den Senf nicht jätet, wird nicht selig." "Der durch fleissige Arbeit und ehrbar nüchternes Leben sein Vermögen verdoppelt, der kommt obenan." "Jeden Abend, den ein junger Mann im Wirtshaus sitzt, wird ihm ein Jahr der Seligkeit abgenommen." 81

The village pastor, 'ein fester Trinker und ein sicherer Kartenspieler' for whom Jörn feels little personal sympathy, is unable to offer the hero an interpretation of Christianity that seems relevant to the practical realities of the life he leads. Jörn finds preferable the words of the young clergyman who befriends him in later life. The latter asserts that good deeds and self-sacrifice, not understanding and adhering to Church doctrine, are the marks of the true Christian. He tells Jörn:

"Wir haben gestern eine Arbeiterfrau begraben. Sie kam selten in die Kirche; aber ihr ganzes Leben ist ein heisses und treues Sorgen für Mann und Kinder gewesen. Das Dienen, das Sich-Opfern oder das Helfen und Treusein oder wie man es nennen will: das ist das rechte menschliche Königtum. Das ist auch das rechte Christentum." 82

Frenssen demanded a Christianity which would offer man guidelines for his conduct in this world, not an excuse for passivity and formal allegiance to Church doctrine whilst waiting for his encounter with the next. Although Jörn, in the previously quoted passage, views social behaviour in terms of its relationship to an afterlife, Frenssen tended to underplay the importance of this, claiming that Christ's emphasis on the existence of God's Kingdom in Heaven or its imminent arrival on earth was impractical. It was impossible, he asserted in Grübeleien, to use 'des Heilands Glauben...wie er ist. Man muss ihn für ein irdisch Geschlecht und für eine Menschheit, die fortbestehn soll, mit Erde vermischen'.⁸³ The view that religion should serve the earthly life of man finds expression in Frenssen's belief that sin is 'was den körperlichen, seelischen (allgemein menschlichen) und den wirtschaftlichen (sozialen) Aufstieg hindert'.⁸⁴ The young clergyman follows this emphasis on temporal existence so far as to claim that if an unbeliever '"kann ohne Gottesvertrauen das Gute und Liebe thun, so soll man es genug sein lassen und sich freuen"'. The spectacle of a clergyman cheerfully condoning atheism is a strange one, but no stranger than some of Frenssen's own statements on unbelievers - in one of his sermons, for example, he suggested that unbelievers should regularly recite the Lord's Prayer, as a form of insurance against their unbelief being ill-founded.⁸⁵

Frenssen himself, however, did believe in God. He also accepted that Christ had lived and although in Jörn Uhl he called into doubt his infallibility and in Hilligenlei his divinity, he found much to admire in the man and his teachings. He saw Christ as the teacher of relatively simple doctrines,

accessible to the common people. In one of his sermons, he writes:

Aber, obwohl er sehr klug war, ist es sonderbar, dass man nichts von Gelehrsamkeit an ihm entdeckt oder gar vom Dünkel der Gelehrten. Sondern er hatte eine Weise zu reden, wie ein ernster Arbeiter und sich zu haben, wie einer aus dem Volk. 86

This description of Christ points to a second major area over which he took issue with the established Church. He believed that the theologians, by intellectualising and complicating Christ's basic teachings, had formulated doctrines which placed a barrier between the would-be believer and the inspiring figure of the Saviour. Of Jörn's failure to find anything to respect in the teachings of the Evangelical Church, the narrator states: 'Die Religion ihm nahe zu bringen, hatte man nicht verstanden. Die lebensfrische, liebliche und stolze Gestalt des Heilands hatten sie ihm verdorben und vermalt.'⁸⁷ This theme is expanded by the young clergyman:

"Der Heiland...hat durch sein köstlich schönes und reines Leben und seinen sonderbar erschütternden Tod, und durch seine guten, starken und stolzen Worte eine mächtige Fülle von Gedanken und Leben in die Menschheit geworfen, als ein blinkendes Feuer, wie er sagte. Nun nimmt sich der eine dies, der andere das, und die eine Kirche dies und die andere das und jeder setzt sich mit dem Feuerscheitlein, das er sich genommen hat, in eine Ecke und besieht es, und lässt es qualmen oder rauchen, je nachdem er Rauch oder Feuer lieber hat, und sagt "Das ist des Heilands Wahrheit". Viele thun noch ihre eigene Weisheit dazu, viele sogar ihre Unehrllichkeit, viele ja sogar ihren bösen Willen. So ist des Heilands wirkliches Bild bei einigen versteinert, bei anderen verkleidet, bei anderen sogar so verzerrt, dass man von seinem edlen Gesicht nichts mehr sieht." 88

Underlying Frenssen's hostility to theology was not only a belief that it had contributed to the perversion of Christ's teaching, but a more wide ranging suspicion of all forms of intellectualism, a suspicion that he shares with all the authors treated in this thesis. His suspicion may well have developed, at least in part, from his own intellectual failings, which are all too evident in both his fiction and his polemical writings, often weakened by inconsistency and self-contradiction. He confessed that he was unable to

understand 'die Lehre der Logik und den ganzen Apparat der Philosophie' and that as a student he had found certain theological debates too 'gelehrt'. But he refused to accept that his weakness put him at a disadvantage.⁸⁹ He remarked: 'Es geht mir schlecht mit aller Philosophie. Aber ich denke, sie ist wohl zur Weisheit nicht nötig.' Indeed, he frequently claimed that an intellectual or academic approach to life could be positively harmful, writing of the 'Stumpfheit' of academics and asserting that their prominence in German society put a brake on the nation's energies.

Frenssen frequently promoted the view that true wisdom was derived from an individual's direct experience of life and from familiarity with that of others. In his youth, Jörn learns much of 'die weiten, weglosen Felder der allgemeinen Lebensweisheit' from the farm worker Jasper Krey. Of their relationship, Frenssen writes:

Die Bedeutung dieser Stunden war aber um so grösser, als hier Mannesalter und Knabenalter zusammenkamen, so, dass beide sich gleich hoch einschätzten und es also zu geraden ehrlichen Debatten kam. Wo lernten wir am meisten? In den Schulen? In den Hörsaalen? Von den Professoren? Wir lernten das Meiste, als wir auf freies Feld gingen und aufzufliegen versuchten, so gut es ging. 90

Wisdom gained from books is regarded by some characters in Jörn Uhl with suspicion. The father of Jörn's clergyman friend claims: "'Ich brauche nicht mehr in Büchern zu schauen: mein Leben ist ein Buch'" and the claim is made by a shop assistant from whom Fiete Krey requests a book that will tell him "'wie man reich und klug wird'" that "'von Büchern wird man nicht klug, sondern von dem, was man erlebt"'.

There is, however, some inconsistency in Frenssen's attitude towards the value of books, academic study and man's use of his intellectual capacities in general. As narrator in Jörn Uhl, Frenssen nowhere speaks disapprovingly of Jörn's wish to study and read. Indeed, he commends Jörn's 'wachsende Liebe zu den Büchern, besonders zu solchen welche eine feste, klare Erkenntnis

haben'.⁹¹ In spite of his criticisms of theology, he relied heavily on the works of liberal theologians when writing the life of Christ which appears in Hilligenlei, giving a long list of his sources at the end of the novel. Furthermore, in spite of his proclamation that 'Materialismus und Rationalismus' were threats to the survival of Christianity, he justified his new formulation of the faith by referring to the claims of rationality, asserting 'dass die Vernunft nicht eine Verführerin des Menschen ist, sondern das göttliche Licht in ihm'. This theme is expanded in more detail in Grübeleien:

Soviel ich von Welt und Geist mit meinem Verstand, mit meiner Vernunft, erfassen kann, so will ich durch ihn erfassen. Das ganze Gebiet ist mir von Gott für meinen Verstand geschenkt. Ich nenne alles, was darin kriecht und wohnt, mit klarem Namen. Ich durchwühle und durchforsche dies Gebiet. Und wenn die Elektriker und die Historiker auf diesem Gebiet etwas neues gefunden haben, so freue ich mich und nehme Besitz von dieser Geisteserweiterung, und bin so froh, als wenn ich selbst dies Gebiet entdeckt, ja fast, als wenn ich es gemacht hätte. Und Gott freut sich über diesen Stolz, und freut sich über uns, wie er sich über Columbus freute, als er aufschrie: "Land!" 92

The continuation of the passage, however, helps to reconcile some of the apparent contradictions in his expressed attitudes towards the value and scope of intellectual activity. He was willing to grant recognition to the achievements of such activity, but denied that it could ever enable man to perceive all life's secrets. The passage continues:

Aber über die Grenzen dieses ganzen Gebiets hinaus erstreckt sich noch eine weitere Welt, noch ein weiteres endloses Sein, jenes Gebiet, daraus die ganze Welt der Erscheinungen kommt, so wie aus dem unendlichen Himmelsraum leise und unentwegt die Schneeflocken fallen. Eben waren sie unsichtbar, plötzlich sind sie da. Dies Gebiet ist über meine Vernunft, ich kann es mit der Vernunft nicht fassen. 92

Frenssen's assumed or genuine ignorance of the cause of a basic meteorological phenomenon is striking and gives the impression, evident elsewhere in his work and in that of other 'Heimatkünstler', that incomprehension which facilitates ponderings on the mysteries of life is preferable to the acceptance of a prosaic scientific explanation. However, Frenssen's main concern in this

passage is to refute the belief that the human intellect can explain matters which cannot be tested by empirical experience. In Jörn Uhl, he accuses the scientists and theologians of arrogance in claiming to have knowledge of matters of which they cannot have had direct knowledge:

Wer weiss etwas...Das ist die gemeinsame Sünde der Jünger Darwins und der Jünger Luthers, dass sie zuviel wissen. Sie sind dabei gewesen, die einen, als die Urzelle Hochzeit machte, die anderen, als Gott auf den Knien lag und wehmütig lächelnd die Menschenseele schuf. Wir aber sind die Anhänger jenes armen, staunenden Nichtswissers, welcher das Wort gesagt hat: Dass wir nichts wissen können, das will uns schier das Herz verbrennen.⁹³

But there are hints in Jörn Uhl that man can get close to ultimate truth by means other than rational analysis and scientific inquiry. However, before we can discuss these we must examine another aspect of Frenssen's beliefs about the nature of the relationship between God and man.

Like many 'Heimatkünstler', Frenssen attributed heathen tendencies to the rural people he wrote about and had sympathy with such beliefs.⁹⁴ His concept of God was a pantheistic one, as the following quotation from Grübeleien indicates:

Ich habe mit dem Volk eine stille Abneigung gegen das Kirchengebäude, als wenn man mich zwingen wollte dahinzugehen - das ist noch der Hang von der Heidenzeit her, Gott auf den Höhen und in den Hainen zu suchen.⁹⁵

His belief that God could be identified in and with the workings of nature - succinctly expressed in the declaration 'Gott ist biologisch' - helped him to sanctify a number of his social attitudes. In Frenssen's eyes that which was natural had divine approval, that which was unnatural was an offence against God. In Grübeleien, he declared: 'Man soll nicht gegen den ernsten und reinen Willen der Natur handeln, die Gottes Wirkungsstatt ist.'⁹⁶ Thus the sexual urge, as a natural instinct, had God's blessing. Living in cities, which removed man from a natural environment and thus from God, did not.⁹⁷

Frenssen's pantheistic tendencies also affect another aspect of his work

and thought. They help to account for the wealth of personifications, natural analogies, and attributions of human tendencies to other living beings with which his fiction is permeated. Similar devices are employed by all the authors treated in this thesis, but only Frenssen and, to a lesser extent Hermann Löns, portrayed non-human beings and even inanimate objects which possessed capacities for reasoning and conscious willing as objective realities. Frenssen was capable of attributing all natural phenomena with a spirit or soul. In Grübeleien, he raised this issue by suggesting the possibility of 'die Tierseele, die Baumseele' and in Jörn Uhl gives an example of how such a soul or consciousness might manifest itself. He describes the actions and thought of the lightning which has struck the Uhl and awaits its chance to destroy the farm:

Es wurde zehn, und sie waren alle zur Ruhe. Da meinte der Blitz, dass Haus und Menschen sein wären und machte sich leise auf den Weg. Er wand sich mit langem, glattem Leib, blank wie ein gut gebrauchter Spaten, langsam zwischen Heu und Dach. Wo er, mit den dünnen Augen vorlangend, hingriff, schwelte rote Glut auf. Als er sah, dass aus Mangel an Luft, Flamme nicht aufkommen konnte, glitt er schwelend bis ans Fenster. Das Fenster zersprang. 98

Natural phenomena and beings shown to have a consciousness of events occurring in human society are furthermore attributed with the capacity to both foresee and foretell them. In a passage in his first novel, Die Sandgräfin, Frenssen describes the reaction of animals to events which threaten to give the villain control of the heroine's estate. He concludes the description:

So zog durch die Tierwelt, die der Mutter Erde noch verwandt ist, ein banges Ahnen zukünftigen Unheils; aber die Menschen, losgelöst von der Mutter und der Sprache, die sie redet, schüttelten die klugen Köpfe und gingen ihrer Arbeit nach. 99

In this passage, Frenssen implies that men have lost the ability to interpret omens of their own future revealed in the natural world. In Jörn Uhl not only are omens recognised as 'such - albeit such familiar ones as the arrival of the stork - but certain characters are shown to be capable of foreseeing and

foretelling the future. Wieten Penn has premonitions of Jörn's return from the Franco-Prussian war, his descent into a suicidal mood after the death of Lena and the presence of the lightning. Both Lena and a farm labourer foresee the burning of the Uhl. Wieten claims that such premonitions and the folklore and legends of country folk enable man to gain some understanding of the real meaning of existence. She tells Jörn:

"Es liegt hinter unserem Leben ein Geheimnis. Wir leben nicht wegen dieses Lebens, sondern wegen des Geheimnisses, das dahinter liegt. Und es muss möglich sein, das Geheimnis zu raten, und wer es rät, hat Klarheit und Wahrheit. Und in solchen alten heiligen Dingen; da muss es am ehesten liegen. Von alters her haben unsere Vorfahren es da gesucht, und einige haben es gefunden. 100

Jörn, however, refutes her arguments and later calls the tales and legends which she told him in his childhood "wilde und unzuverlässige Geschichten". He also refuses to believe that natural phenomena can offer man any guidance as to the nature of ultimate truth about existence, claiming "Heide und Wasser, Wind und Regen: das ist alles noch hilfloser als der Mensch". Although willing to admit that there is a hidden explanation to the apparent confusion of existence, he claims that "wir haben keinen Sinn, es zu sehen oder zu hören" and can call only for a blind faith "dass alles einen inwendigen Sinn und Zweck hat". However, we find no narrative confirmation of the validity of this faith. There is ambiguity in Frenssen's attitude towards the credibility which can be attached to the supernatural beings which are portrayed in the novel and although he gives credence to the belief that there is a power, called variously 'Natur', 'Gott', 'Schicksal' and 'das Ewige' which controls man's fate, he nowhere credits this power with a clearly defined overall direction of purpose. It seems likely, however, that Frenssen wished the reader to accept the final sentences of the novel as a summary of the lessons which Jörn draws from his experience. In conversation with Heim Heidereiter, Jörn assesses his life as follows:

"Obgleich er zwischen Sorgen und Särgen hindurch musste, er war dennoch ein glücklicher Mann. Darum weil er demütig war und Vertrauen hatte. Aber sei nicht zu weise, Heim. Wir können es doch nicht raten." 101

The trust he calls for may be explained by reference to his call for faith in the inherent if invisible purpose in life and to the narrator's comment in the penultimate chapter of the novel:

Was soll man mehr von einem Menschen verlangen,
als dass er das grosse Geheimnis des Menschendaseins
und der ganzen Welt demütig verehere, und Lust und
Vertrauen habe zu allem Guten? 102.

Jörn Uhl gives little positive affirmation that heathen beliefs offer a means for achieving perception of ultimate truths and even when displaying considerable enthusiasm for the value of such beliefs, Frenssen was never able to suggest exactly what interpretation of existence they revealed. However, throughout his life he retained sympathy for pre-Christian German paganism and the belief that nature manifested universal truths. This sympathy was evident in the approval he gave to the revival by some Nazi circles of quasi-heathen practices. He also lent his support to the Germanic Christianity promoted by a number of pro-Nazi clergymen after Hitler's accession to power. His involvement in this movement is pre-figured in his earlier writings, which contain expressions of sympathy for nationalistic interpretations of Christianity. His reduction of Christ's spiritual authority to that of 'edler Urmensch' left him with considerable freedom to reinterpret the faith and among the varied uses he made of this freedom was the sanctifying of German nationalism, expressed in his call for the union of 'die germanische Seele und den Heiland'. His bias is evident in a number of works written in the Wilhelminian period. In Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest, Frenssen promotes colonisation as the God given right of the German people in terms which remind us of his claim that the only sin is to hinder human 'Aufstieg'. The hero, who participates in the suppression of a native uprising has his pangs of conscience quietened by an officer who declares: "Gott hat uns

hier siegen lassen, weil wir die Edleren und Vorwärtsstrebenden sind... Den Edleren, den Frischeren gehört die Welt. Das ist Gottes Gerechtigkeit."¹⁰³ God's particular affection for the Germans is affirmed again in Frenssen's verse epic Bismarck where God is portrayed as Bismarck's personal confidant and helpmate, offering advice, punishing attempts at revolution and approving patriotism and a willingness to die for the Fatherland among the soldiers of the German armies in the Franco-Prussian War.

However, strident nationalism, whether divinely approved or otherwise, is absent from Jörn Uhl and a considerable number of other works by Frenssen. Indeed, it is worth noting that Bartels' condemnation of Frenssen as un-German and an 'internationaler Europäer', could be considered, by Bartels' narrow lights at least, as a charge which had some foundation. Not until after the First World War did Frenssen show any anti-Semitic feeling. He claimed that Christ had spread his message among 'einem lebhaften und von Natur edlen und tieffrommen Volk',¹⁰⁴ recommended 'die scharfe, jüdische Kritik' as an antidote to German sentimentality,¹⁰⁵ and defended the Jews against the charge that they were the cause of Germany's weakness.¹⁰⁶ On a number of occasions he or his characters expressed internationalist sentiments. The hero of Hilligenlei, Kai Jans, declares that 'alle Völker sollen einig sein' and in Grübeleien, Frenssen voiced the hope that in future years the peoples of the world might learn to live together in peace by getting rid of national barriers.¹⁰⁷

Such nationalist sentiments as there are in Jörn Uhl are very low-keyed. The narrator expresses sympathy with the cause of German unification, referring to the presence among the German people of 'eine alte, stille, lang schon schlafende Hoffnung, die konnte nun erfüllt werden.' There is evidence among his minor characters of a sincere if rather simple minded belief in the justice of the German cause.¹⁰⁸ Jörn himself is shown to be relatively

uninterested in the reasons for the war, being more concerned with his personal life, although he gives his approval to the motto set on the village war memorial, 'Sie starben für das Land'. Furthermore, Frenssen's hero shows none of the enthusiasm for military activity manifested by characters portrayed by Löns or Bartels. He is a courageous soldier and performs conscientiously the duties required of him both in the barrackroom and on the battlefield. But he does not regard war as a glorious adventure. He speaks more willingly of the day on which he defended village children from an attack by dogs

als von jenem anderen Tage, da er gebückt über der Laffette stand und zackige Eisenstücke gegen Menschen warf, die, wie er leise hinzusetzte "mir persönlich nichts getan hatten, auch nicht schlechter waren als ich." 109

Lena, who has acquired from her school books a romantic image of war is told by her husband 'von dem grausamen Jammer und der himmelschreienden Qual des einzelnen Soldaten' and she listens to his tales 'das Gesicht in Schmerz zusammengezogen'. Jörn's view of war is supported by the picture of the conflict painted by Frenssen. Some of Frenssen's most sympathetic characters were military men and he approved both the military virtues of order and discipline and the stiffening of character which he believed war, like other harsh experiences, could promote. But he seldom portrayed war itself or soldiers' attitudes towards fighting in an idealised manner. His soldiers are often more concerned with their domestic affairs than with winning great victories. In Jörn Uhl their desire to get to grips with the enemy is seen as resulting from the unheroic motive of wanting to get home as quickly as possible. When they constantly advance without meeting the French they reflect:

Lieber 'mal 'ran an den Feind, ihn schlagen und dann wieder nach Haus. "Wer soll sonst pflügen und säen? Der Herbst kommt heran. Vater kann nicht allein für den vollen Stall sorgen. Und die Mutter? Und das Mädchen?" 110

Unlike Bartels and Löns, Frenssen describes in detail the privations of the fighting men and the sufferings of the wounded. In the camp outside Metz, the regiment lies 'in nassem Stroh, in bösem Geruch. Ungeziefer die schwere Menge' and a lieutenant reflects: '"Wir sind keine Menschen mehr. Wir sind wie unreine Tiere geworden"'. It was perhaps with this image of war in mind that Frenssen wrote in Grübeleien:

Es ist sicher, es wird eine Zeit kommen, da werden nicht mehr Heldenthaten auf Schlachtfeldern geschehen, sondern in Krankenhäusern, in den Schulen, in den Fabriken, auf den Handelsschiffen. Man wird dann diese unsre Zeit in Blutdunst gehüllt sehen, und wird den Kopf über sie schütteln. lll

Frenssen's terminology in this passage is significant, for not only does he look forward to a pacifist future, but one in which industry and commerce continue to thrive. This attitude stands in marked contrast to that of other authors treated in this thesis, who declared that the technological age would pass and the farmers would once again inherit the earth. Jörn Uhl, the peasant-farmer who becomes a civil engineer, may be seen as a representative of Germany's changing economic and social face and Frenssen's account of his later career may be directly related to the previous quotation, for Jörn's most enduring achievements are on neither battlefield nor farm, but in building sluices and canals 'auf den wir so stolz sind als einen deutlichen Beweis der Stärke des Vaterlands'. Aspects of Frenssen's later career indicate that his espousal of the forces of political, technological and social progress manifest in his early works was not a fleeting phenomenon. In Der Pastor von Poggsee he revealed himself as defender of the Weimar Republic and in Briefe aus Amerika, he spoke out in favour of universal suffrage, Socialism and political figures such as Friedrich Ebert and Rathenau.

But Frenssen never committed himself completely to progressive ideas and ideals, which he seems on occasion to have completely misunderstood.¹¹²

He voted for Hitler, whose coming to power he described as 'ein Wunder... nach dem heiligen Willen Gottes' and even before 1933 he had declared that democracy was incompatible with the military organisation which the Germans would need if they ever had to march against Russia, an event he considered quite likely to occur.¹¹³ He came to embrace anti-Semitism, the Germanic Church and other movements and attitudes linked with National Socialist thought, and completely repudiated his earlier support for Weimar, writing in 1935:

Während der Republik regierte ein Teil Grossbürgertum, von Juden geführt, und eine undeutsche Führerschaft der grossstädtischen Arbeiter; und wieder war das Volk selbst, die Millionen ernster, gutwilliger deutscher Menschen aller Stände nicht gefragt. Erst in diesen letzten zwei Jahren kommt die eigentliche Kernmasse und Kraft des Volkes, alles Gute, Mutige und Tatfrohe, die Wucht seiner Gesamtgabe, zur Herrschaft und Wirkung. 114

Frenssen made a greater effort than any other author treated in this thesis to come to terms with the progressive forces in Wilhelminian Germany, but his support in old age for the forces of reaction and his earlier sympathy for those elements of social thought we find permeating the work of other 'Heimatkünstler' - anti-intellectualism, anti-clericalism, racialism and reverence for the conjuncture of blood and soil - which rose to prominence and notoriety under Hitler reveal that this effort, evident in many ways in Jörn Uhl, was by no means totally successful.

References - Jörn Uhl

- 1) Friedrich Duesel, 'Jörn Uhl von Gustav Frenssen', Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Hefte, Vol. 92 (1902), col. 410.
- 2) Quoted by Anton Lohr from a 1903 review of Jörn Uhl by O. Löwenberg (no other details available) in 'Drei Frenssen Schriften', Literarische Warte, Vol. 4 (1902/3), col. 603.
- 3) Bernt von Heiseler, 'Gustav Frenssen', Die Sammlung, Vol. 2 (1956), p.245.
- 4) Rainer Maria Rilke, 'Jörn Uhl' (Review) in Walter Killy (ed.), 20. Jahrhundert - Text und Zeugnisse (Munich, 1967), p.478.
- 5) Otto Frommel, 'Gustav Frenssen', Deutsche Rundschau, Vol. 115 (1905), p.124.
- 6) Anton Lohr, 'Drei Frenssen Schriften', col. 603.
- 7) Wilhelm Gittermann, 'Auch ein Wort über "Jörn Uhl"', Das litterarische Echo, Vol. 5 (1902/3), col. 204.
- 8) Adolf Bartels, 'Nochmals: Gustav Frenssens "Hilligenlei"', Der Kunstwart, Vol. 19,I (1905/6), p.483.
- 9) Ibid., p.484.
- 10) Ibid., p.484/5.
- 11) Bartels' claim that Frenssen wrote "im Geist der blossen Unterhaltungs-, ja, selbst der Sensationskunst" is one that is completely unsupported by the text of Jörn Uhl or by Frenssen's comments on the work. Frenssen's predominant^{ly} declared motive in writing Jörn Uhl was to deal with a number of serious religious and social problems - the need to reformulate orthodox Christian doctrines, the decline of peasant-farming families, the role of duty and responsibility in family life - and he approaches these topics with as much earnestness and concern as do other authors treated in this thesis. A comparison of his relatively searching treatment of religious and social problems with that displayed by Ludwig Ganghofer reveals how ill-founded were Bartels' criticisms. The charge that Frenssen wrote in

the spirit of "Sensationskunst" can also be countered. There is little melodrama in Frenssen's novel and his treatment of sexual themes - in Jörn Uhl, at least - is no more titillating than that of any other author treated in this study.

- 12) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien (Berlin, 1920), p.26.
- 13) Gustav Frenssen, Die drei Getreuen (1898), 109,000 (Berlin, 1919), pp.389/390.
- 14) Gustav Frenssen, Möwen und Mäuse (Berlin, 1928), p.248.
- 15) Frank X. Braun, Kulturelle Ziele im Werke Gustav Frenssens (Michigan, 1946), p.186.
- 16) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl (1901), 109,000 (Berlin, 1903), p.39.
- 17) Ibid., p.283.
- 18) Gustav Frenssen, Die drei Getreuen, pp.117/8.
- 19) Gustav Frenssen, Hilligenlei (Berlin, 1905), p.427.
- 20) Quoted in Wilhelm Alberts, Gustav Frenssen, ein Dichter unserer Zeit (Berlin, 1922), p.102.
- 21) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.128.
- 22) Ibid., p.210.
- 23) Arno Schmidt, 'Ein unerledigter Fall - Zum 100. Geburtstag von Gustav Frenssen', Deutsche Zeitung, Nr.243, Sat./Sun., October 1963. No page reference available.
- 24) Wilhelm Alberts, p.57.
- 25) Frank X. Braun lays stress on this factor (Kulturelle Ziele, p.137), and he also makes references to Walter Gonser's dissertation, Gustav Frenssens sittliche Anschauungen dargestellt in "Otto Babendiek" (Marburg, 1931), where this matter is also discussed.
- 26) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.366.
- 27) Ibid., p.366.
- 28) Ibid., p.480.

- 29) In Grübeleien, referring to alcohol, Frenssen claimed that "der Gesunde hebt und stärkt sich davon" (p.284).
- 30) Gustav Frenssen, Hilligenlei, p.162.
- 31) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.371.
- 32) Quoted, Aino Schmidt, 'Ein unerledigter Fall.'
- 33) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.180/1.
- 34) Ibid., p.1.
- 35) Ibid., p.1.
- 36) Frenssen declared in this context: "Ich bin nicht geschaffen, Krankengeschichten zu schreiben" and declared his literary sympathies to be with the "Idealisten und Schönformer." (Grübeleien, p.317).
- 37) Quoted in Frank X. Braun, Kulturelle Ziele, p.1.
- 38) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.2.
- 39) Ibid., pp.190/1.
- 40) Ibid., p.191.
- 41) Gustav Frenssen, Dorfpredigten - Gesamtausgabe (Göttingen, 1928), p.295.
- 42) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.129.
- 43) Ibid., p.210.
- 44) Ibid., p.128.
- 45) Ibid., p.474.
- 46) Ibid., p.216.
- 47) Ibid., p.347.
- 48) Ibid., p.351.
- 49) Ibid., p.60.
- 50) Ibid., p.208.
- 51) Ibid., p.423.
- 52) Ibid., p.490.
- 53) In Grübeleien, Frenssen asserts that 'es ist unsinnig zu sagen, dass ein Beruf das Leben eines Weibes ausfüllt' (p.267).

- 54) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.85.
- 55) The old people of the village, observing the decline of the younger generation of peasant-farmers, "sprachen von den Vätern und Grossvätern der Stürzenden, was das für arbeitsame, schlichte, ehrenfeste und harte Menschen gewesen wären" (ibid., p.226).
- 56) Jörn reflects on a newspaper article he read during the Franco-Prussian War. The article referred to the "Werke des Friedens". He asks himself: "'Werke des Friedens? was ist das? Als da sind: Pflügen, Säen, Ernten, Häuser bauen, Heiraten, Kinder erziehen.'" He shows no concern here for the world outside the narrow confines of the rural community (ibid., p.333).
- 57) Gustav Frenssen, Klaus Hinrich Baas (Berlin, 1909), p.506.
- 58) Ibid., p.183.
- 59) Gustav Frenssen, Hilligenlei, p.243.
- 60) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien, pp.164/5.
- 61) In Lebensbericht (Berlin, 1940), Frenssen claimed that his novels were written because he was concerned with situations in his society in which "irgendein ungerechter Zustand" was manifest, and, in the case of Jörn Uhl, this was "das sinnlose Leben einiger angesehenen Bauerngeschlechter" (p.142). An article on Gustav Frenssen gives further evidence of the direct link between the situation described in Jörn Uhl and Frenssen's observations of events in his own community. He is quoted as saying that
- "Als ich ein junger Mensch war, ergriff mich besonders das Schicksal einiger vornehmer Bauerngeschlechter, die durch Trunk und Spiel stürzten."
 (Warren W. Florer, "Notes on Gustav Frenssen", in Modern Language Notes Vol. 28 No. 5 May 1913 p.146).
- 62) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien, p.306.
- 63) Frank Braun: Kulturelle Ziele, p.202.
- 64) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien, p.259.
- 65) Ibid., p.163.
- 66) Ibid., p.73.

- 67) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, pp.175/6.
 68) Gustav Frenssen, Klaus Hinrich Baas, p.505.

Frenssen on occasions viewed successful commercial activity as a sign of physical and moral strength, rather than a manifestation of unhealthy materialism (Ibid., p.378). His approval of Germany's commercial expansion may also be linked to the enthusiasm for trade and colonies promoted by Friedrich Naumann.

- 69) Gustav Frenssen, Schlusswort zu Hilligenlei (Berlin, 1906), p.4.
 70) Cf. Gustav Frenssen, Möwen und Mäuse (Berlin 1928), p.36.
 71) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.126.
 72) Ibid., p.411.
 73) Gustav Frenssen, Hilligenlei, p.387.
 74) Adolf Bartels: 'Nochmals: Gustav Frenssens Hilligenlei', p.492.
 75) Gustav Frenssen, Hilligenlei, p.263.

It was with reference to Frenssen's promotion of a more progressive approach to sexual morality and his approval of the premarital affairs of Anna Boje in Hilligenlei that Bartels expressed his preference for "das alte Evangelium: "Bezwinge dein Fleisch"" ('Nochmals: Gustav Frenssens 'Hilligenlei'', p.493).

- 76) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.498.
 77) Gustav Frenssen, Hilligenlei, p.283.
 78) Ernst Müsebeck, Gustav Frenssen und das Suchen der Zeit, (Berlin 1906), p.1.
 79) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien, p.258.
 80) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.182.
 81) Ibid., pp.182/3.
 82) Ibid., pp.368.
 83) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien, p.257.
 84) Ibid., p.196.

- 85) Gustav Frenssen, Dorfpredigten, p.421.
- 86) Ibid., pp.472/3.
- 87) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.167.
- 88) Ibid., pp.368/9.
- 89) In Grübeleien, Frenssen attempted to defend those who avoided taking up a consistent standpoint in discussions, declaring:

Sie wollen, dass man in Religion und Politik und allem anderen einen festen Standpunkt hat. Wer hat einen festen Standpunkt? Der Dumme. Der Kluge weiss, dass Religion und Weltlauf und alles andere übermenschliche Dinge sind, und wir mitten in ihnen schwimmen wie die Fische im Meer, fürwahr immer ohne "Standpunkt", immer mitten im Gedankenfluss. (p.274)

But even this defence of inconsistency is inconsistent with other claims that Frenssen made. In the same work he asserts: "Ein Künstler ohne Weltanschauung, ohne eine grosse Gesamtidee...wird bei aller künstlerischen Begabung, immer unruhig, fahrig und unbedeutend wirken." (p.178).

- 90) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.133.
- 91) Ibid., p.80.
- 92) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien, p.91.
- 93) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.505.
- 94) Even whilst working as a clergyman, Frenssen admitted that much of his thinking was 'heidnisch-natürlich' (Grübeleien, p.37) and during the same period he expressed the view that his nation was in need of 'etwas blutvolles Heidentum...wie es Deutschland noch um 1500 hatte' (ibid., p.38).
- 95) Ibid., p.17.
- 96) Ibid., p.196.
- 97) In Hilligenlei, urban life is criticised by the hero's father in the following terms: "Wie fern sind wir von Gott und Natur und darum vom Glück." (p.431).
- 98) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.402.

- 99) Gustav Frenssen, Die Sandgräfin, (Berlin, 1896), p.197.
- 100) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.393.
- 101) Ibid., p.525.
- 102) Ibid., p.478.
- 103) Gustav Frenssen, Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest. Ein Feldzugsbericht (Berlin, 1906), p.200.
- 104) Gustav Frenssen, Hilligenlei, p.514.
- 105) Gustav Frenssen, Möwen und Mause, p.59.
- 106) In Grübeleien Frenssen gives the following unsympathetic portrait of an anti-Semite:
- 'Er sass Tag für Tag, mittags und abends, in einer krummen Gasse Hamburgs unter stumpfsinnigen Kneipgenossen und schimpfte auf die Juden. Aber es waren nicht die Juden, die sein Geschäft und Deutschlands Seele verdarben, sondern seine und seinesgleichen Unfähigkeit und Schlafmützigkeit.' (p.286).
- 107) Frenssen writes:
- 'Kriege sind heutzutage die Folge von wirtschaftlichen Übervoll- und Leerräumen. Sie sind also am besten so zu vermeiden, dass auf Kosten der sogenannten Nationalität in möglichst grossen Gebieten der Erde wirtschaftliche Gemeinsamkeit der Werte und Menschen eingeführt wird.' (Grübeleien, p.238).
- In the 1920's Frenssen criticised the Germans for being "provinziell, wunderlich, kein bisschen weltmännisch, europäisch" (Quoted in Braun, Kulturelle Ziele, p.92). Yet in other comments made in the same period, we can find expressions of nationalist sentiment.
- 108) Hearing that the French have insulted the Kaiser, a recruit comments:
- ""Wenn sie den alten Mann ins Gesicht schlagen, dann haben wir das Recht, ihnen an die Jacke zu kommen."" (Jörn Uhl, p.250).
- 109) Ibid., p.186.
- 110) Ibid., p.254.
- 111) Gustav Frenssen, Grübeleien, p.189.

- 112) An example of this is Frenssen's failure to understand the true nature of Socialism. In Grübeleien he claimed that the social doctrines of the Apostles had been the starting point for modern Socialism and consequently asserted that "die christliche Kirche und die Sozialdemokratie sind aus einem Stamm" (p.336).
- 113) In Vorland, (Berlin 1937), in a passage written before Hitler came to power, Frenssen declared that if the Germans had to march against Russia "ist die demokratische Form zu lose, langsam und teuer. Wir brauchen die straffste Volksverbundenheit und eine soldatische Regierung" (p.32). In the twenties, he seems to have begun to believe in the inevitability of conflict between Germany and Russia, declaring in Möwen und Mäuse: "Es wird in Europa doch die deutsche oder die russische Freiheit siegen, die goethische oder die tolstoische" (p.60). Frenssen's lack of understanding of the nature of contemporary European politics is indicated by his belief that Soviet Russia was motivated by a Tolstoyan idea of freedom - and for that matter, by his belief that Goethean freedom was possible in modern Europe.
- 114) Gustav Frenssen, Vorland, p.218.

Chapter 5: Ludwig Ganghofer - Der hohe Schein

Many of the authors associated with the 'Heimatkunst' movement enjoyed considerable popularity during the first half of this century - Herman Löns, Gustav Frenssen, Peter Rosegger, Paul Keller, Ernst Zahn and others all feature prominently in the best-seller lists - but none of them achieved the huge sales that Ludwig Ganghofer did. The number of copies of his novels sold approach the sum of sales figures of all the other authors whose fiction is analysed in this thesis¹ and as late as 1949 he was the most widely read novelist in Germany.²

But this same author has received only minimal attention from critics and literary historians - even from those who showed themselves sympathetic to 'Heimatkunst' and who might have been expected to approve the popular success of an author who writes sympathetically of rural life, promotes conservative attitudes and affirms many of the beliefs held by other 'Heimatkünstler'. Adolf Bartels dismisses Ganghofer in one sentence in the tenth edition of Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart: 'Noch längere Zeit werden die Romane des jüngst verstorbenen Ludwig Ganghofer gelesen, wenn er auch nur Unterhalter ist.'³ This description of Ganghofer as 'nur Unterhalter' indicates why he has received so little critical attention, for he is regarded primarily as the author of light-weight escapist fiction. In two recently published works which deal with the author,⁴ it is asserted that

Ganghofer's approach to the function of literature is accurately reflected in the comments of the hunter Kluibenschädli in Ganghofer's novel Das Schweigen im Walde. Kluibenschädli says:

"Wenn ich ein Büchl lies, so möcht ich mein Freud dran haben...dass ich das ganze Sauleben vergessen kann...und 's Herz muss mir sein, als hätt's ein frisch gewaschenes Hemmed an und a Feiertagsgewandl! Sonst pfeif ich auf die ganze Dichtung!" 5

Now while these critics overstate their case in claiming that Ganghofer would completely satisfy the demands of a reader like Kluibenschädli for an idyllic escapist world in fiction, he is far more unwilling to portray the harsher or more complex aspects of human existence than any of the other novelists whose works are treated in this thesis. Unlike Ganghofer they strove for a considerable measure of realism in their fiction. They were concerned with portraying at length the sufferings that could result from social or personal conflict and to promote solutions to such conflict which although frequently anachronistic and open to much criticism, were nevertheless based on a recognition that their age was beset with serious social, intellectual and political problems. Although all four had harsh things to say about the excesses of Naturalism, their work reveals an affinity with the earlier movement's willingness to deal with social realities.

Ganghofer was familiar with the movement and the scientific theories which underlay the thought of its practitioners and polemicists and in an early novel, Die Sünden der Väter, its literary and social preoccupations are treated with some degree of understanding, if little sympathy. But Ganghofer's autobiography reveals that from childhood on he was unwilling or unable to face squarely the more unpleasant or disturbing aspects of human existence. Early in the first volume, Das Buch der Kindheit, he recounts the following incident:

Und gut besinne ich mich auf einen höchst bedeutungsvollen Lebensrat, den mir meine Grossmutter einmal gab,

als ich mit ihr im Walde spazieren ging. Und neben diesem Wege hatte sich ein junges Bauernmädchen zu einer Stellung niedergehutscht, die jeden Zweifel über ihre menschliche Notwendigkeit ausschloss. Und da sagte die Grossmutter: "Ludwige, druck d' Auge zu! Sonst wirst du blind!" Ich zwickte die Augen fest zusammen, bis mir die Grossmutter erlaubte: "So, jetzt kannst du wieder schauen." 6

An unwillingness to see all that is going on around him dominates many aspects of Ganghofer's view of life and his fictional portrayal of human society. As in this childhood incident, he frequently closes his eyes to things he finds unpleasant to contemplate, or else looks at them through the medium of a contrived optimism which diminishes their impact. He was equally unable to come to terms with literature which he found disturbing or pessimistic. He believed that his reading of Musset, Grabbe and Heine had contributed to the 'Ruin meiner letzter Gemütsruhe' during a period of adolescent despair and later considered his preoccupation with these writers as an aberration, the moods they helped to produce corresponding 'zu meinem wirklichen Leben wie die Faust auf's Auge'.⁷ To have accepted the validity of the views of such authors or the harsh pictures of social reality drawn by the Naturalists could only have destroyed the approach to life on which Ganghofer's fiction was based. His friend and biographer, Vincenz Chiavacci, wrote:

In seiner optimistisch veranlagten, die Idealisierung des Alltäglichen geneigten Natur mussten die Forderungen der naturalistischen Bewegung Gegensätze wachrufen, da ihm die Wahrheit stets ein innerliches war, und da er von der Kunst verlangte, dass sie erheben und befreien sollte. Darum konnte er auch nie dem Naturalismus Konzessionen machen oder er hätte den Tempel seines Herzens und seines ästhetischen Glaubens niederreißen, die warme Helligkeit seines eigenen Lebens zerstören müssen. 8

However, it must be emphasised that Ganghofer's fictional world is not totally idyllic or free from conflict. His heroes and heroines experience misfortune and unhappiness and a number of his most sympathetic characters die or are

killed before the end of the novels in which they appear. Particularly in his historical fiction he deals with the consequences of social unrest and religious bigotry and although these works usually conclude on an optimistic note, Ganghofer reveals an awareness of the disruption and misery that can result from prejudice or fanaticism. Murder, arson, theft, seduction, expropriation and corruption all occur in Ganghofer's novels - a list which contradicts the claim that the author completely fulfils demands for a literature which provides the heart, as Kluibenschädl expresses it, with "ein frisch gewaschenes Hemd...und ein Feiertagsgewandl".

But particularly in the works with which we shall be primarily concerned in this chapter - those with a contemporary rural setting - Ganghofer goes a considerable way towards providing the reader with a fictional world which is less problematic and more attractive than "das ganze Sauleben" which the forester wishes to escape. Firstly, he diminishes for the reader the complexities of understanding and evaluating human personalities. Because of their didactic aims, most 'Heimatkünstler' had to identify clearly and make sympathetic those characters who were representatives or spokesmen for the attitudes and values they wished to promote, but few performed this task with such heavyhandedness as Ganghofer. In his novels it is usually possible to establish the true nature of a character when he first appears, for his personality is clearly etched in his physical features. Tassilo, the hero of Schloss Hubertus is described when he first appears in the novel as

eine schlanke, vornehme Gestalt mit einem energischen Kopf, einem scharfgeschnittenen Gesicht und einem Knebelbart...Die Härte der Züge, die Tassilo vom Vater hatte, wurde gemildert durch den ruhigen Glanz der Augen, die den Augen der Schwester glichen. Man konnte lesen in diesem Gesicht und Blick: Da steht ein Mensch, der sich im klaren ist und weiss, was er will: eine starke, zähe, an Arbeit und Selbstbeherrschung gewöhnte Natur mit warm fühlendem Herzen. Aber es mochten schwere Kämpfe gewesen sein, in denen er sich das sichere Gleichgewicht seines Lebens gewonnen: das verriet die tiefgeschnittene Furche zwischen den Brauen. 9

Tassilo is the hero of the novel, but villains likewise reveal their character in their physical appearance. This is Mazegger, the deceitful, surly hunter who sets alight his employer's wood in Das Schweigen im Walde:

Fast glich er einem Städter, der mit gesuchter Echtheit in die malerische Tracht der Hochlandjäger gekleidet hat. Das hagere, vom dunklen Saum umkräuselte Gesicht war sonnenverbrannt wie die Gesichter der anderen, und trotzdem erschien es blass und ohne Blut. Ein Zug von unwilliger Verschlossenheit lag um das scharfgezeichnete Mund und unter dem Schatten, den die schwarzen, in dicken Büscheln vorfallenden Haare über die Stirn warfen, brannten die tiefliegenden Augen mit düsterem Feuer. 10

The reader seldom finds the personality revealed in appearance to be other than the personality revealed in action. Furthermore, once a character has been established as hero or villain, Ganghofer goes to great lengths to ensure that the reader's sympathy or animosity is maintained, attributing to the character one quality after another that is befitting to his role. Thus Krispin, the villain of Waldrausch, is revealed in the course of the novel to be a thief, a liar, a miser, an egoist, a man who disregards family loyalties for personal gain and the leader of a village cabal against the hero. The hero, Ambros, is honest, hard-working, modest, compassionate, has a social conscience and is honourable in his dealings with women. Little subtlety is required on the reader's part for him to react in the required manner towards Ganghofer's heroes and villains.

But Ganghofer uses other devices to establish early and clearly the nature of his characters. Names play an important role - Ehrenreich, the heroine's father in Der hohe Schein, is indeed an honourable man, in spite of the false accusations of theft that have been levelled against him; Wohlverstand, the profit-conscious financier in Waldrausch is a calculating schemer who knows well how to manipulate people to his own advantage; Sonnweber, the mayor in Der hohe Schein, is a friendly and cheerful character. The reader is usually informed of a character's profession soon after his appearance,

for this is expected to play a dominant role in his attitude and behaviour. Particularly among minor characters, professional status is seen to dictate both physical appearance and mannerisms. These frequently correspond to a conventional image. Describing the artist Forbeck in Schloss Hubertus, the narrator tells the reader:

Hätte nicht der Feldstuhl, die zusammengeklappte
Staffelei und der Malkasten, welcher an der Mauer ... lag,
den Beruf des jungen Mannes bezeichnet - schon dieser prüfend
gleitende Blick und die schlanken Hände hätten den
Künstler verraten. 11

The actresses in Der hohe Schein constantly quote lines from well-known dramas in their conversations, clerical characters make constant references to God, Christ and the Bible, and mountain dwellers jodel when in convivial company. Foreigners, too, behave in a manner which corresponds to popular preconceptions - thus the Japanese tourist in Die Bacchantin is described as being in the possession of a 'fatalistisch gestimmten Trauermiene'. Occasionally, Ganghofer's endeavours to ensure that the reader can clearly establish a character's country of origin have strange results - as in Waldrausch where an Italian labourer is improbably credited with being able to quote Petrarch.

Having enabled the reader to fix firmly the personality of a character and the degree of sympathy to which he is entitled, Ganghofer seldom introduces any element of surprise by allowing that character to divert from the type of behaviour which is to be expected of him. In contrast to Frenssen or Polenz, Ganghofer seldom bases his novels on the 'Bildungsroman' model, for he is concerned primarily with the depiction of types whose personality is already established, not with the development of a character over a long period of time, whose twists and turns might make the reader uncertain as to how he is to be viewed. Ganghofer's world contains few figures who are not predictable. His heroes are upright and honourable, his loyal servants remain constantly devoted to their masters and mistresses, his cowards never show an upsurge

of bravery and his wastrels never cease to plunder their parents' purses.

But it is not only personalities which are clearly defined. Ludwig Thoma complained of Ganghofer's work that 'er sagte immer alles. Er hat es nie gelernt, dass man als Schriftsteller von zehn beabsichtigten Wörtern nur eines schreiben darf und nicht elf'.¹² Objects, actions, natural phenomena, personal effects are frequently presented with numerous apparently unnecessary adjectives and adverbs. The following is a description of the elderly aunt of the heroine in Schloss Hubertus:

Aus der Senkung des Pfades tauchte eine rundliche Gestalt hervor. Ein schillerndes Seidenkleid von altmodischem Schnitt umzwängte die ausgiebigen Formen der Ältlichen, mehr als wohlgenährten Dame. ...Die zu einem Nest geschlungenen Zöpfe hatten sich gegen das linke Ohr verschoben, und ihr tiefes Schwarz stach gegen die ergrauende Farbe der glatt über die Schläfe gescheitelten Haare sehr bedenklich ab. Das hochgeborene Fräulein Adelgunde von Kleesberg schien auch sonst mit Toilettenkünsten sehr vertraut; das verrieten die schwarzen Striche über den kleinen, hurtigen Augen und der weisse, flaumige Teint der gepolsterten Wangen. 13

But Thoma was perhaps mistaken in believing that Ganghofer wrote in this manner out of ignorance, or lack of control. In a list of rules that Ganghofer drew up to summarise his own methods of composition, he included the dictum: 'Keine zweifelhafte Wortbeziehung! Jeder Satz muss ein klares Gesicht haben.'¹⁴ His apparently excessive use of adjectives and adverbs, most of them commonplace and employed with little originality, present the reader with an object that is clearly defined in terms with which he is likely to be familiar - he has little need or scope to expand an image with his own imagination.¹⁵

But it is not only the reader's imaginative scope that is guided and controlled; so too is the latitude allowed for the questioning of the moral values promoted. The reader is given every encouragement to support these. Not only are positive values upheld by the most attractive characters, and evil and wickedness perpetrated by villains whose physique and personality

are devoid of charm. The good characters are not only appealing but successful. Repeatedly, they are rewarded for their moral rectitude with personal happiness and material success. Ganghofer may increase the tension of a plot - and the reader's appreciation of a character's moral fibre - by showing the temptations and challenges to which such rectitude is subject, but the majority of his novels end happily - the hero and heroine wed, the villain defeated and the positive values established in the novel vindicated. The world Ganghofer presents is remarkably similar to that of the fairy tale - unambiguous, unproblematic, a world where characters are fixed entities, either good or bad by nature and where, to quote from a definition of the fairy tale by W.H. Auden, 'ultimately, good fortune is a sign of moral goodness, ill fortune of moral badness'.¹⁶

Much of the potential attraction of Ganghofer's fictional world derives from the comparative ease with which that moral goodness and its representatives are seen to triumph. The set-backs his heroes experience on their paths to happiness are usually short-lived, often necessarily so, for, since whirlwind romances feature prominently in his fiction, many of Ganghofer's novels have a time span of only a year or so, long enough for the hero to meet the heroine, fall in love, marry and settle down. When characters have experienced long periods of unhappiness, these are seldom directly portrayed but are recounted by the narrator or the character himself. This is in marked contrast to the practice of other authors treated in this thesis. Löns, Polenz and Frenssen all allow the majority of their heroes to triumph over adversity and challenges to their beliefs, but that triumph is only achieved after a considerable period of struggle and the direct and lengthy portrayal of that struggle is central to the novel in which it appears. There is no equivalent in Ganghofer's work to the extensive treatment which Frenssen gives to Jörn's vain efforts to maintain ownership of his farm, or the chapters Löns devotes to the unhappy

marriage of Göde Hehlmann or Polenz' novels on adultery, religious despair or capitalist exploitation of the peasantry. Even short-lived experiences of an unpleasant nature are rarely depicted at length or in detail. Thus the physical consequences of the tuberculosis from which Tassilo's brother, Willy, suffers are directly portrayed only once in a scene where he is described coughing and the considerable pain from which we are told Ehrenreich suffers is manifested only in briefly described external symptoms.

It must be emphasised once again that Ganghofer does not completely ignore the existence of pain, social injustice and other unpleasant aspects of human life and society. But the means by which he comes to terms with these, like his descriptions of them, are very different to those of other authors treated in this thesis. Löns, Frenssen, Polenz, and other 'Heimatkünstler' all used their novels didactically, attempting to familiarise their readers with social, political and practical reforms which they believed could remedy many of the evils they depicted. Ganghofer promoted such reform extensively only once - in the second volume of his autobiography, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten - and the ideas contained in that work are only fragmentarily reflected in his novels. Yet, like most 'Heimatkünstler', Ganghofer also regarded himself as a didactic author, not merely an entertainer. He rejected any belief in art for art's sake, claiming:

Manche sagen, wahre Kunst wäre nur um ihrer selbst willen da und dürfe keinem Zweck dienen, auch wenn dieser Zweck ein guter wäre. Ist das richtig, dann habe ich nie ein Kunstwerk geschaffen, und ich nehme diesen Vorwurf mit Ruhe hin. 17

Ganghofer's declared aim was 'befreien...aufrichten und frohe Wege weisen'.

To some extent this didactic activity was concerned with indicating how human beings could avoid some of the misfortunes that resulted from social conflict. He makes pleas in his novels for religious and cultural tolerance, for a more pragmatic educational system and for increased mutual respect between

workers and employers. But these pleas hardly constitute an extensive programme for social reform. Far greater emphasis is placed on the promotion of an unsystematic and simplistic optimism, designed to reconcile the reader to the world as he finds it. Elements of this optimism are to be found in the majority of Ganghofer's works, but its most extensive fictional representation is to be found in Der hohe Schein. In a letter to his father, Ganghofer wrote:

Vom hohen Schein hoff' ich, dass er deinen Beifall findet. Nach mancherlei bitteren Kämpfen hab' ich über diesem Buche meine Arbeitsruhe wiedergefunden - den ungepressten Klang einer vom Zeitschnupfen erlösten Sängerkehle...die Note, die ich anschlagen wollte hat geklungen - wie mir scheint, ein Lebenslied, das zum Frohsinn und zur Helle hinweist, und zu den Göttern, die unser Dasein schön machen. 18

In spite of Ganghofer's claim to have escaped 'Zeitschnupfen' in this novel, the nature of the optimism promoted and the personal relationships depicted here and in other works to which we shall be referring in the course of this chapter reveal almost as many underlying social attitudes as those expressed by other authors treated in this thesis who openly voiced their concern with the state of their contemporary society. It is to an examination of these attitudes and of Ganghofer's philosophy of optimism that we must now turn our attention.

The primary plot of Der hohe Schein charts the acquisition of spiritual and bodily health by a young but disillusioned student of philosophy who holidays in a small rural community near the mountains. He rents rooms in the house of the widower Ehrenreich, a retired forestry official, who, together with his daughter and other characters in the novel, helps to give the hero a new and optimistic outlook on life. But Walter Horhammer is not only the recipient of help and advice. Like most of Ganghofer's heroes, he is generous and open-hearted and he rapidly involves himself in the life of his hosts and the community, giving spiritual and material

comfort to the Ehrenreichs, their servants, the villagers at large and to Moosjäger, a falsely maligned ex-convict who, through Walter's intervention, becomes a trustworthy, hardworking family man. Walter himself purchases the farmlands on which Ehrenreich's house stands and becomes a farmer, happy to spend the rest of his life among his new-found friends. Only two episodes interrupt Walter's steady progress towards happiness - his momentary infatuation with an actress in the group of strolling players who visit the village, which temporarily halts his romance with Ehrenreich's daughter, Mathild; and the deaths of Ehrenreich, his grandson and the latter's nurse. But these events only briefly cloud the horizon - symptomatically, Mathild is sent away from the scene by her creator to relatives to mourn for her father. The novel closes with Walter proposing to Mathild on a spring night and the concluding sentences tell us of him shouting 'mit gellendem laut allen Jubel seines Glückes in die Dämmerung'. No longer the spiritually crippled and physically unhealthy student, he 'hatte in dieser Nacht das Jauchzen gelernt'.¹⁹

But it is not human contact alone that brings Walter to this state of well-being. He recovers, or rather, discovers his health to a great extent through contact with a natural environment. This 'guter Arzt', as Ganghofer calls it, is frequently presented in his work as being responsible for the curing of ailing visitors to the countryside. When Prince Ettingen in Das Schweigen im Walde first catches sight of a mountain landscape 'stieg eine warme Röte in die bleichen Wangen' and on his arrival at his hunting lodge he tells his chief huntsman: "Ja, ich merke schon, ich werde mich wohl fühlen hier. Die Luft, in der Sie so kerngesund ~~aus~~gewachsen haben, wird auch mir bekommen."²⁰ Walter similarly begins to feel the benefits of a rural existence within a short space of time and when Mathild returns to the village after her period of mourning she finds that the hero is

nicht mehr der "bucklige Philosoph"...sondern ein festgefügtter Mann, breitschultrig, aufrecht und gesund, den schimmernden Bart um die gebräunten Wangen, in den Augen die Freude und das Glück. 21

However, 'die Freude und das Glück' do not result solely from the physical health which rural life bestows, nor from the ecstasies over the beauties of nature to which Ganghofer's characters so frequently give themselves up. Just as important is the support which his characters gain for their optimistic philosophy from their observations of natural phenomena, and their belief that these can provide models for human behaviour. Walter comforts Moosjäger, who is brooding on the unhappiness of his existence, by pointing to the powers of recovery possessed by trees:

"Schauen Sie, Moosjäger, die grossen starken Bäume, die sind doch auch einmal jung und schwach gewesen, und im Winter hat sie der schwere Schnee beinahe erdrückt. Aber sie haben sich wieder aufgerichtet. Und Sie, Moosjäger? Sie wollen schwächer sein als solch ein dünnes Bäumchen?" 22

But Ganghofer was willing to admit that the acquisition of an optimistic philosophy, notwithstanding the support it was given by observations of the world of nature, required some degree of effort. In his autobiography, he writes:

Optimist sein, heisst nicht: alle Dinge des Lebens schön und erquicklich finden, den Schatten negieren, und nur die Sonne gelten lassen, das Dunkle rosig machen und das Grelle mild verschleiern, ein Unwahres konstruieren und diese unbegreifliche, von Widersprüchen durchrissene Welt als den Besten alle Sterne erklären. O, nein! Wer Optimist sein will, muss sich mühen, alle Dinge des Lebens mit klaren und ruhigen Augen so zu sehen, wie sie sind; muss begreifen suchen, warum sie gerade so sein müssen und nicht anders sein können. 23

There is some support in Ganghofer's fiction for the stoical acceptance of life's harsher aspects which is promoted in this passage. Dicta such as "Man muss dem treu bleiben, was uns das Leben auferlegt" and claims like that of Moosjäger, who asserts that "man muss halt an Unrecht leiden.

Sonst kommt man nicht durch" make an appearance in Der hohe Schein. But Ganghofer's characters seldom live in accordance with such dismal principles for long. More often they seek by various means to ward off or diminish the impact of harsh or unpleasant experiences, attempting to view them in such a manner that their fundamental optimism remains unshaken. It is to this attempt that most of their efforts are devoted, not to the development of a stoical viewpoint.

In a foreword to a popular edition of his works published in 1906, Ganghofer discusses one of the central beliefs which underpins the methods used by himself and his characters to soften the effect of life's harsher blows. He claims that 'die Religion, die mir gepredigt wurde in der Kirche der Natur' has taught him that

nichts, was in der Natur und Leben sich vollzieht
ist störend oder widersächlich. Feindliche Mächte -
mögt ihr sie Zufall, Unglück, Tod, Verderben, Hass
menschliche Torheit oder Gespenster nennen - feind-
liche Mächte haben nicht Raum im heiligen Zauberkreis
der Natur und des Lebens. Denn alles ist Ursache für
neues und schönes Werden, jede Nacht ein Sprung in
den Morgen, jede Regung in Leben und Natur ist
schöpferische Kraft. 24

Once again, nature - this time in its continuous process of creation - is seen to provide evidence for the validity of an optimistic philosophy. But it is in the minds and experiences of men that Ganghofer's claim that 'alles ist ein anderes als ihr es nennt' finds its most extensive expression.

One of the more conventional means used by Ganghofer and his characters to support this view of life's harsher aspects is their adherence to a belief in an afterlife. The impact of the death of Ehrenreich, his grandson and Nannerl is diminished for those who live after them - and for the believing reader - by the conviction that they are 'in der ewigen Heimat'. On his death bed, Ehrenreich tells the pastor that he is going to make "ein kleines Spaziergängerl ... zu meiner lieben Frau" and in his description of the grandson's

funeral, the narrator refers to the church bells ringing 'zu dem Besuch, den das Fritzele den Grosseltern machte'. For those who have yet to gain the ultimate salvation of death, there is also evidence that each night is 'ein Sprung in den Morgen', that unpleasant occurrences may be merely the prelude to new and happier developments. Thus Innerebner, the curate in Der hohe Schein acquires warmth and tolerance as the result of his unhappy involvement with the actress Philine; the illness of Bruckner's child in Schloss Hubertus brings about the return to the village of Mali, the chief huntsman's sweetheart; the illness of Ettingen leads him to retreat to the countryside, where he finds new purpose in life. The very structuring of Ganghofer's novels on occasions supports the view that misery quickly gives way to happiness, as for example in Der hohe Schein, where the description of the death of Fritz is immediately followed by the portrayal of the joyful occasion of Moosjäger's wedding.

Mathild gives direct expression to the belief that all apparent evil which occurs will eventually be for the best. She tells the milkmaid, Lies: "Noch jede Sorge, die mich befallen hat, ist mir zu einer lieben Freude geworden." When Lies claims that this is only luck, Mathild replies: "Vielleicht ist doch auch ein bissl Kunst dabei." This answer touches on another method Ganghofer promotes as a means for coming to terms with the challenge to optimism offered by the existence of apparently evil or disturbing forces. He believes that human beings can and should manipulate their reactions to experience in order to gain an optimistic perspective. His characters give illustrations of how this can be done. In Der hohe Schein Walter claims that in times of unhappiness we should remember previous pleasures and derive strength from the memory; in the short story Sag' mir a rich man steps back from the brink of suicide when he compares his lot with that of those worse off than himself;²⁵ and in Waldrausch, the hero asserts that man can

gain an optimistic viewpoint by distancing himself from life's cares and troubles. Looking down from a height to his village and the surrounding countryside, he reflects:

Wie winzig alles wird, aus der Höhe betrachtet!...Man sollte lernen an diesem Aneinanderschmiegen aller Gegensätze im Bilde der Natur! Sollte sich immer eine menschliche Höhe bewahren, von der man alles Quellende des Lebens betrachtet! Dann würde sich das Harte lindern, das Grelle einen milderen Hauch gewinnen, alle Lebensnot zusammenfliessen mit aller Daseinsfreude, so, wie dort unten jede Menschensorge sich auflöst im leuchtenden Frühlingjubel der Natur. 26

But Ganghofer is also capable of promoting a rejection of all efforts to think one's way through to a consistent philosophy, optimistic or otherwise. Here again, contact with nature is presented as the means for achieving a desirable mental state. In Schloss Hubertus, Tassilo sees the "innige Berührung mit der Natur" that hunting facilitates bringing about a situation in which "man kommt zu Klarheit und Ruhe, wird allen spekulativen Unsinn los und verwandelt sich selbst in ein Stücklein gesunder Natur".²⁷ The case for rejecting philosophical speculation in favour of unreflecting contact with a health-giving natural environment is argued further by Walter in Der hohe Schein. He reflects on the debilitating effects that intellectual activity had on his philosophy professor:

"Von Anaximander bis auf Nietzsche hatte er alle Weisheit des menschlichen Geistes überschaut. Und war Junggeselle, ein kränkliches Männchen, das während der Vorlesung kleine Zuckerstückchen schluckte, um seine körperliche Schwäche zu überwinden. Mit dreiundvierzig Jahren starb er, an Atonie der Gedärme." 28

Walter has no intention of following the same path. He announces his intention of ridding himself of the need to use his intellectual powers. Referring to his earlier struggle to achieve a valid philosophical position, he tells the parson:

"Die Wege, die ich aus eigener Kraft gegangen, führten meinen Durst zu keiner Quelle, aus der sich trinken liess. Die Luft meiner vier Wände hat mir (sic. D.W.) Übel gemacht. Jetzt will ich Sonne haben, freie Luft und weite Wälder. Sonst nichts." 29

Ganghofer shared with all the other authors treated in this thesis a profound suspicion of academic methods of enquiry, and indeed, of intellectual activity in general. Knowledge, proclaims Ehrenreich "gewinnt erst Wert, wenn sie eine nützliche Beziehung auf das Leben findet" and Ganghofer believed that man's intellectual strivings had all too often failed to achieve this. The futility of certain kinds of intellectual activity is exposed by the simple practicality of an uneducated milkmaid. In the opening chapter of the novel, Walter discusses with Lies the book he is reading, a work which deals with 'die Welträtsel'. She asks the hero:

"Is dös wahr, das in dem Buch da ebbes drumsteht von die Welträtsel?"

"Ja, liebe Frau! Das Buch handelt von Dingen, die wir Menschen nicht verstehen."

"Und aus dem Buch kunnt einer lesen, wie alles is in der Welt und was hinter allem steckt?"

"Nein, gute Frau! In dem Buch steht nur, dass wir nicht wissen, wie alles ist."

Vor Zorn und Enttäuschung stieg der Sennin das Blut ins Gesicht. "Ah Narr!" Sie versetzte dem Buch einen Stoss, dass es gegen die Milchschüssel fuhr. "Wann er nix weiss, der Lapp, weswegen schreibt er so ein Endstrumm Buch. Da bin ich ja grad so gescheid wie er." 30

Walter himself later goes on to claim that neither philosophy nor science has been able to supply man with answers to the questions he so often asks. In philosophy he found "nur das tanzende Wort, nur die Nomenklatur des Unerklärlichen" and in science:

"Immer wieder die unübersteigliche Mauer, der undurchdringliche Schleier! Immer das gleiche Schweigen auf unsere schreienden Fragen: Gott, wo bist du? Was ist dein Wille? Wie wirkt deine Kraft? Was ist die Welt?" 31

The human intellect, then, is seen as incapable of giving answers to questions

about God and the world. But it is also felt by characters in Ganghofer's fiction to be incapable of comprehending or explaining the essence of less complex phenomena. The pastor in Der hohe Schein expresses his doubts about the value of analytic explanation when he tells Walter of his attitude towards music:

"Vielleicht haben Sie schon bemerkt, dass ich grosse Stücke auf Musik halte? Und wenn ich mit dem Thildele musizier, und es kommt da so ein Klang, der mir zutiefst hineinredet ins Herz? Hab ich da schon alles erklärt, wenn ich sag': das Thildele drückt mit den Fingern auf die Tasten hin und der alte Pfarrer Christian Schnerfer bläst sein bisserl Atem in das hölzerne Röhrl? Und wenn ich aus dem Konversationslexikon herauslese, wie viel Schwingungen der Ton in der Sekund macht? Sagt mir das etwas über seine lebendige Seele?" 32

Indeed, in attempting to grasp the nature of an object or experience by intellectual analysis, we may destroy it. Mathild tells Walter: "Papa hält viel vom Leben! Wer es sezirt, meint er, muss es vorher totgeschlagen haben."³³ The true nature of phenomena can only be comprehended by the heart, not the head. The hero of Waldrusch, Ambros, asks his friend the countess: "Wie soll man den Duft einer Blume erklären? Den Zauber eines Sonnenstrahls? ...Worte helfen nicht. Man muss das fühlen."³⁴

The superiority of the emotional to the intellectual response is emphasised by the manner in which Ganghofer's most sympathetic characters are dominated by their feelings. Physically and verbally, they frequently react to phenomena or experiences in the most melodramatic manner. His heroes tremble, shake and burn with passion; his heroines faint, blush, burst into tears or stagger in shock when pained or surprised. The following is a description of Walter reading Die Leiden des jungen Werther :

Er las in wachsender Erregung, seine Stim glühte, seine Hände zitterten und Mathilds Worte fielen ihm ein: "Ich hatte ein Gefühl als wäre ein eisernes Tor vor mir aufgesprungen, und alles da drinnen brennt!" So war es jetzt in ihm selbst. Sturm in seinem Herzen, in seinem Kopf, in seinem Blut. 35

And this is the response of Mathild to whom, after the briefest of acquaintances, Walter tells of his life: "Um Gottes Willen!" Mathild schien nicht zu wissen, dass ihre Hand noch immer in den seinen lag. So erschrocken stand sie vor diesem grauen Lebensbild.³⁶ In contrast, as in the work of other 'Heimatkünstler', those characters who reveal themselves to be lacking in emotion are frequently unsympathetic. In Schloss Hubertus, Robert shows little feeling at his brother's funeral and is more concerned with the formalities involved. This same Robert is a cheat, a snob and a wastrel.

There is one other aspect of Ganghofer's attitude towards intellectual activity that must be examined. Ehrenreich questions even the value of certain kinds of technical knowledge. He believes that "das Zahnpulver und die Seife sind Erfindungen, die wir höher einschätzen müssen als den Luftballon und das Fernrohr". The forestry official's use of these examples is significant. Both the balloon and the telescope expand man's experience, increase the range of tangible phenomena with which he has to come to terms. But Ehrenreich does not wish to expand his experience, but to limit it, in order that he might control it. He tells Walter: "Wenn ich Ordnung und frohe Schönheit in mein kleines Dasein bringe, wird mir die ganze Welt zu einem schönen Bild der Ordnung."³⁷ By the same token, anything which does not bring "frohe Schönheit" into an optimistic character's existence must be rejected lest it disturb that picture. Mathild, truly her father's daughter, dislikes looking at things through a magnifying glass because it makes them appear ugly; she rejects the prosaic evolutionary theory of the development of man in favour of the attractive belief "dass ein Mächtiger die Menschen in Liebe bildete, so schön sie sind"; and she refuses to join Walter in his speculations about the nature of the universe, telling him she prefers to contemplate a flower she plucks, which is "schön und duftet. Jede bessere Weisheit wäre für mich die schlechtere, weil sie mir weniger geben würde".

Human curiosity, a motive drive for scientific exploration and intellectual advancement, is regarded with suspicion, both in Der hohe Schein and Ganghofer's other works. In a short story, Doppelte Wahrheit, two friends, Arno and Johannes, take a walk in the countryside. When Arno, the pessimistic adherent of Naturalist thought, tries to counter his warm-hearted friend's perpetual optimism by pointing out that the apparently attractive peasant girl who serves them milk has cow manure on her dress, Johannes refuses to look, saying that "ich bin nicht neugierig".³⁸ The optimism of Ganghofer's characters can only be achieved by rigid control and censorship of experience. The free untrammelled exploration of existence demanded by the curious scientist or intellectual is all too likely to produce evidence that can shatter that fragilely maintained optimism.

The need to control and limit experience finds a direct social manifestation in the advice Ehrenreich gives his son. Bertl has been trained as an engineer, but has abandoned his ambition to build bridges, marrying Rosl and taking over the village saw-mill. He still yearns to fulfil his earlier dreams, but his father advises him continually to be content with his life as it is. His dying words to his son are: "Und schau", lieber Bub, das muss ich dir nochmal sagen: die Brücken mit den grossen Bogen - Nein, Bub! Sei du gross in deiner kleinen Stub."³⁹ Satisfaction with a limited existence is seen to be an attribute of more value than the desire for great material, social or intellectual achievements. Indeed, the capacity for contentment precludes such ambition. Mathild tells Walter of her belief that "wer in Frieden leben will, muss genügsam sein".⁴⁰ Ganghofer does occasionally present sympathetic characters who are ambitious - Ambros in Waldrusch is an example - but more often he favours characters who are content with their social or material lot, for the drive that would be required to better this would strain against the confines of the limited existence necessary for the

maintenance of an optimistic outlook on life.

Ganghofer's approval of those characters who manifest simplicity in their taste in clothes, personal effects and interior decoration may be related partly to this emphasis on modesty of ambition, partly to the belief which he shares with other authors treated in this thesis - that a character who displays too much concern with outer form may be lacking in basic human virtues or incapable of appreciating the necessarily simple pleasures of a life lived close to nature. The dress Mathild wears when Walter first sees her is 'schmucklos'; her sister-in-law is seen in 'einem einfachen braunen Kleid' and Walperl, the heroine's maid, goes to church 'in ihrem bescheidenen Sonntagsstaat'. In contrast, unsympathetic characters such as Martin in Das Schweigen im Walde are disdainful of simplicity - the lackey takes it upon himself to redecorate a room in the Ettingen's castle which he does not regard as ornate enough as a chamber for a visiting countess, herself a schemer who has caused the Prince much misery in the past.

But it is not in material possessions alone that simplicity is seen as desirable. The friendly village coachman to whom Walter talks soon after his arrival in the village discusses the pastor's belief that children should be christened with short names:

"D' Namen, sagt er, müssen kurz sein, dass man kein' langen Schnauffer net braucht dazu. Und wahr is! Alls, was : an Wert hat im Leben schreibt sich kurz; Tag, Nacht, Weib, Mann, Geld, Fleisch, Brot, Haus, Bett, Gott! Hab' ich net recht? Da schauen S' andere Wörter dagegen an! Zum Exempli: Grundsteueraufschlagsquittung, Staatsschuldentilgungsbeitrag. Da wirst gleich gar nimmer fertig damit!" 41

Constantly Ganghofer and his characters claim that the most valuable aspects of human existence are simple and that life can be lived according to the simplest dictums. "Der Zweck des Lebens ist das Leben selbst"; "Unterschiede machen, das ist die Quelle für alles Missverständnis des Lebens"; "Was dir lieb ist, das kann nicht sterben, das lebt in dir" - all these and

similar assertions are made by characters in Der hohe Schein in the belief that they are stating something of value, yet no regard is given to the complexity of the issues with which they deal.

Given Ganghofer's approval of a limited and ordered life, his beliefs that knowledge and effort should be directed towards practical ends and his affection for a natural environment, it is hardly surprising to find him sympathetic towards the profession of farming. In Walter's case, agricultural work has a two-fold attraction. It enables him firstly to escape the dilemmas and confusions of intellectual activity. His decision to become a farmer is prefigured in the conversation he has with Mathild on the difficulties of determining the nature of the universe. When she plucks the flower and tells him that its beauty eliminates the need for her to concern herself with the more complex aspects of existence, he replies:

"Fräulein! Ich möchte alle Bücher, die ich durchgeschrotet habe auf einem Stoss zusammentragen, alle verbrennen in einem grossen Feuer und in die Asche ein Stäudlein dieser Blume pflanzen." 42

He envies the lack of education of the farm foreman Bonifaz, claiming: "Ich wünsche, dass ich so wenig wusste, wie der Bonifaz. Dann wüsste ich das Bessere." When, having purchased the farm, Walter devotes himself to the study of works on agriculture, the narrator contrasts this reading with the futility of the hero's earlier intellectual preoccupations:

Wie anders war dieses spürende Lernen jetzt, als früher jenes nervenzerreibende Ringen nach Erkenntnis der letzten Dinge. Die Rätsel, die ihn jetzt beschäftigten, waren Rätsel, die eine Lösung hatten. Was er geistig zu erringen suchte, stand in lebendigem Zusammenhang mit seiner Arbeit, mit seinem Feld, mit seinem Wald. 43

The second attraction of farming work is the opportunity it gives Walter to establish a close and permanent contact with the soil and the forces of nature. He experiences nervous excitement after the purchase of the farm, reflecting 'Nun bist du gebunden, an die Scholle, auf der deine Füsse stehen'

and his identification with his land is marked by the fact that he ceases to be known as Doctor Horhammer and is instead referred to as 'der Scheidhofer'. He feels a quasi-religious bond with his work, learning to mow 'mit einem Ernst, das etwas Weihevollles hatte' and sows with the feeling that it is 'ein heiliges Werk'. And indeed, working the farm proves to be his salvation. The physical labour makes him healthy, the contact with the natural environment and the inhabitants of the village turns him into 'ein froher, schaffender Mensch, ein Lachender unter dem Frieden dieses schönen Himmels'.

But Ganghofer does not always portray farming life as an idyllic existence. In Der laufende Berg he shows an awareness of the more prosaic tasks and difficulties which face the farmer and deals with problems of finance, of the need for advanced agricultural methods in an increasingly competitive market and the consequences of bad weather and a threatened landslide. Furthermore, he does not view the inhabitants of rural areas as being on every occasion as attractive as their surroundings. Ganghofer claimed in his autobiography that the inhabitants of the mountains were 'Menschen, wie sie sein sollten. Ich sah in ihnen den besseren Schlag, eine Erfüllung der gesunden Naturwillens'.⁴⁴ But in his fiction Ganghofer finds much to criticise in the attitudes displayed by the members of both mountain and agricultural communities. It is true that many of his rural characters display the highly approved qualities of simplicity, honesty, naturalness and loyalty, but these qualities appear in non-rural characters as well. It is true, too, that he approves of certain attitudes which are portrayed as exclusively rural - in Der hohe Schein, for example, he points to the peasant-farmer's ability to accept death as something natural and inevitable. But on the debit side, sympathetic characters in the same novel refer disapprovingly to 'Bauerngeiz' and 'Bauernschlauheit' and the most unattractive figure in the work is the peasant-farmer Scheidhofer, who cheats Walter over the sale of the farm and willfully destroys

money which should have been used for building a new church.

Ganghofer's fiercest attack on the codes and customs of country-dwellers is to be found in Der Dorfapostel, a novel which offers a notable exception to his main body of optimistic works. It centres on the fate of Peter, a simple, pious workman, the illegitimate son of a migrant Czech farm girl. Peter is persecuted by the village community for his religious beliefs and is eventually killed while defending a mother and daughter, new to the village, from the mob who are trying to drive them out. The villagers are for the most part superstitious, brutal, sadistic and intolerant. Only Peter's friend, Roman, and the village priest make any effort to prevent the persecution. The novel ends on a deeply pessimistic note with the death of Peter and the destruction of the home of the mother and daughter he has been trying to save.

It is significant that Ganghofer's most hostile portrait of a rural community should focus on its attitude towards outsiders. A number of his other novels also contain unsympathetic depictions of similar intolerance, most notably Waldrausch, in which the villagers' hostility to imported Italian labourers and the dam they are building threaten to ruin the hero's plans to bring prosperity to his birth-place. Ganghofer's attitude stands in marked contrast to that of other 'Heimatkünstler'. In the eyes of Löns, Bartels and Polenz, intolerance or suspicion of external influences and individual outsiders are justified on the grounds that such elements constitute a threat to indigenous social or cultural patterns. Ganghofer fails to adopt such a view for a number of reasons. The rural villages he portrays in his works are not the organically constituted communities we find depicted in the works of other authors treated in this thesis. In the novels of Bartels or Löns, the members of a rural community are shown to be bound together in attitudes and interests by a common racial and cultural heritage and by common qualities which the surrounding landscape has imposed upon their personalities. Ganghofer's

characters, born and bred in the same village, even in the same family, may have nothing in common at all, and, although his novels are mostly set in the Bavarian Alps, the author seldom makes any reference to specifically Bavarian customs and attitudes, beyond crediting certain characters with the capacity to speak in a dialect influenced manner. Furthermore, the class structure in his communities is only in part based on social strata which have evolved within a purely indigenous framework. Ettingen has never visited his hunting lodge before, but he is immediately regarded with respect by sympathetic rustic characters; Walter's only claim to social superiority is an education and a lot of money, yet he is accepted as having such superiority by the villagers. Of the most respected social grouping in Langental, the Ehrenreichs and their friends, only Sonnweber and Rosl are natives of the area. Because Ganghofer did not regard his communities as organic units and because he did not view rural attitudes as being necessarily worthy of approval, he is not so concerned as other authors when countryfolk come into contact with personalities and cultural influences from outside their immediate sphere. In fact, their contacts with these seldom alter their attitudes or behaviour, perhaps as much a reflection of Ganghofer's wish to maintain unchanging, clearly defined characters as evidence of his belief in the countryman's ability to retain his ethnic character, but when such alterations do take place, Ganghofer seldom presents them as being particularly detrimental.

The primary cause for changes in habits of behaviour or thought in Ganghofer's novels, as in the fiction of other 'Heimatkünstler', is contact with the codes and customs of the city. Like other authors treated in this thesis, Ganghofer expressed regret that townsmen should have so little chance for contact with a natural environment, portrayed a number of heroes who lived unhappy urban lives and identified some of his villains as representatives of city values. But he never attacked the city with the consistent vehemence

of Lienhard or Löns. He spent much of his life in Vienna, Munich and Berlin and for the most part, enjoyed himself immensely, taking full advantage of the social and cultural opportunities these cities offered. In his novels, certain aspects of city influence are presented as beneficial. As a result of 'die Aufklärung, die er von seiner Zeit in der Stadt mitgebracht hatte', Roman in Der Dorfapostel is less superstitious and more tolerant than his fellow villagers and Ganghofer also refers approvingly to this character's acquisition of 'städtischen Schliff'. His mode of characterisation also occasionally draws attention in a favourable manner to the customs and fashions of the city. In the short story, Gewitter im Mai, he describes Poldi, the rural heroine as being 'so zierlich schlank, als wäre (sie) eine zarte Städterin'.⁴⁵ In contrast to Polenz, he records without adverse comment that a number of his rural characters dress in a manner that is part urban, part rural. He also saw no reason to exclude technological and economic developments associated with the modern, urban world from the countryside. Both the railway and machinery are seen as the bringers of prosperity in Der hohe Schein and the villagers' suspicion of electricity in Gewitter im Mai is seen to stem from ignorance and unnecessary fear.⁴⁶ In Der laufende Berg, he even looks favourably on the activities of a Jewish money lender, a type Polenz regards as the personification of the exploitive nature of urban capitalism. The absence of support from insularity in Ganghofer's rural novels is a reflection of his views on wider issues - up until the First World War, his work is relatively free from the xenophobia which informs the work of other 'Heimatkünstler',⁴⁷ and he shows little evidence of racialism or anti-Semitism.⁴⁸

But not only was Ganghofer more tolerant of other races than fellow 'Heimatkünstler'; he also adopted a more charitable attitude towards sections of his own nation than many of them. He did not share the suspicions which

Polenz, Frenssen and Löns had of the middle classes and their life style. Nor did he attack the aristocracy as harshly as they did and he never expressed the disillusionment with the Kaiser we find in the writings of Frenssen. Indeed, Ganghofer moved freely and happily in bourgeois and aristocratic circles. He enjoyed formal balls and literary soirées, was a favourite author of Wilhelm II, whom he met on a number of occasions and received permission to hunt in the royal chase from Ludwig of Bavaria. He was even capable of portraying sympathetically an urban industrialist, the father of the heroine of Die Bacchantin. His other fiction also reveals his attachment to social groups which his fellow 'Heimatkünstler' often severely criticised.

Ganghofer portrays a number of bourgeois or aristocratic heroes who leave the city and settle in the countryside - Walter in Der hohe Schein, Ambros in Waldrausch and Prince Ettingen in Das Schweigen im Walde. All gain much from their contact with country folk and contrast many rural attitudes favourably with those they have encountered in their earlier lives. But they never accept every aspect of country life and values, remaining distanced in outlook from the simple rural people amongst whom they settle. Consequently, Ganghofer is unable to approve the type of hostile reception given to outsiders Löns condones in Die Häuser von Ohlenhof and Dahinten in der Heide. Indeed, the sympathy with which Ganghofer treats a rural character is very much dependent on the extent to which he shows friendship towards the bourgeois or aristocratic hero.

The primary characters of Der hohe Schein are all well-educated middle class figures; the main secondary characters, with the exception of the curate, are all of peasant or working class stock. This social division is reflected in a number of ways. It is noticeable in the differing reactions of primary and rustic secondary characters to certain bourgeois cultural

activities which Ganghofer venerates. Now, Ganghofer is far from dismissive of folk culture. Walter, gazing at the mountain from which the novel takes its name, declares:

"Jetzt versteh ich den Namen dieses Berges. Der hohe Schein. Am Morgen ein Verkünder des Lichts, steht er in sinkender Nacht wie ein flammender Weiser, der uns noch immer an die Sonne denken heisst, auch wenn sie verschwunden ist. Das Volk ist ein Dichter. Auch wenn es Berge tauft." 49

It is also claimed that high and low cultures echo the same basic human sentiments. Walter, having recently read Die Leiden des jungen Werther, hears a folk song in which there is

ein merkwürdiger Zusammenklang mit einer Stelle, die Walter im Werther gefunden: "Das Zugreifen ist der natürlichste Trieb der Menschheit." Ein trällerndes Volkslied und der gefürstete Menschengeist - alle beide sagen das gleiche! 50

But in Der hohe Schein, praise for folksongs and peasant wisdom is exceeded in volume by the commendations given to Mozart, Haydn, Goethe and other representatives of high culture. The musical works discussed and played are variously described as a "'tröstende Lebensfreude'", "'die Freude in der Sonne'" and "'das heitere Atmen in der Sonne, die Gott für uns Menschen erschaffen hat"'. In the writings of Goethe, Mathild asserts, one can find "'Antworten auf allen Fragen, denen man ratlos gegenüberstand" and, indeed, reading Die Leiden des jungen Werther, Faust and Wilhelm Meister, Ganghofer's characters claim they can find parallels and explanations for their own experiences, and, moreover, confirmation of the validity of their views and values.⁵¹

But the rustic characters in Der hohe Schein are largely excluded from the joys of classical music and the benefits of reading Goethe. They are physically shut out from Ehrenreich's musical evenings - only Sonnweber and the clergymen are ever invited - and their lack of education prevents them from appreciating Goethe in the way their social superiors do. When Walpwerl

tells Walter that she knows one of Goethe's poems, the hero is amused to find that she has misunderstood it and misquoted it, reproducing it in dialect influenced form. However, there is one revealing episode in the novel where a large number of rural characters are admitted to an acquaintance with high culture.

When the strolling players put on a production of Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris, the pastor expresses the view that this could prove a source of disruption in the village. Mathild, in contrast, claims it is not true "dass Kunst, je höher sie steht, für das halbe Verständnis des Volkes um so gefährlicher ist...Wahrhaft Schönes wirkt auf alle Menschen". Her attitude is vindicated by the enthusiasm of the villagers for the performance. However, it should be noted that Mathild does not deny that the common people have only 'das halbe Verständnis' for high culture, but claims solely that they are capable of gaining some degree of benefit from it. Her condescending attitude is evident in her retrospective comment on the villagers' behaviour during the play. She asserts: "Die Leute haben sich prächtig benommen... freilich auf ihre Weise."⁵² In fact the performance and its effect is temporarily disrupted by Bonifaz' over-intense involvement with the characters. At the moment when King Thoas is hesitating in his decision to reconcile himself with Iphigenie,

sprang von der letzten Bank einer auf, warf die eisernen Fäuste über den roten Kopf empor und schrie: "D' Hand gibst ihr! Du Niegl, du bockbeiniger! Oder ich hilf' dir!" Während das Walperl erschrocken den rasenden Fazifazerl auf die Bank zurückzog, reichte König Thoas lachend dem "braven Griechenmadl" die Rechte. Auch Iphigenie, Orest und Pylades fingen zu schmunzeln und zu kichern an, und aller lauschende Ernst im Saal schlug um in schallendes Gelächter. Das heilige Werk des gefürsteten Menschengeistes fand unter der ernstgemeinten Mitwirkung des Bonifazius Venanzius einen Ausklang, als hätte man in einer Posse das letzte Scherzwort abgefeuert. 53

Throughout the episode of the play production, Ganghofer constantly emphasises the differences in behaviour and aesthetic appreciation between 'die paar gebildeten Leute' and the rest of the audience. Mathild, Walter, Rosl and Bertl all have seats in the front row; their servants, with the exception of the nurse Nannerl, sit in the rear. The villagers rush for the door at the end of the play, but 'um diesem Gedränge zu entrinnen, wartete die Gesellschaft aus dem Scheidhof, bis der Saal sich geleert hatte'. Ganghofer points out that the villagers use crude language while waiting for the play to start, do not know when to clap and do not react to the play in as deep a manner as their social superiors - after Bonifaz' outburst, we are told that 'denen in der ersten Reihe konnte das naive Satyrspiel der Volkstimme nicht den tiefen Eindruck der Dichtung verwischen'. 53

But it is not only in the appreciation of high art that Ganghofer feels it necessary to indicate differences in attitudes between the members of the different classes portrayed in the novel. Walter, for all his enthusiasm for agricultural labours and those who perform them, cannot bring himself to copy all the habits of farm workers. When Bonifaz' team of mowers, which Walter has joined, sharpen their scythes, the hero 'machte...ihnen alles nach - nur eines nicht; wie sie in die Hände spuckten, bevor sie die Sensegriffe wieder fassten'.⁵⁴ Walter refuses to eat the fat smeared bread offered him by Moosjäger and even when he does share a labourer's breakfast, Ganghofer feels it necessary to point out that, although his hero enjoys the meal, the food is 'grob'.

In other novels, certain rural characters are seen to benefit from the acquisition of more sophisticated manners, but in Der hohe Schein Ganghofer finds rustics' attempts to make concessions in their behaviour for the benefit of their social superiors slightly grotesque. Moosjäger, having learnt to trust and respect Walter, comes to ask him for money to finance

the building of the footpath he is working on:

Als Walter zum Wirtshaus kam, sass Mertl Troll auf der Hausbank. Es war ein Bild, das ein bisschen komisch wirkte; denn der Moosjäger hatte Toilette gemacht. Er hatte sein Hemd gewaschen, das trotz der warmen Morgensonne noch nicht Zeit gefunden hatte, völlig zu trocknen. Der rote Bart war mit dem Kamm der Finger struppig nach zwei Seiten auseinandergestrählt, und das nasse Schwarzhaar lag so glatt über dem Kopf, als wär' es mit dicker Pomade angeklebt. 55

But even more unfitting in Ganghofer's view are any attempts made by rural characters to transcend class barriers. The mother of the peasant girl Lieserl in Schloss Hubertus, whose ambition is that her daughter should marry the count's son Willy, is presented as a comic figure and her hopes are seen to be founded on vain fancy. Although prosperity within their own social sphere is acceptable, Ganghofer never portrays rural characters who move into a higher class, as does Frenssen, or asserts that peasant-farmers are the equal of the aristocracy, as does Löns. The rejection of social and professional ambition in Der hohe Schein is not only to be construed as a plea for the benefits of a limited existence; it is also an affirmation of the validity of existing class barriers.

This is not to claim that Ganghofer consciously promotes snobbery or the exploitation by one class of another. As we have seen, he believes that there are many ways in which bourgeois or aristocratic characters can gain from close contact with the simple people of the countryside and he repeatedly condemns those who treat the lower social orders with contempt. He reveals no sympathy with the count who seduces Anne-Marie in Der Dorfapostel or with Robert, the villainous son of Duke Egge in Schloss Hubertus, who is so disdainful in his dealings with the family servants that on entering his father's castle after a long absence, he 'nickte der Dienerschaft einen kaum merklichen Gruss zu'⁵⁶ - an action which contrasts with the warm greeting his brother Willy gives a family retainer in the same scene. Only unsympathetic characters insist on excessive formality in relationships between different classes. Thus

the scheming Martin is shocked at Kluibenschädl's familiarity with the Prince on their first meeting, while Ettingen himself is pleased. Throughout Das Schweigen im Walde, the forester's genuine respect for his master is contrasted with the lackey's obsequious toadying. Furthermore Ganghofer's most sympathetic aristocratic and bourgeois characters recognise the obligations as well as the privileges of their social status and show consideration and generosity to their workers and servants.⁵⁷

But although Ganghofer believes it desirable that the upper classes treat their social inferiors with warmth and benevolence, he never allows the reader to forget the social differences between them. As narrator, he repeatedly refers to a character with his full aristocratic or professional title, even after that character has made enough appearances for his identity to be firmly fixed in the reader's mind. The majority of his sympathetic characters observe formality of address - Moosjäger calls Walter 'Herr', Ambros addresses the duchess he has befriended as 'Frau Herzogin' and the servants in Schloss Hubertus use the polite plural when referring to their masters and mistresses in the third person. When they fail to observe this code, as does Kluibenschädl in Das Schweigen im Walde, Ganghofer makes special pleas for them and indicates their social superior's acquiescence in their informality. The characters remain constantly aware of the social differences between them and romances or suspected romances which cut across social barriers are a source of considerable conflict in novels such as Schloss Hubertus and Waldrausch.

However, there is little real antagonism between classes presented in Ganghofer's novels of contemporary rural life. This is largely due to the fact that lower class characters never challenge the right of their masters and mistresses to control or interfere with their lives. 'Heimatkünstler' more conscious of the resentment existing between classes in rural society

portray the hostility of workers or peasant-farmers towards any attempts made by their social superiors to offer them advice or guidance, but Walter takes on the role of a secular father-confessor soon after his arrival in the village and Moosjäger, Scheidhofer, Walperl and Bonifaz all show themselves grateful for the counsel he gives, in spite of the fact that, by his own admission, he himself is a long way from solving his own personal problems.

One of the most frequently portrayed relationships in Ganghofer's novels is that which exists between a bourgeois or aristocratic character and a devoted servant. Although the socially superior character, if sympathetic, is generous and considerate, the major sacrifices in the relationship are made by the servant. Franzl, Count Egge's chief huntsman in Schloss Hubertus, is treated abysmally by his master - overworked, underpaid, unjustifiably accused of lying and poaching - but he accepts this treatment and remains loyal, telling himself that 'Man muss oft Unrecht leiden. Aber sei' Sache muss man in Ordnung bringen, sonst is man um kein Granl besser als die andern.'⁵⁸ Bonifaz is prepared to sacrifice his hopes for an early marriage in order that he may serve Walter as foreman on his newly purchased farm. These hopes do not in fact have to be abandoned but he has to reconcile himself to the fact that his wife Walperl gives her first attentions to the hero. She continues working for Walter into the last months of her pregnancy, whereas Rosl, Bertl's wife is treated with the utmost care to save her strength when she is in the same condition. The principle of loyalty and self-sacrificing is frequently promoted in Ganghofer's novels, but in the master-servant relationship, the burden of implementing these principles falls most heavily on the shoulders of the servant.

More class distinctions are evident in Ganghofer's treatment of certain physical processes which are conventionally regarded with some delicacy. Unlike his better bred characters, milk-maids and farm girls are both seen

to sweat and to comment on the fact. Zazil in Der Besondere is described wiping perspiration from her face and Lies in Der hohe Schein announces 'wird man heute wieder schwitzen müssen' when the day shows signs of being a warm one. Yet the nearest Ganghofer gets to referring to the consequences of warm weather for his bourgeois or aristocratic heroines is in the enquiry made by Professor Bürke in die Bacchantin, who, referring to the heroine's forthcoming trip to Italy, asks '"ob sie mit Rücksicht auf den Wechsel der klimatischen Verhältnisse vernünftig equipiert wäre"'.⁵⁹ It is regarded as acceptable that Walperl should show Walter where the water closet is. Indeed, Walter is pleased with her 'unverblünte Natürlichkeit'. However, such matters are never referred to by those who do not belong to the lower classes.

But Ganghofer's class based dual standards are nowhere more in evidence than in his discussion and depiction of sexual relationships. Ganghofer's autobiography reveals him to be much concerned with sexuality. There is considerable ambiguity in his approach. He calls for the early education of children in the facts of life, denies that young people should be forbidden to read risqué novels, makes numerous pleas for the benefits of early marriage and offers similar criticisms to those of Gustav Frenssen of conventional sexual morality, which he claims creates a conflict between conscience and natural urges, 'etwas Unmögliches und Widernatürliches'.⁶⁰ He also reveals that his own sex life was promiscuous in his youth and early adulthood. Yet he finds many aspects of sex and reproduction distasteful. Describing his reactions to witnessing the birth of a calf as a child, he refers to 'dieses nicht sehr reinlich sich vollziehende Lebenswunder'⁶¹ and, discussing the dialect and expressions used by the Swabian, comments on 'das heiter Nivelierende seiner Sprache. Alles Grobe bekommt eine drollige Milderung'. The mode of expression is not 'besonders schön...aber ungefährlich klang es'.⁶² In spite of his attacks on conventional sexual morality, he can also reveal

himself as its defender, as in the following passage from Lebenslauf eines Optimisten in which he criticises his own youthful attitude towards his unwillingly preserved virginity:

Ich selbst begann es als eine unverzeihliche Sache zu betrachten und hatte weder Gefühl noch Verständnis dafür, dass die langbewahrte Verschlossenheit meines Blutes ein kostbarer Besitz meiner Jugend war, ein Brunnen meiner derben, unerschütterlichen Gesundheit, eine Verheissung für reiche Freuden meines kommenden Lebens 63

On occasions, he views love in purely spiritual terms, seeing

die Liebe als eine Erfüllung der ewigen Sehnsucht zweier Seelenhälften, die einander gehören, für einander geschaffen sind, sich suchen und sich finden müssen, um göttliche Einheit zu werden. Ist das die Liebe, so muss sie unabhängig sein von allen Wirbeln des Blutes, unabhängig von allen äusserlichen Dingen, unabhängig sogar von der Schönheit oder Hässlichkeit der menschlichen Gestalt 64

In his novels, Ganghofer's rural lower class characters tend to be liberal in their sexual codes, but middle class and aristocratic figures behave in a more conventional manner. If unmarried, they are seen to suffer from sexual frustration, but make efforts to sublimate their natural drives.⁶⁵ Sexual passion is regarded as animalistic - Walter refers to his sexual desires for the actress Philine as 'das erwachte Tier' - and is to be suppressed if possible, for to give in to the demands of the flesh results in guilt and self-recrimination, if not in tragedy, as it does in the case of the actor Willy Meister's pursuit of Nannerl. Ganghofer's upper and middle class heroes are chaste in their relations with the women they love and are offended when accused of impropriety. They are hostile to those who flaunt their sexual attractions, as do the actresses in Der hohe Schein, for such flaunting threatens their self-control and their ability to remain true to their more respectable sweethearts. Physical manifestations which demonstrate that love has bodily as well as emotional consequences disorientate them. Walter is

tolerant but strangely excited by Walperl's announcement that she is pregnant. Telling her 'ich werde nicht schimpfen',

Walter setzte sich auf den Brunnen. Rings um ihn her war dunkle Glut, und der reine Himmel brannte über ihm. Etwas so Heisses, Dürstendes war in seinem Herzen, dass er zitternd das Gesicht in die Hände drückte. 66

Some of Ganghofer's lower class characters also stand by conventional morality. Toni, Ambros' friend, had restrained himself for fifteen years from making sexual advances towards the woman he wishes to marry. But his continence is exceptional. Like Walperl and Bonifaz, many of Ganghofer's most sympathetic characters succumb to temptation and others are prevented from indulging in pre-marital sexual activity by the recalcitrance of their partners, which in the case of Julei, Roman's fiancée in Der Dorfapostel, is more the product of coldness and ambitious calculation than of a genuine sense of chasteness. Yet those who indulge themselves suffer no self-recrimination and are not condemned by the narrator for their actions.

Among the simple country folk illegitimacy is regarded with tolerance. The village coachman, whose own daughter has conceived out of wedlock, tells Walter "Kind is Kind. Schaut eins wie's ander aus". Discrimination is manifested only in such formalities as the congregation's order of entry into church described in Der hohe Schein, in which unmarried mothers are admitted last. In other ways, too, Ganghofer permits his lower class characters more licence. In the hay-making scene in Der hohe Schein the farm workers indulge in horse play in which a peasant girl's underwear is revealed; Bonifaz resists Walperl's attempts to prevent him looking at a half-clad actress in the production of Iphigenie, asking her: "Warum denn net? ebbes Schöns muss man fest anschauen"; and the atmosphere of the theatre leads a number of village courting couples to indulge in public embrace. The bourgeois hero and heroine stand aloof from such impropriety, for their sexual activities are regarded

neither by themselves nor by their creator in such a lighthearted manner.

However, although offences by certain types of characters against conventional sexual codes are regarded tolerantly, Ganghofer nowhere condones promiscuity in his fiction. All his sympathetic couples remain true to each other and marry, or hope to marry. For the female characters in particular, marriage is a fundamental ambition. Ganghofer's suggestions for the education of women in the second volume of Lebenslauf eines Optimisten give an extensive indication of the social role he expects women to play. In the mornings, they should attend school;

an den Nachmittagen haben sie durch zwei Jahre die Mädchenschule (für Handarbeit, Gartenpflege, Warenkunde usw.) durch weitere drei Jahre die Frauenschule zu besuchen, um alles zu lernen, was sie wissen und verstehen müssen, wenn sie Lebensgefährtinnen des Mannes, Hausfrauen und Mütter werden. 67

With one exception, he makes little mention in his plans of academic or professional employment for women, save to say that if after eighteen a girl is not married, she should be free to accept only a job 'der den Körper des Weibes nicht schädigt. Die dem Weibe widrigen Berufe sind gesetzlich festgestellt'. The exception is school teaching. He devotes a paragraph to the training and work of schoolmistresses, commenting:

Sie werden nicht durch Schönheit glänzen - sonst wären sie Frauen geworden. Doch in den Herzen und Seelen der Unschönen wohnt die tiefste, zärtlichste und beständigste Liebesehnsucht. Und ein Weib braucht selbst nicht Gattin und Mutter zu sein, um schön und heiss zu fühlen, welch kostbarer Lebenswert in einem Kinde blüht. Jedem Weibe, auch dem hässlichsten und einsamsten, gab die Natur dieses dürstende Wissen. Und die lehrenden Mädchen sollen auch als Unvermählte den Ehrentitel "Mutter" führen. Sie werden treue, gütige Mütter von hundert, von tausend Kindern sein. 68

It is inconceivable to Ganghofer that a woman should not want to fulfil her natural desire for motherhood.

The presumptions which underlie this programme are in evidence in Ganghofer's fiction. Although women are frequently shown to be wiser in their

judgement than men and in Der hohe Schein in particular introduce male characters to many of the values and attitudes which the author wishes to promote, in marriage the husband is expected to be the dominant partner, the breadwinner and the protector of the family. Ganghofer's heroes are not as overtly masculine or domineering as those of Löns but the male virtues of physical strength and courage are frequently promoted and in his autobiography, Ganghofer comments of the attitude of any woman towards her partner that 'es weiss in Gehorsam und Treue doch immer eine Eigenschaft des Mannes zu werten: die Kraft.'⁶⁹ In spite of his unfavourable portraits of heavy-handed husbands, his support for Zäzil's demands in Der Besondere that she be treated by her suitors as a human being,⁷⁰ not an object of trade and his demands that women are granted the utmost respect⁷¹, he clearly sees woman's first role as being that of servant to man. In Der hohe Schein, the narrator comments on Rosl's attitude towards her husband: 'Und wie aufmerksam sie ihren Mann bediente. Wenn er lachte, lachte sie mit. Wenn er sprach, hing sie mit glänzendem Blick an seinen Lippen.'⁷² The talents of his heroines, apart from those engaged in agricultural work, are either artistic or domestic, never professional. For, as a future wife and mother, her activities are expected to be directed towards care of home and family.

As in the work of most 'Heimatkünstler', the family is seen as the most basic and the most desirable social unit. However, the nature of the family and its role is somewhat differently presented in Ganghofer's work. His families are mostly nuclear - he does not deal extensively with familial relationships outside those which exist between mother, father and children, even in his depiction of country people, for whom, in works by Löns and Frenssen, the extended family is seen to be a focal point in patterns of loyalties, codes and customs. Furthermore, because many of his families are bourgeois ones, the family is frequently viewed not as an economic but as an emotional unit

and his prime concern is with the emotional security that a family can give.

Ehrenreich describes his family life to Walter:

"Unser Leben, Doktor, das war - draussen auf dem Meer, wenn Sturm ist, giessen die Schiffer Öl ins Wasser, und um das Schiff her bildet ^{sich} eine ruhige See, die gegen allen Zorn der Wellen gesichert ist wie durch ein Wunder. Das ist wohl nur Schiffermärchen. Für uns ist es die Wahrheit gewesen. So sicher, so ruhig war's immer um unser Haus her, um unser Leben." 73

The family is not viewed as a social unit designed to enable its members to cooperate in their struggles with the problems of life, as in Der Büttnerbauer, but as a means of securing a haven against those problems - yet another device to shelter the individual from painful realities.

There is one more aspect of family life portrayed in Ganghofer's novels which must be discussed. A recent article on the author refers to his 'Oedipuskomplex'.⁷⁴ The term is carelessly used, for Freud claimed that all males were subject to such a complex.⁷⁵ Furthermore, there is no evidence in Ganghofer's autobiography to suggest that he suffered from any sexual aberration that could have resulted from an inability to sublimate mother-love. But his fiction does reveal an extensive preoccupation with mother-son relationships. A male character's failure to love his mother is always a firm indication that he is to be viewed unsympathetically, for, as a character in Der laufende Berg declares, "Was Mutter heisst, is allweil ebbes Guts".⁷⁶ His heroes frequently idealise their mothers and remain steadfastly loyal to them, rising in ire when they are insulted, although some, like Count Egge's wife in Schloss Hubertus are guilty of adultery and desertion of their families. Such manifestations of attachment do not contain any element of perversity, but in certain passages in Ganghofer's fiction it is difficult not to see sexual connotations in a character's behaviour towards his mother.

When Ambros' widowed mother, albeit unwillingly, suggests that he will one day find a girl to love, he pulls her to him and embraces her, saying:

"Die Liebste von allen bist du mir. Eine, die nur halbwegs wäre, was du bist, find ich nicht. Da musst du mich schon behalten."⁷⁷ Ambros' actions and attitude towards his mother would be better suited to a lover than to a son. They are described as 'zwei Menschen, die an Herz und Gedanken eins waren'. Ambros constantly reflects on his mother's attractive appearance, walks arm in arm with her, and frequently kisses and embraces her, on one occasion so violently 'dass sie den Sohn erschrocken von sich fortschob.' His letters to her contain passages like the following:

"Ach, Mutter, bleib Du mir gesund! Wie deutlich ich Dich sehe in diesem Augenblick! Und fest nehme ich Dich in meine Arme, fest, fest und küsse Dir die Augen. Du Liebe!"⁷⁸

It is strange to find such an apparently perverse relationship portrayed in the work of an author who is identified with a movement in literature which sought to assert the value of healthy sexual attitudes.

However, we should beware of using our own contemporary standards too rigidly in our judgement of an author such as Ganghofer. It is perhaps too tempting to assess such passages as those quoted above in the light of Freudian thought and to ignore the excessive sentimentality which colours all Ganghofer's descriptions of emotional attachments. It is worth noting, for instance, that a number of heroines are as devoted to their fathers as heroes are to their mothers. Mathild declares early in Der hohe Schein that the only man she could ever love is Ehrenreich and she tells him that she regards herself as 'ein schlechtes Kind' for falling in love with Walter "weil in meinem Herzen noch etwas anderes sein kann als du!"⁷⁹ It would clearly be irrelevant to argue that Mathild reacts in this way because she suffers from an unsublimated Electra complex. Since it is impossible to prove satisfactorily that Ganghofer was abnormally attached to his mother or that he was conscious of the psychological interpretation that later readers might place on his depiction of mother-son relationships, it would

be best if we placed only cautious emphasis on the psychological implications of this aspect of his characterisation.

The next major subject we must consider is the social scope of Ganghofer's fiction. In his novels of contemporary rural life, Ganghofer is concerned primarily with individual relationships, most of which may be described as domestic - centring on the family, family friends and servants. He does not deal extensively with larger groups or social institutions and in contrast to other authors considered in this thesis seldom portrays individual conflicts and problems as a reflection of the clash between social forces operating on a nation-wide scale. Referring to the relative absence of poverty in the rural villages he knew as a child, he claims that 'immer sah ich nur einen einzelnen Fall, ein menschliches Unglück, nie eine leidende Masse, ein enterbtes Volk.'⁸⁰ He refers here to personal experience, but the claim also holds valid for his portrait of society in his fictional work.

Ganghofer was not unaware of the social and political conflicts of his time. The largely autobiographical Die Sünden der Väter contains references to radical politics, to the 'Kulturkampf', in which Ganghofer supported the Old Catholics, to the union of the Reich and the disadvantages that this brought the southern states. In his autobiography, he discusses numerous other issues - the rising prosperity which followed the Franco-Prussian war, the justice of the claims of the working class, the role of the Social Democrats in contemporary society - and in the second volume of this work, he expounds that programme for social and political reform to which we have already referred on a number of occasions. But remarkably few of these themes play a major role in his rural novels. When he does deal with such institutions as the bureaucracy or the education system, his comments and criticisms reveal no allegiance to any definite political or social movement and are largely confined to a plea that these organisations should be dominated, not by

dogma and rules, but by a spirit which recognises the practical and emotional needs of the people whose lives they affect.

The only major social institution which Ganghofer depicts and discusses at length in his novels of contemporary rural life is the Church. He goes some way towards supporting the view held by Löns and Frenssen that Christianity has failed to attain the allegiance of country folk. A number of his rural characters are highly superstitious - a fact which Ganghofer, in contrast to Frenssen and Löns, regrets considerably - and his village priests are frequently shown to have little power to alter the basic attitudes of their parishioners. Although in some cases, as in Der Dorfapostel Ganghofer's sympathies are with the Church, elsewhere his sympathetic characters express the wish that the clergy show more tolerance of the weaknesses and foibles of their parishioners. As in the case of bureaucrats and teachers he makes out a case for the adoption of a less dogmatic attitude. The pastor in Der hohe Schein, despairing of the fanatical puritanism shown by his curate, tells Walter:

"Der Innerebner meint es immer aufrichtig und hätte das Zeug zu einem guten Priester, wenn - no ja, wenn er sich halt das Leben ein bissl ruhiger anschauen möchte. Priester sein! Das heisst doch vor allem: Mensch sein! Aber da schicken sie uns die jungen Leut aus dem Seminar heraus, dass man nimmer weiss, wie man Menschen aus ihnen machen soll." 81

The pastor does not believe in any case that the Church can effectively forbid its members to succumb to their weaknesses. He tells Innerebner:

"Man soll die Menschen so erziehen, dass sie das Ungehörige von selber lassen. Mit dem Verboten ist nichts geholfen. Im Gegenteil. Unser lieber Herrgott selber hat mit dem Verboten keine guten Erfahrungen gemacht. Wär dem ersten Menschenpaar der Apfel der Erkenntnis nicht verboten gewesen, sie hätten ihn hängen lassen." 82

The pastor sees his main role as a comforter, not as a reformer or theologian. Dismissing the value of dogma or rigid doctrine in his dealings with his

parishioners he tells Walter:

"Man muss den Leuten den Gott predigen, den ihre Herzen fassen können. Das versteh ich unter priesterlichem Handwerk. Schwitzt der Bauer in seiner Mhh, so muss ich sagen: Gottes Lieb ist ein frischer Trunk. Wenn er friert, muss es heissen: Gottes Lieb ist ein warmer Pelz. Ob man das so oder so macht, das ist gleichgültig. Hauptsach ist, dass man den Menschen für jeden Kummer ein Tröpfel warmer Hoffnung in die Herzen giesst." 83

Christianity, like optimism, anti-intellectualism, the conscious control of experience and numerous other devices is seen largely as a means to make existence as tolerable and as free from complexity as possible.

Ganghofer's spokesmen make a large number of pronouncements on the nature of God, many of them contradictory. In Waldrausch, Waldrauscher claims that all polarities, including good and evil, are part of God's work; yet the same character claims that God can neither control nor understand everything that happens in the universe. Walter and other characters in Der hohe Schein declare all phenomena to be controlled by God; yet Walter tells Scheidhofer that the "'Unverstand der Menschen'", not God, is responsible for the personal misfortunes which have made his life so unhappy. In some novels, prayers are answered; in others they fail. Characters call into question the goodness of a God who allows pain and suffering; others call for belief in the God of love. As the transmitter of a consistent theological viewpoint, Ganghofer cuts a very poor figure indeed. But frequently, he abandons attempts at theology and like the pastor in Der hohe Schein, refutes the validity of trying to make definitive statements about God and his ways at all - a refutation which is consistent with Walter's final decision not to search out ultimate causes, but at odds with the numerous discussions and pronouncements on the nature of God presented in so many of Ganghofer's novels.

It is partly because Ganghofer doubted if man could ever have ultimate

knowledge of God, partly because he was acquainted with the undogmatic approach of modern theologians that he attacked the fanaticism and intolerance of religious sects, particularly in such historical novels as Der Mann im Salz and Das grosse Jagen. But Ganghofer's rejection of narrow theological attitudes and interdenominational conflict may also be seen as part of a more wide-ranging attitude. For Ganghofer regarded all forms of social conflict as undesirable and reveals himself suspicious of any views or ideologies which threatened to disrupt the social and cultural status quo.⁸⁴ He makes a number of attacks on established conventions and institutions, as we have seen, but he makes no practical suggestions as to what form of political activity should be employed to change these.⁸⁵ His numerous suggestions for reform in his autobiography offer no fundamental challenge to the existing social order - he demands respect for the rights of property, for the military establishment,⁸⁶ for the monarchy and for existing class divisions. Respect for the rule of law is promoted as a positive virtue in Der hohe Schein. Moosjäger, who took to fire-raising after the woman he loved left him for another man, is told by Walter:

"Sehen Sie, Moosjäger, ein Nebeneinanderleben der Menschen ist nicht möglich, wenn man nicht Grenzen zieht und Zäune baut. Die darf man nicht verrücken. Einen Koffer darf man nicht aufbrechen, einen Menschen, den man hasst, darf man nicht niederschlagen, einen Heustadel darf man nicht in Brand stecken. Dafür mussten Sie gestraft werden." 87

But Ganghofer is doubtful if major social reforms, even if attempted, could really create a better society. In his autobiography, he claims that if the socialists ever managed to construct their Utopia, 'kommt übermorgen ein Starker, Willenskräftiger und Gesunder, wirft euch den ganzen Einheitskreppe über den Haufen, tausend Gläubige laufen hinter ihm her und alles ist wieder, wie es früher war.'⁸⁸ The pastor in Der hohe Schein suggests that only a change of heart can alter society. But the weight of evidence

in Ganghofer's fiction suggests that he believes this too to be impossible. The immutability of most of Ganghofer's characters is not only a literary device. It also reflects the view that human society and the world in general cannot be changed by human action, that as Lolo in Das Schweigen im Walde claims: "Alles in der Welt ist so, wie es sein muss, wie es immer war und immer bleiben wird."⁸⁹ For the most part this unchangeable natural and social order is portrayed as an attractive one. But when unpleasant or painful events occur, Ganghofer promotes only varying kinds of passive acceptance. Other 'Heimatkünstler' rejected such passivity. They may have demanded changes in society which conflicted head-on with the ethos of post-Enlightenment industrialism, with the dominant spirit of nineteenth century Europe, but at least they demanded them. Ganghofer's most frequent response to the problems of his age, indeed to all dilemmas and conflicts which did not have an easy solution was to disguise them, escape or ignore them.

References - Der hohe Schein

- 1) In the period 1900-45 the sum of Ganghofer's sales was 2,342,000. Frenssen sold 1,134,000 and Löns 1,406,000. Neither Bartels nor Polenz appear at all in the best seller lists of this time (calculated from information given in Donald Ray Richards, The German Best Seller).
- 2) Albert Klein, p.117.
- 3) Adolf Bartels, Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, 12th revised edition (Leipzig, 1922), p.14.
- 4) Albert Klein, p.130; Hans Schwerte, p.194.
- 5) Ludwig Ganghofer, Das Schweigen im Walde (1899) (Munich, 1968), p.39.
- 6) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol.1 (1909), 40th impression (Stuttgart, 1930), p.24.
- 7) Ibid., Vol.2 (1910), 56-57,000 (Stuttgart, 1930), p.353.
- 8) Vincenz Chiavacci, Ludwig Ganghofer (Stuttgart, 1920), p.145.
- 9) Ludwig Ganghofer, Schloss Hubertus (1897), 1,640,000 (Munich, 1955), p.34.
- 10) Ludwig Ganghofer, Das Schweigen im Walde, p.11.
- 11) Ludwig Ganghofer, Schloss Hubertus, p.17.
- 12) Quoted in Werner Koch, 'Diesseits von Gut und Böse - Zur 50. Wiederkehr des Todestags von Ludwig Ganghofer', Monat, 22 (1970), Heft 262, p.83.
- 13) Ludwig Ganghofer, Schloss Hubertus, p.7.
- 14) Quoted in Zdenko von Kraft, Ludwig Ganghofer als Dichter des Berchtesgärdener Landes (Stuttgart, 1925), p.21.
- 15) Certain features of Ganghofer's style suggest that he was very much aware of the nature of his potential readers, and that he expected many of them to have a low level of education. He feels it necessary to translate the simplest Latin phrases (Gewitter im Mai, 1904, 922,000, Munich, 1955, p.77) and in Der hohe Schein he emphasises the obvious fact that

the actresses and actors are named after characters in Goethe's

Wilhelm Meister (Der hohe Schein, 1904, 927,000, Munich, 1952, p.205).

- 16) W.H. Auden, The Dyer's Hand (London, 1962), p.222.
- 17) Quoted, Albert Klein, p.118.
- 18) Quoted, Vincenz Chiavacci, p.119.
- 19) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.463.
- 20) Ludwig Ganghofer, Das Schweigen im Walde, p.10.
- 21) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.445.
- 22) Ibid., pp.34/5.
- 23) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol.2, pp.278/9.
- 24) Ludwig Ganghofer, Gesammelte Werke, Vol.1 (Stuttgart, 1906), p.XI.
- 25) Ludwig Ganghofer, Sag' mir in Fliegender Sommer (Berlin, 1892), p.137.
- 26) Ludwig Ganghofer, Waldrausch (1908), 551,000 (Munich, 1968), p.68.
- 27) Ludwig Ganghofer, Schloss Hubertus, p.79.
- 28) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.66.
- 29) Ibid., p.115.
- 30) Ibid., p.12.

It seems likely that the book to which Lies takes such a violent objection is a copy of Ernst Haeckel's popular Die Welträtsel (1899).

- 31) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.114.
- 32) Ibid., p.112.
- 33) Ibid., p.39.
- 34) Ludwig Ganghofer, Waldrausch, p.142.
- 35) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.130.
- 36) Ibid., p.35.
- 37) Ibid., p.149.
- 38) Ludwig Ganghofer, Doppelte Wahrheit in Doppelte Wahrheit (Berlin, 1893), p.6.

- 39) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.349.
- 40) Ibid., p.90.
- 41) Ibid., p.43.
- 42) Ibid., p.93.
- 43) Ibid., pp.432/3.
- 44) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol.2, p.423.
- 45) Ludwig Ganghofer, Gewitter im Mai, p.23.
- 46) Ibid., p.32.
- 47) The Jew Rufel, in contrast to Harrassewitz in Der Büttnerbauer, shows himself genuinely willing to help out the peasant-farmer, Toni, and refuses to take the full percentage he is entitled to on the commission for the loan he arranges (Ludwig Ganghofer, Der laufende Berg, 1897, Munich, 1969, p.98). Ganghofer was far less hostile in his attitudes towards foreign cultures than Bartels or Löns. He spoke French, Italian and English, wrote a doctoral dissertation comparing the work of Fischart and Rabelais and set works of fiction in Italy and the Near East, both of which are favourably portrayed.
- There is an understandably marked increase in nationalist sentiment in his various volumes of war reports, written as booster propaganda for the home front and in these he constantly vaunts the attitudes and qualities of German soldiers in comparison with those of the French or the Russians. But even here he often reveals pity as well as hatred for the enemy and makes a number of favourable comments on things he sees in occupied territory, praising the quality of French transport equipment and describing Polish Jews as 'schöne, malerische Gestalten (Die Front im Osten, Berlin, 1915, p.24).
- 48) In Der laufende Berg, implicit sympathy for the sufferings of the Jews at the hands of racial bigots is evident, and Ganghofer allows the sympathetic

Rufel to state at length the case for Jewish money lending activities.

Rufel says that as 'ein ehrlicher Mann' he must ensure that the creditors receive their interest on time,

"Aber komm ich mahnen, so machen se mir Grobheiten. Und wollen se nix zahlen, und ich muss Gott behüt zu Gericht gehen, so schreien sie: "Jüdd, Jüdd!" Und nehmens mir es übel, dass e paar dummen Juden vor achtzehnhundert Jahr mitgeholfen haben, den christlichen Heiland kreuzigen. Ich bin doch nix dabei gewesen. Und warum schimpfen sie nicht auf die Italiener? Der Ponzipilatus und seine Kriegsknecht seenen doch Italiener gewesen." (Der laufende Berg, p.92)

It is interesting to note that certain attributes Ganghofer gives to the Jewish figures in this novel are similar to those ascribed by Bartels and Polenz to Jews, both fictional and actual. Rufel attempts to ingratiate himself with the local people by using dialect and flattering them. He also shows no understanding for the arts. But nevertheless he is presented throughout the work as a sympathetic figure. Such actions as his attempts to give Toni financial aid and his efforts to persuade him to give up hunting for the sake of his health, which in the works of Polenz would probably have been presented as evidence of a Jewish conspiracy to ruin or weaken the countryman, are portrayed in this novel as evidence of a genuine concern for others.

49) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.31.

50) Ibid., p.141.

51) Throughout Ganghofer's work, the ascribed qualities and characteristics of great art and artists frequently coincide with basic values promoted in other spheres. Great art is proclaimed to be "etwas Einfaches und Selbstverständliches" (Waldrausch, p.136) and to be primarily a product of the emotions (ibid., p.146). Artistic activity and the appreciation of art are closely linked with love of nature. Lolo, the heroine of Das Schweigen im Walde, tells Ettingen "Wer die Natur liebt wie sie, muss

65) doch auch Verständnis und Liebe für die Kunst haben" (Das Schweigen im Walde, p.117). And above all the artist is seen as a figure who can help Ganghofer's characters to reach the desired degree of peace and contentment. Mathild tells Walter: "Der Dichter wird zum Priester, der uns Ruhe gibt." (Der hohe Schein, p.191).

52) Ibid., p.269.

53) Ibid., p.263.

54) Ibid., p.142.

55) Ibid., p.59.

56) Ludwig Ganghofer, Schloss Hubertus, p.107.

57) In Schloss Hubertus, Tassilo claims:

"Ich bin stolz auf meinen Adel. Aber man kann nicht Vorrechte beanspruchen, ohne nicht auch seine Pflichten um so höher zu fassen. Adelige Herkunft stellt uns auf einen exponierten Posten, zu dem Hunderte von Augen leichter den Weg finden als zu jedem Beliebigen, der recht oder schlecht die Aufgabe seines Lebens zu erfüllen sucht. Was wir Tüchtigen leisten, wird dem einzelnen von uns nur als Selbstverständliches angerechnet. Wir beanspruchen ja, die 'Auserwählten' zu sein. Drum wird jede Ausschreitung und Missartung hundertfach gesehen und sofort als typisch bezeichnet. Mit Unrecht. Aber es ist nun einmal so, und darin liegt eine doppelte Verpflichtung." (pp.184/5)

79) Similar views are expressed by sympathetic aristocrats in Polenz' Der Grabenhäger.

58) Ludwig Ganghofer, Schloss Hubertus, p.107.

59) Ludwig Ganghofer, Die Bacchantin, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1897), p.3.

60) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol. 2, p.286.

61) Ibid., Vol. 1, p.163.

62) Ibid., p.99.

63) Ibid., Vol. 2, p.312.

64) Ibid., p.465.

- 65) Ambros suffers considerably from the awakening of sexual desires during his adolescence. But by going into the army he is able to quell these:
- 'Der strenge, militärische Dienst verlangte den ganzen Körper; da blieb keine Zeit für schwüle Träume und dürstende Nächte. Man war am Abend hundemüde und war froh, sich strecken zu können und am Morgen ausgeschlafen wieder aufzutreten.'
(Ludwig Ganghofer, Waldrausch, p.40)
- 66) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.404.
- 67) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol. 2, p.542.
- 68) Ibid., p.561.
- 69) Ibid., Vol. 3, p.38.
- 70) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der Besondere (1893) (Munich, 1955), pp.17/8.
- 71) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol. 3, p.38.
- 72) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.72.
- 73) Ibid., p.236.
- 74) Werner Koch, p.83.
- 75) David Stafford-Clark, What Freud really said (Penguin, 1967), p.95.
- 76) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der laufende Berg, p.83.
- 77) Ludwig Ganghofer, Waldrausch, p.43.
- 78) Ibid., p.194.
- 79) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.106.
- 80) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol. 1, p.302.
- 81) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.106.
- 82) Ibid., p.125.
- 83) Ibid., p.112.
- 84) In Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Ganghofer claims of the Socialist movement that "ihre Vorteile für die arbeitende Masse bei einer bestimmten Grenze enden müssten" (Vol. 2, p.532). That boundary was reached, in his opinion, when Social Democrats achieved for the working classes some improvement in their living standards. Any aims they had beyond this would merely

further discontent, a state of mind that was anathema to Ganghofer. His own suggestions for improving the workers' lot include grants of land and housing from employers and state - methods which insidiously tie them to the existing order (ibid., p.533).

- 85) Ganghofer never discusses any form of revolution which would be capable of putting his suggested reforms into effect and he had a low opinion of the value of parliamentary activity. He records that he visited the Reichstag as a youth only to hear Bismarck speak. Other aspects of the proceedings held little or no interest for him. He writes: "Die wirtschaftlichen Nüchternheiten, um die man sich damals im Reichstag zankte, waren keine Angel an die das Herz sich hängen konnte." (Lebenslauf eines Optimisten,^{Vd.3.} 1911), 31-32, 000. (Stuttgart, 1930), p.165.

His fictional characters echo their creator's lack of enthusiasm. Ettingen rejects parliament as a place where a deputy has to tolerate "Verdächtigungen, Grobheiten und Ausdrücke...die man im gewöhnlichen Leben mit einer Kugel oder besser noch mit einer Ohrfeige erwidert" (Das Schweigen im Walde, p.24). Ettingen also considers that parliament is "eine Sache...(die) sich überlebt hat" - a claim which recalls the views of Bartels that Liberal parliamentarianism was a declining force, awaiting replacement by a newly constituted conservatism.

- 86) Ganghofer's attitude towards war and military matters is most extensively expressed in his various war reports. Although it should be born in mind that these are primarily exercises in propaganda, the basic views and attitudes revealed in his fiction remain unchanged, even in the face of the horrors of war. He gives descriptions of the beauties of nature which survive on the battlefield, claiming these to be evidence of the validity of optimism, presents German soldiers returning to the front in troop trains in which "jeder Wagen ist eine Stube voll Heiterkeit" and is

capable of describing a column of Russian prisoners as "malerisch". One of the strangest examples of Ganghofer's attempts to view war optimistically and to portray its effects in a positive light is to be found in a description he gives of Russian prisoners receiving delousing treatment from German doctors:

'Ein beruhigendes Kulturbild inmitten aller Schrecken des Krieges! Ich bin überzeugt, dass die mitteleuropäische Zivilisation um zwanzig neue Verehrer bereichert wurde.'
(Die Front im Osten, p.33)

- 87) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.53.
- 88) Ludwig Ganghofer, Lebenslauf eines Optimisten, Vol.2, p.403.
- 89) Ludwig Ganghofer, Das Schweigen im Walde, p.152.

Chapter 6: Hermann Löns - Der Wehrwolf

The condonation of barbaric violence and the philosophy used to justify it in Hermann Löns's novel Der Wehrwolf derive from the same basic complex of attitudes which informs the social thought of all the other authors treated in thesis. Bartels, Ganghofer, Polenz and Frenssen failed to adopt Löns's position because they were attached to attitudes which ran counter to the unqualified support for primitive codes of behaviour which their sympathy for nature-based social values would otherwise have led them to. But in the work of all of them we find expressions of faith in the beliefs which led Löns to yearn for a world 'wo Männerfäuste herrschen'. They all express respect for the masculine virtues of strength, courage and endurance, for the qualities of military men, for the vitality and independence of country-dwellers and above all, to a greater or lesser extent, for those who reject an effete urban culture in favour of a rural existence, where man could retain contact with and measure himself against the elemental forces of nature. It was Löns, however, straining against codes and customs which the others accepted, who pressed these attitudes to a violent and disturbing conclusion.

But although violence dominates much of the action of Löns's novel, we should not forget that it is condoned ostensibly because it regarded as necessary to protect the life of a community and it is with a discussion of Löns's portrayal of that life that we must first concern ourselves. Der

Wehrwolf does not present the reader with such a comprehensive account of the social structure and codes of a rural community as do Löns's other novels and accounts of contemporary country life. It is, however, possible to amplify and place in a wider context many of the attitudes and values promoted in Der Wehrwolf by making reference to these other works, for there are basic similarities among all the rural communities portrayed by Löns, no matter what their temporal setting. In this, Löns's attitude differs considerably from that of Adolf Bartels, an author with whom he otherwise has much in common. Bartels concluded Die Dithmarscher with the dismal reflection that the qualities and customs of the sixteenth century rural communities he depicted had all but disappeared in the modern age. Löns in contrast believed that many of the values and social influences portrayed in Der Wehrwolf had survived into the twentieth century, in spite of continual challenges to their existence.

He believed that the character of the modern peasant-farmer, like that of his ancestor, had been profoundly influenced by the natural environment in which he lived. He declared 'wie der Böden, so der Bauer' and gave numerous illustrations of how this environmental influence operated. The contemporary peasant-farmers of the Lüneberg heath - 'ein stolzes, freies, durch und durch männliches Volk' would, he claims, have been different, 'enger, kleinlicher, zerquetschter, wäre der Boden besser oder lohnender gewesen. Aber gerade die weiten Heideflächen, die öden Moore brachten es zuwege, dass sie solche Kerle wurden'.¹ The inference that harsh or difficult conditions produce strength and endurance in those who constantly encounter them is echoed in Der Wehrwolf. The Wulfs have settled on the best land in the area but must fight hardest to protect their property and 'so wurden es Kerle wie Bäume, mit Händen wie Bärenpfoten'.

But Löns believed that contact with any natural environment could be

vitalising, could encourage the development of health and strength. He was a staunch supporter of the German nature conservancy movement, which he claimed was 'ein Kämpfer für die Gesunderhaltung des gesamten Volkes, ein Kämpfer für die Kraft der Nation, für das Gedeihen des Volkes'.² Like other authors treated in this thesis, he regarded the countryside as the main source of a nation's life force. In a collection of essays, Für Sippe und Sitte, he wrote:

Die Natur ist unser Jungbrunnen; keine Hygiene, keine Volkswohlfahrtspflege kann uns geben, was die Natur uns bietet. Schwächen wir sie, so schwächen wir uns, morden wir sie, so begehen wir Selbstmord. Woran sind die Babylonier und Assyrer, die Phönizier und Karthager, die Ägypter, Griechen und Römer zugrunde gegangen? Warum steckt in den Germanen und Slaven eine so unzerstörbare Kraft, warum konnte Japan einen so furchtbaren Schlag führen? Die einen verloren den Zusammenhang mit der Natur...die anderen blieben auf Du und Du mit der Natur, sahen in der städtischen Kultur nicht die höchste Blüte des Menschentums, bewahrten sich die kindliche Freude an Wild und Wald, Blumen und Vogelsang und blieben darum jung und gesund und verwanden die schlimmsten Schläge, die grausigsten Kriege ohne zusammenzubrechen und Völkerruinen zu werden. 3

He also shared the view of fellow 'Heimatkünstler' that the peasant farmer, who had permanent access to the natural world, was the backbone of the nation, the guardian of those nature based values on which German strength was dependent.

He saw those values threatened by the urban, industrial world, which had no understanding for rural life and consciously and unconsciously menaced both countryside and countrydwellers. Echoing the attitudes of Bartels, Löns expressed the hope and indeed the belief that in the long run that menace would be defeated. He asserted that 'der Bauer wird schliesslich doch die Industrie überdauern'⁴ and he gives numerous examples of nature defeating man's attempts to control her. But he was forced to recognise that industry and commerce were temporarily altering both the face of the landscape and the character of its inhabitants. On occasions, he attempted to reconcile himself to the changes that were taking place, presenting Germany's industrial

expansion as a manifestation of the sterling qualities of his fellow-countrymen. In Für Sippe und Sitte, he wrote:

Im allgemeinen ist dieser Vorgang, der sich überall in der deutschen Heimat vollzieht, unvermeidlich. Man soll darüber nicht in weichliche Klagen ausbrechen; Im Gegenteil freuen soll man sich dessen, denn er beweist, wie unser gesamtes Wirtschaftsleben sich verbreitet und vertieft, ein schönes Zeichen dafür, welche Gesundheit, Kraft und welcher schöpferische Mut in unserem Volke lebt und sich in fruchtbare Taten umsetzt. 5

But such apparent enthusiasm for industrialisation was rare in his writings and for the most part he sympathised with those country-dwellers who resisted the forces of the modern world, kept themselves unsullied by urban influences and refused to tolerate outsiders who would not conform to rural traditions and values. In Löns's fiction, numerous examples are given of the harsh treatment meted out to such interlopers, and in Dahinten in der Heide, the hero's wife is advised by a friend to become familiar with the ways of the inhabitants of the country area in which she intends to settle. He tells her: "Jedes Land hat seine Eigenarten und wo einer wohnt, da muss er sich nach dem andern richten."⁶

Those outsiders who are allowed to live in the Wehrwolf community are similarly required to adapt themselves to the ways of their hosts. Harm Wulf's second wife, Johanna, who comes to live in the village after her family have been murdered by marauding soldiers, speaks 'hochdeutsch', has arms which are 'fein und vornehm' and 'Hände wie eine Edelfrau'. At first, the women of the village laugh at her because she is so different to them, but they eventually come to respect her, for she shows herself willing to participate fully in the affairs of the community and to work 'wie eine Magd'. Furthermore, she indicates that her origins have not left her unprepared for the role she must play in the embattled community. When Harm expresses surprise at her riding ability, she tells him: 'Pastorenkinder

lernen alles, ausser Frommsein...schiessen kann ich auch nicht schlecht. Aber ich verstehe mich auch auf das Kochen und Strümpfestricken.'⁷ The pastor who is given a refuge in the village is also shown to have a background which aids his entry into the community. He is himself the son of a peasant-farmer and is capable of holding his own, both in fighting and in working on the land. He was, so the narrator comments, 'trotz seiner Redensarten, ein Mann, der in die Welt passte'. He is allowed to take a place in the community primarily because he is willing to serve it and in his role as pastor to adapt his preaching of Christianity to the attitudes and needs of his parishioners. The God he describes to them is one who sanctions violent defensive measures. He tells the father of Harm's third wife, who suffers from pangs of conscience over the killings in which he has been involved, that '"wer sich und die Seinen gegen Schandtät und Greuel wehrt und Witfrauen und Waisen beschützt... den wird unser Herrgott willkommen heissen, und wenn seine Hände über und über rot werden"'.⁸ God himself, the pastor proclaims, will show no mercy to the invaders:

"Des Herrn Hand wird sie treffen, die Bluthunde, die der Kindlein in der Wiege nicht schonten, und kein Erbarmen hatten mit unschuldigem Blute...zermalmen wird er sie in seinem Grimme und hinstreuen, dass ihre Feinde sie mit Füßen treten und wenn sie dann rufen: 'Herr, O Herr, ach, a ch!' so wird er seine Ohrenschiessen."⁹

But even his willingness to adapt his preaching to suit the needs of a community at war does not lead to his total acceptance by the peasant-farmers. His request that he be allowed to fight alongside them in their battle against the Swedes is turned down and he is told: '"Haltet euch zu den Frauen und Kindern, da seid ihr nötiger."' For the most part, only those of Löns's characters who are born in the communities in which they live are ever totally integrated.

But it is not only individual outsiders who tend to be kept at arm's

length. Cultural and social practices which are not indigenous are also regarded with suspicion. A case in point is the attitude towards the official law of the state which Löns attributes to the contemporary peasant-farmer. Like Bartels and Polenz, Löns considered that official German law was not truly German, claiming it to be a 'römisch-byzantinisch Scheinrecht'. He asserted that it had been imposed upon the Germans by Charles the Great and the foreign princes to whom he had given power. On numerous occasions in his work, Löns depicts peasant-farmers who show scant respect for official legal measures and their upholders, conforming only where necessary to the letter of the law and never to its spirit. He fully approves of their attitude, which he presents as stemming from their emotional commitment to the older, native ideas of justice manifested in the unofficial codes of community life, which have nothing to do with 'fremder Art, mit abgezogenen Begriffen'.

Löns's peasant-farmers act in a similar manner towards Christianity. According to Löns, the faith, which he calls 'eine asiatische Naturentfremdung', was imposed like Roman law upon the inhabitants of the heath by Charles the Great after successful military conquest. The peasant-farmers, bowing to superior strength of arms, 'sagte dem Wode und der Frigge ab, liessen sich taufen und wurden mit der Zeit ganz ordentliche Christen'.¹⁰ Characters in Der Wehrwolf express a belief in Heaven and consider themselves superior to enemies they believe to be heathen. But, claims Löns, 'von innen blieben sie die Alten'. Harm Wulf finds Christian practices such as flagellation laughable and other members of his community retain a faith in primitive superstitions. Löns's portrayal of contemporary peasant-farmers indicates his belief that they too had retained their forefathers' heathen tendencies. Omens and superstitions play an important role in Der letzte Hansbur and the pastor in Löns's collection of sketches

of village life, Die Häuser von Ohlenhof, is forced to admit that his parishioners are 'von aussen...Christen aber innerlich bleiben sie Heiden'.¹¹ Löns fully approved of the attitude towards Christianity which he ascribed to the peasant-farmers of the heath - an attitude which one of his critics has claimed had little basis in reality.¹² The author claimed that Christianity had undermined indigenous German customs and bitterly regretted that the faith had forced medieval peasants to repudiate their nature-gods and thus abandon a religion which he felt had left men free to live life on this earth without being perpetually accountable to divine authority. Echoing in pagan terms the view of religion as a contractual affair which Polenz attributed to Büttner, Löns writes:

Wir Germanen sind niemals gläubig gewesen, Religion hatten wir immer, aber eine Diesseitsreligion; das Jenseits versparten wir uns für später. Zu unsern Götterständen wir wie zu unseren Fürsten; wir zahlten ihnen pünktlich den Zins, machten Front, und damit Holla! In unser persönliches Leben durften sie nicht hinein reden. 13

He was unwilling to attack those who felt the need for the Christian faith, declaring that 'für viele ist es doch die einzige, was sie haben, der Halt im Leben'. However, he himself felt 'völlig gleichgültig' towards the religion. His attitude stands in marked contrast to that of Frenssen, who, although sympathetic towards rural heathen tendencies, like Wilhelm von Polenz hoped that a reorientated Christianity might prove a source of strength and revitalisation for the German people.

Löns's peasant-farmers' unwillingness to accommodate outside influences which threaten their way of life is paralleled by their suspicion or intolerance of any challenge given to their codes and customs from within the community. In Die Häuser von Ohlenhof, Löns portrays not only ostracised outsiders but also local characters who are mocked or cold-shouldered by their fellow-villagers because they have deviated in some way from traditional patterns of behaviour. Others are frustrated or made miserable

because they are not allowed to follow their own wishes but are compelled to fulfil the duties demanded of them by convention. In contrast to Frenssen, Löns refuses to sanction the desire for personal fulfilment when this conflicts with the maintenance of tradition, and he sees the fate of Ohm Heim, a character who loses his sanity when forced to abandon his studies and work on his father's farm, as regrettable but unavoidable. There was, he claimed, one primary dictum to be employed when judging an individual's behaviour and that was: 'Unmoralisch ist, was der Gemeinde schadet'. In Löns's eyes, those who challenged the traditions of the community were harming it. Like Bartels, he sees human communities, at least in their ideal state, as organisms and their codes and customs as the fabric which holds them together. The outsider, the individual community member who defies convention, are potential threats to that fabric, are foreign or abnormal elements which if uncontrolled can set up a chain reaction of disruption which will eventually bring the whole social organism into a disordered or diseased state. For the community to survive, its individual members must share a common respect for established convention, and if necessary sacrifice individual ambitions or even their lives for the sake of communal needs and the traditions with which those needs are identified.

But negative sanctions and controls are not the only means employed to bolster and affirm communal unity. Just as important are the events and institutions which enable community members to act in concert. Numerous examples of these are given in Der Wehrwolf. There are wedding celebrations, which are happy but sober occasions - for drunkenness is regarded as a threat to the social order¹⁴; church services which are seen as much as social as religious occasions; communal projects, such as the construction of a defence wall, during the building of which the villagers become 'eine Gemeinde fleissiger Leute, von denen jeder für sich und alle für das Gesamt schanzten,

so dass es auf den Dörfern um das Bruch hiess: "Einig wie die Peerhobstler" 15
 Perhaps the most dramatic - or rather, melodramatic - manifestation of communal unity is given in the oaths sworn by the men of the village to stand together in opposition to the marauding soldiers. Wulf calls upon them:

"Und jetzt wollen wir uns verbrüdern auf Not und Tod,
 Gut und Blut, dass wir alle für einen stehen und
 einer für alle, aber wir alle für alles, was um und
 im Bruche leben tut und unserer Art ist." 16

But although an individual is called upon to sacrifice time, effort and personal freedom to the needs of the community, he gains much in return. Should he become sick or poverty-stricken or old, he is not cast out but is protected and cared for by his fellow villagers. In Die Häuser von Ohlenhof, Löns portrays a number of individuals who devote themselves to the care of those who can no longer look after themselves and in Der Wehrwolf, the young men swear to protect from the marauding soldiers those who are vulnerable, 'die Eheleute und die Witfrauen und die alten Leute und die Waisen'. There is, Löns claims, little pure altruism in this willingness to protect the vulnerable. Roles of dependence can be swiftly reversed and by giving aid to the socially disadvantaged or weak the individual guarantees that when his time of need comes, he in his turn will be helped. In Für Sippe und Sitte, Löns writes:

In der Dorfgemeinschaft ist jeder auf den anderen angewiesen. Es kann sich jeden Tag ereignen, dass der reichste Bauer von dem ärmsten Tagelöhner abhängiger ist, als dieser von ihm und wenn es sich nur darum handelt, das Heu trocken hereinzubringen oder den Roggen zu mähen. 17

The community does not only offer the individual a form of practical social security, but also the mental security that derives from the knowledge that he has a defined social position and role. Löns contrasted this knowledge with the rootlessness and isolation which the modern city dweller experienced,

commenting:

Ich, der Grossstädter, werde immer traurig, sehe ich ein Dorf. Da sind Grenzen, da ist Sitte und Überlieferung. Da weiss man, wer sein Vater ist, da hat man eine Mutter gehabt, da hat man Freunde und Gespielen. Alles das haben wir nicht in der Grossstadt. Sind vogelfrei wie die Ackermaus hier im Schnee, sind vogelfrei wie der Bussard, der auf eine Maus passt, haben nicht Stätte noch Heim, wir armen Zigeuner des Asphalts. 18

Freedom from convention and from an established pattern of social relationships are not regarded by Löns as a blessing, but as a curse, for such freedom leaves an individual without moral guidance or a clear social function. In the village, the individual knows what his rights and duties are, what behaviour is expected of him and in what position he stands in relation to other members of the community.

The first set of relationships the individual encounters are those which exist in his own family. Family loyalty plays an important part in the codes of conduct of Löns's peasant-farmers, both modern and historical, and they stand staunchly by those traditions which govern family life. Volkmann, the hero of Dahinten in der Heide, refuses the gift of a farm offered him by a dying friend and goes to great lengths to ensure that the property is taken over by one of his friend's distant relatives, proclaiming 'Verwandschaft bleibt Verwandschaft'. Those characters who ignore conventions concerning the transfer of land from one generation to another are censured by other members of the village.¹⁹ All the rural heroes in Löns's novels are or become devoted family men. Harm is shown on a number of occasions to be more preoccupied with his domestic affairs than with the more exciting business of fighting the village's enemies and he suppresses a desire to risk his life by revenging an insult when he remembers that his first responsibility is to his wife and children. But the overall responsibility for the family which falls upon the shoulders of the peasant-farmer brings with it overall authority. Such authority is accepted because it is bolstered

by tradition and, for sons at least, by the prospect that they in their turn will be able to command in a similar way. Referring to the son's acceptance of paternal control, Löns claims:

Der Gehorsam wird nicht als Last empfunden, er ist etwas Selbstverständliches, Notwendiges, aber er wird auch nicht in Kleinigkeiten verlangt, die keinen Wert haben. Der Junge weiss, dass sein Vater hat gehorchen müssen, er weiss aber auch, dass man ihm später gehorchen muss. 20

A number of male characters in Löns's fiction who cannot command obedience, particularly from their wives, are ridiculed by other members of their communities. The farming family is normally dominated by its male members and wives and daughters are expected to play a subservient role. Volkmann's ideal wife was the Indian princess he married whilst living in the backwoods of America. He reflects on her attitude towards him:

Sie, die Frau, die in ihm alles sah, was es auf der Welt für sie gab, die nichts wollte, als dass es ihm schmeckte und er sie dafür anlächelte, die im Blockhaus seine demütige Magd war, die erst ass, wenn er satt war, sie war das Weib für ihn. 21

This subservience is extended to the sphere of sexual relations. It is predominantly the male characters in Löns's fiction who make sexual advances. Women who take the sexual initiative and show themselves to be provocative or promiscuous may play a useful role in introducing shy youngsters to the joys of sex, as does Miki in Der letzte Hansbur, but their actions are more often seen as reprehensible. Volkmann is offended by the forwardness of the women he sees in the city, reflecting: 'Was für unverschämte Augen die Frauen hier machten; denn er hatte sich schon an die dürflische Art gewohnt.'²² Rural women are generally expected to submit passively to their partners' advances, whether they are married to them or not, and to accommodate themselves to all their sexual needs, even if those needs centre not on themselves but on others. Johanna, recognising the love that Meta feels for Harm, sets about arranging her husband's third marriage when she recognises that she has

not long to live and in Der letzte Hansbur, Gode's mother tells his future wife: "Ich glaube, er ist von der Art, die mehr als eine Frau brauchen. Eine Frau muss nicht immer alles sehen. Sein Grossvater war auch so, und seine Frau hat immer gut mit ihm ausgekonnt."²³

But although the rural communities which Löns portrays retain for the male sexual rights which Löns claims were operative in earlier times - 'den Rest der ursprünglichen und naiven Geschlechtsmoral'²⁴ - those rights are accompanied by duties. Löns never explains what happens to a married man who gets a girl pregnant, but he does claim that in the case of pre-marital intercourse leading to conception, 'so hat der Mann dafür einzustehen. Nicht mit schmutzigem Geld, wie es in der Stadt die Sitte ist, sondern mit seiner vollen Person'.²⁵ This fate overtakes a character in Der Wehrwolf. Viekenludolf's fulfilment of his duty is enforced by the Wehrwölfe, 'denn in allen verstanden die Wölfe unter sich Spass, bloss nicht in solchen Sachen'.²⁶ To run away from such responsibility would threaten the convention of loyalty to blood relations and also challenge the basis of family life. The need to maintain the latter also accounts for the fact that divorce is rare in the rural communities Löns depicts.²⁷ Many of Löns's rural characters do not take advantage of the licence that is permitted them but respect and remain faithful to their wives.

Although the wife is essentially subservient to her husband, she can make or mar the life of family and farm. Her role as partner in running the household is important and her function as breeder essential. Harm's wives are all capable of producing healthy children, particularly Johanna, who produces first twins, then two more children. It should be noted, however, that successful breeding is seen to reflect as much on the male's virility as on the female's endurance. Gode Hehlmann in Der letzte Hansbur considers his wife's inability to produce male children as fate's punishment

for his own misdeeds and other male characters in Löns's fiction express shame for their wives' inability to conceive. As is the case in most of the peasant-farmers' attitudes and customs, the emphasis laid on the production of children, particularly males, is seen to have a sound practical basis. The main purpose of marriage, Löns claims, is 'den Stamm fortzupflanzen, den Hof dem Geschlechte zu erhalten'.²⁸ Children in general are needed to run the farm when their parents become old and sons in particular to take over ownership when the father dies.

Löns considered property ownership to be important in all human societies, declaring it to be 'heilig' for all peoples and the basis for all 'Höheren-entwicklung' of the human race, but in the agrarian community he saw its role as crucial. The farm was much more than a source of livelihood for the peasant-farmer and his family. It provided the basis on which the whole framework of his life was built up, a framework he shared with his forebears and hoped to pass on to his descendants. The continuity of custom and ownership is emphasised and reinforced by a series of traditions, from the use of house mottos and the keeping of a house book to the practice of naming the farm after the family which owns it. Pride in property, or just the observation of others' pride in property, maintains the morale of the Peer-hobstler even in the harshest times. When Harm builds a new house, the beleaguered population forget their worries:

Es war schön anzusehen, wie gerade mit einem Male
wieder die Männer gingen, welche blanke Augen die
Frauen bekamen und wie die Kinder sich herausmachten,
denn nun hatten sie doch wieder an etwas anderes zu
denken, als an ihr Unglück 29

Göde Hehlmann only begins to recover his self-respect when he abandons the wild life he has been leading and devotes himself to the care of the farm. In contrast, those who lose their property decline morally, as do the peasant-farmers in Der Wehrwolf who are forced out by the soldiers and become robbers

and murderers. Göde's father, who criticises his son for trespassing, recognises the crucial importance of property and the need to respect the owner's rights, telling his son: "Grenze ist Grenze. Wie sollte es wohl auf der Welt gehen, wenn einer des anderen Eigentum nicht achtet."³⁰

Property ownership is the basis of the class structure in the villages Löns portrays. The community leaders of Peerhobstel, like their modern farming descendants, are all property owners. Employees and women have little say in public affairs and the influence of pastors and schoolteachers, important figures in rural societies depicted by other 'Heimatkünstler', is relatively small.³¹ There is much resistance to attempts made to break down the social barriers established by property ownership. Göde Hehlmann is told that "die Häuslingsjungen sind schon gar kein Umgang für einen Hoferben" and Löns claimed there was much prejudice in rural villages against marrying across class lines:

Darauf läuft das Bauerngesetz hinaus, dass der Bauernsohn zu seiner Art halte und der Hausmann und der Knecht zu der seinigen, damit nicht durch fahrlässiges Freien die Grundlagen des Erbgesetzes erschüttert, nicht Führer und Volk durcheinander gewirbelt, nicht das feste Gefüge der Gemeinde gelockert werde. ³²

Löns's approval of this attitude is indicated by the fact that none of his rural heroes marry below their station and when they marry above it, they take girls from outside the community, thus avoiding the creation of bad blood within the village.

But although class barriers are maintained, the farmer seldom despises or exploits his workers and two of Löns's heroes, Luder Volkmann and Harm Wulf, reward employees for loyal service with gifts of property. The relationship between master and servant, like so many in the village community, is one of interdependence and, Löns claims, there is far more mutual respect than exists between employer and employee in the city. In Für Sippe und Sitte, he writes:

Wohl gibt es auf dem Dorfe Herrn und Knechte; aber der eine steht mehr neben, als über den andern, schon allein deswegen, weil jeder Bauer, ehe er den Hof antritt, Knecht seines Vaters ist, und dann auch, weil jeder zweite und dritte Sohn heute Grossknecht und morgen, findet er seine Hoferbin, Bauer sein kann. Jene scheussliche Verachtung des Arbeiters, sei es dessen, der mit dem Hirn schafft, sei es dessen, der mit der Faust, wie sie unser heutiges Unternehmertum fast durchgängig zeigt, und die dem Kapitalismus notwendigerweise als Sozialismus zum Widerhall ward, kennt der Bauer nicht. Er hasst nicht, wie der nur Kapitalist, den er für seine Arbeit entlohnen muss; denn er weiss, ohne ihn ist er nichts. 33

The sentimentality and underlying subservience which informs the relationship between master and servant depicted in Ganghofer's novels, is generally absent from Löns's characters. There is sometimes loyalty beyond the call of duty, but just as often a hard headed practicality. Löns claimed of the relationship between farmer and labourer that 'auf keiner Seite ist eine Dankesverpflichtung. Gegen den üblichen Lohn wird die übliche Arbeit getan'.³⁴

The refusal of members of one class to be obsequious to those of another is illustrated in Löns's depiction of the relationship between peasant-farmer and aristocrat. Löns was no great supporter of the German aristocracy. He considered that they had no racial or cultural ties with the true Germans, represented by the peasant-farmers, for, as he narrates in Der Wehrwolf, they were foreigners whose right to rule had been obtained by conquest. Volkmann tells a duchess that he considers his peasant-farmer's heritage gives him as good a right to claim aristocratic lineage as that held by Germany's official nobility,³⁵ and Harm, who stands among the aristocrats of the Duke's court 'wie ein Eichbaum über lauter Machangelbüschen' show no signs of subservience either. Although willing to use the formal mode of address he is clearly not in awe of the Duke and refuses to answer the Duke's question as to the identity of the Wehrwölfe.

Harm's lack of subservience stems at least in part from the fact that he and his fellow villagers are dependent on the Duke for nothing. The

latter cannot even provide them with adequate military protection. The villagers are not dismayed that they must defend themselves, recognising that the 'Obrigkeit', die wird alle Hände voll zu tun haben, dass sie im allgemeinen für Ordnung sorgt, soweit das angeht; der einzelne Mann muss sich selber wahren'.³⁶ The peasant-farmer, Ul, proposes that the villagers adopt the maxim 'Hilf dir selber, so hilft dir unser Herrgott!', which Harm Wulf later employs as his house motto.

The conflict in which this motto becomes a watchword for the Peerhobstler results from the villagers' unwilling involvement in the Thirty Years War. The peasant communities of the Lüneberg heath are pillaged and destroyed by the various armies which advance and retreat across northern Germany. Harm Wulf and his fellow peasant farmers do not seek a confrontation with these armies. They are, Löns assures us, essentially peace-loving and their most basic aim in life is to farm their land. But in the circumstances, they are only able to do this if they establish their village as an armed fortress. The changes which they must consequently make in their life style and communal organisation are forced upon them, but they are by no means ill-equipped to make these changes, for their traditions and attitudes have prepared them well for living in a besieged community.

Cultural independence and the ability to work together as an independent social unit are two qualities, already discussed, which help them to survive. There are numerous others, centring largely on the peasant-farmer's ability to defend himself. Their manly strength and pride combine with a past history of violent activity, during which they had to defend themselves against similar invasions, to make them ideal fighting men. The Wulfs in particular are warriors by tradition. Commenting on their struggles during the early period of settlement with wild animals and 'mit den schwarzbraunen Leuten, die hinten im Bruche lebten', Löns asserts that 'je bunter es herging,

um so lieber war es ihnen'. They fought numerous enemies, including the Romans and the Franks, and the construction of their farm indicates their acceptance of the violent nature of their times. It is in fact a miniature model of the armed fortress the villagers later build: 'Zehn Gebäude zählte der Hof, der wie eine Burg hinter Wall und Graben in seinem Eichbusche lag, und in dem grossen Hause war kein Mangel an Waffen.'³⁷ Löns declared that 'Bauer und Krieger sind überhaupt eigentlich die einzigen Berufe, die eines Mannes würdig sind' and his portrayal of men like the Wulfs gives expression to the belief which he shared with Adolf Bartels that the German peasant-farmer had combined the two professions admirably.

The measures which the peasant-farmers of Peerhobstel take to defend themselves are violent in the extreme. They ambush, they hang, they hack their enemies to pieces. But in behaving in this manner towards the marauding soldiers and their spies and allies, they are only giving as good as they get. The roving armies are guilty of extreme cruelty. Johanna tells Harm of what happened to her family at the hands of Tilly's forces:

"Ich habe zusehen müssen, wie sie meinen Vater so schlugen, dass ihm Blut aus dem Mund kam, und als meine Mutter ihnen fluchte, haben sie sie vor meinen leiblichen Augen im Brunnentrog ersäuft." ³⁸

They also commit many acts of rape, an act which Johanna - rather conventionally - feels to involve a fate worse than death for the victim. She has learnt to shoot, for "ein Frauenzimmer hat das noch nötiger als ein Mannsmensch, dieweil es mehr zu verlieren hat als bloss das nackigte Leben "³⁹ Indeed, it is so shameful for a woman to have been raped that a Wulf "starb...vor Herzeleid, denn die braunschweigischen Kriegsvölker hatten seine junge Frau zuschanden gemacht".⁴⁰

The peasant-farmers' enemies are completely alien to them. They are rootless wanderers, who have no respect for the property rights which Löns regarded as the basis of the peasant-farmers' society nor for the traditions

or ordered codes of conduct which maintain community stability and unity. In view of the challenge which the villagers encounter to their way of life, they close ranks and stiffen their attitudes, resolving to show no mercy. Drewes tells Harm: "Ehe dass ich mir und meinen Leuten einen Finger ritzen lasse, lieber will ich bis über Enkel im Blute gehen." This attitude is echoed by Harm, who asserts: "Besser fremdes Blut am Messer, als ein fremdes Messer im eigenen Blut."⁴⁰ Moves away from purely defensive actions are also seen as justifiable. Harm justifies his revengeful search for those responsible for the murder of his first wife by claiming: "Es steht geschrieben: Wer Menschenblut vergiesst, dessen Blut soll wieder vergossen werden." Events, not maxims, justify the Wehrwölfe's willingness to get the first blow in, summed up in the advice "Wehrwölfe waren wir; jetzt müssen wir Beisswölfe werden". Drewes is unwilling to attack without warning those roving bands of peasant-farmers who have turned to robbery after the loss of their lands. They are, he declares, not "fremde Völker" but "Menschen wie unsereins". He attempts to reason with them and is shot for his pains. The times are seen as too violent and dangerous to permit purely reactive measures.

But none of these justifications account for the sadism of Löns's peasant-farmers. They destroy their enemies with obvious pleasure and killing is described as "Spass" and "Vergnügen". Throughout the novel we find peasant-farmers laughing at the prospects or results of their violent activities. They enjoy callous and sadistic jokes, particularly about hanging. Regarding the bodies of men they have just hung, a group of the Wehrwölfe 'lachten...und sagten: "Die Bruckglocken läuten auch fein" and a similar example of their wit is given after another lynching party, when one peasant-farmer, talking to Harm's foreman who is about to be married, points to the gallows and says: "Kiek, Thedel, deine Hochzeitsglocken läuten."

They both torture and humiliate their enemies. Thedel tells the pastor:
 "In Bremlingen hat ein einstelliger Bauer, der im Busche wohnt, seit einem halben Jahr einen von den Pappenheimern an der Kette im Stalle liegen, so dass er aus dem Troge fressen muss."⁴¹

The pastor is initially horrified, but when he hears more of the cruel actions of the peasant-farmers' enemies, he 'sagte nichts mehr, wenn er hörte, wie die Bauern Gleiches mit Gleichem vergalten'. Löns too is willing to condone the callousness of the Wehrwölfe, making no adverse comment on Harm's assertion that "'Krieg ist Krieg und beim Gänserupfen fliegen Federn"'. But there is considerable moral ambiguity in the attitude of both Löns and his characters towards the actions performed by the Wehrwölfe. He claims a breakdown of 'Zucht und Sitte' is responsible for the Wehrwölfe's willingness to shoot down without warning 'ganze Haufen von fremden, halbverhungerten Bauern' but offers no such excuse for similar actions committed by their enemies. The pastor gives a sermon in which he declares those who kill ambushers to be free from guilt, saying:

"Wer seinem Bruder aus dem Hinterhalte nach dem Leben trachtet, der ist wie der Wolf; sein Blut beflecket den nicht, der ihn erschlägt. Unsere Hände sind rein vor dem Herrn." ⁴²

Yet comments of disapproval are seldom passed by narrator or characters on the ambushes prepared by the Wehrwölfe.

Löns attempts to deflect the reader's attention from this dual moral standard and to maintain sympathy for the peasant-farmers in a number of ways. Not only is their cause presented as a worthy one, but they themselves are portrayed as attractive characters, appealing not only in their personal qualities but often in their physical appearance as well. The tall, strong Harm, one of those 'Kerle wie die Bäume' of the Wulf line is matched in his physical appeal by the women he marries. His first wife is 'das glatteste Mädchen weit und breit' and his third 'hatte ein Gesicht wie Milch und Blut,

Haare wie Haferstroh und war wie eine Tanne gewachsen'.⁴³ Löns's attempts to emphasise the attractiveness of Wulf's women are occasionally overzealous and result in a marked lack of realism. Harm, having rescued Johanna after she has been living in the wild for days, becomes sexually aroused when he carries her away to his home on his horse, 'denn ihr Atem ging ihm über den Mund und ihr Haar roch, dass ihm die Brust eng wurde'.⁴⁴ It seems unlikely that Johanna's recent mode of existence would have been productive of a seductive aroma of either breath or hair.

The physical attractions of Löns's most favoured characters contrast markedly with the ugliness of their enemies. Soldiers who attempt to steal Wulf's wagon and horses have 'Gesichter, wie sie der Teufel nicht besser haben kann' and one of the men responsible for the death of Harm's first wife is an extremely tall man who has 'einen ganz kleinen Kopf wie ein Kind und auch genau solche Stimme, wenn ^{er} das Maul auftat'.⁴⁵ while his partner in the crime

war so kurz und dick wie ein Krautfass, und er hatte einen fuchsigen Knebelbart und zwei Narben im Gesicht, so dick wie ein Finger und so rot wie ein Hahnenkamm, die eine von der Stern bis in das Maul und die andere von einem Ohr bis an das andere. ⁴⁶

Löns employs another device to discredit his heroes' opponents and make them unattractive which is far more pernicious than his emphasis on their ugliness. Both he and his sympathetic characters have a tendency to deny that their opponents can be considered as human beings. Wulf, for example, claims that "die Tatern waren ja halbe Menschen" and together with his fellow peasant-farmers repeatedly refers to the enemy soldiers as animals, describing them as "Wespen", "Hasen", "Vieh", and "fremde Hunde". Löns as narrator does the same, talking of 'Ungeziefer' and 'Mordhunde'. It is noteworthy that the plural is frequently used, thus lumping the individuals referred to together as a mass, in which all are condemned without discrimination, and

that the animals used in these references are predominantly vermin. In view of the favour which Löns's works found in the eyes of the National Socialists and the fact that Der Wehrwolf was issued in cheap editions towards the end of the Second World War as a morale booster,⁴⁷ it is pertinent to recall that the declared enemies of the Third Reich were similarly referred to as subhumans and animal pests and were treated accordingly.⁴⁸

There are signs in Der Wehrwolf that Löns was hesitant to condone all the acts and attitudes of the Wehrwölfe towards their enemies. These are manifest in scenes such as the one in which the hanged men are referred to as "Hochzeitsglocken". Thedel does not reply to these remarks and deliberately turns away from the man who makes them. Thedel also tells the pastor that he is weary of killing: "Ich habe es dicke! Ich will hinter dem Pfluge hergehen und abends mit den Lütjen spielen, aber nicht alle paar Tage lebendige Menschen umbringen!"⁴⁹ The character who most frequently shows misgivings about the barbaric activity in which the Wehrwölfe indulge is Harm Wulf himself. Not only does Löns portray Harm as a man capable of compassion for helpless individuals like Johanna and of deep love for members of his own family, but as an individual who has doubts about the morality of the actions of some of his companions. He is uneasy about Drewes' murder of a gypsy who had followed but not attacked a patrol of Wehrwölfe, for 'gleich darauf loszuschlagen, wie auf ein wildes Tier, das wollte Harm denn nicht in den Kopf'⁵⁰ and he is also concerned about another unprovoked attack on a band of soldiers proposed by Drewes, for

wer weiss, wohin die Leute, von denen Drewes redete, zogen? Und schliesslich: sie hatten ihm ja nichts getan!...aus dem Hinterhalte Leute über den Haufen schiessen, mit denen er gar nichts vorgehabt hatte, das war ihm nicht nach der Mültze. 51

Although he later comes to accept such actions as justifiable, he claims on occasion that violence gives him no joy. After giving a man a beating, he

tells his companion, who refers to the incident as "Spas":

"Ich habe diese Spässe dicke; es vergeht ja meist kein Tag, dass man seine Faust, oder gerade was man gerade drin hat, nicht gebrauchen muss. Und gerade heute wäre ich meinen Weg liebendgern in Frieden gegangen." 52

He welcomes the coming of the peace and suffers a nervous breakdown soon after the fighting stops:

Es war zu viel für ihn gewesen. Auch hatte er zu tief durch Blut gehen müssen; erst bis an die Enkel, dann bis zu den Knien, bis er über die Lenden stand und es immer höher und höher stieg, so dass es ihm schliesslich bis an den Mund kam. Viel hatte nicht mehr gefehlt, da lief es ihm hinein und er musste ersticken. 53

Harm refuses to make personal benefit of the booty he acquired during his days as a Wehrwolf. He gives it as a donation towards the building of a new village church, 'und die andern Bauern gaben auch nicht wenig, denn die Beutegelder drückten ihnen allen auf der Brust'.⁵⁴

But Löns's attempts to portray Harm as a reluctant warrior troubled with doubts as to the morality of his and his companions' actions are inconsistent with other aspects of the hero's character and behaviour. It should be noted that even his occasional objections and reservations are not fully supported by his actions. He does not openly declare his misgivings about Drewes' ambush, pleading only tiredness as an excuse for not participating. And his claim that he is weary of violence is made after he has beaten a man 'bis er so weich wie Quark war'. As do the other Wehrwölfe, he frequently finds pleasure in combat and killing, accepting an invitation to take part in a raid with the words "'Na ob!...der Mensch will doch auch einmal Vergnügen haben'". Like them he laughs at the prospects or results of violent activity and is capable of both sadism and overt callousness. When he ambushes a soldier who has taken his horse, he deliberately shoots him in the stomach rather than the heart, 'lachte vor sich hin' while robbing his victim and

'frühstücke in aller Ruhe' next to the corpse.⁵⁵

The reservations with which Harm is attributed are occasionally echoed in Löns's non-fictional writings. In columns he wrote whilst working as a journalist, he complained about 'die ewigen Schlägereien' in the centre of Hannover and in an article published in a collection of his posthumous papers he welcomed the diminution of violent life, commenting:

Das heisse Geblüt, das in dem Volke steckt, setzt sich heute in ehrliche Arbeit und harmlose Lebenslust um; seitdem der Schnaps bei dem jungen Volke aus der Mode gekommen ist, geht es bei Festen immer noch froh und heiter, aber nicht mehr wie früher, wo kein Tanz ohne Schlägerei ausging und Jahrzehnte langer Hass und Unfrieden nachblieb. 56

But it should be noted that these reservations are relevant only to violence within the community. Löns never condemned violent measures taken to repulse an external enemy. In another article in the same collection, he expresses sympathy for the brutal acts committed by the ancient Germans who defended their lands against foreign invaders. He reflects on an ancient sacrificial block he finds in the forest, neglected as a historical monument by modern 'irregeleitete Köpfe' who have forgotten their tribal heritage:

Hier haben die Priester die Mähren geopfert, Thor und Wodan zu Ehr und Preis haben seltsame Weisen geklungen, und wenn Feinde ins Land drangen und die Deisberleute ihren Göttern dankten nach blutiger Schlacht, dann mag auch wohl das Steinmesser Menschenkehlen geschnitten haben, und anderes Blut, als das der Posse, mag in die Mulde des Steins gerieselst sein, in der jetzt immer, auch zur sengendsten Sommerzeit das Wasser steht. Uns schaudert, uns Schwachen, wenn wir der Zeiten gedenken, der Zeiten, wo man den gefangenen Feind schlachtete wie ein Tier. Aber wenn er ins Land kam ohne Fug und Recht, der Gallier und der Franke, was war er den Deisberleuten dann anders als eine Bestie, die man behandelte, wie sie es verdiente? Jetzt sind wir milde geworden und tolerant und human. 57

Löns preferred the violence and barbarity manifested in the actions of the ancient Germans and the fictional Wehrwölfe to the effete tolerance and mildness of the modern German, and it is in this context that we must view

his remark that Der Wehrwolf was 'durch und durch gesund'.⁵⁸

The ideological basis of Löns's approval of the brutal warrior is indicated at the beginning of Der Wehrwolf. As does Bartels in Die Dithmarscher, Löns commences the work with a description of the struggle for survival among the animal inhabitants of the region before the arrival of man, establishing an implicit link between the behaviour and qualities of the animals which dominate their environment and those possessed by the successful settlers. Löns was not alone among 'Heimatkünstler' in indicating the existence of similarities between human societies and the natural world. All the authors treated in this thesis refer to parallels between the behaviour of men and animals and use natural analogies and metaphors to underline the close ties which they believed existed between them. But writers such as Frenssen and Ganghofer often expressed the belief that the motive force in nature moved towards harmony and reconciliation of the various natural elements and beings. Löns in contrast saw struggle and conflict as the basis of natural developments and processes. The weak were destroyed and their destruction contributed towards the development of both their own and other species. He criticised those who tried to protect rabbits and hares from birds of prey, claiming these animals to be 'ein mangelhafter Ersatz gegen einen adligen Vogel' and declaring:

Bei der Bewertung des Flugraubzeuges ist immer daran zu denken, dass diese Räuber in erster Linie kümmernde Stücke beseitigen, also zur Hebung der Rasse ihrer Beutetiere beitragen und ihrer Entartung vorbeugen. 59

Löns's sympathy for the violent behaviour and intolerance of his peasant-farmers becomes easier to understand if we bear in mind his view that the man who lived close to nature was subject to the same pressures and drives as other animals. His characters' description of other men as dangerous vermin; their belief that any element which threatened the organic development of their community must be treated as a disease and controlled, expelled or

destroyed; their reverence for masculine strength and virility and female fertility; the custom of the peasant-farmer family portrayed in Die Häuser von Ohlenhof of destroying physically weak offspring at birth - all these crude and often brutal aspects of the value system of the rural community may be seen as the responses of a people to a life which is a constant struggle for personal and communal survival. In such a life, violent and brutal acts are not only necessary but may be approved as the expression of a life force in those who commit them. Löns claimed that 'jeder wertvolle Mensch ist ein Biest, wenn es sein muss'.⁶⁰

Yet on occasions Löns expressed the view that if man copied the ferocious behaviour of animals, he would destroy himself. In a passage in which he directly attacks the idyllic picture of the natural world we find given in the works of authors such as Ganghofer, he states:

Die sogenannte Harmonie des Hochwaldes...ist doch nichts anderes, als die Ruhe des Kirchhofes; das Resultat des fürchterlichsten, erbarmungslosesten Kampfes...würden die Menschen à la Natur vorgehen, so würde in wenigen Jahren die ganze Welt ein riesiger Kirchhof sein. 61

He saw that morals and laws were essential for the preservation of the human species, declaring: 'Die Moral und ihr staatliches Instrument, das Recht, haben den Zweck, das Raubtier Mensch so zu zähmen, dass eines ~~das~~ andere nicht frisst.'⁶² He was also willing to admit that it was man's spiritual rather than his physical capacities which were the true measure of his worth:

Menschliche Stärke lässt sich überhaupt nicht vergleichen mit dem Stärksten in der Natur. In Wirklichkeit herrscht und siegt immer nur die Idee, das menschlich Grösste. 63

Perhaps more than any other author treated in this thesis, Löns, the only one who had studied nature in a systematic and scientific manner, had a true insight into the dangers which those who proclaimed the natural world as a model for human society were courting.

But such insight, which was at best sporadically expressed, did not

prevent him from becoming a fervent apologist for nature-based social values and a bitter critic of the restraints which the modern world placed on man's natural drives. He attacked the post-Enlightenment rationalist ethos for destroying man's capacity to perceive and act emotionally, claiming that, thanks to the emphasis laid by modern educational methods on intellectual perception, we have 'die uns von der Natur verliehene Gabe sinnlich-gegenständlich zu denken, fast oder gar verlernt'.⁶⁴ Although more sympathetic to scientific method than many other 'Heimatkünstler', he felt that man's intellectual capacities and systematising tendencies could enable him only to manipulate natural phenomena, not comprehend them. He asserts: 'Wir haben nur gelernt, manche Dinge uns dienstbar zu machen; das ist ja alles sehr schön, aber die Dinge selbst sind uns genau so ein Geheimnis geblieben.'⁶⁵ Man could never fully understand nature and the mistaken belief that he could do so led him to interfere unwarrantedly in her ways and to hinder the free play of man's emotional drives and creativity.

Urban influences and interests were also contributing to the debilitation of man's natural instincts and to the destruction of the natural environment in which those instincts could flourish. In the cities, those 'Symptome des Verfalls eines Volkes' which had 'keine Vergangenheit und keine Zukunft', the traditional communal values of the countryside had no place and were replaced by 'die nackte Geld- und Machtgier, die sich über das ungesundeste Schrittmass, über rasseschädigende Rücksichtslosigkeiten keine Gedanken machte und berechnete Gefühlswerte roh zertrat'.⁶⁶ In the country, urban-based or inspired materialism was leading to the defilement of the natural environment and the moral decline of the peasantry⁶⁷ and in the city, it encouraged self-concern and a search for personal ease and comfort which could only have a detrimental effect on the physical and mental health of the population.

Healthy drives were also being blocked by another aspect of urban culture -

the predominance of bourgeois sexual morality. Löns recognised that the sexual codes and practices portrayed in his depictions of farming communities might offend middle-class readers, but he cared little for their reactions, commenting on the behaviour of Göde Hehlmann: 'Was kann ich dafür, wenn der Hansbur ein bisschen viel rote Blutkörper hat.'⁶⁸ Löns's demands for sexual freedom, which he considered not only anti-bourgeois, but anti-Christian as well,⁶⁹ were based like so many of his other attitudes on the premise that man could find a valid model for his conduct in the world of nature. The hero of his semi-autobiographical novel Das Zweite Gesicht, finding his sexual desires thwarted by conventional morality and feminine resistance, reflects on the behaviour of the stag: 'Der weiss mit den Weibslauten umzugehen ...fällt ihm gar nicht ein, zu schmachten und zu betteln. Er nimmt was ihm zukommt, kraft seines Geweihs.'⁷⁰ There are many occasions in his work where a male character breaks down feminine resistance by force of personality, if not by physical strength. The penultimate clause in the quotation given above is repeated in the past tense in the scene in Der Wehrwolf where Harm takes Johanna. Harm feels 'dass zwischen ihnen beiden kein Wall und kein Graben mehr war, dass sie zusammengehörten in Leid und Freud, und er nahm sich, was ihm zukam'.⁷¹

Numerous critics sympathetic to Löns have asserted that his renowned promiscuity was only a search for the right woman and there is some evidence to suggest that he was capable of wanting a conventional monogamous relationship. After the collapse of his first marriage, he replied to a friend who asked him if he intended to remarry:

Nee, Junge, heiraten? Such mir eine mit derselben Bildung, wie ich sie habe...die in religiöser Beziehung denkt wie ich, so die Natur liebt wie ich, so die Häuslichkeit wie ich - habe leider nie eine gekannt, nicht im Elternhaus, nicht später - so, in Wind und Wetter draussen sein mag wie ich, die hübsch an Leib und Seele ist, keine fügsame Knechtnatur, sondern auch ein' ganzer Mensch, die heirat' ich vom Flecke, wie sie mich mag, sonst nie. 72

But an examination of Löns's many statements on marriage and sexual relationships reveals that he made mutually exclusive demands of his partners, demands which help to explain why his marriages collapsed and why his relationships with women were so tortuous and tortured. As the quotation given above indicates, he was capable of wanting a genuine partnership with a woman. But he as often expressed the belief that women were inferior beings whose only true purpose in life was to serve men. He seems to have regarded efforts to treat women as human beings as dangerous to the maintenance of masculine dominance, commenting: 'Nietzsche mit seiner Peitsche hat ganz recht; behandle die Frau als Mensch, und du bist ihr unten durch.'⁷³ Both he and the hero of Das zweite Gesicht frequently regard women as merely ego-satisfying objects. Of Helmold Hagenrieder, Löns asserts: 'Mit jeder Frauenseele, die sich ihm erschloss, glaubte er ein Stück Jenseitsdasein mehr zu erwerben, währte er sein persönliches Leben zu verlängern.'⁷⁴ Echoing the sentiments of Luder Volkmann, Löns expressed a yearning for the primitive women of Africa, believing that they would be content to exist as subservient objects. He claimed

die schwarzen Mädchen sind gewohnt, dass der Mann der Herr ist. Da passe ich hin; da heisst es parieren, die sind froh, wenn ein Mann sie nimmt...Negermädchen, unverbildet und einfach. Haben übrigens auch schöne Körper. Sind treu und anhänglich. ⁷⁵

He expressed bitter regret and resentment that his family responsibilities prevented him from going to Africa and finding such a woman.

But this was not the only occasion on which Löns expressed a desire to live a primitive life. He claimed:

Ich glaube, ich habe meinen Beruf verfehlt. Zigeuner, Indianer, Trapper oder so was Ähnliches, das wäre das Richtige gewesen. Schade, dass ich meinen Stammbaum nur zweihundert Jahre zurückverfolgen kann. Ich bin überzeugt, ich stamme von irgendeinem altnieder-sächsischen Jäger oder Fischer ab. ⁷⁶

His passion for hunting and the outdoor life was a direct expression of his

longing for a simple, nature-based existence. At home, he did his best to avoid the trappings of urban civilisation. His second wife records that he liked unheated rooms, disliked curtains and never bothered with housekeys.⁷⁷ In the city, he felt confined and forced into conformity, for here, he lamented 'ich...kann nicht mehr mit Bilch und Waldmaus in der Kütte schlafen, darf nicht mehr barfuss und blossbrustig laufen'.⁷⁸ He believed that man was becoming increasingly controlled by his own sophisticated culture⁷⁹ and technology and was consequently losing a grasp on authentic nature based values. Referring to a conversation he had with a friend on the spirit of the times, he records:

Ich versuchte ihm zu erklären, dass die Entwicklung der letzten hundert Jahre unbedingt falsch sein musste, denn wir wurden ja immer mehr Sklaven unserer eignen Erfindungen auf Kosten aller wirklichen Lebenswerte. 80

He expressed this sentiment in much cruder terms by referring to 'dieser W.C. Grössenwahn' - one of the many occasions on which he must have affronted bourgeois sensibilities by his coarseness.⁸¹

It is impossible to separate Löns's ideological justifications for his rejection of twentieth century civilisation from the personal factors which informed his attitudes. As even close friends and admirers admitted, he was essentially immature⁸², and he was never able to cope with the complexities of human relationships, choosing to blame society rather than his own weaknesses for his unhappiness. But no society of any sophistication - and the agrarian society he portrays in his novels is a relatively complex one - could have contained his egoistic sexual demands and yearning for a life 'wo Kraft vor Recht geht'. His expressions of a desire for violent activity, like the demands of his hero, Helmold Hagenrieder, for female submissiveness seem to be often more a manifestation of a childish tantrum than of a reasoned social philosophy. After the collapse of his second marriage, Löns wrote to a friend: 'Ich möchte am liebsten gar nichts mehr schreiben, sondern irgendwo in den Krieg ziehen und Menschen, Spanier oder so was abschiessen.'⁸³

Not surprisingly, Löns welcomed the outbreak of the First World War, and, although forty-eight, enlisted as an infantryman. But he did not welcome the conflict for personal reasons alone. Although far less preoccupied with Jewish influence than Bartels or Polenz⁸⁴ and willing to give credit and praise to non-German writers such as Verne and Wilde⁸⁵ and to historical figures such as Napoleon, Löns was capable of expressing violent racist and nationalist sentiments. Like most of the other authors treated in this thesis, he was deeply concerned with what he regarded as a loss of national identity among his fellow countrymen, with the disintegration of the German nation into warring factions and with the manifestations of decadence, attributed primarily to a loss of contact with the natural world, which he believed were rampant in contemporary society. He hoped that these tendencies could be countered by the introduction of rural values into urban communities, but he also saw hope of a revival of national strength and vitality through war. This revitalising, he claimed, had occurred regularly in Germany's past and even before the outbreak of war in 1914, he claimed that its repetition was due in his own times. He asserted:

Es ist Zeit, dass uns mal wieder das Messer an der Kehle sitzt, dann werden wir vielleicht aufwachen. Alle hundert Jahre muss Deutschland gegen die ganze Welt kämpfen; das ist aber ja unser Glück; sonst wären wir längst verfault in allen möglichen schmalzigen Gemütlichkeiten und angeblich objektiver Anerkennung und Bewunderung alles Fremden; wo wir doch das begabteste Volk in der Welt sind. Aber ehe man uns nicht die Luft abschneidet, kommen wir aus der Duselei nicht heraus. 86

Warfare, as presented in Der Wehrwolf, brings out all the qualities in the characters which Löns wished to see come to the fore in the German people - physical strength and courage, communal pride and a return to the harsh but authentic codes of behaviour evident in the natural world. He claimed that his main motive for writing was to encourage his fellow-countrymen to reassert the vitalising aspects of their character. In a letter to a friend

he wrote:

Meine Tendenz ist, meinem Volk den Rücken mit Franzbranntwein einzureiben, es mit Freude und Grimm zu füttern und mit Wonne und Weh zu tränken, damit es so bleibt wie es ist, sich nicht verplempert in fremder Art und nicht vergisst, dass es zwei Gesichter hat: ein gutmütiges und ein böses; denn wir kriegen allmählich zu viel Gemütsempfinden, seufzen wird irgendwo ein Schweinhund geköpft, uns stöhnen, wenn wir die Karre zur Hand nehmen sollen. Einen Krieg, den möchte ich, aber aktiv. 87

He clearly regarded Der Wehrwolf as a contribution to this process, writing in 1914: 'Mein Kriegslied habe ich bereits 1910 geschrieben, das ist der Wehrwolf.'⁸⁸ The links between Der Wehrwolf and Löns's view of the situation and behaviour of the Germans in 1914 are further emphasised in a letter he wrote to his brother after his enlistment:

Das Schicksal hat wieder viel an mir gutgemacht, dass es mich diese Zeit erleben liess. Das deutsche Volk hat doch noch mehr Mut, als ich vermutete. Ich habe ihm in vielen Unrecht getan. Die Haltung der Heiden war prachtvoll. Der Schulmeister von Ostenholz musste vier Söhne weggeben, der Wirt auch. Sie verzogen keine Miene dabei. Die Wehrwölfe leben noch. Auch in den Städten ist das Volk doch noch nicht so vermenschlicht, wie ich glaubte; sie mussten nur aufgerüttelt werden. 89

Löns was killed on the Western Front in the early months of the war. But the attitudes he promoted lived on and came to the fore in National Socialism's glorification of violence and brute strength. It was not without good reason that the last ditch defence battalions of the Third Reich were named after the battling peasant-farmers of Löns's novel.

References - Der Wehrwolf

- 1) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte, p.42.
- 2) Ibid., p.117.
- 3) Ibid., pp.120/1.
- 4) Hermann Löns Calenberger Land und Leute in Nachgelassene Schriften, ed. Wilhelm Deimann (Hannover, 1928), Vol.1, p.110.
- 5) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte, p.VII
- 6) Hermann Löns, Dahinten in der Heide (1909), Special edition (Hameln, 1964), p.135.
- 7) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf (1910), 505-530,000 (Weimar, 1938), p.13.
- 8) Ibid., p.185.
- 9) Ibid., p.175.
- 10) Ibid., p.7.
- 11) Hermann Löns, Die Häuser von Ohlenhof in Sämtliche Werke, Vol.8, p.125.
- 12) In an article on the author's religious beliefs, Julius Jensen commented that in view of the importance the Church had in the life of the real-life communities on which Löns's fictional portrayals were based, "es ist auffällig, dass christliche Frömmigkeit und kirchliches Leben niemals bei Löns im Blickpunkt gestanden haben" ('Hermann Löns in seiner religiösen Haltung', Eckart, 3, 1926/7, p.7).
- 13) Quoted, Erich Griebel, Hermann Löns, der Niederdeutsche (Leipzig, 1934), p.270.
- 14) Although Löns did not call for a return to a thorough-going paganism, he portrayed the hero of his semi-autobiographical novel Das zweite Gesicht praying to ancient German gods and he himself, adopting one of those practices condemned by Bartels as 'teutomatischen Spielereien', used the pre-Christian names of the months in his letters (Cf. letter headings in Briefausgabe in Wilhelm Deimann Hermann Löns - der Künstler und Kämpfer, Hannover, 1936).

Löns frequently referred to alcohol and heavy drinking as threats to the survival of the peasant-farmer community and claimed that 'der echte Heidjerbauer ist kein Freund des Wirtshauses'. (Mein niedersächsisches Skizzenbuch, ed. by W. Deimann, Hannover, 1924, p.312).

It is interesting however to note that Löns himself was an extremely heavy drinker and lost his first two jobs as a journalist because of this (Uwe Kothenschule, Hermann Löns als Journalist, Dortmund, 1968, p.189).

- 15) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.138.
- 16) Ibid., p.96.
- 17) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte, p.76.
- 18) Quoted, Wilhelm Deimann, Hermann Löns - der Künstler und Kämpfer, pp.45/6.
- 19) In Die Häuser von Ohlenhof characters who offend against the traditional codes governing inheritance create "viel böses Blut im Dorf" (p.65), but it should be noted that a number of the villagers in Dahinten in der Heide feel that Volkmann has "nicht alle fünf Sinne beisammen" when he gives away the land left him by his friend to one of the latter's distant relatives (p.143).
- 20) Hermann Löns, Mein niedersächsisches Skizzenbuch, p.313.
- 21) Hermann Löns, Dahinten in der Heide, p.85.
- 22) Ibid., p.120.
- 23) Hermann Löns, Der letzte Hansbur (1909), Sonderausgabe (Hamel, 1964), p.64.
- 24) Hermann Löns, Das zweite Gesicht (1912), 821,000 (Leipzig, 1924), p.165.
- 25) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte, p.79.
- 26) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.211.
- 27) Löns asserted "dass es Scheidungen so gut wie gar nicht gibt" in the actual communities on which his fictional depictions of country life were based (Für Sippe und Sitte, p.80).

- 28) Ibid., p.80.
- 29) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.90.
- 30) Hermann Löns, Der letzte Hänsbur, p.38.
- 31) The pastor in Die Häuser von Ohlenhof is unable to prevent the driving out of an innkeeper who inadvertently offends against convention and Löns asserted that the schoolmaster's traditional position in the village was such that he would have been laughed out for asking for the hand of a peasant-farmer's daughter. (Für Sippe und Sitte, p.96).
- 32) Ibid., p.80.
- 33) Ibid., p.24/5.
- 34) Hermann Löns, Mein niedersächsisches Skizzenbuch, p.313.
- 35) At the court ball where they meet, the duchess is surprised to find that Volkmann has "'eine Ritterhand"' and regrets "'dass Sie nicht von Adel sind"'. Volkmann replies:
- "'Bin ich, Euer Hoheit, tausche mit keinem von den Prominenzen hier in dieser Richtung, die fürstlichen Herrschaften ausgenommen; die Volkmanns sassen wohl schon auf ihrem Heidhofs, als Excellenz Drusus über die mangelhaften Chausseen in Germanien bei Seiner Majestät Augustus submissesst Klage führte.'" (Hermann Löns, Dahinten in der Heide, p.9)
- 36) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.28.
- 37) Ibid., p.6.
- 38) Ibid., p.108.
- 39) Ibid., p.119.
- 40) Ibid., p.37.
- 41) Ibid., p.193.
- 42) Ibid., p.187.
- 43) Ibid., p.87.
- 44) Ibid., p.105.
- 45) Ibid., p.68.
- 46) Ibid., pp.68/9.

- 47) Uwe Kothenschule, Hermann Löns als Journalist, p.7.
- 48) Himmler proclaimed in 1943 with reference to the extermination of the Jews:

'Anti-semitism is exactly the same as delousing. Getting rid of lice is not a question of ideology, it is a matter of cleanliness...We shall soon be deloused. We have only 20,000 lice left and then the matter is finished off within the whole of Germany.' (Quoted, R.W. Cooper, The Nuremberg Trial, Harmondsworth, 1947, p.140).

- 49) Ibid., p.219.
- 50) Ibid., p.33.
- 51) Ibid., p.51.
- 52) Ibid., p.145.
- 53) Ibid., p.236.

Once again, parallels can be seen between Löns's attitude towards brutality and violence and those expressed by prominent National Socialists. We are clearly expected to feel sympathy for the sufferings that Harm experiences as the result of his violent activities. Himmler, speaking to S.S. generals at Posen in 1943, told them:

'Von Euch werden die meisten wissen, was es heisst, wenn 100 Leichen beisammen liegen, wenn 500 oder 1000 daliegen. Dies durchhalten zu haben, und dabei - abgesehen von Ausnahmen menschlicher Schwächen - anständig geblieben zu sein, das hat uns hart gemacht.' (Quoted, Heinz Höhne, Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf, Hamburg, 1966, p.335).

- 54) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.23.
- 55) Ibid., p.48.
- 56) Hermann Löns, Das Hellental in Nachgelassene Schriften, Vol. 1, p.131.
- 57) Hermann Löns, Rot ist der Deister, *ibid.*, p.86.
- 58) Hermann Löns, Briefausgabe, p.243.
- 59) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte, p.15.
- 60) Quoted, Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, Der unbekannte Löns (Jena, 1928), p.67.

- 61) Quoted, *ibid.*, p.162.
- 62) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte, p.77.
- 63) Quoted, Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, p.163.
- 64) Hermann Löns, Harzträume in Nachgelassene Schriften, Vol.1, p.258.
- 65) Quoted, Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, p.133.
- 66) Hermann Löns, Für Sippe und Sitte, p.1.
- 67) In Dahinten in der Heide, the main activities of the hero in the community centre on preventing the takeover of agricultural land by agents from the town who are prospecting for oil. Volkmann tells the meeting which convenes to listen to an agent:
- "Was ist aus der Familie Janke geworden? Der Alte ist über dem vielen Geld verrückt geworden, und der Junge hat sich scheiden lassen von seiner Frau und lebt mit einem Weibstück" (p.120).
- 68) Quoted, Wilhelm Deimann, Hermann Löns - der Künstler und Kämpfer, p.96.
- 69) In a poem Löns asserts:
- 'An Wege
- Ich habe schon mancher das Kränzchen geraubt
Hab' niemals Reue gewusst;
Was blitzt du so schwachtend, ich bin nicht von Erz
Hab' heisses, unchristliches Blut.'
(Quoted, Erich Griebel, Hermann Löns Der Künstler und Kämpfer, p.128).
- 70) Hermann Löns, Das zweite Gesicht, p.13.
- 71) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.124.
- 72) Quoted, Wilhelm Deimann, Hermann Löns - der Künstler und Kämpfer, p.61.
- 73) Quoted, Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, Der unbekannte Löns, p.29.
- 74) Hermann Löns, Das zweite Gesicht, p.171.
- 75) Quoted, Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, p.55.
- 76) Quoted, Konrad Eilers, Charakterologie von Hermann Löns, (Hannover, 1926), p.13.
- 77) Elisabeth Löns-Erbeck, Meine Erinnerungen an Hermann Löns (Dortmund, 1936), p.90.

78) Quoted, Erich Griebel, Hermann Löns der Niederdeutsche, p.162.

79) Löns showed little interest in the forms of higher cultural activity that Ganghofer took such pleasure in. He claimed:

'Tanzen ist Trampeln, dass die Diele donnert, und die Mädchen hin und her schmeissen, bis sie windelweich sind, aber nicht diese betutige Dreherei, wie sie jetzt in Nordeuropa in Schwunge ist. Das ist schon mehr Fesselballonbetrieb.' (Quoted, Erich Griebel, p.314)

He showed little enthusiasm for classical music, preferring student or folk songs or the natural sounds of the countryside. He wrote to a friend:

'Ach, Herr Treu, ich werde die Prevosti in Carmen hören aber ich sage Ihnen, ich hörte lieber den rauhen Schrei der Nebelkrähe im Necklinger Moor hinter Wansdorf.' (Quoted, Konrad Eilers, pp.45/6)

80) Quoted, *ibid.*, p.107.

81) Another comment in the same vein is quoted by Knottnerus-Meyer, who reports Löns as attacking the emphasis laid in contemporary society as education by claiming "Schliesslich wird die Frau im W.C. noch Abitur vorweisen müssen." (Quoted, Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, p.45). His fiction also contains similarly crude or vulgar expressions. The Swedish captain in Der Wehrwolf, attempting to force his men to attack, tells them "...bei den Weibern, da seid ihr Helden, aber hier geht's euch in die Hosen!" (Der Wehrwolf p.224) and Löns reports his peasant-farmers accepting defeat by Charlemagne with the expression: "Gegen ein Fuder Mist kann einer allein nicht anstinken." (p.7)

82) Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, p.11.

83) Hermann Löns, Briefausgabe p.278.

84) Löns's attitude towards the Jews was inconsistent. The claim has been made that there is no element of anti-Semitism in Löns's writings (Johannes Klein, Hermann Löns, heute und einst, Hannover 1966 pp.11/12) and there

are various pieces of evidence to support this view, most notably Löns's sympathetic portrait of Dr. Benjamin, the Jewish doctor in Das zweite Gesicht. But in a letter to a friend Löns referred sympathetically to a comment made by a peasant-farmer that Christianity had been devised by the Jews as a means of ruining the German race (Hermann Löns, Briefausgabe p.250). He also expressed appreciation of Bartels' anti-Semitic literary histories and called the Jews "zielbewusste Chauvinisten" (Briefausgabe p.238). However, he was never as obsessed with the role ostensibly played by the Jews in the creation of German weakness as were Bartels or Polenz.

- 85) Wilde, whom Bartels considered a decadent, is at first sight a strange figure for Löns, the promoter of health and vitality, to have had sympathy for. But this sympathy becomes more comprehensible when we read Löns's comments on the Irish author. He saw his works as "ein scharfer Protest gegen den öden Naturalismus" and Wilde himself as "ein Immoralist im Sinne Nietzsches" (Oskar Wilde in Gedanken und Gestalten, Hannover, 1924 p.31), an opponent of bourgeois morality and "den Durchschnittsmenschen" (p.32).
- 86) Knottnerus-Meyer, Der unbekannte Löns, p.49.
- 87) Eilers, pp.164/5.
- 88) Ibid., p.153.
- 89) Wilhelm Deimann, Hermann Löns - ein soldatisches Vermächtnis (Berlin, 1941), p.42.

Chapter 7: Aspects of language and style

In the course of the preceding chapters, consideration has been given to some of the ways in which individual 'Heimatkünstler' employed language and fictional techniques to further the promotion of the social and ideological values to which they give expression in their novels. There are as many disparities in the linguistic and technical approaches of these writers as there are in their social attitudes. But just as they hold certain convictions in common, so there are certain stylistic features which occur in the work of all of them; and just as they share numerous thematic preoccupations, albeit expressing varied views on the same subjects, so they treat in different ways a number of similar problems of fictional craftsmanship. These common features and problems are themselves closely linked with the authors' social and ideological views, for they develop either from the nature of their subject matter, or from their desire to fulfil that social role of the literary artist which they promote in their fictional or polemical works.

Furthermore, the differences between their various styles often show a correspondence to those differences in their stated attitudes which we have examined in the preceding analyses. Given their emphasis on the importance of the natural world as a model and life force for human societies, it is hardly surprising to find numerous descriptions of natural landscapes in

their work. However, the character of these descriptions varies markedly.

Ganghofer's Der hohe Schein opens:

Der Tag begann.

Schon hatte der Himmel mattes Licht, in dem die erlöschenden Sterne nur noch wie Nadelspitzen sichtbar waren. In der Tiefe des langgestreckten, von Osten nach Westen ziehenden Tales lag noch die Nacht mit schwarzen Wäldern, und über den Bergen, die das Tal auf beiden Seiten geleiteten, hing noch die Dämmerung, deren Schleier alle Felsen in ein stilles Grau verschwimmen liess.

Dieses gleiche Grau lag über dem weiten Almfeld der isolierten Bergmasse, die das lange Tal gegen Osten mit steinernem Riegel schloss von den seitlichen Bergen durch enge Waldschluchten geschieden. 1

The impression given is one of tranquillity, massive and rather awe-inspiring. But the landscape is not threatening. Man is absent from this opening scene, but when, later in the novel, he is shown in contact with the forces of nature, those forces are benevolent - granting him physical health, emotional security and the means of livelihood. When the natural elements are temporarily inclement, their effects on the lives of the characters are seldom harmful. Rainfall may interrupt a garden party, but it also benefits the crops. Significantly, the only time that natural forces are instrumental in causing an unpleasant event occurs when Nannerl, who has neglected Ehrenreich's grandson for the illicit sexual attentions of Willy Meister, is drowned in the river. It could be argued that the manner of her death is solely a melodramatic device, but it should be noted that elsewhere in his work Ganghofer also links descriptions and conflict in the social order with nature behaving in a hostile, rather than benign manner. It is the surly Mazzegger, setting fire to his employer's property, who causes the forest fire in Das Schweigen im Walde. Ganghofer expects both human society and nature to be essentially orderly and harmonious, finds deviation from this pattern exceptional and at least on occasions closely links disruptions in the former sphere with disturbances in the latter.

The opening passage in Bartels' Die Dithmarscher, which also portrays

the natural setting in which the action of the novel is played out, is very different to that of Der hohe Schein:

Von der Nordsee her sauste der Nordweststurm über das Land Dithmarschen. Er fand nicht viel Widerstand, aber da er doch einigen fand, schien er um so zorniger einherzufahren, peitschte die Wogen gegen den Nordsee-deich, zersauste die jetzt blattlosen Kronen der hohen Eschen und Pappeln, die die alten Bauernhöfe umgaben, rüttelte an deren Strohdach und hätte die stolzen Kirchtürme, die sich ihm trotzigsten entgegenstellten, gar zu gerne umgeworfen. Aber gerade denen konnte er am wenigsten anhaben, höchstens, dass er einmal eine Ziegelpfanne von dem hohen Dach herabschleuderte. 2

Nature here is far from tranquil and the wind is in conflict not only with other natural elements, but also with the resistant man-made objects it finds in its path. Bartels continues the opening passage to describe the first arrival of men in Dithmarschen, who, like the buildings they constructed, are forced to withstand natural forces in order to survive:

Gerade die Gefahr hatte die rüstige Germanenjugend immer wieder hinausgezogen, und so waren zuletzt, auf hoher Wurt von ganzen Dorfgemeinschaften gegründet, selbst neue Dörfer auf dem Watt entstanden, meerumflossene winzige Inseln im Winter, aber zur Sommerzeit die weite grüne Ebene beherrschend und mit ihren Herden überschwimmend. 3

Bartels' description of the landscape, like that of Ganghofer, directly reflects a view of the natural world, but while the latter author explicitly and implicitly reveals in his writings the belief that nature is essentially harmonious and that men can live at peace with her and with each other, Bartels sees the natural world as an arena of conflict where the strongest survive, an arena in which man must also fight, against both natural and human opponents. Conflict is for Ganghofer both exceptional and undesirable; for Bartels, it is part of the natural order of things and, as we saw in Die Dithmarscher, winnows out and strengthens the most vigorous elements in the community.

But although these two authors' views of the essential character of the

natural world differ, neither of them questions the existence of an interaction between that world and the life and character of men. Such interaction is portrayed in the work of all the authors treated in this thesis. Occurrences which link the two spheres of activity and existence frequently play a role in the plot, as is the case in the failure of the harvests in Der Büttnerbauer and Jörn Uhl or the thaw during the first campaign in Die Dithmarscher. Indeed, given the 'Heimatkünstlers'' agricultural or rural subject matter, it would be strange if such a link in the events portrayed did not take place. But just as extensive is the employment of stylistic devices which connect the worlds of men and nature. Portrayals of events in the latter sphere may be employed to emphasise and reflect the mood of a particular character, as in Der Wehrwolf, where Harm's happiness after the birth of his twins is echoed in the surrounding landscape: 'In den Ellern schlug eine Nachtigall, die Frösche waren am Prahlen, der Ziegenmelker piff und klappte mit den Flügeln und die Luft brachte den Geruch^{von} allerlei Blumen her.'⁴ Descriptions of the movements or behaviour of natural phenomena are also used to hint at the future fate of a character - in Der Büttnerbauer, we can literally talk of a foreshadowing, as clouds blot out the sunshine playing over Büttner's fields, of the future defilement of his property at the hands of Harrassowitz. In some cases, such a device is not only an aid in structuring the novel or building up tension, but, particularly in the case of Frenssen, arises from the attribution to animals or natural elements of a conscious awareness of what is occurring or is going to occur in the human world. This attribution is itself only one aspect of the tendency to credit natural phenomena with human faculties and characteristics. Not every author develops this process to the degree employed by Frenssen, of which his description of the scheming lightning flash in Jörn Uhl is an excellent example,⁵ but personification is employed to some extent by all of

them. Underlying its employment is that belief which has been seen to inform the thought of all the writers treated in this thesis - namely, that the concept of the duality man-nature is a false one, that the same spirit animates both and that man is, or should consider himself to be, part of the natural world.

It is in their adherence to such a belief that we may also find a reason for the plethora of natural analogies and metaphors employed by 'Heimatkünstler'. On occasions, the ideological derivation of these devices is quite clear, as when Polenz describes Büttner as a plant⁶ or the landless labourers in Der Büttnerbauer as 'losgerissene Blätter...die verloren umhergewirbelt wurden. Trummerstücke der modernen Gesellschaft! Entwurzelt, ausgerodet aus dem Heimatboden und unfähig, irgendwo neue Wurzeln zu treiben'.⁷ The belief in the necessity for an organic connection between man and nature is directly expressed in such figures of speech. At other times, the analogies and metaphors employed seem rather arbitrary and incongruous, but no matter how skillfully or relevantly, or how awkwardly and thoughtlessly they are used, they all serve one fundamental purpose - namely, to emphasise the links and parallels which exist between human beings and their society and the world of nature.

One of the most fundamental of such parallels which we have seen informing the thought of certain 'Heimatkünstler' is that drawn between the national community and the biological organism, from which they develop the belief that the former, like the latter, must be protected from the absorption of alien elements of all kinds. It comes then as something of a surprise to find that, without exception, the authors treated in this thesis all employ words of clearly foreign origin in their prose. This might be expected of Ganghofer, relatively unchauvinistic until the First World War, but in the case of so staunch a nationalist as Löns, it seems highly inconsistent. Löns

claimed frequently that he tried to avoid both words and forms whose origins were non-Germanic. As a journalist, he criticised local government officials for their use of such terms as 'Etat' or 'Hauptopponenten'⁸ and in 1912 he wrote to a friend:

Warum schreiben Sie Sonette, eine romanische Gedanken-Dichtform? Kenne Sie meineinziges Sonnett?

Und wie man wendet und kehrt und dreht 'rum
Es will sich Stoff und Form nicht vertragen
Nie wieder dicht' ich in diesem Metrum.

Ich schrieb das mit 21 Jahren und habe Wort gehalten.
Deutsch, deutsch, arisch in Form und Inhalt. Goethe ist
an dem Exotenkramm krumm geworden, und viele andere vor
und nach ihm. 9

He considered that modern German was becoming an impure language and in his letters, polemical writings and fiction he made rather laboured attempts to spell words in what he considered to be a truer German form. Der Wehrwolf contains examples of his efforts with the employment of 'Wohld' for 'Wald', 'Dekkung' for 'Deckung' and 'Haide' for 'Heide'. He also repeats a practice used in his letters of giving pagan instead of Christian names for the months of the year, as in his substitution of 'Hornung' for 'Februar'. However, not only are his substitutes inconsistently employed - he uses the orthodox spelling of 'Deckung' on one occasion and some Christian month names - but his attacks on the use of foreign words and form are hardly compatible with the presence in the text of Der Wehrwolf of such terms as 'Proviantzug' and 'Kolonne', for which he could have found more Germanic synonyms with relative ease. Bartels, whom we might also have expected to avoid the unnecessary use of words of foreign origin, similarly employs terms in his fiction for which he could have found purely German substitutes - for example, 'Sekretär', 'Nachtquartier' and 'ungeniert'.

There is less of a clash between the declared attitudes of certain 'Heimatkünstler' and their fictional practices in another area - their attempts

to give an awareness of the character of the region and times in which their novels are set - but here too they often prove themselves thoughtless or inconsistent. As we have seen, the particular nature of an individual regional environment was thought by most 'Heimatkünstler' to have a crucial influence on the personalities of its inhabitants. Their descriptions of the various features of an area's landscape or culture are not merely designed to give regional colouring but also help to explain or emphasise individual features of their characters' behaviour or value system. Thus Löns's claim that the heathlands have a 'heroischen Charakter' is paralleled by his assertion about the courageous qualities of those who live on them; the skulls with which certain of his peasant-farmers decorate their houses are not just mentioned as architectural details, but reflect their heathen tendencies; the well-kept farm buildings in Der Büttnerbauer indicate the qualities of the 'Generationen von tüchtigen und fleissigen Wirten' who have lived and worked in them. However, the descriptions of local flora and fauna, architecture, dress and customs which abound in the novels of 'Heimatkunst' are not always so closely allied to the characters' actions and attributes. The appearance of carrion birds in the heathlands at the beginning of the main sequence of events in Der Wehrwolf is a reflection of the violence and death caused by the onset of the Thirty Years' War and Löns's information that they are not normally seen in the region, although somewhat diminished in impact by the fact that it appears in a footnote¹⁰, is nevertheless an example of how knowledge of local conditions can be employed in a relevant manner. But many of his other frequent detailed references to the various species of heathland birds contribute nothing to an understanding of either the action or the characters of the novel and seem to be a mere vaunting of his familiarity with the region and times described, a tendency which is evident in the fiction of other 'Heimatkünstler'. Bartels, for

example, refers to the Dithmarschers' use of the 'Tseke', but has to give the additional information that it is a 'lange Schlachtmesser' for the word to be comprehensible to those unfamiliar with the history of Dithmarschen weaponry.

Weaknesses in fictional craftsmanship are also evident in the employment of another device used by 'Heimatkünstler' to give a sense of the cultural setting of their novels. A number of authors treated in this thesis insert local legends, songs and historical anecdotes into their work. In some cases, this is successfully done. Löns concludes a number of chapters in Der Wehrwolf with verses from folk songs which comment in a chorus-like manner on the events portrayed in the preceding narrative. In Die Dithmarscher tales from Dithmarschen's past are used to indicate the continuity of behaviour and attitudes evident in the region's historical development. But Frenssen, although he can use such material in a relevant manner, all too often inserts legends and pieces of folklore into Jörn Uhl which have little or no connection with his plot or characters, giving some grounds for Bartels' criticism that Frenssen stuffed his best-seller arbitrarily with material gained from his personal familiarity with his province and its culture.

Another aspect of the attempts of 'Heimatkünstler' to identify their characters and communities with a specific region is their use of dialect. All our authors employ dialect in some form - in some cases in single words in the narrative, in others in the interpolated songs and verses or in the reproduction of regional speech patterns. But the employment of dialect gave rise to considerable problems, of which they themselves were often aware. Bartels stated that he did not believe 'dass ein moderner Dichter im Dialekt, so gut er ihn auch beherrschen mag, zu produzieren im Stande ist'¹¹, and he himself did not attempt to reproduce his characters' speech in dialect. He did use individual dialect words in both narrative and

dialogue, yet clearly realised that this would create difficulties for readers unfamiliar with them, for he often gives the High German equivalent in parentheses or in footnotes. Löns also saw and tried to solve the problem of giving his language a regional flavour while keeping it comprehensible for non-dialect speakers. He explained his method in a foreword he wrote for Der letzte Hansbur, declaring that he would dispense with pure dialect in speech but had decided 'den ganzen Text in der Denk- und Sprachweise der Heidjer zu halten, woraus sich, wie mir scheint, eine glückliche Einheit zwischen Stoff und der Form ergab'.¹² What emerges in this and many of his other novels is a largely High German text dotted with individual dialect words. Referring again to Der letzte Hansbur, Löns states:

Diese Darstellungsweise zwang mich, vielfach Worte und Wendungen zu gebrauchen, die manchem Leser ungewohnt sein werden, weswegen ich am Schlusse des Buches die notwendigen Erläuterungen gebe.¹²

Similar explanations, in the form of several pages of tabulated vocabulary explanation, are given at the end of Der Wehrwolf. The result is far from being the 'glückliche Einheit zwischen Stoff und Form' which Löns hoped for. Both his method and that of Bartels either force the reader to interrupt his reading while he consults vocabulary notes or to study and commit to memory the explanations before he commences the novel. Furthermore, although Löns and Bartels attempt to avoid the extensive use of dialect in dialogue, they nevertheless feel it necessary to emphasise their characters' ties or sympathy with a regional culture by crediting them with the ability to use local modes of speech. This results in the most jarring inconsistencies. In Dahinten in der Heide, Nordhoff asks Volkmann, his overnight guest, if he has slept well:

Volkmann nickte und der Krüger fuhr fort: "Denn (sic. D.W.) haben Sie wohl Hunger; wollen Sie Kaffee oder Grütze? Wir sind hier nämlich von alt väterlicher Art." Sein Gast lachte: "Ich auch; ich habe früher gar nichts anderes zur Morgenzeit gegessen," antwortete er im Heidjerplatt.¹³

Bartels refers to Heinrich von Züpthen preaching 'in dem treuherzigen Plattdeutsch jener Zeit', while in fact he addresses his congregation in High German. Frenssen makes similar mistakes, telling the reader at the beginning of the second chapter of Jörn Uhl that in the village 'die Menschen...reden all die plattdeutsche Sprache', having rendered all the speech in the first chapter in High German, albeit occasionally interspersed with dialect words.

Neither Polenz nor Ganghofer uses dialect words requiring explanation in narrative passages and by presenting dialect or dialect-flavoured speech in conversations where this seems compatible with the participants' regional or social origin, they avoid inconsistent references to its employment. The difficulties for the reader this sometimes creates does not seem to have proved an insurmountable barrier to widespread popularity. Sympathetic references to Polenz' work are frequent in literary histories and prominent periodicals of the Wilhelmine period and the massive sales of Ganghofer's novels have already been referred to. Aspects of the latter author's popularity also throw some light on another problem that certain authors felt was involved in the presentation of dialect. Löns claimed that the works of authors who attempted the reproduction of dialect would not be read by those who actually spoke it¹⁴, a view echoed in the Hohoff/Soergel edition of Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit, where it is asserted that 'sehr richtig konstatierte (Ludwig) Thoma, dass der Bauer den geschriebenen Dialekt nicht einmal lesen könne:~ wenn der Bauer liest, will er hochdeutsch lesen'.¹⁵ Yet in his article 'Ganghofers' Gesundung', Hans Schwerte claims that rural lending libraries bought Ganghofer's works in considerable numbers.¹⁶

The use of dialect gives Polenz and Ganghofer opportunities to employ the language spoken by their characters in ways unavailable to the other authors treated in this thesis. Not only does it allow them to give additional

colouring to their characters' speech, but it also enables them to indicate or underline social, regional or racial differences. Such differentiation can be suggested in speech without the extensive use of passages of dialect. Löns, for example, lays emphasis on the social status of the Duke in Der Wehrwolf by allowing him to speak to Harm in clipped sentences and to address him in the third person, a privilege which Harm refuses to allow to the Duke's servant, replying when the latter asks him 'was will er?' with 'Für ihn bin ich ein ihr und kein er'.¹⁷ Origins can be suggested by a few words - Polenz lays stress on Harrassowitz' racial identity by including Yiddish phrases in the merchant's conversation with Schönberger. But consistent use of dialect offers greater scope for suggesting differences between characters than these methods. The following is part of a conversation that Gustav and his father have about the sale of the farm's woodlands:

"Will denn der Graf immer noch unser Wald kofen?"
fragte Gustav.

Der Böttnerbauer bekam einen roten Kopf bei
dieser Frage.

"Ich sollte an Buusch verkofen!" rief er. "Nie
bei meinen Lebzeiten wird sawas ne! 's Gutt bleibt
zusomme!"¹⁸

The differences in education between father and son are clearly evident in their contrasting modes of speech. Polenz uses dialect to suggest other aspects of the differences and relationships between his characters - Pauline's mother, for example, switches from dialect to High German when she speaks to the countess, underlining her deference to her social superior.

Ganghofer too employs dialect to point out or underline the social relationships between his characters. His middle or upper class characters all speak High German, his lower class rustics do not. The reader's attention is constantly drawn to these differences in modes of speech, which parallel the different standards of behaviour and attitudes between the two groups. Walter's inability or unwillingness to close the gap which separates him

from those he or his bourgeois friends employ is emphasised by his lack of success in speaking dialect and his amusement at Walperl's rendering of Goethe's poems in a truncated version. Ganghofer also underlines the difference in intellectual profundity among his characters by the contrast of High German with dialect. Admittedly, he sometimes takes the intensity out of Walter's intellectual and spiritual preoccupations by allowing rustic characters to discuss them in a homely fashion. Lies comments on Walter's book, Die Welträtsel:

"A Rätsel, gelt, dös ist, wo man net weiss, was dahintersteckt? Und dös muss einer aussikitzeln wie die Grillen aus ihrem Loch? Und söllene Rätsel gibt's haufenweis in der Welt, an die Leut, an die Viecher, im Böen, am Herrgott und am Teufel. Ja, da muss ich allweil kitzeln, dass ich gar' kei' Ruhe nimmer habe." 19

But even this does not prevent Walter ponderously assessing her comments with 'die Klugen und die Einfältigen! In allen die gleiche Sehnsucht, die sich niemals stillt'. Such abstract argument as there is in Der hohe Schein is conducted predominantly in High German. The peasants' words are cited as examples in this argument and often viewed in a positive manner but it is not left to the dialect speakers to draw most of the conclusions which constitute the pseudo-philosophical statements of the novel. Significantly, Ganghofer frequently sets dialect words off in his narrative by enclosing them in quotation marks. This feature of his style provides further evidence of his rather patronising attitude towards dialect, and, by implication, towards those who speak it. It is presented as quaint, amusing, the vehicle for homely wisdom, but as a mode of expression is not taken as seriously as High German, just as Ganghofer's rustic characters are frequently portrayed as sympathetic but in many ways inferior to his bourgeois and aristocratic figures. His rendering of dialect is closer to conventional German than that of other writers who use dialect in their fiction, partly perhaps due to that wish to make his

novels easy reading which affects other aspects of his style. But his refusal to attempt to reproduce dialect in its original form also reflects his unwillingness to grant it real validity as a mode of linguistic expression. His approach to the presentation of dialect can be usefully contrasted with Polenz'. The first passage quoted below is taken from Der hohe Schein, in the episode in which Bonifaz instructs Walter in the art of mowing. He tells Walter that he has bound the scythe handle with cloth,

"dass s' keine Blasen net kriegen! Sonst tät's ihnen gleich verdriessen. Fünf Stunden müssen S' aushalten. Packt einer d' Arbeit an, so muss er dabeibleiben. Bis um neune wird d' Wies umgeschlagen, unser fünf. Nachher können Sie rasten." 20

This is Büttner's reaction to the suggestion that he take on a farm-hand:

"Achzig Tholer kriegt a su a Knacht jetzt im Jahre, und 's Frassen obendrein. Und der mechte och noch a Weihnachten sen, und a Ernstescheffel. Mir kon a su schun vills Mäuler zu stopfen, hon mir! Wusu kann ich denne, und ich kennte mir en Knacht halen." 21

Polenz, although aware of the differences in speech between the members of various social strata, is not condescending in his approach to the language of peasant-farmers, reflecting his respect for his less tutored rural characters, and his representation of regional dialect, although more difficult to understand than Ganghofer's, indicates that he was making a genuine attempt to capture its sounds and modes of expression. Ganghofer's efforts, however, are far closer to what Löns described as 'Salondialekt', which, he claimed, 'riecht nach Theater, ist Schwindel'.²²

Employment of dialect is only one of the means used by the authors treated in this thesis to identify the social or regional origins of a character and to demonstrate how these affect his relationships with others. Together with the other requirements of characterisation, this task is accomplished by a number of other methods, independent of or complementary to the use of dialect forms in speech - by narrative statement or explanation, by revelation

of personality through action or thought, by description of physical appearance, dress or possessions. There are few conventional methods of characterisation absent from the fiction of our authors. However, there are certain aspects of their employment of these methods which are worthy of analysis, for these aspects have relevance to the main subject of this chapter - namely, the relationship between 'Heimatkünstler's' employment of language and fictional techniques and their social and ideological attitudes and preoccupations.

Although the complexity of characters and characterisation varies between the fiction of one author and another and indeed within any given work, and although not all the characters are idealised - or, conversely, portrayed as irredeemably black - it is for the most part possible to identify those figures towards whom the reader is expected to be sympathetic and those towards whom he is not. This process of identification is strongly dependent upon the traits with which characters are attributed. One method frequently employed by some authors to swiftly identify characters as the possessors of certain qualities is giving them names which reflect their personalities. Löns's Harm Wulf has indeed the strength and ferocity of a wolf, Volkmann is the defender of the interests of the rural population and his opponent Neumann is a representative of modern industrial interests. Ganghofer similarly uses names, as we have seen, to indicate a character's dominant traits, but he also employs them as a means of distinguishing between his rustic characters and bourgeois and aristocratic figures. His frequent presentation of the former as quaint or amusing is reflected in what he calls them - Bonifaz Venantius Gwack, Mamertus Troll, Kluibenschädl, Praxmaler-Papperl. There is no such whimsicality about the names of most of his non-rustic heroes and heroines - for example, Mathild Ehrenreich, Walter Horhammer, Fürst Ettingen, Hans Forbeck.

But the names used as a means of indicating how a character is to be viewed are only a reflection of the values and attributes favoured by an author within a given novel and it is to an examination of how these are echoed in characterisation that we must now turn. One variety of attributes credited by 'Heimatkünstler' to their characters in an effort to elicit a particular response from the reader, is similarly used in a whole range of fiction, both German and non-German. The convention of portraying characters the author wishes to be viewed sympathetically as physically attractive is as old as the novel form itself, as is the converse practice of depicting villains as ugly. The belief implicit in this method of characterisation - that spiritual and moral qualities are reflected in physical features - is much in evidence in the novels of 'Heimatkunst' - a group of rapacious mercenaries in Der Wehrwolf all have faces 'wie dem Gottseibeiuns seine Vetter-schaft';²³ Harrassowitz and Schönberger have 'schlaue Augen' and Kaschelerst's son has a 'Rattengesicht'; Karsten Holm's treacherous helpmate, Hans Peters, has a 'Fuchsgesicht';²⁴ and Ehrenreich, a man who has many trials to bear, has 'ein ernstes Gesicht, gealtert in Schmerzen'.²⁵

The racialist element in 'Heimatkunst' thought is evident in authors' references to their characters' possession of physical attributes which are considered to correspond to their tribal or racial origins. Polenz describes Harrassowitz as having a hooked nose and red hair; Frenssen draws a clear distinction between the appearance of the Uhls and Kreys; Bartels refers to Peter Swyn's 'Gesicht echt dithmarschischen Charakters: hellblaue Augen, nicht zu grosse Nase, einen fein geschlossenen Mund, den kein Bart verbarg'.²⁶ The belief that racial or tribal origin also had an influence on personality is similarly evident in authors' descriptions of their characters - Bartels, for example, refers to one of his characters being 'stolz und ehrgeizig wie alle Dithmarscher' and explains that Anna did not faint when she witnessed a

stabbing, for 'Dithmarschens Jungfrauen sind nicht so zartnervig'; in his characterisation of Samuel Harrassowitz, Polenz attributes to him many of the negative qualities traditionally ascribed to Jews. As has been seen in many of the preceding chapters, social or professional status is also regarded as having an influence on behaviour, attitudes or physical appearance. This aspect of characterisation is often revealed in the compound nouns employed, and, not surprisingly, there are large numbers of such nouns beginning with 'Bauern' or its dialect equivalent - Frenssen refers to 'Bauernstolz' and actions performed 'nach Burenweise'; Polenz to Büttner's 'Bauerngesicht' and 'Bauernnatur'; Ganghofer through his characters to 'Bauernschlauheit' and 'Bauerngeiz'. All these various aspects of characterisation reflect the importance attached by authors treated in this thesis to the influence of environment and heredity as conditioning factors.

But, as has been indicated in the course of this study, there are certain kinds of conditioning which 'Heimatkünstler' prefer to others, and conditioned physical differences between characters, even when unaccompanied by qualitative adjectives which are obviously complimentary or detrimental, are often, when related to the overall framework of values established in a novel, indicative of how the reader is expected to view the figures involved. Thus Bartels' description of Karsten Holm's hands as 'schmal und weiss' in contrast to the 'richtige derbe Bauernhände'²⁷ of his brother is a signal that the reader is to regard the former with suspicion, the latter with sympathy, for we know from Die Dithmarscher and from other works by Bartels that he views the peasant-farmer with warmth and admiration, but has contempt for those he considers effete. There is a similar contrast drawn in a passage in Der Büttnerbauer, where Polenz points to the difference between the hands of Schönberger and Büttner. The latter, moved by mistaken gratitude for the loan the Jew has granted him, grasps 'die weisse, welke, mit vielen Ringen

geschmückte Hand des Mannes und drückte sie mit seiner derben roten Bauernfaust.²⁸

The employment of such tendentious vocabulary is common to the work of all the authors treated in this thesis and certain words recur with similar 'loading'. The terms 'schlicht' and 'einfach' are repeatedly applied to the possessions, appearance and qualities of sympathetic characters - the pastor's room in Der hohe Schein is furnished with 'nur das einfache Gerät', Pauline, Gustav and Büttner are all described by Polenz as 'schlicht', Bartels refers to the 'schlichter Wams' worn by the Dithmarscher, Lisbeth is described by Jörn as 'ein so schlichtes Menschenkind' and he himself performs his military duties with 'schlichte Treue'. Neither 'schlicht' nor 'einfach' is employed in Der Wehrwolf as an attribute but they are used elsewhere in Löns's work, for example in Das zweite Gesicht, where reference is made to the 'einfache Sitten' of country life. The repeated appearance of these words in association with favoured characters or institutions reflects the belief held by the authors treated in this thesis that simplicity is a virtue, for unadorned, simple possessions or qualities are viewed as more natural, more elemental. Another pair of words which are frequently employed, particularly in descriptions of favoured female characters are 'frisch' and 'Frische'. Polenz describes Pauline as 'frisch' and refers to Toni's 'Frische'; Walperl's face is 'knallrund von Frische'; Volkmann's future wife wears a dress which is 'frisch und rein und rosig'; 'frisch' is applied to all three of Jörn's women; Bartels refers to the 'frisches Gesicht' of Maria, Johannes Holm the Younger's sweetheart. The terms indicate those qualities of health and wholesomeness of which our authors so thoroughly approved. They can also take on another connotation in the novels of certain 'Heimatkünstler' - that of virginity. This connotation is made more explicit when the terms are associated with the adjective 'unberührt'.

Ganghofer refers to Mathild's 'unberührte Frische', and Frenssen describes Lisbeth's appearance as 'so unberührt...so fein, so frisch' and tells us that, when she visits Jörn after Lena's death, 'ihr Haar und Augen hatten noch immer das frische Sonntägliche, Unberührte'.²⁹ The latter author's use of 'frisch' in this context offers further evidence of his continuing attachment in Jörn Uhl, albeit inconsistently displayed, to conventional codes of sexual morality.

There are other words which occur in patterned usage only in the works of some of the novelists. There is repeated use of the terms 'Fleiss' or 'fleissig' in association with sympathetic characters in Jörn Uhl, occasional use in Der Böttnerbauer and Der Wehrwolf, and none at all in Der hohe Schein or Die Dithmarscher. But we should be wary of drawing firm conclusions about differences in individual authors' attitudes from this fact. Bartels does not emphasise the importance of diligence in Die Dithmarscher, yet he commended the capacity of the peasant-farmer for hard work in other works; in Der hohe Schein we find both narrator and characters praising the benefits of physical labour, even though they do not employ the terms 'Fleiss' or 'fleissig' to do it. However, there are certain patterns of word usage occurring in only individual novels which clearly reflect the particular attitudes of those who wrote them. The recurrence of the adjective 'stolz' in Die Dithmarscher underlines the fierce national pride which Bartels approvingly ascribed to his characters and which he wished contemporary Germans to feel; the repeated use of 'fröhlich' to describe figures in Der hohe Schein is a reflection of Ganghofer's promotion of a simplistic optimism; Löns often uses the verb 'lachen' to indicate the brutal vitality of his embattled peasant-farmers; Frenssen and Polenz promote the values of cleanliness and order by frequently associating these qualities with their most attractive characters and using the adjective 'schmutzig' in their descriptions of the appearance of those

they regard as morally reprehensible.

But authors treated in this thesis also used more direct methods than these to promote attitudes and values in their novels and to try to ensure that their readers drew suitable conclusions from what they read. The early identification of characters as sympathetic, in order that they should appear as attractive vehicles for the expression of the author's views, was only one aspect of their didactic technique. There is also much intervention by the narrator. This intervention may take the form of qualitative and generalised judgements passed on issues raised by the events portrayed in the novel - Polenz, for example, uses Büttner's situation as a basis for an attack on German legal thinking, commenting 'seit den Zeiten der Scholastik ward Haarspalterei und wirklichkeitsfremdes Dasein und Konstruieren die Lieblingsbeschäftigung der deutschen Gelehrtenzunft'.³⁰ The narrator may side or identify with the characters or communities portrayed in the novel - Löns, for example, reveals his prejudices when, as narrator, he describes the Danish soldiers in Der Wehrwolf as 'Mordhunde' and Frenssen refers to Jörn working on 'dem gewaltigen Kanal...der quer durch unser Land geht'.³¹ (My underlining). Frenssen probably intervenes as a narrator more often and certainly more unsubtly than any of the other authors treated in this thesis. He frequently admonishes or praises his characters and repeatedly addresses the reader directly, pointing out the lessons to be drawn from episodes depicted or telling him what is going to happen later in the novel. He adopts a very heavy-handed approach in his statements on the values he wishes to promote in the novel, as, for example, in the opening passage, where he asserts baldly 'wir wollen in diesem Buch von Mühe und Arbeit reden'.³² A more subtle example of narrative technique being used to guide the reader's reactions occurs in Ganghofer's novels. On a number of occasions, the author attempts to create mild amusement by indulging in gentle irony,

usually by using a slightly pompous narrative tone in his portrayal of episodes in which one of his gaucher characters is involved. In Der hohe Schein, Walter refuses the fat-smearred bread which Moosjäger offers him.

Ganghofer as narrator comments:

Walter schien für diese fette Dankbarkeit nicht das richtige Verständnis zu haben. Mertl war über den Korb, den er bekam, ein bisschen gekränkt. Schliesslich tröstete er sich mit der Meinung: "D' Stadtleute wissen net halt, was gut is!" 33

In the work of an author such as Löns, the humour would probably have been directed against Walter as the representative of an over-refined urban culture. Ganghofer uses this technique predominantly when dealing with rustic lower class characters. His bourgeois and aristocratic characters are seldom treated with such levity.

But the 'Heimatkünstler's ability to influence and guide their readers rested, in the final analysis, not on their skill in the employment of literary techniques, but in their capacity to touch and bring to the surface beliefs and attitudes already present in their public's mind. Only those who shared their basic views could effectively grasp the import of their 'loaded' vocabulary, sympathise with characters as brutal as Bartel, and Löns's battling peasant-farmers, find supernatural elements compatible with an otherwise realistic portrayal of rural life or continue to buy volume after volume of Ganghofer's paeans to simplistic optimism. Of the works treated in this thesis only Polenz' novel, perhaps, has the power to move the impartial reader in a manner of which its author would have approved. If we seek to explain the popularity of the novels of 'Heimatkunst', we must look not at their artistic talents, didactic or otherwise, but at those currents of thought extant in Wilhelmine society which caused nostalgia for a pre-industrial age and to the frequently held belief that resurrected elements of that age, as it was conceived by 'Heimatkünstler' and other

conservative thinkers, might be employed in solving the social and cultural problems of Germany in the early twentieth century.

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- 1) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.1.
- 2) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.5.
- 3) Ibid., p.6.
- 4) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.152.
- 5) Cf. Chapter on Jörn Uhl, p.205.
- 6) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.337.
- 7) Ibid., p.362.
- 8) Uwe Kothenschule, p.68.
- 9) Quoted, Erich Gräbel, p.315.
- 10) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.242.
- 11) Adolf Bartels, Gerhart Hauptmann, pp.104/5.
- 12) Hermann Löns, Introduction to Der letzte Hansbur, p.4.
- 13) Hermann Löns, Dahinten in der Heide, p.36.
- 14) Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, Der unbekannte Löns, p.12.
- 15) Albert Soergel & Curt Hohoff, Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit Vol.1
Düsseldorf, 1964, p.640.
- 16) Hans Schwerte, 'Ganghofers Gesundung', p.189.
- 17) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.142.
- 18) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.24.
- 19) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.11.
- 20) Ibid., p.140.
- 21) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Büttnerbauer, p.26.
- 22) Hermann Knottnerus-Meyer, p.12.
- 23) Hermann Löns, Der Wehrwolf, p.19.
- 24) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.21.
- 25) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.56.
- 26) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.158.

- 27) Adolf Bartels, Die Dithmarscher, p.12.
- 28) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.54.
- 29) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.365.
- 30) Wilhelm von Polenz, Der Böttnerbauer, p.278.
- 31) Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, p.512.
- 32) Ibid., p.1.
- 33) Ludwig Ganghofer, Der hohe Schein, p.185.

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Where possible first impressions of primary texts were used in the writing of this thesis, but it frequently proved impossible to obtain copies of these. It therefore became necessary to make use of whatever impressions were available. Furthermore, a number of publishers of later impressions have failed to give impression or sales numbers, as for example in the Sonderausgaben of two Lönns novels or editions of Ganghofer's works published in the 1950's and 1960's. In order to offer the reader both a tabulated account of first dates of publication and where possible further alternative references, the bibliography contains details of the first edition of each primary text used and, where available and known, a title's place in an author's collected works. Revised editions employed or forming part of the collected works are indicated.

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