Dr. Charles Follen, interpreter of German classics to Americans

German
A. M.
1910
DR. CHARLES FOLLEN,
INTERPRETER OF GERMAN CLASSICS TO AMERICANS

BY

ELEANOR BRYCE SCOTT
A. B. Augustana College, 1909

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
IN GERMAN

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1910
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Eleanor Bryce Scott

ENTITLED

Dr. Charles Follen, Interpreter of German Classics to America

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF

Master of Arts

In Charge of Major Work

Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

Committee

on

Final Examination

168019
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Follen, Charles - Lesebuch - Schmidt - Boston 1860.


Hale, F. E. - Memories of a Hundred Years - N. Y., MacMillan, 1902 - 2 volumes.


Thwing, Chas. F. - History of Higher Education in America. N. Y. 1906.

Ticknor, George - Life, Letters, and Journals.

Magazines


Rattermann, H. A. – Dr. Karl Follen: Ein Lebensbild aus aufgeregtten Zeiten in zwei Welttheilen – Am. Ger. 1902, V. IV.

Wilkins, F. H. – Early Influence of German Literature in America – Am. Ger. 1899-1900, V. III.
DR. CHARLES FOLLEN:

INTERPRETER OF GERMAN CLASSICS TO AMERICANS.

In our country, which is still so "young" in comparison with the "Old World", the beginnings of things are very close at hand, much less removed, indeed, from our own time than we are wont to realize. Thus it is well for us once in a while, and certainly very interesting - to stop to think why things are as they are, and to whom the honor is due; to consider who were the pioneers in this or that movement who bravely stood out more or less alone at the first. These are always men whom we may truly "delight to honor", whose influence lingers yet. Such a one, we may say, was Dr. Charles Follen, one of those splendid men whom Germany sent hither during the early part of the last century as political refugees.

Perhaps a brief sketch of Dr. Follen's life, at the very outset, would be helpful in our further endeavor to sum up his character and to trace his influence. He was born on the fourth of September, 1796, at his grandfather's home at Romrod in Hesse Darmstadt - a beautiful place which he later loved to visit. The early loss of his mother drew him into an unusually intimate companionship with his father, - a fact which probably tended to increase his natural precocity and seriousness of disposition. We are told too that he early showed an interest in the subject of

1 Cf. Follen's Works, V. I.
religion and formed decided opinions. His father's second marriage, when Follen was seven, proved an incalculable blessing to the whole family, and Dr. Follen himself everywhere speaks of the new mother with the greatest affection and esteem.

Follen's early education was received at Giessen, first in the Pedagogium, where he received many prizes for literary effort, and later at the University which he entered in 1813. Now this was at the time of the great campaign against Napoleon in which so many university students distinguished themselves by their self-sacrifice and generous enthusiasm. Among these were both Charles and his elder brother Augustus, while even Paul, the younger brother, served for a time. Upon his return to his studies, Dr. Follen began the systematic pursuit of his life, namely, the promotion of freedom in society, in religion, in politics; for freedom, in the best sense of the word, was as his watchword, and his whole career was a consistent, harmonious, unswerving living out of this ideal, regardless of the cost. We are not surprised, therefore, to find him at the head and front of the movement for the formation of true Burschenschaften at the University as opposed to the degenerate, tyrannical, and sectarian Landsmannschaften. Naturally enough, his exertions toward reform won him many violent enemies and he was even accused of revolutionary purposes but was acquitted of the charge. At this time, Follen and his brother Augustus wrote many songs, which were published at Jena in 1819 under the collective title "Freie Stimmen frischer Jugend." Follen was also one of the authors of the celebrated "Great Song" which later caused a good deal of trouble.

In 1818, immediately after receiving his diploma as doctor of
both the civil and ecclesiastical law, Dr. Follen began to lecture at Gießen and at the same time to study the practice of law at the court over which his father presided. With him this was a period of religious doubt, but after a thorough examination into all the arguments against Christianity, including Spinoza, the French Encyclopaedists, Hume and other English writers, his faith came out triumphant. In this same year, when he was only twenty-two, a young man with brilliant prospects, he knowingly took a step which put an end to them all so far as the government was concerned and laid the foundation of his ruin in his native land. This was his successful carrying through of the cause of the communities of Hesse against the government. From this time forth he became the object of unrelenting persecution, which drove him from France to Switzerland and finally to America. However, he rejoiced to give this proof of his allegiance to principle.

The next year or two spent at Jena, whither he had gone early in October of 1818, was a time of trial and excitement for Dr. Follen, though his lectures were eminently successful and it was considered extraordinary that so young a man should even attempt to lecture on the Pandects. He was twice arrested on suspicion; first, as an accomplice in the murder of Kotzebue - since the young fanatic who did the deed was a friend of his and probably inspired by his doctrines - and then again as the author of the "Great Song". Both times he was acquitted, though finally forbidden to return to Jena. He was now an object of suspicion to the government and was considered a dangerous man, so that not even his father's influence could protect him at Gießen and he was obliged to flee. From Strassburg to Paris, where he became acquainted with Lafayette and
met Abbé, Grégoire, Benjamin Constant, Cousin, and other noted men, he came to Switzerland. Remaining at Chur somewhat less than a year as Professor of Latin and Universal History, Dr. Follen then went to Basle as public lecturer on natural, civil, and ecclesiastical law, on some branches of metaphysics as well. Here he was associated with De Wette and others in the editing of the "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift".

This was a happy period but doomed to be of short duration; for Follen was a marked man. In 1821, the demand of the Congress of Trappau that he be given up to them had been refused by the plucky little Swiss government. But now in 1824, there came three notes from the members of the Holy Alliance demanding Follen's surrender to the tribunal of inquisition established by the Prussian King at Kepnich near Berlin. With the additional pressure brought to bear by the various Cantons themselves, the government of Basle was forced at last to yield. The University gave public testimony to the worth of his character. By the aid of his friends he escaped to Paris where his friend Dr. Beck was awaiting him and where he took leave of his fiancée. Finally, after a long voyage, he arrived in New York December nineteenth, 1824. Remaining there until the middle of January, Dr. Follen then removed to Philadelphia, where, in February, he met George Ticknor. Through the exertions of the latter and of Die Ponceau, to both of whom he had letters of introduction, he was appointed teacher of the German language at Harvard, to take up his duties in the fall. Dr. Beck in the mean-

---

1 It appears that on account of the dense fog, the landing was not made until the next day.
time went to Northampton as Professor of Latin and Greek and Dr. Follen visited him there on his way to Cambridge. He met with a most cordial reception here and now began for him a series of busy but happy years. Among other things, he had to set to work at once on the preparation of a German reader and grammar for his classes; he took charge of gymnastics at Harvard and also of a Gymnasium in Boston; he delivered a course of lectures, in Boston, on the civil law. At this time began his strong friendship with Dr. William Ellery Channing, the great Unitarian leader, and also, in the summer of 1826, he met for the first time Miss Eliza Lee Cabot who was later to become his wife - the young lady in Europe had not felt equal to the sacrifice of leaving her family and friends to join Follen in his permanent exile here in America. Miss Cabot was a very fine woman, gifted and attractive, and, in the Boston society of the time, one of a brilliant circle of friends. To this circle, Dr. Follen also was admitted and he found great pleasure in the reading parties which continued for several winters, and, too, in the Sunday School Teachers' meetings held at the home of Dr. Channing. In September, 1828, he married Miss Cabot and was now able to rejoice in a home of his own.

Now in 1830, through the kindness of friends - Mr. Cabot, Col. Perkins, and Mr. J. Philips - the establishment of a full professorship of the German Language and Literature was provided for at Harvard for five years, with the understanding that at the end of that time it was to be continued by the Corporation. Upon entering this new position Dr. Follen gave up the work he had been carrying on in the theological school. At the same time, Dr. Beck was appointed to the professorship of Latin and became an inmate of his friend's home. Dr. Follen's formal inauguration into of-
office, however, did not occur until 1831, - one year after his appointment. In his Address on this occasion - it called forth complimentary letters from such men as J. Q. Adams and Edward Livingston - he emphasized the importance of the study of the German language and literature, showing the remarkable change of opinion on the subject in France and England during the twenty or thirty years preceding. He was able to report great progress, however, just during the short period of his connection with Harvard, - the library had been augmented by a considerable number of books; German books in native type were issuing from the University press; every year he had an average of fifty students in the German language. Moreover, now German books and German teachers were to be found not merely in Boston but in every important place, whereas fifty years earlier, not even a German grammar or dictionary was to be had there.

Dr. Follen's first course of lectures on German literature were delivered this year and he also met a class of students in civil law. From time to time also he lectured in Boston on various subjects, - for instance he had spoken very successfully the previous year on the subject of moral philosophy and now in 1832 he again addressed a large and appreciative audience in a series of lectures on Schiller.

It goes without saying that Charles Follen was an abolitionist - freedom was as the very breath of life to him - hence we are not surprised to find him, in 1834, joining the Anti-Slavery Society and assisting it wherever he could, though he never approved the excesses committed in the name of the cause. All this was very odious to the Harvard authorities, so much so that the Corporation
declined to continue his professorship, and their offer to retain him in his original capacity as instructor in the German language, he very naturally refused. Thus again, by his unflinching loyalty to principle he had ruined his worldly prospects, in his experience, finding "the tyranny of opinion in a republic hardly less galling and oppressive than the arbitrary laws of monarchial Europe". However, he had many friends, and a staunch supporter and true helpmate in his wife. In her and in his little son, Charles Christopher Follen - in honor of father and grandfather - he was very happy.

For a time now, Dr. Follen was variously engaged. A trip west with his family, Harriet Martineau, - with whom he had earlier formed a friendship - and others, afforded a pleasant vacation from work and an opportunity to see more of the country. As early as 1828, Dr. Follen had been regularly admitted as candidate for the ministry and had preached more or less frequently ever since. Finally, during 1836 and 37, having previously been ordained in Boston, he remained in New York as pastor of the First Unitarian Church. Here, as elsewhere, his ministry was eminently successful and satisfactory except for his views on slavery which he could not and would not suppress. Before resigning his charge in New York, Dr. Follen delivered a course of lectures on the dramatic works of Schiller.

Now after filling various temporary charges and supporting himself largely by lectures and private classes, Dr. Follen gave up his cherished plan of visiting his family in Switzerland, in order to respond to the urgent call of the people of South Lexington to save their parish from going to pieces. This was in 1839. As the salary was wretchedly inadequate, he was merely to preach
on Sunday, being exempt from all parish duties. But, as the event proved, Dr. Follen threw himself into the work heart and soul, even designing and assisting in the building of a new church. Before the latter was ready to be dedicated, however, he had to go to New York to fulfil a lecture engagement there. These lectures, which were in general a discussion of several of Schiller's dramas introduced by a brief sketch of the history of German literature, were a great success, but Mrs. Follen was suddenly taken very ill. The Lexington people very selfishly refused to release Dr. Follen from his promise to be present at the dedication, January fifteenth, 1840, so, as his wife was not yet strong enough to accompany him, he set out for Lexington alone, promising to return immediately and follow up his Schiller lectures by a course on "Faust". But alas, his sudden, and, as it seems to us, premature death, put an end to everything. The steamer "Lexington", on which he set sail for Boston, burned on Long Island Sound only fifty miles from New York, and, of all on board, only four escaped to tell the tale.

Dr. Follen's was a singularly lovable character. I believe that his benignity, his graciousness and charming courtesy, his thoughtfulness of others were the traits which most strongly impressed themselves upon strangers. Indeed, a fine, attractive face, revealing the rare and lofty spirit within - his portrait confirms this view of his predominant traits. But though so modest and frank and simple in his manners, he was a truly great man, a strong character, a man of significance and importance wherever his influence was felt. In his tribute to Follen, Dr. Channing

1 Cf. Channing's Works - Address on Dr. Follen.
remarks that distinction seemed to have united in him those excellences which at first seem directly opposed to one another. For example, he was brave and fearless to the point of heroism, seeming to gather strength and animation from danger and to be drawn yet closer to duty by its very trials and hardships. Yet his firmness and stern decision were entirely lacking in roughness and outward show. In other words, he possessed the rare quality of balance of character. Then again, he was a man of strong domestic affections and his love was as the sunlight to his home; for his sympathies were deep and his was an overflowing joyousness, a buoyancy of spirit which was never failing. Yet with this narrower love, went a strong love of his race. To a rare degree, he felt himself knit to mankind by the strong living tie of brotherhood and especially was he drawn to the oppressed and down-trodden. Again - he was a man of exceedingly refined taste, fond of cultured society and of all the finer things of life, yet his sympathies were given to the mass of men. He was a friend of the laboring man and had a great respect for minds trained in simple habits. Then, too, Dr. Follen was singularly independent in his thinking, and in his judgments uninfluenced by authority, numbers, self-interest, popularity, even by friends and loved ones - indeed he was almost too tenacious of his opinions. Still, he always encouraged the freest expression of opinion on the part of others and his deep reverence for their rights never permitted him to pass beyond the limits of the most delicate courtesy in argument.

Thus we have seen that Dr. Follen's character was, to a marked degree, calm and well-balanced. His heroism was neither morbid enthusiasm nor reckless self-exposure, but the conscious and con-
sistent carrying out of the central, inextinguishable passion of
his life - his love of liberty, rooted in his reason, in his sense
of justice, in his faith in the disinterested principles of Chris-
tianity, and in his clear, profound conceptions of nature and des-
tiny and of the inalienable rights of man. Peril and persecution
indeed tempered his youthful enthusiasm, but only wrought the more
deeply into his soul, the principles for which he had suffered, on-
ly made his resolution the calmer, the more invincible. With a
clear vision of the cost, he yet serenely and gladly paid it, sor-
rowing only for those who must suffer with him on account of his
misfortunes. Though so often disappointed in his plans and pro-
jects, his spirits never went down with his fortunes. He was al-
ways gay and even sportive, buoyantly alive, and ready for every
pleasure and enjoyment that might well be his.

In intellectual power, he was as strong, bold, simple as in
character. His inclination was chiefly toward the Higher Philos-
ophy, that is, toward questions relating to the human soul, with
its powers, laws, and destinies. One of the great desires of his
life was to complete his work on psychology, for which he had made
many notes, but which after all he was never able to finish. How-
ever, he was not confined to abstract studies; he was a real
scholar and his knowledge was wide and profound, especially along
the lines of history and law. We had also devoted much time to
the subject of religion and the church. His interests were varied
and he was stirred by an intense love of the beautiful wherever
found - for instance, he had some knowledge of architecture, a
thoughtful and intelligent appreciation of art, and a deep love
of music. Besides, he was himself in a certain measure, singer,
Thus, to quote again from Dr. Channing, if strangers had not heard the name of Charles Follen, yet he was cherished and honored as few men are, by those who knew him best. Of course, it is useless to speculate, yet we cannot but feel that had he not had this indwelling inclination toward philosophy and religion, and had he turned his attention to practical jurisprudence, he would undoubtedly have become famous in a larger circle, winning for himself an honorable place on the Bench perhaps, or in Congress, as has been the case with others of his compatriots. Perhaps, however, his services were even greater in his own quieter place.

Such, in the main, was the man to whom some have not hesitated to give the honor of having been among the first, and of the pioneers the most impressive, to break the road for the understanding and appreciation of German literature in this country. The cultured Americans of his time fell just as surely under the powerful magic of his personality as did all the student world with which he came in contact.

Dr. Follen may be said to have come, as it were, in the fullness of time, when, as he himself wrote home, soon after his arrival, "there was much inclination in many parts of the United States to study the German language and literature." Had he come twenty-five or even eight or ten years earlier he would have found conditions very different; for the inauguration of the movement for the introduction of German culture began about 1817 with the return of Everett, Ticknor, and Bancroft from their period of study in Germany. Previously, there had been comparatively little first-hand

---

knowledge and that dominated by English opinion, largely through
the medium of reprints. However, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston
were already becoming literary centers, and although little origi-
nal work was produced, the American public was markedly a reading
public.

As early as 1784, there was a reprint of the English "Sorrows
and Sympathetic Attachments of Werther," and before 1806 this story
had been reprinted at least six times in four different translations.
The "tales of terror" and the "sentimental" and "family" romance
were the two chief types in vogue here. Gessner, Zimmermann, Salz-
mann represent the more pious and philosophical writers known,
while Bürger and Wieland were the only poets who had succeeded in
gaining any popularity in the English speaking world. "Lenore"
was considered "the best ballad of the century," and parodies of
the German ballad style found their way into the periodical press.
But perhaps of all the forms of the literature, the drama was most
prominently brought before the public. This does not mean, how-
ever, that Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing were played and admired.
Not at all, Kotzebue reigned supreme as the German Shakspere. We
have a record of fifty-eight reprints of thirty-six different plays
of his, between 1799 and 1826. Schiller was known almost entirely
through adaptations of "Die Rauber," and of "Kabale and Liebe"
under the title "The Harper's Daughter". William Dunlap, during
his management of the Park Street Theatre in New York - 1796-1805 -
did much toward introducing and adapting the German drama to the
American stage. His knowledge of the language was very good for
a time when even a smattering of German was very rare, and as a
translator - for he made his own versions - he was conscientious
----------------------------------------
and possessed of some practical taste and skill as well as of an easy style. It is interesting to note in this connection that Charles Brockdon Brown - our first writer of importance and a friend of Dunlap's - reveals a strongly sympathetic attitude toward German culture, very rare in his time, especially in one who had never lived in Germany. We are not surprised, therefore, that during his editorship (1799-1800) of the New York "Monthly Magazine and American Review", more attention is devoted to German literature than in any other periodical of this early time.

It seems certain that Charles Follen was the first official teacher of German in this country - except perhaps among the Germans of Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina - but before his coming a few enthusiasts had managed to gain some knowledge of the language. Prof. Sidney Willard, for instance, who was Bancroft's first teacher, was himself self-taught and had no idea of pronunciation. To this class also belong the two theologians Moses Stuart and James Marsh, to whom scholarship is vastly in debt. The latter came to be recognized as the head of the Coleridge school here, while to the former, belongs the credit of opening to American theologians the rich store-house of German Biblical literature.

Madame de Stael's 

Madame de Stael's "On Germany" seems to have been the greatest single factor in arousing this new interest in Germany, both here and in England, for Carlyle's first impulse toward studies along this line came from the reading of this book, and to Americans, it was as the revelation of a new world. Many derived from it, too, their first notion of Goethe. George Ticknor was among those who fell under its influence and was thereby inspired to study German.

1 Cf. Dr. Follen's tribute - Inaug. Adm. p. 139.
In one of his letters he gives an account of the difficulties encountered in the carrying out of this purpose. In the first place, there was no teacher to be had in Boston, and the Mr. Brosius, an instructor in Mathematics at Jamaica Plains, whom he finally got to help him, confessed at the outset to a very bad pronunciation, as he was a native of Alsace. Then there was the absolute lack of books. A German-French grammar was borrowed from Mr. Everett, a copy of Goethe's Werther from the library of J. Q. Adams and a dictionary from somewhere in New Hampshire. This was no doubt the experience of many others also, though some of the statements made are hard to reconcile. For instance, it is said that as late as 1830, Mrs. Nathan Hale - who had learned German before 1815 when her brother, Edward Everett, went abroad - could buy no German book in Boston, and that in even 1843, E. E. Hale, trying to get some books for her in Philadelphia, could find only Goethe and Schiller in addition to the German Bible and Hymnal. This evidently is a mistake, for "by 1842, there were few people in Boston who could not talk with glib delight of German literature, philosophy, and music", and the period between 1833 and 1845 was a time of public interest in German culture. All this would be impossible without books, and we know that German books were issuing from the Harvard press at least.

It is nevertheless true, however, that one of the greatest difficulties the student here had to contend with at that time was, the great lack of books, the literary poverty of the country.

1 Cf. Life and Letters of George Ticknor, V. I, p. 11.
There were only three or four public libraries and these very imperfect. Indeed Ticknor heard with amazement of the library facilities at Göttingen and the other German Universities, and this was for him one of their chief attractions. Even with English books the field was very limited. Pope, Addison, Beattie, Young were the reigning poets. Burns was accepted by a few, Wordsworth was advertised as "a new poet". Along other lines Hervey's Meditations and Zimmermann's Solitude were favorites, but Johnson held the field in prose as Pope was supreme in verse. If this was the case with English books - and, to a less degree, this is true of Old England as well as of New - how great must have been the scarcity of German books. In 1817, the Harvard Library consisted of less than 20,000 volumes. In that year, the nucleus of a German library was formed in the books brought back from Göttingen by Everett, which was increased the following year by the addition of Prof. Ebeling's Library - purchased by Mr. Thorndike of Boston - and still further in 1819 by Goethe's gift of his own works in thirty volumes. There were practically no German books to be had from the bookstores, hence the situation is plain, especially as Prof. Ebeling's library was largely scientific.

Dr. Peabody's description of the difficulties that beset the path of the first German class at Harvard, of which he was a member, is very amusing. The bold eight were looked upon with interest as curiosities. By way of equipment, they had, it seems, a few copies of Noehden's Grammar and an exceedingly copious "Pocket Dictionary", which happily, however, far overstepped the limits of

---

1 The Boston Public Library was not established until 1852. George Ticknor was one of its chief founders.
an Anglo-Saxon pocket. Dr. Peabody himself was presented with a copy of "Wallenstein," which was eagerly passed around among his friends as soon as they were at all able to read it. There was no book at hand that could be used as a reader, accordingly Dr. Follen set to work at once to supply both this need and that of a grammar. So urgent was the necessity that the Reader had to be furnished in single sheets as needed by the class, printed too in Roman type, as they had no other. The Preface contained a brief sketch of German literature, grouped into three main periods - as it was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at the time of the Reformation, and as centering around Lessing. This served as an introduction to the carefully selected extracts in prose and verse from the more important eighteenth century writers, which formed the main contents of the book. The class was enthusiastic - naturally enough, with such a teacher - and Dr. Peabody tells us that there could have been no happier introduction to German literature. Dr. Follen's exquisite reading of these beautiful poems made a great impression upon them. As we know, he was especially fond of Körner's lyrics - Körner and Schiller were his Lieblings-Dichter - but one song, "Körner's Todtenfeier", which, although given anonymously, they all knew to have been composed by their beloved teacher, impressed itself so indelibly upon their memories that they never forgot it. Dr. Peabody says that even after the lapse of sixty years he could repeat it perfectly.

Thus Follen's Lesebuch - 1826 - is the first of the school editions of German classics and is therefore a landmark of the early college curriculum. Its two-fold purpose is stated, in the preface, as follows: "den Lehrern, zur Erklärung der Regeln
Regeln und Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache, eine Sammlung von Beispielen aus anerkannten deutschen Musterwerken und die Hand zu geben, und zugleich, den Lehrlingen einen Vorgeschmack und Vorbegriff von der neueren deutschen Literatur zu verschaffen". That the "Lesebuch" proved useful and acceptable is shown by the fact that it continued to be used into the sixties at any rate; for in 1860, we have an entirely new edition brought out, with some additions and a few omissions, by G. A. Schmidt, Instructor at Harvard.

Dr. Follen's Grammar went through many editions and was long considered the best in the United States. The work was indeed most carefully and ably done. He was familiar with the history of grammar in Germany and took pains to acquaint himself with the work of Adelung, but especially with Grimm, - whose "Grammatik" had appeared but nine years before - with Harmsch, and Heinsius, as well as with the two grammars most commonly used in England, - those prepared by Noehden and Rowbotham. Then, too, Dr. Follen was interested in Phonology or Phonetics, as we would say, basing his work especially on Du Ponceau's treatise on that subject, with whom, however, in accordance with his usual independence, he ventured to differ in a few particulars. It is delightful to find, even at this early time, in Dr. Follen, this historical grasp of the subject which is so important, this balanced view of the language and literature from the historical stand-point. This is the eminent characteristic, as we know, of Grimm's work, whose purpose is thus stated in the preface to his Grammar: "einmal aufzustellen, wie auch in der Grammatik die Unverletzlichkeit und Notwendigkeit der Geschichte anerkannt werden müsse".

---

1 Cf. V. Bosse p. 151.
In the preface to the first edition of his own Grammar, Dr. Follen gives some general remarks on the history of the German language and its actual state at that time, before proceeding to his own work in particular. It is interesting to note that he begins with the article and takes up nouns, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns, before treating of the verb. In the matter of declension, he followed Heinsius chiefly, adding "a mode of signifying by two letters the manner in which each noun is declined". Accordingly all nouns are grouped into three classes: the first including all feminines; the second, only masculines having the genitive singular in "n (n or en)"; and the third, those masculines and neuters having the genitive singular in "s (s, es, us, or eus)".

In dealing with the verb, Dr. Follen treats the original tenses first, then the supplementary, and he adheres to the older phraseology "regular, irregular, and mixed", instead of adopting the terms "strong and weak" introduced by Grimm.

In regard to the classification of consonants, Dr. Follen remarks: "I have thought it best to found the distinction between palatals and linguals on the simple fact that some consonants are formed by a particular part of the palate being touched by the tongue, while others are produced by the position of the tongue when brought near the palate without touching it." Accordingly "d" and "t", "l" and "n" have been ranked with the palatals, and "r" with the linguals.

The third part of the grammar is a treatise on Prosody, the reason for whose inclusion is made clear by the following quotation from the author. "As the German language in this country, as well as in England, is studied by many persons particularly on

1 Calvin Thomas follows essentially the same order.
account of the polite literature of Germany. I have wished to
counter to the enjoyment of lovers of poetry by giving as full
an account of German versification as the limits of this elemen-
tary work would admit. I have availed myself of the opinions of
Voss and Schlegel on German prosody, as far as they coincided with
those to which I was led in pursuing this study with particular
and continued interest."

From a comparison of the second and third editions - the first
was not available and later editions were stereotyped - it seems
to me that the revision affected rather the manner of presentation
than the material itself, though the largest number of changes are
in the nature of additions as may be seen from the following
outline.

Comparison of the 2d and 3d Editions.

I. Differences in Arrangement of Material.

1. Chapters on Orthography precede those on Pronunciation.

2. "Use of Capitals". put into a separate chapter.

3. Material on "substantive pronouns" put into separate para-

4. Order of the "Observations" changed and material on im-
personal verb put under three heads - (1) intransitive,
(2) active, (3) reflective. p. 101 ff.

5. Four sentences in exercises on use of "haben" and "sein"
transferred from 2d division to 3d. p. 135.

6. 112 on adverbs divided into two divisions. p. 156 ff.

7. Exceptions to 1st rule in regard to place of the noun in
the sentence grouped into six instead of twelve para-

8. Order of treatment of compound verbs and participles re-
versed in division on "Arrangement". p. 239.


II. Expansion. Additions.

1. In chapter on "The Alphabet", the list of compound letters is increased by addition of five. p. 2.

2. A list of letters easily to be mistaken for one another on account of similarity of form is added. p. 3.

3. Extra paragraph on difference between English and German pronunciation of essentially the same sound. p. 10.


6. Two explanatory paragraphs at beginning of "Promiscuous Exercises on Irregular and Mixed Verbs." p. 95.

7. Conjugation of Imperfect Reflective Verb and Exercise thereon, added. p. 103.

8. Additional Observations in regard to "sein" with the past participle. p. 144.


11. Exercises after Rule VII p. 185 added.


III. Contractions and Omissions.

2. Treatment of "Prepositions" shortened. pp. 159-60.


4. Half of last paragraph on p. 264 (2d Edition) and all of next page omitted. (On the measure of the Nibelungenlied)


In the preface to the third edition of the Grammar occurs an allusion to another book by Dr. Follen, which, however, I have not been able to find, nor have I met with any other references to it. It is as follows: "I am now preparing for the press the Gospel of St. John in German, with a literal interlinear translation for beginners, on a plan somewhat different from the Hamiltonian method. I hope that this book, together with the Grammar and Reader, will form a sufficient preparatory course to enable the faithful student to enter upon a thorough and extensive study of German literature."

In the year 1833, there appeared the first of Schiller's dramas to be prepared for college use, together with two of Goethe's - these were, "Maria Stuart," "Tasso," and "Egmont." There was no critical matter, but the advertisement, dated Cambridge, stated that the text was well suited to follow Follen's Lesebuch. Hence it would seem at least possible, in view of his promise in the preface of the above-mentioned book, that Dr. Follen himself may have been more or less responsible for this edition. Moreover it was printed by Charles Folsom, printer to the University.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the second German text-book - 1832 - "An introduction to the Study of the German
Language," by Hermann Bokum, instructor in German at the University of Pennsylvania 1829-35, and at Harvard 1835-38, thus succeeding Dr. Follen there. His book was similar in purpose to that of Dr. Follen, but limited to prose. Thinking that the German material previously issued had not proved sufficiently elementary, he gave interlinear translations.

In 1833, Dr. Follen furnished the introduction to the first American reprint of Carlyle's Life of Friedrich Schiller, which carried also a general preface by Park Benjamin. Strangely enough, neither Follen nor the reviewers - the work was reviewed by F. H. Hedge for the Christian Examiner - mention Carlyle by name, though all point out the unusual ability of the English biographer. Though the book first came out anonymously, ten years previous, surely its author must have been known by this time. At any rate, Follen noted the work as "among the best specimens of English criticism." By means of parallel passages from the original, however, he pointed out several misinterpretations in the translations, which in this edition were corrected.

Dr. Follen's life was too active to admit of much literary work, and the most of what we have is along other lines than that in which we are at present interested. It was perhaps in direct contact with his friends and pupils that his personality had its greatest effect, and the enthusiasm and inspiration which he was able to impart to them was perhaps his greatest work. Mr. Higginson tells us that he was very popular as a teacher at Harvard, as indeed he had been in Europe. To a rare degree, he had the power of

1 Follen's Works V. I, p. 264. "For the rest, I produce more realities here than poems, - probably because my boldest European poems are here realities."
winning the love and esteem of his pupils. Thus, by virtue of this
power and of his position at Harvard, Dr. Follen may probably be
accounted the greatest of the forces then at work in the interests
of German culture in America. Many of the young men who came un-
der his influence and guidance at this time, became later the writ-
ters and critics of the day. "The Prescotts, Motleys, Emersons
were directly or indirectly inspired by him to their study of Ger-
man intellectual life."¹ Thus his work was continued and his in-
fluence lived on. To be sure, the soil had indeed been prepared
by such American German students as Everett, Ticknor, Bancroft, and
others. The collective influence of these men on Harvard and on
American education in general was enormous. Their work "prepared
the way for the vast modern growth of schools and colleges and li-
braries in this country and indirectly helped the birth of a liter-
erature which gave us Irving, Cooper, Bryant, the North American
Review, and culminated later in that brilliant Boston circle of
authors, most of whom were Harvard men and all of whom had felt
Harvard influence."²

Into this circle of eminent men, at the very beginning of the
movement toward the study and appreciation of the great German clas-
sics, came Dr. Follen as the greatly desired "official" interpreter,
so to speak, of the poetry of his native land. His eminent fitness
for this office together with his lofty conception of his mission
are unconsciously but quite plainly brought out in his splendid
inaugural address, previously mentioned. It is significant, too,
that he is imbued with the new ideas and ideals of his time. For
example, although he himself was no philologian, he was evidently

acquainted with some of the results of the work done along that
line by the brothers Grimm and others, as is clear from his remarks
on "the inexhaustible productiveness of his mother tongue, in
which everyone who is conversant with its spirit, and who seeks
after an adequate expression for a new thought, can form, from the
common roots of the language, new words, which are immediately un-
derstood and acknowledged by all as genuine German." ¹ Also where
he speaks of the ancient German language as the mother of the Eng-
lish, giving several lists of words illustrative of the fact that
"the ancestors of both nations must have been united, not merely
under one military leader, but in daily life, under the same roof,
at the same fire-side." ²

He has a loving and appreciative interest, too, in the classic
literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the poetry of
the Minnesinger and the great Nibelungen Lied, which he dares, even
at this early date, to set above Homer's Iliad, not, indeed, in
poetic keeping, finish, and ease, but in the great design of the
whole, and in a delineation of character matched only by the dra-
matic energy of Shakspere. Moreover he loved "das Volk" and their
wonderful "Lieder", which Herder and Uhland, with their fellow wor-
kers, had helped to discover and bring to notice. Speaking of the
resemblance and affinity between the English and German languages
and their literary productions, he mentions thus quaintly some of
the treasures of folk-lore. "The tales and stories, the wonders
of Red Riding-Hood, the Glass Slipper, and many others handed
down by those learned and faithful chroniclers of the wide empire
of little men, the nurses, while they lead the American child back

¹ V. W., p. 128. Follen's Works.
² p. 149, ff.
to the home which his fathers left, carry his little cousins in England over to their father-land, even the old Saxon nursery. Proverbs and 'golden sayings', the good old household furniture, and family jewels of the nation, have not yet gone so entirely out of use or fashion, as not to remind all whose mother tongue is either English or German, of the common ancestors, from whom they are inherited."

Very tactfully and appropriately Dr. Follen pointed out at the beginning of his address the essential difference between the French and the German genius, especially as exemplified in the literary productions of the eighteenth century, - in the French, a certain "worship of the outside of things; an immoderate respect for finish, neatness, and ease, with an excessive abhorrence of all inelegance, unrefined simplicity, obscurity, and mystery," whereas the German is characterized by a "comparative indifference to finite and external things, and an all-absorbing interest in the boundlessness of every intellectual pursuit, sometimes embodying the grave, the profound, and the sublime in unfinished, obscure, or indefinite forms." Thus he felt the depth and richness and beauty of the German language and literature, - its wonderful "Innigkeit." Of course he loved it, especially the poetic literature, which is filled with the spirit of German idealism. "Science", he remarks, "furnishes the mind with a competent outfit for the exigencies and trials of the world, poetry imparts to the unfledged heart the power to soar above it."

It is because Dr. Follen was the first missionary of German culture here that it is worth while to dwell on these things. It is indeed most fortunate that we were granted such a man at the
very beginning. It was very important that he should have possessed this exalted conception of German literature and that he thus looked at it from the historic view-point. His emphasis on freedom, we have mentioned repeatedly - he was a true pupil of Fichte. His success could not fail to be immediately forthcoming since joined with those splendid powers and qualifications, he ever cherished this high aim, - to acquaint his students "with those German authors best fitted to excite their attention, and to reward it by their enlightening and inspiring influence," and to "awaken within them principles and purposes which should never sleep until they had brought forth the glorious fruit of Christian freedom."

In connection with Dr. Follen's life we have already spoken of his distinguished friends in Boston and of their pleasant reading parties and other social gatherings. Extracts from his diary for 1827 show that the conversation, as might be expected, must often have turned on topics relating to German literature. For instance, the entry for November twenty-first speaks of a talk with Crüter about the history and character of German literature and art. Again, while calling on Miss Cabot, on the evening of December sixth, he read to the company portions of Gower's translation of "Faust," to give them an idea of the story, and then presented his interpretation of it. Another time he read extracts from "Faust" so effectively that the audience exclaimed that only Shakspeare wrote with such power. A little later, we find recorded a conversation in regard to Herder and Jean Paul, while at still another of the parties, he entertained his hearers with a description
of student life at Jena. Dr. Channing's enthusiasm for German philosophy that the latter took up the study of German in order to pursue his studies in the original. Mrs. Follen, speaking of another time considerably earlier than any of these says, "No one will ever forget his recitation of Goethe's Kennst du das Land, especially the tender accents of his voice when repeating the words

'Dahin! dahin!

Möcht' ich mit dir, O mein Geliebter, zieh'n.'

It was indeed the cry of the home-sick spirit after its fatherland."

During this time, also, Dr. Follen wrote for Miss Cabot a little story called "The German Girl", which went the rounds of all his friends and was finally published in the "Sequel" to the "Well-Spent Hour". It was founded upon a true story of a poor young girl whose one treasure was her beautiful hair, for which considerable offers were made her. Refusing them all, however, she secretly brought the hair to the public auction as a patriotic gift.

With this new study of German and Germany came new ideals of freedom in learning and teaching and a keen and large appreciation of scholarship, combined with a quickened ideal of independent research and thought, of the instinct of creation, and an aroused sense of the value of scholastic tools like laboratories and libraries. Naturally then, educational questions were often the subject of discussion among these people so especially interested; such, for instance, as the advisability of dropping the elementary teaching at Harvard, and the making of it into a University in the German sense - a problem which we are still working at, by the way.

Dr. Follen regarded the common school system in this country as

1 Cf. The "Life" - p. 243.
better than that of Germany, though he placed the higher institutions there ahead. It is indeed to be regretted that he did not continue his Journal, but the range, variety, and elevation of the subjects with which he was occupied are sufficient to show his characteristic habits of mind.

In correspondence as in conversation, Dr. Follen played his rôle of guide and interpreter in matters pertaining to his beloved literature. Thus, in addition to his interest and encouragement, he was of considerable practical assistance to Mr. Tracy, the author of a translation of "Undine", not only through his critical annotations on that text but also in his explanation of various allusions and difficult passages. Then, too, Dr. Follen had a personal acquaintance with Mr. J. Q. Adams, who, as we know, was an enthusiastic lover and admirer of German literature. In several letters which passed between them - given in the "Life" - we find an exchange of criticism and comment, an asking and giving of information in regard to certain German writers.¹ Dr. Follen appears to have had a high opinion of Mr. Adams' taste and ability as a critic.

Evidence² - very incomplete, to be sure - of another of Charles Follen's many activities was discovered by mere chance a few years ago; namely, the brief record of an old German Society. Mr. L. S. Mackall found, in a Boston book-shop, two paper-covered German books printed in 1829. On one side of the cover of each appeared a list of rules, while on the other side was posted a printed sheet headed 'German Society - 1828', followed by a list of names, Dr. Follen's, as we see, at the head of the column.

¹ Dr. Follen passed judgment on Adams' translation of Wieland's Oberon.
I have been able to discover nothing further about this society, but surely its guiding spirit must have been Dr. Follen.

In addition to his work at Harvard, Dr. Follen reached a wider circle of hearers in his public lectures on German literature and on Schiller in particular, given especially in Boston and New York and repeated elsewhere. A "Faust" course, too, was planned but was cut short by Dr. Follen's untimely death. His enthusiastic admiration of Körner and Schiller, previously mentioned, and his influence in their favor may have had something to do with the far more ready welcome which Schiller found in America than was accorded Goethe, though, of course many other things must be taken into consideration. Goethe, for example, had to fight against the prejudices of many excellent people, not all of whom were narrow-minded either.

The Schiller lectures as preserved for us in the fourth volume of the collected works, contain an introductory life of Schiller, followed by a delineation of his principal works, including some remarks on the unfinished dramatic sketches - and closing with a brief comparison of Goethe and Schiller, given by request. The aim, therefore, was to bring Schiller before the audience as a dramatic poet, since it is his work in this direction that constitutes his place and character in the literary world. In the introduction, Dr. Follen states his plan thus: "I shall first give you
the history of the life of Schiller, and then a sketch of each of his principal dramas, accompanied with critical observations. A full account of each work, and as far as possible in the author's own words, seems particularly important, not only because many of my hearers are acquainted with the writings of Schiller only by translations, most of which are unfaithful both to the letter and the spirit of the author, - but chiefly because, with a distinct sketch of each work before him, the hearer or reader is enabled to judge, not only of the works of the author, but of the remarks of the critic." These are the only part of his lectures on German literature left incomplete in the manuscript. In some of them, as for example, in that on "William Tell", he preferred to finish the criticism extemporaneously, "out of the fulness of his heart", since the reading of the play never failed to affect him very powerfully. We are told that Dr. Pollen became a very fluent and eloquent speaker, - his utterance, at first slow and deliberate, gained increasing freedom and animation, so that his audience heard him with pleasure, especially as he was blessed with a very musical voice. Certainly these lectures are very vivid and interesting and must have given a great impulse to the study of Schiller; for enthusiasm begets enthusiasm. "Among all the writers of my native land, who were the light and companions of my early days, there is no one who stands so near my heart, and with whom I could wish you so much to be not merely superficially acquainted, but firmly and intimately connected, as the chaste, elevated, enlightened, tender, and enthusiastic Schiller - the friend of the young in spirit, the delight of the pure in heart."

If we would get some idea of the atmosphere into which Dr. 

1 Cf. Pollen's Works, V. IV, pp. 6 and 7.
Follen entered when he came to Boston, we must consider the fact that his life-time here included within its limits (1825-40) the palmiest days of Unitarianism and that during that time also, there were few ardent natures in New England who were not more or less affected by the Transcendental movement. This was a wonderful period in the spiritual history of our country. Rarely has a desire for the things of the mind so permeated the life of a whole people as was the case in New England between the years 1830-70, and Boston was the very soul and center of it all. Then a new and fresh spirit was declaring itself; revolution was in the air - a world-wide revolution whose New England manifestation was religion.

For almost two hundred years, New England, with its intensely serious temper, rigid social traditions, and instinctive belief in absolute truth, had led its life in comparative isolation from the rest of the world, itself made up largely of isolated communities. Now, suddenly, the whole region was flashed into unity. There was an awakening of American consciousness to the fact that contemporary standards and achievements worthy of note existed in other countries. It was a real Renaissance. The Transcendental youth took as unaffected delight in excellent modern literature and music as did the 15th Century Italians in some newly discovered Greek manuscript. From 1820 on, many New England young people, repelled by the formal classicism of 18th century English literature, and desiring more emotional stimulation than Unitarianism afforded, read with great eagerness, whatever of romantic literature or transcendental philosophy came their way. Unitarianism was itself a revolt from the repressive dogmatism of New England Calvinism, and it, in turn, impelled the younger generation, whose spiritual

1 Cf. Trent-Wendell.
needs it had not satisfied, to seek, in "that outburst of intellectual and spiritual anarchy called Transcendentalism," new outlets for the emotions kindled by the literature of the romantic period.

In New England, Transcendentalism was a two-fold movement, if movement it may be called at all, in the first place for greater culture, and at the same time, for a larger and freer spiritual life. Thus it was a combination of two movements, not, like that of Germany, a system of pure philosophy, nor yet as in England, primarily a phase of literature. It dominated the actions as well as the thoughts of men. It was a religion, a life, a crusade for spontaneous expression, in every possible form, of that individual human nature which had so long been thought deserving of confinement and rebuke. As a matter of fact, the New Spirit did manifest itself in various phases, - in a formal oratory reaching its height in Webster, Everett, Choate; in a new kind of scholarship, culminating in the admirable historical works of Bancroft, Motley, Prescott, Parkman; Unitarianism in religion; Transcendentalism in philosophy; in general conduct, a tendency toward reform which deeply affected our national history; and in the meantime the most mature school of letters which has yet appeared in this country. Even in its minor aspects, the literature of Transcendentalism - in marked contrast with the contemporary Knickerbocker School in New York, which was never more than a literature of pleasure - strove to be a literature of knowledge and power, ever seeking in the eternities for new ranges of truth that should broaden, sweeten, strengthen and purify human life. Thus the innate backbone, strength, and high ideals of these people were shown even in their
revolt from the earlier traditions that had nurtured these characteristics.

In all this movement, German thought - and that too at a time when German philosophy was most metaphysical and German literature most romantic - was dominant, and continued so, down through the first three quarters of the century. It seems reasonable to believe that if Unitarianism had not shaken the hold of dogmatism, German philosophy and romance would not have appealed to so many New England minds, and too, if Unitarianism had not, through its complacent mental and spiritual attitude, somewhat checked the springs of spiritual emotion, there would have been no such widespread experimenting with every phase of theoretical and impractical idealism. But, of course, many other things must be taken into account also, - especially the imaginative bent of the New England mind, the sincerity, courage, and independence of the people, the simplicity of their lives and freedom from hampering traditions of caste. Then, too, it was a time of aspiration throughout the world.

Now by its introduction into the academic course, the German language and literature was influential not only in its own particular field, but contributed to every study and department of research which had great books for its interpretation and exponent. While it is true, as we have seen, that the movement owed much to such men as Ticknor, Bancroft, J. Q. Adams, Longfellow, who had completed their education in Germany; to Channing, Ware, and Parker, who were acquainted with German philosophy; and to many other men who led the way in theology, science, and other fields; in the realm of Belles Lettres it was Charles Follen who was the first to awaken in broader circles, a love for and appreciation of German
achievement.

"So pflanzte er, ein Apostel ächt deutscher Wissenschaft, be-
gabt zu gleich mit dem Feuer eines edlen Enthusiasmus und einer
begeisterten Beredsamkeit, das deutsche Wesen in den amerikanischen
Volksstaat ein." ¹ A noble man, and a strong and learned as well.
Dr. Follen could not fail to make his mark even in a strange land
and among a strange people. However, as we know, he loved his
adopted country and served her right faithfully and well. He was
a splendid athlete and founder of the German Turnschule in this
country; a lawyer well-grounded in civil and ecclesiastic law; an
able and eloquent minister, a distinctly religious spirit; an aboli-
tionist with prophetic view, praised by such men as Whittier and
Samuel May; a teacher eminent and beloved of all; a finished lec-
turer; a profound scholar and thinker; and withal an enthusiastic
lover of everything good and beautiful and true - surely we owe
him a great debt of gratitude for his devoted and unselfish life,
and for the inspiration of his leadership into the pleasant paths
of German literature, toward which our land was just turning, long-
ing and expectant. All honor to this pioneer in a movement toward
the establishment of an intimate relationship with the great minds
of Germany whose influence has wrought itself into the very fabric
of our nation.

¹ Körner, p. 162.