

GERMAN CRITICISM OF ANATOLE FRANCE

BY

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## I. INTRODUCTION

This is not a biography of Anatole France, nor the present writer's appreciation of his works; it is a careful study of the German criticism of him from 1889, the year in which Fr. Kreyssig mentioned him in the Geschichte der französischen Nationalliteratur,<sup>1</sup> until 1938, the year in which Alfred Bünsch published Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert. Judging by the large number of articles and a few books that are in print, it can be affirmed that Anatole France created considerable interest among the German critics, not only after his death, but also for many years during his lifetime (1844-1924). From 1897 to 1931, with the exception of 1902 and 1917,<sup>2</sup> not a year passed without the publication of one or more German studies on Anatole France. All the criticism that was written between 1889 and 1938 is the subject matter of this present study.

It has been my aim to collect all the bibliography on the subject and to extract from that part which is available in this country the pertinent statements about Anatole France and his works. This is done with the hope of shedding some additional light from the German side upon this rather complex and elusive French writer who has not yet fully been explained and who continues to be regarded as an enigma.<sup>3</sup> Most of the material examined is available in the library of the University of Illinois. Some of it was secured through the aid of the Union Catalogue Division of the Library of Congress from other libraries in the United States. A few articles, many of which are of earlier date and therefore probably less im-

portant, are not at present in the larger research libraries of this country. These articles are designated in the general bibliography with an asterisk.

The following list of critics with titles of their articles or studies, chronologically arranged, constitutes the principal sources from which information was drawn for the preparation of this dissertation. The minor critics, whose articles have been examined, are too numerous to be included in this list.

## 1894

- 1) Hermann Bahr, famous Viennese writer and critic, "Anatole France" in Studien zur Kritik der Moderne.

## 1898

- 1) M. Beer, "Anatole France und seine Schilderungen".
- 2) Ernst Heilborn, editor of Die Literatur, "Der Trost des Skeptikers".

## 1899

- 1) A. Brunnemann, "Anatole France".

## 1900

- 1) A. Brunnemann, "Anatole France".
- 2) Hans Lindau, author of forgotten novels and plays, "Anatole France".

## 1904

- 1) Arthur Floesser, well-known literary historian, "Anatole France" in Literarische Porträts aus dem modernen Frankreich.

## 1905

- 1) Eduard Engel, author of a history of French literature, "Anatole France".
- 2) Ludwig Hatvany, scholar of modern literatures, writer and publisher, author of Die Berühmten, "Anatole France".

## 1907

- 1) Josef Hofmiller, Bavarian critic and journalist, "Geijerstam und Anatole France".
- 2) Paul Wiegler, literary historian, author of books on France, "Anatole France".

1909

- 1) Josef Hofmiller, "Thais".

1910

- 1) Josef Hofmiller, "Auf dem weissen Steine".

1911

- 1) Ernst Heilborn, "Anatole France: Stimmung".
- 2) Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: La Vie Littéraire".

1912

- 1) Eduard Engel, "Anatole France" in Geschichte der französischen Literatur.

1913

- 1) Richard M. Meyer, a scholar and literary historian, Die Weltliteratur im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.
- 2) H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, both famous scholars and professors, "Anatole France" in Geschichte der französischen Literatur.
- 3) Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: Die Romane der Histoire Contemporaine".

1914

- 1) Franz Blei, important naturalist and critic of literary movements, "Anatole France".

1915

- 1) Josef Hofmiller, "Anatole France".
- 2) Fritz Mauthner, philosopher and author, "An Herrn Anatole France, Ein offener Brief".

1918

- 1) Kurt Pinthus, literary historian, editor of Menschheitsdämmerung, "Aufbruch der Engel und Komödiantengeschichte".
- 2) Otto Grautoff, professor and author, "Anatole France".

1921

- 1) Ernst Heilborn, "Anatole France: Schnee".
- 2) Otto Grautoff, "Anatole France: Der fliegende Händler".

1922

- 1) Ivan Goll, expressionistic and revolutionary poet, "Ein Nachmittag mit Anatole France".

## 1923

- 1) Friedrich Oppeln-Bronikowski, well-known translator of French into German, "Anatole France als Plagiator".

## 1924

- 1) Raoul Auernheimer, writer of note, "Anatole France".
- 2) Otto Grautoff, "Anatole France".
- 3) Hugo Bieber, literary historian, "Anatole France".
- 4) Ernst Robert Curtius, Romance scholar and professor of French history and Romance philology at the University of Heidelberg since 1924; previous to this year, he was a professor at the University of Bonn and later at the University of Marburg. Some of his books are: Die literarischen Wegbereiter des neuen Frankreichs (1919), Maurice Barrès und die geistigen Grundlagen des französischen Nationalismus (1921), Balzac (1923), Französischer Geist in neuen Europa (1925), "A. France".
- 5) Kasimir Mischmid, spokesman of the expressionistic movement in literature, "Anatole France".
- 6) K.O. Erdmann, "Anatole France".
- 7) Heinrich Mann, novelist, brother of Thomas Mann, "Skepsis und Liebe zum Tode".
- 8) Mario Passarge, critic of European literature, translator of Ibsen, "Anatole France in Rome".
- 9) René Schickele, Alsatian writer and dramatist, "Der Dichter und der Krieg" and "Anatole France: La Vie en Fleur".
- 10) Eduard Wechsler, professor of French literature, "Anatole France".
- 11) Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France".

## 1925

- 1) Arthur Klosser, "Anatole France in Pantoffeln".
- 2) Walther Kückler, Professor of French, "Anatole France".
- 3) Eugen Lerch, Romance scholar, late professor at Munich and Paris, "Das Problem Anatole France".
- 4) Richard von Schaukal, lyric poet, a) "Anatole France und die Jugend", b) "Gedanken an seinem Grabmal", c) "Vormittage der Villa Said".

## 1926

- 1) Marie Bunsen, daughter of Ambassador Bunsen, "Die Meisterin Anatole Frances".
- 2) Victor Klemperer, scholar and professor, "Anatole France" in Geschichte der französischen Literatur.

## 1927

- 1) Walter Gottschalk, member of Reichstag, Professor of Romance Philology at the University of Rostock, "Der Dichter und sein Werk".
- 2) Alfred Pillet, Professor of Romance Philology, "Anatole France".

1928

- 1) Eugen Lerch, "Anatole France und sein Sekretär".

1931

- 1) Alfred Pillet, "Anatole France".

1934

- 1) Robert Blanck, "Anatole France als Stilkünstler in seinen Romanen".

1935

- 1) Heinrich W. Kirchhoff, "Selbstdarstellung bei Anatole France".

1938

- 1) Alfred Bönsch, Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert.

A glance at this chronological list of the more important German critics reveals two significant facts: 1) Very few years passed within which there was no study of Anatole France published by one of the major critics; 2) Some of these scholars wrote more than one study of the French author.

I have divided the time during which the German criticism was published, that is between 1889 and 1938, into four periods:

- 1) Before the Dreyfus affair, when Anatole France was comparatively little known in Germany.
- 2) From 1900 to the Great War, when German recognition of him and the popularity of his works steadily increased.
- 3) During the abnormal war time and the post-war years until his death, when France's fame definitely waned.
- 4) From his death in 1924 to 1938.

Since all German criticism of Anatole France centers around the following main points: 1) the man, 2) the writer and critic, 3) "Weltanschauung", 4) the ironist and skeptic, 5) social and political views, and 6) his literary works, I have presented as much as possible in chronological order what the German critics have

written on these six topics within each one of the four periods of time.

Criticisms, just as literatures, "sich ewig befruchten", but, the extent to which the German critics are indebted to the French critics, and what they have thought of the French opinion on Anatole France, is beyond the scope of this present study. It should be also stated that whatever is written in the following pages, except the conclusion, is meant to be the sentiment and the opinion of the German critics and not of the present writer.

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1. For complete data on a reference cited, see the general bibliography,

2. Possibly there was something written also during those two years; it remains to be discovered.

3. Cf. R.P.Dargan, Anatole France, 1938, pp. IX-XIII.

## II. BEFORE 1900

### 1. The Man.

The earliest mention of Anatole France in German publications available for this study is in Fr. Kreyssig's Geschichte der französischen Nationalliteratur of 1889.<sup>1</sup> At that date Anatole France had done only a small part of what he was destined to achieve as a writer. Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard (1881) was making his name known in France and in many other countries, and Le Livre de mon ami (1885) was winning for him many admirers. The German scholars took notice of this, read his works, and from time to time published their reactions.

There was little said at first about Anatole France, the man. His personal characteristics were unknown to the neighbors living across the Rhine. M. Beer describes him as one well-informed in philosophy, politics, theology, history, natural sciences, ancient and modern literature. Such vast knowledge, acquired through diligent and extensive reading and a natural aptitude for observation, enabled Anatole France, in the opinion of Beer, to become one of the important connoisseurs and critics in France. Beer further asserts that Anatole France was not a genius, and that he lacked the initiative and constructive power of Balzac, or of Zola. At the same time he outranked both of his countrymen in the beauty of language; and, moreover, he did not show their weak points.<sup>2</sup>

A. Brunnemann considered Anatole France a year later as the man who loved truth, without being faithful to it. This indicated to the critic how human Anatole France was. To bring out the idea that the

author cannot be entirely identified with the character M. Bergeret, whom he frequently contradicts, Brunnemann quotes the following:

"Sie stellen treffliche Sophismen auf, Herr Bergeret. Trotz alledem glaube ich mit Renan, mit Zola, dass die Wahrheit eine durchdringende Kraft besitzt, wie sie weder der Irrtum noch die Lüge enthalten. . . Ich glaube also an den Triumph der Wahrheit."<sup>3</sup>

Then the critic prophesies that this instinctive predilection for truth and justice on the part of Anatole France, which is the highest moral consciousness of man, will help mankind to advance a step forward.<sup>4</sup> France's taking sides with Zola during the Dreyfus affair probably was the cause of this comment.

Brunnemann detects the spirit of Anatole France in three different types: Abbé Jérôme Coignard the child of the 18th century, M. Bergeret the professor in a provincial town, and Sylvestre Bonnard the good old man and scholar.<sup>5</sup> The form that he assumed in Coignard is entirely different from the other two.<sup>6</sup> In M. Bergeret the critic sees the incarnation of France's youngest critical spirit. But, to the question: "Ist nun Anatole France identlich mit M. Bergeret?" Brunnemann replies: "Wir glauben es nicht"; because Bergeret gives up all hopes for any progress of mankind, which is not the case with Anatole France. And the same answer he gives to another question, namely: "Ist er (A.F.), wie so viele annehmen, nur der unerbittliche Skeptiker, ja der Nihilist, der gegen eine aufgestellte Wahrheit ebensoviele Für als Wider zu Felde führt?"<sup>7</sup>

It is easy for Brunnemann to recognize Anatole France's spirit in Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard and identify him with the kind, learned and wise old gentleman:

. . . denn France hat im Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard sein dichterisch und zugleich menschlich Bestes gegeben.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. The Writer and Critic.

The German critics before 1900 interested themselves in Anatole France more as a critic than as a writer. Of the several studies available, one treats directly the subject of France's art of writing and discusses several of his books; two others specifically examine Anatole France as a literary and social critic.

Hermann Bahr, himself a famous critic of Vienna and discoverer of new talents at home and abroad, published a book in 1894 entitled Studien zur Kritik der Moderne.<sup>9</sup> In a chapter on Anatole France, Bahr reviews first the various schools of criticism. He divides them into two kinds: the old school of Brunetiére, Zola, Huysmans and the new one of Bourget, Balzac, Sainte-Beuve, and Taine. The latter believes that change and development are continuous and that what is true today may be false tomorrow.<sup>10</sup> There are also other schools, but Anatole France disregards all of them and belongs to his own, which Bahr describes thus:

An Gesetze denkt sie nicht. Sie schafft auch nicht für die Geschichte. Sie sucht nicht einmal die besondere Natur der einzelnen Künstler. Sie genießt. Weiter gar nichts. Sie genießt die Künstler und die Kunst und erzählt von ihren Genüssen. Schlichter und aufrichtiger kann man nicht sein. Sie verspricht gar nichts. Aber sie hält sich selbst.<sup>11</sup>

According to Bahr, France's school of criticism is altogether different from other schools. It is discreet in its method: it does not criticize the art or artists; it enjoys them; and it tells of its enjoyment. Such criticism is entirely subjective and impressionistic, as Bahr asserts in the following sentences:

Das eigentlich Kritische fehlt seiner Kritik. . . . Es ist die subjektivste und persönlichste Kritik, impressionistisch durch und durch. Sie nimmt ein Werk, verzeichnet die aus ihm empfangenen Stimmungen und theilt sie mit. Das ist ihr ganzes Verfahren.<sup>12</sup>

M. Beer (1898) alleges that Anatole France joined in 1897, the

year L'Orme du Mail appeared, the ranks of those novelists, of whom Zola is a paramount example, who study and criticize contemporary society. In both novels, L'Orme du Mail and Le Mannequin d'osier, Anatole France displays little force as a novelist. He gives however a true picture of his country by depicting vividly its people and by presenting the current opinion on various social questions. For in these two books, Beer further states, Anatole France

. . . zeigt er ihnen, wie die herrschende Klasse Frankreichs denkt, spricht, fühlt, handelt, oder besser, wie sie nicht handelt.<sup>13</sup>

Hermann Bahr had pointed out Anatole France's independence of all schools of criticism. Brunnemann elaborated upon this view by saying that he was independent of all schools of writing as well. Brunnemann's figure of speech which makes this point very clear is indeed pertinent:

Eine Insel mitten in den reissenden Wogen des in so vielerlei Strömungen fluthenden literarischen Lebens hat sich Anatole France aufgesucht und sich dort ein Observatorium erbaut, von dem er lächelnd auf die tosenden Fluthen herab und bisweilen empor zu den ewigen Gestirnen blickt. Mit keinem der modernen Schlagwörter, Realismus, Naturalismus oder gar Neu-Idealismus ist ihm beizukommen, weil er sich, kritisirend, über Alles stellt.<sup>14</sup>

Brunnemann is the only critic of this first period who made a direct observation concerning France's style. He wrote:

Er kann überhaupt als grösster französischer Stilist der Jetztzeit gelten.<sup>15</sup>

### 3. "Weltanschauung".

Very little was written about Anatole France's "Weltanschauung" before 1900. Hermann Bahr incidentally remarked that France's regard for art in general was religious, aristocratic, and even dogmatic. The critic wrote that:

Die Kunst ist seine Religion. Sie allein macht das Leben

erträglich; ja sie macht es festlich und froh. . . Er liebt die Kunst, weil sie das Leben verschönt. Er liebt die Kunst um des Genusses willen. . . 16

And Brunneemann pointed out that there was hiding behind the apparently nihilistic cynic an earnest Weltweiser and a serious philosopher. But, in order to perceive them, it was necessary to be acquainted with France's background and to understand the main ideas of his works.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4. The Ironist and Skeptic.

The subject of Anatole France's skepticism was touched upon by at least three German critics before 1900. Hermann Bahr was the first to do it. He explained that while Anatole France was young, romantic pathos reigned in his soul; that he expected more from life than turned out to be his share; that he wanted to be happy but could not. Hence the inevitable disappointment that he experienced. He sought truth and found doubt; this resulted in "philosophie dégoûtée de l'universel néant". Belief in life was gone; truth became very relative; and he thought that: "sur toutes choses il y a beaucoup de vérités, sans qu'une seule de ces vérités soit la vérité". He became convinced that man cannot really know, and he began to doubt everything, even doubt. Of one thing he remained certain, thinks Bahr, namely that: "Au milieu de l'éternelle illusion qui nous enveloppe, une seule chose est certaine, c'est la souffrance. Elle est la pierre angulaire de la vie".<sup>18</sup>

But, in spite of all this, Anatole France did not become a Byron, Bahr further explains. He had an intense feeling for the Parnassian doctrine. In fact, art was his religion. Since it beautifies life, it makes life bearable. So he continued to adore art.<sup>19</sup> Bahr saw in him more than a skeptic and doubter, as the

following statement testifies:

Aber auch hinter seiner hochmüthigen Skepsis steckt ein kindlich treuer Glaube an das Schöne und hinter seinem gutmüthig lächelnden Zweifel lauert eine starke Tyrannei. . .

Er bekennt, dass Alles nur Schein und Einbildung ist, aber er zweifelt durchaus nicht, dass dieser oder jener Reim gut ist, von einer absoluten Güte.<sup>20</sup>

Ernst Heilborn, who later became editor of the Literarische Echo, one of the most important German periodicals,<sup>21</sup> published in 1898 a study of France's skepticism.<sup>22</sup> This study is not in any way profound or extensive. It contains however some leading observations on the state of mind of a skeptic. Skepticism is a sort of consolation for a disappointed individual. He may begin with himself and say: "What I have said there . . . would be just as right if I had said the opposite". Then he extends this idea to others who also may be in the right. For one may see a thing from the opposite point of view, and then it appears naturally different. Through this attitude one's understanding of men broadens.

Furthermore, a skeptic finds, or tries to see, some luck in an unlucky situation. For example: In Le Mannequin d'Osier Bergeret unexpectedly finds his wife in the arms of another man. At first he is very miserable. But, through the process of reasoning he comes upon a theory of shame; this theory makes him feel free. The result is that Bergeret succeeds in getting freedom from his wife, who is not very young - another consolation for the skeptic - and he retains the possession of the only child, who resembles him. And thus unhappiness leads to happiness.<sup>23</sup> Of course, the author of the novel uses Bergeret as a device, as Heilborn points out:

Das alles aber gibt France nicht in seinem Namen, sondern Bergeret behauptet es, der kleine, unbeliebte Bergeret. . . Ich möchte sagen, Anatole France hört dem allen lächelnd zu. Denn nicht darin besteht der Reiz des Skeptizismus, Paradoxen aufzustellen, sondern darin, sie verständnisvoll lächelnd hinzunehmen.

"Tout comprendre". Nur dass dies tröstende Verstehen zuweilen in ein schmerzvolles Mitleiden übergeht und ein Satiriker den Skeptiker ablöst; freilich ein Satiriker, der den Myth, zum alten moralisierenden Rüstzeug zu greifen, längst verloren hat, und dessen Mission sich wieder in Skeptizismus verflüchtigt.<sup>24</sup>

The critic concludes that Anatole France was a characteristic psychologist who tried to work out contradictions and reconcile oppositions - in the realm of ideas, of course. This consolation of the skeptic Heilborn calls decadent. But, with it, Anatole France contributed to the literature of his country, or rather renewed the striving after the classical style.<sup>25</sup>

#### 5. Social and Political Views.

It was no doubt too soon for the German critics before 1900 to comment on France's social and political views. His views were not yet crystalized and the works that expressed them were to be written after the Dreyfus case. This point will be taken up in extenso in the following chapters.

#### 6. Literary Works.

The German opinion about some of Anatole France's books of this first period was still in formation. Kreyssig (1889) limited his remarks on this subject to one sentence:

Gautiers Farbentrunkenheit findet man in seinen Poèmes dorés (1873), dagegen in den Noces corinthiennes (1876) eine verständnisinnige Liebe für das untergegangene Hellentum.<sup>26</sup>

And, in a brief book-review on L'Anneau d'améthyste, an anonymous writer (1899) considered it as mere sketches of the religious bourgeois life of a province, published under the colorless title of Histoire contemporaine.<sup>27</sup> He made however the following laudatory comments on it:

Die Zeitgeschichte, die Anatole France uns vorträgt, ist blutwarme Aktualität. Dem Leser enthüllt sich ein grosses Stück des französischen Provinzlebens, und doch ist auch Paris stets gegenwärtig . . . Solche Bücher zu schreiben, muss man allerdings nicht bloss Historiker, muss man auch ein Dichter sein.<sup>28</sup>

Speaking of France's other works, this anonymous critic reported that the characters in his books were interesting although ordinary people. None of his heroes were of "bedeutendes Schicksal" and none of his heroines were among those whose "Kommen auf Sturm und Gewitter deutete". The following sentence shows that this critic was well acquainted with France's earlier books:

In seiner Büchern spiegeln sich alle Schwankungen der sogenannten öffentlichen Meinung, ihre Grillen und Schrullen, ihre erstaunliche, den Stärksten fortreissende Macht, ihre fürchterliche Dummheit, und man kann wirklich sagen: die Seele des heutigen Frankreich zeigt sich hier in ihren vielfältigen leiblichen Erscheinungsformen.<sup>29</sup>

Brunnemann was the only early critic who considered in some detail several of France's works. He was favorably impressed especially with Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard, calling it the pearl of French literature. Here are his words:

Zu den Perlen der französischen Literature gehört: Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard. Die Fabel! Einfach wie eine echt menschlich ergreifende Stelle aus Homer: . . . welche Fülle von Schätzen enthält das Buch! Wie klar spiegelt sich die ganze Menschheit in der tiefen Seele des Alten wieder. . .<sup>30</sup>

In a lengthy summary of the book, Brunnemann dwells on the fine characteristics of the good old man Bonnard, who has seen much, read widely, thought deeply, and possesses a soul of a "Weisen". He knows so much that it is possible for him to feel the pulse of the world's life without stepping out of his library. The old philosopher shrugs his shoulders at all the little contrarities of life and, with a sarcastic smile on his lips, forgives everything. This forgiving disposition aids him to surmount all littleness in the people about him and to regard life from the higher viewpoint of totality.<sup>31</sup> The

critic's own words are more eloquent than my paraphrasing:

Immer und immer wieder, nur durch ein paar Striche gezeichnet, tritt die wunderbar sympathische Gestalt des Greises vor uns hin, und wir werden nicht müde, ihm zuzuhören. Seine Worte lassen uns zugleich lachen und weinen - es durchweht sie ein Ton echten Humors, wie wir ihn nur bei Dickens wiederfinden.<sup>32</sup>

Brunnemann also thought that Anatole France had put into Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard both his poetic and his manly best, and that in the succeeding works the skeptic side of him began to dominate the poetic side and eventually set it into the background. All readers can understand and appreciate Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard, whereas only the intellectual get the most out of his later works.<sup>33</sup> This novel contains real greatness and depth as well as many pages of gripping reading material, according to Brunnemann's judgment. He ends his discussion of it by a translation of the last paragraph into beautiful German:

Heute sind Vater und Mutter auf sechs Wochen unter das Dach des Greises gezogen. Da kommen sie eben aus dem Walde zurück, Arm in Arm. Jeanne ist in einen grossen schwarzen Shawl gehüllt und Henri trägt Cropp an seinem Strohhut. Aber sie strahlen Beide in Jugendschöne und lächeln einander sanft zu. Sie lächeln der Erde zu, die sie trägt, der Luft, die sie umweht, dem Licht, das ein Feder in des Anderen Augen erglänzen sieht. Ich winke ihnen mit meinem Taschentuch und sie lächeln meinem Alter zu. Jeanne steigt rasch die Treppe hinauf, umarmt mich und flüstert mir ein paar Worte ins Ohr, die ich mehr errathe als verstahe. Gott segne Dich, Jeanne, Dich und Deinen Mann bis zu Deinen fernsten Nachkommen! Et nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine.<sup>34</sup>

Brunnemann found this same atmosphere in only one other of France's books, which he briefly reviews next: Le Livre de mon ami. It is also, in his opinion, a "friedliches Buch", which relates the pleasures and disappointments of a growing youth. In it he found many most intimate and idyllic scenes as well as some deep philosophy of life. Here too, the author maintains his belief in the continuous progress of mankind.<sup>35</sup>

La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque and Les opinions de l'Abbé

Jérôme Solignard are two books in which Anatole France assumed an entirely different philosophic mien. After giving a brief résumé of both of them, Brunnomann writes:

Beide Werke bieten eine schwere Kost, die mit Vorsicht und innerer Reife genossen sein will. Mit scharfer Dialectik und geradezu beissendem Spott wendet sich France in alterthümlichem unübertrefflichen satirischem Stil . . . gegen Alles, was die landläufige Moral, was Gesetz, Ordnung und Religion aufgestellt haben. Es ist eine der schärfsten Zeit- und Menschheitssatiren, aus der heutige Vorkommnisse oft sehr deutlich durchblicken.<sup>36</sup>

The critic points out further that everything in these books appears magnified and saturated with biting cynicism. The philosophic abbé seems to set all morals upside down and make the reader believe that everything is worthless and that men will never manage to grow out of their stupidity and littleness. Therefore they deserve only pity mixed with irony.<sup>37</sup>

In Thaïs, Anatole France sets forth some heathen philosophy of life along with a great deal of dialectic mockery. Le Lys rouge, on the other hand, is not a polemic work. Only its characters, skillfully depicted, make it better than the usual run of Parisian novels.<sup>38</sup>

The three novels called by the general name L'Histoire contemporaine<sup>39</sup> are satirical portrayals of contemporary French society. In them the author has not the least resemblance to Bonnard:

Hier kein Ausgleich, keine Versöhnung, keine trostreiche innere Harmonie, keine dichterische Verklärung; wie fern ist der liebe alte Sylvestre Bonnard! Nichts als Kampf bis auf's Blut . . . Sein Skepticismus verschont nichts und mit der Unersehroffenheit eines kühnen Operateurs setzt er das Messer an alle Schäden der menschlichen Gesellschaft und nimmt seine Landsleute, sein Vaterland, das eine grosse Rolle ausgespielt hat, arg mit. Die jüngsten Scandale, die politischen Ereignisse, die wissenschaftlichen und literarischen Streitigkeiten Frankreichs werden erbarmungslos zerstückelt . . .<sup>40</sup>

Beer's short observation on L'Orme du Mail and Mannequin d'Osier is worth quoting:

Nach der Lektüre dieser beiden Novellen, die vom Verfasser als "Histoire contemporaine" näher bezeichnet werden habe ich einige der guten alten Illusionen über Frankreich eingebüßt, dafür aber an wahren Ansichten gewonnen.<sup>41</sup>

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1. Fr. Kreyssig, Geschichte der französischen Nationalliteratur, page 352.
  2. M. Beer, "Anatole France und seine Schilderungen des französischen Provinzlebens," Die Neue Zeit, XVI<sup>2</sup> (1898), 805-806.
  3. A. Brunnemann, "Anatole France," Die Gegenwart, LV (1899), 395.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid., p. 392.
  6. Ibid., p. 393.
  7. Ibid., p. 395.
  8. Ibid., p. 392.
  9. Hermann Bahr, "Anatole France," in Studien zur Kritik der Moderne, 1894, pp. 140-149.
  10. Ibid., pp. 140-141.
  11. Ibid., p. 142.
  12. Ibid., p. 147.
  13. M. Beer, "Anatole France und seine Schilderungen des französischen Provinzlebens," Die Neue Zeit, XVI<sup>2</sup> (1898), 806.
  14. A. Brunnemann, "Anatole France," Die Gegenwart, LV (1899), 392.
  15. Ibid., p. 393.
  16. Hermann Bahr, "Anatole France," in Studien zur Kritik der Moderne, 1894, pp. 145-146.
  17. Loc. cit., p. 392.
  18. Op. cit., p. 143.
  19. Ibid., p. 146.
  20. Ibid., p. 145.
  21. Its name changed in 1923 to Die Literatur.
  22. Ernst Heilborn, "Le Mannequin d'Osier, der Trost des Skeptikers," Die Nation, (Berlin), XVI (1898), 201-202.
  23. Ibid., p. 201.
  24. Ibid., pp. 201-202.
  25. Ibid., p. 202.
  26. Fr. Kreyssig, Geschichte der französischen Nationalliteratur, 1889, p. 352.
  27. Anonymous, "Der Amethystring," Neue Freie Presse, March 19, 1899.
  28. Ibid.
  29. Ibid.
  30. A. Brunnemann, "Anatole France," Die Gegenwart, LV (1899), 392.
  31. Ibid., pp. 392-393.
  32. Ibid., p. 393.
  33. Ibid., p. 392.
  34. Ibid., p. 393.
  35. Ibid.
  36. Ibid., pp. 393-394.
  37. Ibid., p. 394.

38. Ibid.
39. The fourth novel, M. Bergeret à Paris was not published until 1901.
40. A. Brunnemann, loc. cit., p. 394.
41. M. Beer, "Anatole France und seine Schilderungen des französischen Provinzlebens," Die Neue Zeit, XVI<sup>2</sup> (1898), 806.

### III. FROM THE DREYFUS CASE TO THE GREAT WAR

#### 1. The Man.

As the twentieth century advanced, Anatole France's fortune in Germany increased. In addition to the numerous articles published by the chief critics, listed in the Introduction, there were many minor observers who expressed their impressions of the French author and his works. The Great War broke out in the summer of 1914 and temporarily checked the German study of this Frenchman, just as it checked the progress of many other things.

The famous literary critic, Arthur Eloesser, published in 1904 a book on several French literary men.<sup>1</sup> In a chapter on Anatole France, Eloesser emphasizes France's being thoroughly French, his eminence as a representative of the Latin culture, the immunity from Germanic influences, and his continuation of the eighteenth century rationalism.<sup>2</sup> He also sees in France a combination of journalist, poet, scholar, and one of the finest of modern critics.<sup>3</sup> Besides being a many-sided perceiver and observer of mankind, he was able to enjoy through his imagination all the beauty of the past.<sup>4</sup> By natural inclination, he belonged, thinks Eloesser, to those men who enjoy every kind of work and who turn into artful idleness any sort of occupation. Very learned reading was for him a means for enjoying the passing time rather than an end in itself. And, as a moralist and psychologist, he could show repeatedly his own instincts behind various pleasant masks.<sup>5</sup>

It is somewhat surprising to learn that as late as 1907 Anatole

France was not yet widely known in Germany. This information comes from Josef Hofmiller, who published two studies and two book-reviews on Anatole France. We read:

France ist bei uns noch viel zu wenig bekannt, wo er doch vielmehr verdiente und lohnte gelesen zu werden, als Herr Ohnet. Erst in den allerletzten Jahren ist das Eis ein wenig gebrochen: vor 1900 waren nur zwei, seit diesem Jahre sind sieben seiner Werke übersetzt worden.<sup>6</sup>

Then the critic adds that it is difficult to give an adequate picture of him. Even the French students of his works judge him differently. This does not astonish Hofmiller however, because an author, by preference ironical, is not a suitable subject for mere enthusiasm. Some people lost a liking for him because of his taking part in the Dreyfus affair; others, on account of it, showed more interest in his works. Many take pleasure in reading what he writes but not all admire him.<sup>7</sup> Hofmiller doubts the efficacy of translating his works into German, because:

France ist so sehr Franzose, . . . dass, wer ihn nicht im Original liest, seine Eigentümlichkeiten nie ganz erfasst.<sup>8</sup>

Paul Wiegler, well-known critic of French literature, called Anatole France in 1907 a book-store similar to the picturesque open shops that bedeck the banks of the river Seine. He considered him

. . . ein Buchmagazin wie die offenen, heiteren Läden der Seinequais; ist keine Quelle, sondern ein Gefäss der Tradition.<sup>9</sup>

Anatole France collected not only tradition but also information of various sorts; his knowledge therefore was that of a gatherer of events, judgments, opinions, and observations.

Marie Herzfeld as early as 1900 saw in him, as Eloesser did, a true representative of his nation, for she wrote:

Anatole France hat alle trefflichen Eigenschaften des Geistes seiner Nation, die glashelle Klarheit, die ewig sprudelnde Lebendigkeit, die feine Bosheit, die Lust am unvorhergesehenen...<sup>10</sup>

Ernst Heilborn (1911) saw resemblances between the world views of Bernard Shaw and Anatole France and between theirs and those of Theodor Fontane.

Zieht man, was sehr wohl angängig, eine Linie von ihm zu Shaw, von beiden zu Theodor Fontane hinüber, so treten Ähnlichkeiten sehr innerlicher Weltbetrachtung zutage.<sup>11</sup>

Hans Land, writing on the seventieth birthday of Anatole France, April 16, 1914, called him a front-rank fighter for the cause of liberating man's mind from various follies and superstition.<sup>12</sup> And, commenting on France's stand for truth, the critic wrote:

Wo immer man die Bücher dieses Autors aufschlägt, man trifft auf verblüffende Wahrheiten.<sup>13</sup>

Karl Lahm (1914) thought that, judging by outward appearances, Anatole France seemed to prefer seclusion, to be left alone with his many old and new books and various objects of art, in order to continue the study of antiquity; inwardly however he was continuously infuriated against all forms of fanaticism.<sup>14</sup>

In a lengthy and quite thorough study of La Vie Littéraire (1911), Eduard Schön makes several pertinent statements about Anatole France the man. In the opinion of this critic, the French writer knows a great deal and wants to know everything. Being interested in the accumulation of facts, his mind is a store-house filled with all sorts of wonderful, rare and significant curios.<sup>15</sup> France's mind is like a cutler's dust: fine, sharp and sparkling; it polishes up objects and ideas dug up from the past and makes them appear bright.<sup>16</sup> Hence, he is well-grounded in history.<sup>17</sup> Endowed by nature with the gift to understand, his comprehension is more instinctive than academic.<sup>18</sup> This might explain in part his rejection of rules and principles as well as dogmas. For Anatole France every form was binding, every dogma enslaving, every rule restricting.<sup>19</sup> Fundamentally he was

a gazer, "ein Zuschauer" going through the world enraptured like a genuinely interested visitor to a museum.<sup>20</sup> Anatole France could not understand the lack of taste in a person. He himself possessed a large share of "Geschmack" and considered it of greater value than virtue. The result was that he did not have a liking for either the Naturalists or the Symbolists, both of whom lacked taste.<sup>21</sup> Relating him to the Germanic world, Schön wrote:

France hat ein instinktives Gefühl dafür, dass das germanische Wesen ihm im Innersten fremd ist.<sup>22</sup>

The episode of France's visit to the Argentine in 1910, reported by a German critic, may not be amiss to review here. According to Hermann Fernau,<sup>23</sup> the European was fêted by the whole South American nation. His pictures appeared in all the newspapers; printed copies of his lectures which usually ended in stormy applause, as well as some of his books, were on display in all book-shops and news-stands; and his speeches were reproduced in extenso by the daily press. Fernau cites the Diario demócrata in which it was said, among other things, that Anatole France was the first visitor to speak candidly to the Argentinians. "Hut ab!" exclaims the reporter, "before the man who dares to utter words of reproof regarding social and economic evils." And Anatole France did it with the same ironic smile on his calm face with which he confronted the working classes of his own land, urging them to organize. His final public address, entitled "Meine Eindrücke von der Republik Argentinien," drew a large number of important personages from Buenos-Aires. On this, as on similar occasions, Anatole France stood out in distinct contrast to his contemporary fellow-writers in that he was himself and true to his convictions. Injecting some utopian ideas, he offered his audience suggestions as to how to correct their social abuses. It took intel-

lectual courage to do this. But that virtue was his forte. The newspapers praised him in lengthy columns for his beautiful language in particular and for the eloquent expression of the neo-Latin genius in general.<sup>24</sup> This account of France's lecture tour in South America ends with the assertion that the Frenchman left with the Argentinians a lasting impression of himself as a great artist and a real man. Fernau concludes that:

Sintemalen unseren Estheten drei Dinge abhanden gekommen sind, die sie von Anatole France lernen könnten: Mut, Ehrlichkeit, Einfachheit.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. The Writer and Critic.

### A. The Writer.

German criticism regarding Anatole France's writing centers on the following main points: general qualities-particularly style, technique in writing novels, skill in story-telling, poetic inspiration, sense of the dramatic, and literary criticism. There is scarcely any disagreement among the numerous critics as to his being a "Schriftsteller". He has been pronounced by nearly all of them a very skillful and talented writer. Not much has been written concerning his plays, for the very good reason that he did not write many of them. As to his being a "Dichter" and a novelist, the German critics very definitely disagree, not only during this period but during the two following as well. Kloesser (1904), emphasizing the point that Anatole France was a Latinist with a marked taste for the classical style, writes:

Als Schriftsteller vertritt er in Frankreich die reine Latinität, die sich Virgil, Horaz, Lucrez als hohe Ahnen zuschreibt, ein unerschütterlicher Freund der verbindlichen Regel, des "esprit d'ordre" in Gedanken und Reden . . .<sup>26</sup>

The harmonious flow of words in his books has a bewitching affect

upon the French people.<sup>27</sup> Luckily for the French Academy, he is a member of it.<sup>28</sup> If Anatole France's writing is judged from the standpoint of architectural beauty, he is indeed an artist of first rank.<sup>29</sup> He does not work however with colors or lines but with words, words of concrete recollections applied to express abstract ideas. Marie Herzfeld (1900) thinks that:

Er ist einer der geistreichsten Köpfe unserer Zeit und ein Meister aller Künste des Worts. Er kann die witzigsten, ruhrendsten, die zärtlichsten, schwierigsten Sachen in unübertrefflich wirksamer Weise sagen.<sup>30</sup>

And discussing his style, she writes:

Er ist französisch wie kein anderer in Wohlklang und Eleganz, gallisch durch und durch, . . . und lateinisch in der strengen Schärfe des Stils . . . so alt sind seine Mittel; so einfach ist sein Satzbau; so schmucklos ist sein Ausdruck. Er verwirft den überladenen, farbengetränkten Stil Theophile Gautiers und die "écriture artistique" der Brüder Goncourt. Ihm widerstrebt der moderne malerische Impressionismus in seiner doppelten Richtung: Secondenausschnitte des Lebens naturgetreu und sinnwidrig aufs Papier zu werfen.<sup>31</sup>

In a second article on Anatole France, Brunnemann (1901) attributes his being little known in Germany to the fact that the readers consider him "ein schwieriger Schriftsteller". This difficulty lies not in the style, "der krystallklar dahinfließt oder in kurzen Erzählungen herrlich geschnitten Kameen gleich," but in the numerous references to historical data which requires considerable knowledge of the social and political events of France on the part of the reader. Notwithstanding, for Brunnemann he was the most gifted of living French writers.<sup>32</sup> Three years later, Marie Fuhrmann, in a book-review of France's Komödiantengeschichte, agrees with Brunnemann about the greatness of Anatole France as a writer, as the following statement definitely shows:

Anatole France gilt was Feinheit und künstlerische Durchbildung des Stils betrifft, für den grössten der lebenden französischen Schriftsteller, der das Gewagteste sagen kann, ohne zu verletzen. Seine Bücher enthalten gewissermassen die Quintessenz des fran-

zösischen Geistes. Er ist nicht nur ein Dichter, sondern auch ein Weltweiser, der das Menschliche, oft Allzumenschliche, mit so schalkhafter Ironie erzählt, dass man ihm nie ernstlich böse sein kann.<sup>33</sup>

Then follows a review of the book in which the critic laments the fact that much was lost in translation and therefore the "Komödiantengeschichte" should be read in the original or not at all. Mahle Fuhrmann points out that the poetic language of the writer, the fine humor, and the nuances of the original were entirely lost in the translation.<sup>34</sup>

To the question whether Anatole France was really original, Josef Hofmiller (1900), editor of Süddeutsche Monatshefte, replies that a writer may be original in one of two ways: either in content or in style. The second way, which is the way of Anatole France, often presupposes greater strength on the part of the author.<sup>35</sup> This same viewpoint was expressed also by Hans Lindau in 1900 when he said:

Was er schreibt, ist am Ende gar nicht so wesentlich - feine Gemälde des zeitgenössischen Pariser Lebens haben gebildete Nichtfranzosen ebenfalls entwerfen können, und vielleicht beruhen die besten Leistungen von Anatole France in der treuen Milieuwiedergabe ganz anderer Zeiten und Länder - aber wie er schreibt, das künstlerische Auge und die formende Hand geben zu erkennen, auf welchem Culturniveau das Kunstwerk möglich gewesen ist, und in welcher engeren Atmosphäre es aufwachsen konnte.<sup>36</sup>

Hans Hagen, on the other hand, (1910), asserts that France's weakness lies in his many-sided artistic temperament. He shows us in his books how rich this world is in art. It is for us to appreciate it.<sup>37</sup>

Eduard Schön (1911) thinks that in his predilection for art, France was an idealist and an ardent admirer of the Greeks. A classicist by taste, he derived the rule of clearness from the classics.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, he avoided technical questions; instead, he wrote stories and novelettes in short, rhythmic and energetic sentences. His terse, smooth and charming language is soft and colorful in style.<sup>39</sup> Due to this style, Felix Rosenberg (1904) said that "Anatole France führt

die feinste Feder heute wohl in Frankreich," and that he was an ingenious philologist.<sup>40</sup> Eduard Engel (1912), author of Geschichte der französischen Literatur, expressed about the same idea when he wrote:

France ist zweifellos einer der feinsten Stil-künstler seines Landes und ein überaus geistvoller, wissensreicher Plauderer.<sup>41</sup>

In the opinion of Eduard Platzhoff-Lejeune (1912), Anatole France was not given the recognition in Germany that was due him, although his influence in France at the time was enormous.<sup>42</sup> This same critic affirms that Anatole France was the most educated ("gebildetste") and therefore the most versatile French writer of his time. Here are the critic's own words:

Anatole France nimmt in Deutschland nicht den Rang ein, für ihm gebührt. Hinter Franzosen zweiten und dritten Ranges steht er zurück. Den bedeutenden Einfluss, den er auf seine Landsleute ausübt, unterschätzt man gewaltig.<sup>43</sup>

Als Stilist ist er unbestritten gross. Als Schriftsteller weiss er oft mit einer warmen Herzlichkeit zu schildern, die bei ihm und überhaupt in der französischen Literatur erstaunt und völlig original ist.<sup>44</sup>

Platzhoff-Lejeune also points out the fact that two very different forces played upon Anatole France: the influence of Renan and that of the Parnassian school. Anatole France succeeded in uniting these two opposing schools of thought.

Auf France haben zwei sehr verschiedene Strömungen deutlich gewirkt: einmal Renan, dann die Schule der Parnassiens. Kaum kann man sich grössere Gegensätze denken, und doch hat France beide vereinigt.<sup>45</sup>

In another study (1913), this time on the novels of the Histoire Contemporaine, Eduard Schön shows great admiration for Anatole France the writer. For Schön, Anatole France as stylist is a master of unusual skill. France's language does not appear at all worked over. The clear, rhythmic, sparkling sentences are fine patterns of logical thinking.<sup>46</sup> In the choice of words, France is exact, refined, and rich in images and metaphors. His sentences are for the most

part short: like small, leaping waves whose sound surges upon our ears "schlag auf schlag".<sup>47</sup> He even changes the tone to fit the occasion. He writes in varied style, because he himself is not always the same. It is in fact the style of an eclectic.

Überblickt man seine sprache als ein ganzes, so darf man sie wohl als klassisch bezeichnen.<sup>48</sup>

There were one or two critics at this early date who took an opposite view to that of Schön. Max Lorenz in 1901, for example, could not understand why Anatole France should be rated so highly as a writer.

Ich begreife die Kritiker nicht, die der Suggestion eines grossen Namens, den Anatole France tatsächlich hat, so vollkommen unterliegen können, dass Urtheile wie das folgende möglich sind. "Am meisten entzückt aber die Rote Lilie durch die unnachahmliche Grazie und den wunderbar feingeschliffenen Stil. Sogar die Übersetzung lässt uns noch erkennen, dass Anatole France mit Recht der feinste Stilist Frankreichs genannt wird, und dass er seinen Sitz in der Akademie redlich verdient hat. In diesem Stile lässt sich Alles, selbst das Gewagteste sagen, und es wird noch immer Poesie sein." Dieses Urtheil stammt aus einem bekannten Berliner konservativen Blatt, dessen literarischen Redakteur ich sonst als einen unserer besonnensten, objektivsten und selbständigsten Kritiker zu schätzen weiss.<sup>49</sup>

The above statement, containing the favorable opinion of a certain conservative Berlin publication, is doubly significant. The main point of Lorenz's contention is that Anatole France was not a "Künstler" but merely an aesthete, and that between these two there is nothing in common. The former, endowed with imagination, is able to create a world out of nothing; while the latter, lacking this power of inspiration, ". . . lebt von der meist nur oberflächlich mitempfundener Kunst Anderer und versteht es höchstens, die Dinge der Wirklichkeit mit ein paar Linien zu dekorieren". Then, making a comparison with other French writers, Lorenz asserts that Maupassant and Daudet, although standing on the border line, were both "Künstler"; whereas Anatole France "ist nur Aesthete".<sup>50</sup>

Marie Fuhrmann (1906) raises objections to some of France's books on the ground that they contain trivialities which a German writer would avoid putting into print. She explains however that the apparent nonessentials are due to the translation into German. A great deal of grace and charm of the original is lost through translation into another language. Her own words will make this point clearer:

Anatole France ist ein feiner und geistreicher Kopf, und manches, was er sagt, ist es daher auch; anderes dagegen ist so trivial, dass ein deutscher Schriftsteller sich scheuen würde, es zu sagen, geschweige denn, es drucken zu lassen. . . Anatole France ist der Ansicht, dass man alles sagen kann, wenn man es zu sagen versteht, und da er zweifellos zu sagen versteht, was er sagen will - er gilt ja für den feinsten französischen Stilisten der Gegenwart -, so ist es möglich, dass vieles, was in der Uebersetzung matt und alltäglich klingt, im Original durch die graziöse Form erfreut; wenn man es deutsch liest, hat man entschieden den Eindruck, ein solches Buch hätte nicht übersetzt zu werden brauchen.<sup>51</sup>

Paul Wiegler thinks that Anatole France repeats himself; but he hastens to proclaim:

France ist heute das Ideal eines Schriftstellers, denn er bedeutet das geistige Gewissen Frankreichs.<sup>52</sup>

The disagreement about France's merits as a novelist is even more pronounced. Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld (1913), famous German professor and scholar of Romance literatures, believes that Anatole France has not written any unified novels and that the books considered as novels are mere episodes.<sup>53</sup> Being rich in picturesque tournares, in rhythm and harmony, the charm of them consists mostly in the beauty of language and excellence of style. In his longer stories France shows his faithfulness to the 17th century tradition, to which he skillfully joins an artful expression of modern excitability ("Gefühlsregtheit").<sup>54</sup>

Richard M. Meyer (1913), who resembles Birch-Hirschfeld in works and renown, states that Anatole France successfully amalgamated

the old colorful English novel of adventure with the philosophical novel of Voltaire.<sup>55</sup> Just like Theodor Fontane, Anatole France explores human souls and takes delight in uncovering his unexpected findings.<sup>56</sup> The historian positively states his unwillingness to admit to the rank of the greatest writers two Germans, Gerhart Hauptmann and Stefan George, two foreigners, Selma Lagerlöf and Anatole France.<sup>57</sup>

Back in 1900 Lindau expressed a preference for France's novels which, he thought, were not the usual narratives of adventures. He wrote:

Drum sind seine Romane keine Heldenabenteuer und Gott sei Dank auch nicht immer so langweilig gut gebaute Häuser, wie sie kältere Seelen liefern mögen, sondern vernünftige Geschichten, die nicht um jeden Preis interessante Leute zum Mittelpunkte haben.<sup>58</sup>

Then, commenting more directly on France's art of writing novels, Lindau said:

Da schwebt etwas Neues hervor, "des Menschen Seele durch und durch zu dringen", es ist eine demokratischere Kunstrichtung, sie sieht die ganze Welt in dem goldigen Lichtschimmer übergossen, der dem Malerauge Schönheit bedeutet.<sup>59</sup>

Next Lindau raises the question whether Anatole France was a good painter of characters. There is no doubt but that he knew how to construct a novel.<sup>60</sup> He himself discussed such points as plot, suspension of interest, fulfillment of expectation, etc. But, do his characters live? The answer is affirmative, as the following quotation indicates:

Aenlich wie die zarten weiblichen Blumen, die Charles Dickens der Nachwelt geschenkt hat, erscheinen mir einige Frauenporträts aus der Hand des französischen Meisters. . . ein Beispiel für Alle. Wir wählen die Mutter im Le Livre de mon ami.<sup>61</sup>

And the depiction of the learned men that have the principal roles in the novel is masterful. All the heroes are distinguished thinkers.<sup>62</sup> Lindau points out further that a good proof of our impression is

memory. After seeing a play represented on the stage and having perhaps been amused, we go away with some impression. If the play happened to be one of Shakespear's, or Molière's, or Goethe's, the characters stand out vividly in our minds. The same is true in reading a novel. And, Lindau thinks, the characters of France's novels remain in our memory as well as those of Dickens or Balzac.<sup>63</sup>

Eduard Engel, author of the Geschichte der französischen Literatur (1912), disagrees with Lindau on this point. Admitting that many French and German readers of France's works consider him not only as the greatest mind in France but also as one of the most important of French novelists, and, he himself stating that Anatole France is without doubt the finest stylist of his country, Engel insists that, like the German Romanticists, France wrote some very good beginnings for his novels, but his endings were always weak. Lacking the power of character development, he resorts to the means of "esprit". This is not however a good way of writing a novel, since: ". . . ein bisschen Dichterkraft ist mehr wert als aller Esprit, denn die Dichtung, die echte, bleibt, der Esprit verfliegt". The critic adds that very few jokes of yesterday are worth repeating.<sup>64</sup>

Some years before 1905 Engel indicated similar views in an article on Anatole France, published in Der Türmer. A part of this article tells much, so I quote:

In Frankreich gilt seit längerer Zeit Anatole France für einen der grössten Romandichter, folglich gibt es auch in Deutschland Schwärmer, die auf Anatole France schwören. Berufsmässig auf französische Literatur geeicht und durch die neuen Auflagen meiner Geschichte der französischen Literatur verpflichtet von allen bedeutenden oder noch von allen vielgenannten neuen Werken Kenntnis zu nehmen, habe ich ordnungsgemäss auch alle neuen Bände von Anatole France gelesen, habe an ihnen bewundert, was zu bewundern war, habe mich an dem gelangweilt, was langweilig war, und möchte einmal angesichts seines letzten Romans schlicht meine Meinung über diesen so sehr berühmten französischen Schriftsteller sagen.<sup>65</sup>

Engel next declares that Anatole France cannot tell a story. A story-teller must know how to do that, a "Dichter" should do that and more. Anatole France cannot put into practice the French saying: "Contez, mais contez bien". Moreover, nothing stays in one's memory after reading one of his novels; not a character is remembered; not one of the many apparently ingenious sayings is retained. ". . . es kommt aber bei France nichts anderes heraus, als eine Reihe ironischer Zeitungsartikel." For the most part Anatole France makes an effort to say something learned: an idea derived from reading the classics or Greek literature is inserted now and then. But, a writer of a story who is unable to proceed with his narration without resorting to the means of direct philosophizing can hardly be taken for a master of his art.

And Engel insists that:

Da ich nun in einem Roman etwas ganz anderes suche als gelehrtes Wissen, so überschlage ich alle gelehrten Stellen grundsätzlich, und ich hoffe, die meisten Leser hatten dies ebenso. Anatole France hat sich also ganz vergebens in so grosse Aufkosten der Gelehrsamkeit gestürzt.<sup>66</sup>

Engel at the end admits, however, that the novel M. Bergeret à Paris, as well as some of the others, contains something that arouses real admiration. This feeling of admiration is mingled with a feeling of envy. Both are caused by the excellent language of the French writer. This bad story-teller, a mere causeur, writes in perfect French. In Germany, even the greatest authors are not free from linguistic faults. Engel attributes this to the difference of systems in teaching the languages in France and Germany.<sup>67</sup>

Schön (1913) on the other hand, definitely admires France's art of writing novels. His artistic aptitude for drawing a character is remarkable. The heroes are depicted not only by what they say but also by their gestures. Before they talk, the author describes their poise and movements, so that when they do speak, it is with more vividness

and clarity.<sup>68</sup> France shows through the characters of his novels that he has trained his ear to hear the various sounds, as he has trained his eyes to see everything. Therefore the characters are endowed with their own personal voices.<sup>69</sup> France is rather discreet in his method of depicting a character. This corresponds to his sense of taste. Therefore, in some respects his characters are like the French marionettes, dainty, modest, polite but human.<sup>70</sup> He often speaks of art in his novels because of his keen taste for art. His elegant and artistic soul needs art as the body needs air. Reading his novels is like passing through a "bunbewegte" world with a painter or a sculptor. For he, like a true artist, brings order, light and color out of chaos, rhythm and harmony out of noises.<sup>71</sup> The following quotation shows further what Schön thinks of Anatole France as an artist in writing novels.

Frances kunst ist l'art pour l'art, ist kunst für die kunstge-  
meinde, für einen kleineren kreis von ästheteten, nicht aber jene  
grosse fortbreitende kunst, die in leidenschaft geboren, aus der  
ganzen fülle der seelischen kräfte herauswächst, die wie eine  
eingebung den ganzen menschen ergreift, und die das schaffen des  
geistes dem wirken der natur gleich macht. Mit France geraten  
wir nie so tief in das leben seiner menschen hinein, dass wir das  
auf und nieder ihrer daseinsgeföhle miterleben. Wir wünschen  
nie, dass die erzählung wahr sei, und heften keine spannung an  
sie. Wir vergessen uns nie selbst, um in neuen lebensschicksalen  
durch neue lebensgeföhle unser dasein zu erweitern. Es bleibt  
zwischen uns und den Franceschen gestalten eine letzte distanz.  
Ein naives sichhingehen an die dichterische fiktion als an das  
leben selbst ist nicht möglich.<sup>72</sup>

There are only two critics within this period who have made direct observations on the subject of France's story-telling. In 1900, Marie Herzfeld felt that France was not a narrator in the strict sense of the word. France's stories, in her opinion, were shaped slowly and with much effort out of thought and learning, just as the statues of Rodin were hewn with hard labor out of stone and marble. She points

out the fact that the dialogues in France's stories resemble for the most part professorial lectures and that the disputes which take place during the course of a novel remind the reader of the old disputations of the ancient doctors.<sup>73</sup> And Meyer, thirteen years later, said that Maupassant was without any doubt a much greater master of story-telling than Anatole France. The latter was too much of a philosopher and skeptic to reproduce simply an imagined adventure.<sup>74</sup> Neither Anatole France nor Thomas Mann possesses the gift of flowing narration.<sup>75</sup>

The German word "Dichter" is broader and more inclusive in meaning than the English word "poet". And yet, when the German critics consider Anatole France as a "Dichter" they give to the word the same meaning that the term "poet" denotes to us. Otherwise, some of the German opinion would be absurd. Engel, for example, speaking of Anatole France the poet, wrote:

Wir haben in Deutschland zwanzig Roman-und Novellendichter, denen Anatole France, der Dichter, nicht bis zu den Schultern reicht; allerdings kaum einen Sprachkünstler gleich ihm.

The critic adds that the French take him for a poet of prominence; to this he feels an objection should be raised.<sup>76</sup> Schön thinks that Anatole France possessed a delicate and sensitive soul but "Keine poetischen fundamentalgeföhle," out of which the powerful underlying key-notes of life spring forth.<sup>77</sup>

In a clever dialogue imagined by Ludwig Hatvany (1905) as taking place between M. Bonnard and M. Bergeret, Bonnard, who seems to represent the critic, contrasts Anatole France with other French writers thus:

Anatole France nämlich sieht dem typischen Bilde des Dichters nicht sehr ähnlich. Er ist kein Hugo, kein Balzac, aus denen, wenn sie auch zwischen vier Mauern sitzen, die Erfindung von selbst unaufhörlich hervorquillt; er ist viel intelligenter aber viel weniger ursprünglich, als diese 'genialen Esel', wie einst, ich glaube, Sainte-Beuve, die grossen Unbewussten genannt hat. Er ist auch kein Lamartine, dem es zur Inspiration genügt, wenn der

Frühlingswind die Aste eines blütenübersäten Baumes vor ihm schaukelt. . .<sup>78</sup>

The old man Bonnard, who sounds now like Anatole France, and again like Hatvany, criticizes his own creator at length as follows:

Für ihn müssten die Bildhauer von Phidias bis Rodin gemeißelt, die Maler von Fra Angelico bis Puvis de Chavanne gemalt, Schliemann und Boni mussten graben, Franz von Assisi müsste glauben, Voltaire leugnen, Renan zweifeln, Plato und Lucian und wie das neue Buch leider beweist, sogar Jules Verne und Bellamy mussten schreiben; Paris, Rom, Venedig, Jerusalem und Athen, alle Städte dieser Welt mussten ihm darbieten, was in ihrer Vergangenheit und ihrer Gegenwart jungfräulich rein und raffiniert verderbt ist, damit sich ihm diese starken Eindrücke zu einem Buche verdichten.<sup>79</sup>

About France's dramatic skill Paul Wiegler (1907) made only this brief observation:

Das er die Möglichkeit dramatischer Gestaltung nicht besitzt, ward mehr als einmal klar.<sup>80</sup>

### B. The Critic.

After Hermann Bahr, Eduard Schön has written most concerning Anatole France the literary and social critic. Schön states that Anatole France was a distinctly subjective or impressionistic critic. He did not analyse the contents of a book; he merely noted his personal reaction to it.<sup>81</sup> His criticism is so permeated with his own views that it reveals more of the critic than of his subject. Strictly speaking, he did not discuss the books; instead, he spoke of himself in the light of the books he read.<sup>82</sup> The following metaphor of Schön is indeed very apt in describing France's method of criticism:

France hebt oft seinen Blick von dem Buche auf und lässt ihn lange träumend in die Weite schweifen. Er geht mit dem Verfasser des Buches wie das Kind mit dem Erwachsenen. Eine Zeitlang ist es ein Nebeneinander Hand in Hand. Dann reisst es sich plötzlich los. Eine Blume am Wege möchte es pflücken, in die Auslage eines Schaufensters möchte es sich vertiefen, einen Seitenweg möchte es einschlagen. Das Tempo fremden Ganges ist selten France' eigenes Tempo. Bücher sollen ihm keine Führer sein, sie sollen träumen und denken helfen.<sup>83</sup>

Schön points out the fact that Anatole France fully realized how vulnerable his theory of criticism was. So, to the question whether subjective criticism was really a criticism, he dogmatically replied that all criticism was subjective. How could it be objective, since it is an art and not a science? Thus Anatole France answered the question by asking another one. And he further contended, Schön states, that there cannot be any criterion of the beautiful.<sup>84</sup>

Es kann keine objektive Kritik geben; denn es gibt kein Kriterium des Schönen. Warum ist die Ilias schön? Jede Zeit, jede Geschmackrichtung, jede Kunstanschauung gibt darauf ihre eigene Antwort. Und nicht zwei Antworten sind einander gleich.<sup>85</sup>

The really critical element is absent from his criticism. Moreover:

Die Menschen sind ihm das eigentliche Studium, nicht die Werke. Mit ungestillter Wissbegier sucht er sie, sucht ihre individuelle geistige Physiognomie in ihren Schriften. Persönliches, Allzupersönliches schreibt er über sich. Persönliches, Allzupersönliches sucht er bei anderen.<sup>86</sup>

The literary historian Richard Meyer (1913) considers Anatole France as a critic important enough to be classed with Sainte-Beuve, Renan, Lemaitre, Bourget, and Brunetière, all of whom were not only literary but also "Zeitkritiker".<sup>87</sup>

### 3. "Weltanschauung."

Anatole France's philosophical concepts, or views on life and on the world in general - the Germans use the one word "Weltanschauung"- are not always clear and appear to some critics as contradictory. Marie Herzfeld (1900) called him a born opponent of everything, whose critical mind could not see justice and who demanded therefore indulgence.

. . . wie er an Ideen nicht glaubt, so glaubt er auch an die Menschen nicht. Er würde sie hassen, wenn er sie wichtig genug nehmen könnte; sie erschienen ihm lächerlich, fände er sie nicht bloss komisch.

More than that,

Er verehrt die göttlichen Gesetze, er bewundert die öffentlichen Einrichtungen; er stützt die Regierenden und dringt den herrschenden Ansichten und Wohlmeinungen das Opfer seiner Intelligenz!! - Mit nichten.<sup>88</sup>

He found people too comical for ridicule and too important for hatred. Observing the actions of men about him, France thought of the marionettes, because:

Les Marionettes  
 Font, font, font  
 Trois petits tours  
 Et puis s'en vont.

Preferring to be impartial he abstained from pronouncing judgments and from making appraisals. His aim was to merely understand everything, expressing his opinion or views on nothing. In case views had to be stated, counterviews were always forthcoming. On this account it is impossible to determine definitely what were his exact philosophical ideas. "Er spielt, er scherzt, er jogliert mit allem." At the same time, he persistently sought truth; not that he expected to find it, but the seeking of it afforded his mind the noblest and most difficult of enterprises. (Cf. note 5 in chap. II ) Because of all this, Anatole France is inaccessible to the hoi poloi. To understand him it is necessary to comprehend his works as a whole and not in part.<sup>89</sup>

Anatole France looked upon life as one looks at a theatrical performance from a comfortable seat, that is, with amusement and dreaming. He felt that it was more enjoyable to dream than to act; consequently, most of the characters in his books are heroes in dreams rather than in actions.

Träumen ist besser als Handeln . . . Seine Helden leben in ihren Träumen und lassen sich von den Zauberkunststücken ihrer Phantasie gefangen nehmen.<sup>90</sup>

Hans Hagen (1910), who made a study of Anatole France's social-

ism, touched upon his philosophy in a brief but rather apt and vivid manner. The following metaphor of Hagen reminds us of the one Schön used while discussing France's method of criticism:<sup>91</sup>

Es ist die Überzeugung des Anatole France, dass eigentlich alle Überzeugungen gleich viel taugen. Daraus ergibt sich in seinen Werken ein bald belustigendes bald betrübendes Hin und Her von Meinungen, ein Umstürzen aller Worte. Jede Philosophie muss sich einen Augenblick auf das Mokierstühlchen setzen, um unangenehme Kritiken anzuhören, bis sie dann mit einem mutwilligen Knicks herunterspringt und einer andern den Platz einräumt.<sup>92</sup>

This means, of course, that no philosophy was a permanent occupant of France's mind. But he was convinced that every conviction or piece of philosophy should be examined, and every philosopher should be heard. And that in itself is certainly not a bad philosophy.

Birch-Hirschfeld (1913), on the other hand, basing his statement on the philosophic ideas expressed in Le Jardin d'Epicure (1895), inferred that France's philosophy included questioning the benefits of culture, doubting the worth of scientific knowledge, and suspecting the moral standards. This sort of philosophy can be briefly summarized by the word "Nichtwissen".<sup>93</sup>

Schön (1911) judged Anatole France to be by nature a philosopher, although different from all other philosophers. Others constructed philosophic systems; he did not; others believed in themselves and in their systems; France believed in nothing, not even in himself. He was in reality an impressionistic artist rather than a philosopher in the true sense of the word.<sup>94</sup> From extensive reading and acquaintance with all systems of philosophy, Anatole France derived the conviction that everything must be believed, because nothing is absolutely true. As a result, as Schön puts it:

Er ist der Apostel der Relativität aller Anschauungen, der Gegner aller Orthodoxie. Ein alleinseligmachendes Dogma existiert für ihn in keinem Bezirk des weiten menschlichen Geisteslebens. Unter dem kalten Hauch seiner Skepsis ist der Begriff geistiger Freiheit nahezu zu dem Begriff geistiger Anarchie verkümmert.<sup>95</sup>

Anatole France was possessed with an excessive fear of illusions. On account of this fear, he continuously strove not to become subject to any and every doctrine or creed. He even guarded himself against making positive statements and retracted immediately after having said anything, or else gave the opposite view. Schön explains this as follows:

So schränkt er ein, was er gesagt hat, weicht zurück, macht allerlei Vorbehalt, sieht die Sache von sovielen Seiten, sieht sovielen "Für" und sovielen "Wider", dass er weder ein entschiedenes "Ja" noch ein entschiedenes "Nein" finden kann.<sup>96</sup>

With such a state of mind, while writing his novels, Anatole France laid mines under every kind of opinion and belief. There are in his books

Soviel Glaube, soviel Vorurteil, soviel einseitige Beschränkung, soviel Spiegelung des Ewig-Einen, nie zu Ergründenden, nie zu Erfassenden. Vorurteile sind Schlacken, von denen er sein Denken zu reinigen sucht.<sup>97</sup>

Schön also thinks that Anatole France was influenced by Darwin to have a low opinion of men. He considered them as half-civilized animals, who behave themselves because of police orders.<sup>98</sup>

Hans Land (1914) seems to have found France's philosophy more tenable than the other critics would admit, for he said that

France ist ein tief und klar Philosoph, der mit Vorliebe die alten und uralten Kulturen durchforscht, um in ihrem Wust und Geröll die Wurzeln aufzudecken, aus denen noch heute unsere schlimmste und schädlichsten Irrtümer erspriessen.<sup>99</sup>

In Sur la Pierre Blanche the author reveals his sentiments about man's existence and attainment of happiness when he states, like a true philosopher, through the mouth of one of the characters in the book, the following recipe for a happy living:

"Ich habe weder Frau noch Kind. Ich bin weder verliebt noch krank. Ich bin auch nicht sehr reich und gehe nicht unter Menschen. Ich zähle also zu den Glücklichen.

After this, Hans Land suggests: "Es stecken ganze Bände von Lebens-

erkenntnis in diesem Ausspruch".<sup>100</sup> And, in another connection, the critic declares that a deeply rooted belief in the progress of mankind and a better future can be detected at the bottom of France's skeptical views and criticism.<sup>101</sup>

Paul Wiegler (1907) asserted that as a philosopher Anatole France was closely related to Renan, the professor of oriental languages and disciple of German metaphysics. It was from Renan that he acquired "die milde philosophisch-theologische L sterung".<sup>102</sup>

#### 4. The Ironist and Skeptic.

According to one of the earlier critics (1903) the development of France's skepticism was hastened by the Dreyfus affair. The elements were already in him before the scandalous case, but they resided mainly in his mind. The social event awakened in Anatole France the sleeping bourgeois eagle.<sup>103</sup>

Another commentator (1905) on the subject of skepticism found in the works of Anatole France a resignation to the mysterious and religious sentiment alongside of a skepticism hard as steel. This combination produced in him a happy union of the historical and critical methods. Here are the critic's own words:

In den Werken von Anatole France finden wir einen stahlharten Skeptizismus neben einer liebevollen Hingabe an die Mysterien und die Aeusserlichkeiten des religi sen Lebens, eine gl ckliche Vereinigung der historischen Methode mit der kritischen.

And chtig versenkt sich France, wie der alte Gelehrte des Romans le crime de Sylvestre Bonnard, in das religi se Loben des fr hen Mittelalters. <sup>104</sup>

Floesser (1904) was content to make a brief observation to the effect that Anatole France was the most significant skeptic of all those who came after Renan.<sup>105</sup> The following is the opinion of Hofmiller (1910) on this subject:

Dieser Ironiker hat eine merkwürdige Entwicklung durchgemacht: als er jung war, besass er die nachsichtige und gütige Milde des Greises. Jetzt, da er alt geworden, ist seine Ironie bitter geworden. Er blickt um sich und sieht nur Verfall: des Individuums, der Familie, der Institutionen, des Staates. Korruption, wohin er blickt. Kein Wunder, wenn er nach Sur la Pierre Blanche jenen nihilistisch hoffnungslosen Geschichtsrück- und vorblick entwirft: Sur l'Île des Pingouins.<sup>106</sup>

Anatole France not only questioned creeds and dogmas but also held the church responsible for wars and bloodshed.<sup>107</sup> His wide knowledge of history led him to this attitude. Moreover, an apostle of doubt can hardly be a disciple of an institution whose fundamental principle is belief.<sup>108</sup>

Schön (1911) thinks that France's skepticism is the seed and fruit of his studies. He had examined all the opinions of man, past and present. This led him to the view that nothing was absolutely true. Seeing that every man makes his own philosophy, he decided to remain only an onlooker.<sup>109</sup> The "Beobachter" has of course no system of his own. He realized however that his skepticism might be considered a system, so he took care not to fall a victim of that system.

Schön brings out this idea again by a metaphor:

France weiss bestimmt, dass im praktischen Leben der Skeptizismus in seinen letzten Konsequenzen sich selber aufheben müsste, dass er in Leere und Unfruchtbarkeit ausmünden würde. Der Skeptizismus ist auch ein System und ist wie jedes andere System der Speck in der Mausefalle. Wer davon kostet, läuft Gefahr, gefangen zu werden. France hält sich immer einen Ausgang aus der Mausefalle frei, um Welt und Natur zu betrachten.<sup>110</sup>

Out of this skeptical frame of mind came France's mildness of temperament and attitude of reconciliation toward everything.

Bei France folgt immer das 'tout pardonner' aus dem 'tout comprendre'. Ein Skeptiker, meint er, ist immer versöhnlich.<sup>111</sup>

Discussing the subject of France's irony, Schön points out the following ideas. In the first place, irony is closely connected with his way of writing; it gives his works a peculiarly personal note.

Nur ist die Ironie in der vie litt. (sic) Stilart neben anderen Stilarten. Sie ist nicht so grosszügig wie in den Romanen, sie trägt nicht wie dort das ganze Werk, dagegen hat sie mehr Schattierungen.<sup>112</sup>

In the second place, France's novels and stories show for the most part only prudent or meditative irony, whereas La Vie Littéraire contains the other two kinds as well: the familiar and the vehement.<sup>113</sup> In the third place, his irony may be personal and bitter when directed against one person, or it may be mild when directed against another.<sup>114</sup>

Two years later Schön wrote:

Frances ironie ist mehr als stilform: sie ist weltanschauungsform. Er sieht sie hinein in alles geschehen. . . Die ironie der tatsachen spielt eine so gewichtige rolle in seinen romanen. . . France geniesst seine ironisirende macht. Er ist sicher, dass die ironische darstellung des lebens ihm eine hohe künstlerfreude bereitet.<sup>115</sup>

Skepticism and paradox always cooperate for Anatole France. The former clears the ground and prepares the soil upon which inevitably blossom forth his paradoxes. The prospective reader of Anatole France should provide himself with a sense of humor and mockery in order to get the most out of his works.<sup>116</sup>

Felix Rosenberg (1904) warns us against a hasty conclusion concerning France's skepticism. It is true that he was skeptical about many things, especially about our ability to really know anything. He was convinced that every unqualified assertion or denial contained some error, that we see appearances and not absolute realities, and that nature is not at all concerned about our ignorance or even stupidity.<sup>117</sup> The critic fathomed France's skepticism all the way to the bottom and found some really solid ground upon which it was built.

Sein Skeptizismus besteht nicht so sehr darin, alles zu leugnen, wie darin, alles zu glauben, ohne etwas für sicher zu halten. Das macht ihn duldsam gegenüber allen Erscheinungen des Lebens und allen Formen des Denkens und der Empfindungen.<sup>118</sup>

## 5. Social and Political Views.

Felix Vogt (1909) was the first of the German critics, whose material has been available for this present study, to make comments on France's social and political ideas. In a book-review published by the Frankfurter Zeitung in 1909, he contrasts Anatole France with Jules Lemaitre. After the Dreyfus case, these two French writers became completely antipodes, as far as politics is concerned. Lemaitre favored royal despotism of the strictest type, whereas Anatole France became a full-fledged socialist and spoke at various socialistic gatherings in the interest of the laboring man.<sup>119</sup>

The excerpts from France's speeches delivered at Buenos-Aires, as given by Hermann Fernau, indicate the trend of his thinking at that time (1910) about social problems. The German reporter selected the most pointed and significant statements, some of which are these:

Heute ganz ebenso wie vor 2000 Jahren muss man, um die Zukunft voranzusehen, nicht die Unternehmungen der Mächtigen dieser Erde betrachten, sondern die untergeordneten Bestrebungen der arbeitenden Klassen.

Ich werde Ihnen ein grosses Geheimnis verraten: In unserem alten Europa, wenn das Volk sich nicht mehr mit der genügenden Sanftmut regieren lässt, das heisst, wenn es nicht mehr ohne Murren und Klagen die Ungerechtigkeit, die Willkürlichkeit, die Ungleichheit der Steuern usw. erträgt, dann -- machen ihm die Regierenden mit dem Nachbar Angst. Hier haben Sie die Hauptursache der Kriegslärme, von denen Europa von Zeit zu Zeit durchzittert wird.

Sie sind intelligent, Sie sind glücklich. Wohl, seien Sie gut, seien Sie gerecht, seien Sie edelmütig. Vor allen Dingen aber: Verschliessen Sie Ihre Herzen der Güte nicht. Sie haben grosse ökonomische Probleme zu lösen. Der Belagerungszustand (dies ist eine Anspielung auf den 1. Mai dieses Jahres, wo es in Buenos-Aires bekanntlich Hinrichtungen gab) ist ein grausamer Ausweg, aber keine Lösung. In Ihren Städten, in allen Städten des Weltalls taucht die Frage der Löhne, der Steuern, der Arbeits- und Kapital-Konflikte auf. Und es wird nicht länger möglich sein, sie wie bisher mit der rohen Kraft zu lösen.

Es ist ein trauriges Geschick für ein Volk, wenn eine arbeitsame Demokratie von einer finanziellen Oligarchie verdrängt wird. Ich wünsche aufrichtig, dass in Zukunft auf der ganzen Erde die Reichtümer eines Volkes aufhören mögen, die Reichtümer einer Klasse zu sein.<sup>120</sup>

Platzhoff-Lejeune (1911) discussing France's stories which contain social ideas, speaks of him not only as a socialist but also as an anarchist, which perhaps is stretching the point. The critic writes:

Crainguebille, Putois, Riquet, et d'autres récits profitables schlagen teilweise einen neuen Ton an. Die Weltanschauung des Dichters hat sich hier ins Soziale übersetzt . . . Dieser Aristokrat des Gedankens wird zum Sozialisten und Anarchisten.<sup>121</sup>

Hans Land (1914) identified Anatole France with Zola, H.G. Wells, and Bernard Shaw in respect to social viewpoint. All four are possessed with a steadfast conviction in the efficacy of socialism, and the French "Aristokrat des Geistes ist ein entschiedener Vorkämpfer des Sozialismus. . ." He adds that Anatole France definitely shows disdain and derision for the French colonial policies.<sup>122</sup>

Emilie Schomann (1911) made a study of Anatole France's utopian ideas expressed in Sur la Pierre Blanche and L'Ile des Pingouins. First of all, the critic calls Anatole France the Proteus among French Utopians.<sup>123</sup> Next, he is spoken of as Proteus among all Utopians.<sup>124</sup> And finally, in L'Ile des Pingouins, as it seems to Schomann, this Proteus of the Utopians turns into an anarchist.<sup>125</sup> Why does she call Anatole France Proteus? Here is the answer:

Hält er sein sozialistisch-kollektivistisches Zukunftsparadies für möglich, für wünschenswert? Will er es überhaupt ernsthaft genommen wissen? Zunächst scheint es, als ob wir mit "Nein" darauf antworten müssen.<sup>126</sup>

Anatole France bemüht sich, diese Utopie in möglichst rosigem Lichte erscheinen zu lassen, aber doch scheint es uns zweifelhaft, ob er in dieser Zukunftsgesellschaft leben möchte.<sup>127</sup>

The critic, being a woman, naturally was interested particularly in France's conception of Utopian women. She found the women as depicted by the Proteus of Utopians unusually strange. They are clad in men's clothes, and it is difficult to tell them apart from men. Emilie Schomann asserts that Anatole France was the first Utopian to put the

same kind of clothes on both sexes.<sup>128</sup> She explains this inconsiderate depiction of the future women thus:

Anatole France steht dem weiblichen Geschlecht im allgemeinen sehr ablehnend, sehr skeptisch gegenüber. Er hat den Geist früherer Jahrhunderte in sich aufgenommen, der in der Frau ein schlimmes, boshaftes, intrigantes, falsches Geschöpf sah, das den armen Mann quält und betrügt, wo es nur kann. So finden sich nur wenige sympathische Frauengestalten in den Werken von Anatole France; die meisten gehören in die Kategorie der Mme Bergeret und der Oberose.<sup>129</sup>

Hans Hagen (1910) reports that Anatole France was for some time a Republican. But he began to realize that the republican form of government was only in name and not in practice. Still, other systems of government appeared to him just as stupid and barbarous. Consequently, without proposing any definitely different way of ruling the people, he proceeded to ridicule the social injustices of his day and at the same time express sympathy for the oppressed.<sup>130</sup> As a student of Voltaire and of Renan, he was well informed about the church and its practices. On account of his keen sense of right and wrong, he could not stand by any institution that caused people to suffer, not even by the church. Let the critic speak on this point himself:

Vor allem aber führt er einen erbitterten Krieg gegen die Religion. Anatole France ist von einer unglaublichen Ungläubigkeit. Er kennt die Religionen sehr genau und durchschaut vollkommen ihre Psychologie; persönlich aber verspürt er nicht die geringste Sehnsucht nach mystischen Schauern.<sup>131</sup> Als Schüler Voltaires spielt er gern ein Dogma gegen das andere aus, zeigt, wie viel Wiederschmerz im Schoss einer Kirche Platz hat, und wie auch die grössten Heiligen arme, meist schiefgewinkelte Menschenkinder waren. Er ist einer der gefährlichsten Gegner, den der Katholizismus in Frankreich hat, und gehört schon dadurch allein zur politischen Linken.<sup>132</sup>

Hagen further points out that France's participation in the Dreyfus case was a great surprise to some people. For him to side with any party or faction was incredible. Personal reasons were scandalously advanced in order to explain the action of one who pretended to be only an innocent cynic, who now became an ordinary man and

and a regular citizen. The critic thinks that this change was only temporary; still, France's interest in social problems never entirely subsided. In 1902 was published Questions Sociales, in which France advocated no more colonies and no more wars. He displayed more definitely his belief in socialism in Sur la Pierre Blanche and in L'Île des Pingouins. Both books were also published in Germany.

Furthermore, in the opinion of Hans Hagen, Anatole France was not a Marxist. He was too hesitant, too doubtful about everything, to advocate positively any system of government. He chose instead to play with his thoughts, to write down some speculations, to visualize some changes in the governments of the future. In the meantime, the gentle Professor Bergoret, mouthpiece of the author, timidly suggested the idea that collectivism did not seem frightening to him. Air and natural light have always been free; roads, parks, and some libraries are for common use today; why should this practice not be extended into other necessities and riches of life?<sup>133</sup> Notwithstanding all this, the critic concludes with the following assertion:

Als Skeptiker hat Anatole France begonnen, und Skeptiker ist er geblieben. Der Sozialismus will bestimmte Ziele erreichen. Trotz dieses Gegensatzes ist Anatole France dessen Bundesgenosse. Gegen Vorurteile, so sakrosankt sie auch sein mögen, sind seine Werke ein vortreffliches Heilmittel. Ferner gebührt ihm das Verdienst immer wieder das Problem der Menschheit und Menschlichkeit untersucht zu haben. Eine Lösung hat er nicht gefunden. Andererseits hat er sich nie mit Scheinlösungen und seeleneinlullenden Märchen begnügen wollen. Nie hat er Schwierigkeiten abgeleugnet und faule Lügen wiederholt. Das ist schliesslich auch der tiefste Grund, weshalb wir ihn zu den Erweckern und Aufrüttlern zählen dürfen. Wer die Menschheit am bequemem Einschlafen hindert, der hat schon viel getan.<sup>134</sup>

## 6. Literary Works.

Not all the German critics who published their opinions of

Anatole France touch on every one of the six points. Some dwell more on his "Weltanschauung", some on his social views, and others on his skepticism. Most of them however have expressed their reaction toward his works in general or toward some book or story in particular.

Some one signing with "W" (1900) a brief statement about the collection of stories headed by Clio, thought that the stories were historical and ". . . mit der ganzen ernsthaften, fast möchte man sagen, pedantischen Grazie erzählt sind". Anatole France is a master of this pedantic grace, "W" added; and he leads the reader all the way from Homer's time to Napoleon's.<sup>135</sup> The same critic published a review (1900) also of Der Gaukler unserer lieben Frau und anderes, which had appeared in German translation. The stories are characterized as short works of art, containing much charm and grace, very much like the best legends of Gottfried Keller. They reveal that Anatole France steeped himself while still young in the Legenda aurea, books concerning the time immediately following Christ, and in the philosophic works of the 18th century.<sup>136</sup>

Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard brought the author many favorable comments from the German critics. Lindau wrote in 1900 the following:

. . . und der Schluss dieses ersten Theiles vom "Verbrechen des Sylvestre Bonnard" in der That überrascht. Es ist ein Meisterstück zarter Seelenmalerei, das er uns aufgespart hat.<sup>137</sup>

After summarizing the story and explaining the appropriateness of "Das Stück Holz" as title of the first part, Lindau praises its ending thus:

Nun schliesst sich der Kreis. Nun ist die Melodie vollkommen zu Ende gespielt, und Alles löst sich in harmonischem Schlusse befriedigend auf, wie die wohlgeformte Kuppel ein vielgliedriges Gebäude nach oben beruhigend und zusammenfassend krönt. . . Wohl selten finden wir eine so vortrefflich dem architektonischen Bedürfnis genügende Erzählung. Man könnte an ihr förmlich wohlthuende Regeln ablesen.<sup>138</sup>

After this, the critic declares that France's other works, such as

Etui de Nacre, Thais, Clio, are "kulturhistorischen Sittenbilder" of artistic beauty and testify to his being a master of great art.<sup>139</sup> His short-stories are called gleaming pearls that reflect the author's skill in understanding people and in depicting characters. To paraphrase Lindau's language is to lose many fine implications; so it is better to quote him again:

Einige dieser kleinen Perlen erscheinen mir alle France'schen Eigenschaften glänzend zu offenbaren, seine sichere Technik, die die "Pointen" so trefflich einfasst, seine Vorsehnerkenntnis und Darstellungskunst und seine Fähigkeit, den resultirenden Stimmungswert des historischen Milieus zart und eindringlich fühlbar zu machen. Wie in Kellers Sinngedicht eine abenteuerliche Seegeschichte den Hauch des Quincento so überzeugend grossartig hervorbringt, man weiss nicht woher und wie, der Charakter ist das so trifft auch France den Ton der Zeit mit ausserordentlichem Tactgefühl. Wenn man ihn gese meckt hat, mag man manche andere Kost nicht wieder berühren wollen. - Er verwöhnt uns.<sup>140</sup>

And the Noce Corinthiennes gave off the odor of ancient incense to this appreciative critic. The poet handles his subject so skillfully that it seems as if he himself had lived in antiquity. Although the same theme is handled that Goethe used <sup>in</sup> Braut von Korinth, the finished product is different. Goethe's poem is like Rembrandt's painting: grandiose, powerful, massive, in a dim flickering light; France's poem, on the other hand, gives the impression that the reader is taking a walk along flowery, sunlit paths under the blue sky of sunny Greece. The melodious French alexandrian verse is masterfully used by the Latinist.<sup>141</sup>

Some one must have described Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard as a fin de siècle novel, for A. Brunnemann wrote in 1901 the following:

Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard ist kein Buch "fin de siècle", sondern ein gesundes Buch, aus dem uns der frische Morgenwind eines aufsteigenden Jahrhunderts entgegenweht...<sup>142</sup>

Brunnemann evidently liked this novel very much, otherwise he would not have written such praise as this:

Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard könnte durchaus germanischen

Ursprungs sein, so durchsättigt ist es von harmonischer, gesunder Lebensauffassung.<sup>143</sup>

Max Brandenburg (1909), in a review of a school edition of Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard, called this novel psychological. He also reported that this book introduced Anatole France to the reading public in Germany.<sup>144</sup>

Le Lys rouge is spoken of by Brunnemann as the most colorful of French "romans passionels", through which Anatole France became widely known in Germany. The critic explains that the sharp irony and open satire are not very comprehensible to the average German reader of French novels.<sup>145</sup> Eloesser's (1904) opinion of Le Lys rouge is no doubt the most scholarly and informative; it deserves to be quoted:

Sein Meisterwerk "Le Lys rouge" ist der Roman moderner Seelen, einsamer Menschen, die sich suchen und nicht finden können, eine melancholische Illustration der Zusammenhangslosigkeit moderner Geister, die heute nicht sind, was sie gestern waren, und die vergebens ihr eigenes Ich suchen. Anatole France hat keine mystischen, keine religiösen Hilfsmittel in Bereitschaft wie andere Heilsbringer der Literatur. Sein Werk endet in einer melancholischen Bestätigung der menschlichen Unzulänglichkeit, in der stillen Resignation eines reifen Lebensverstandes.<sup>146</sup>

Le Livre de mon ami, and Pierre Nozière are called by Brunnemann "kleinen köstlichen Idyllen", which are based on the joys and sorrows of the everyday-life of childhood.<sup>147</sup> Platzhoff-Lejeune (1912) admired them even more, as the following description reveals:

Diese Kindheitserinnerungen gehören zu den wertvollsten Schätzen der französischen Literatur und aller Literaturen . . . Sie sind von einer unmittelbaren Frische, einer Wahrheit und Feinheit, die ihresgleichen sucht . . . Hier liegt seine eigentliche Virtuosität, und sie ist die Frucht feinsten Bildung, völliger Reife und ernster Arbeit.<sup>148</sup>

M. Bergeret à Paris appeared in France in 1901. The same year the Literarisches Centralblatt carried a brief review of it. The reviewer found it to contain more historical meaning than the preceding two volumes of the Histoire Contemporaine. It was said that the reader of it would derive some information about the Dreyfus affair and

would admire its author without perhaps agreeing with his viewpoints. Although M. Bergeret talks somewhat too much and seems at times pathetic, the book was considered an excellent sketch of contemporary life.<sup>149</sup>

Eduard Engel (1905) was less favorably impressed with it. He thought it was neither a novel nor a work of art. Here are his exact words:

Sein Roman "Herr Bergeret in Paris" ist kein Roman, ist auch keine Erzählung . . . Es gibt kein Kunstwerk, das in erzählender Form keine Erzählung ist, wenigstens kein reines Kunstwerk mit Aussicht auf Dauer.<sup>150</sup>

Hans Hagen (1910), on the other hand, thought that the four volumes of L'Histoire Contemporaine: L'Orme du Mail, Le Mannequin d'Osier, L'Anneau d'Améthyste, and M. Bergeret à Paris were very skillful, tragic-comical depictions of the struggle between fanaticism and "Dummheit" on the one side and down-trodden truth on the other side during the Dreyfus case.<sup>151</sup> Schön (1913) however found fault with the composition of all four volumes of this work. He said that they are not only loosely composed but not composed at all. Both the characters and situations are sketched with a thin brush: the characters lack action and the situations have no unity. Architecturally viewed, they appear without form, proportion, or perspective. Schön concludes that: "Eine 'zeitgenössische geschichte' hat France nicht gegeben, wenn er es auch glauben mag".<sup>152</sup>

Grainquebille did not seem important enough to attract much attention in Germany. Three years after its appearance, only one brief notice of it was published by Felix Poppenberg (1904).<sup>153</sup> It was called a "J'accuse" play, written in the interest of humanity and against the letter of the law which often proves deadly to innocent people. It was so worded however that not a single harsh word is

uttered against the government. The helplessness of a plain citizen before the austere written law is well and convincingly depicted.<sup>154</sup> Comparing it with similar works of other French writers, Poppenberg wrote:

Was Brioux in der "Roten Robe" bombastisch mit Effektfeuerwerk ans Lampenlicht bringt, was Courteline in seinen Bureaokratie-Satiren (percat mundus fiat justitia) in die Stichflamme seines beissenden ironischen Witzes setzt, die Klippen und Fussangeln der Justiz, davon spricht Anatole France mit einer melancholischen Ruhe und Einfachheit, wie von etwas Selbstverständlichem, und gerade dadurch wirkt er am eindringlichsten.<sup>155</sup>

Thais (1890) is considered by Eloesser (1904) as a novel of anti-quity. The critic points out how closely the profane and the holy are related in this story, and how opposites may become equals: the saint turns sinner and the hussy becomes a saint. The whole novel is a picture of the struggle between paganism and Christianity.<sup>156</sup> Hofmiller (1909) found in this smoothly narrated story a great deal of psychology and depth of thought beneath its surface of apparent superficiality.<sup>157</sup> His three pointed questions regarding the woman Thais show the possibilities in a deeper study of this novel.

Klingt sie nicht etwas sehr modern, diese Argumentation der veilchenkugigen Sünderin? Ist die blonde Thais nicht ein wenig verwandt mit der Kameliendame? Hat Anatole France nicht eigentlich eines der Eltesten Themen der französischen Literatur auf seine elegante Weise variiert, das Thema von der geretteten Courtisane? <sup>158</sup>

Five German critics have expressed their ideas about Sur la Pierre Blanche: L. Hatvany (1905), Josef Hofmiller (1910), Emilie Schomann (1911), Hugo Eick (1910), and Ernst Heilborn (1911). Their statements are sketchy but sufficient to indicate the general opinion of the book, especially since all five concur in their views. It is "keine Erzählung und kein philosophisches Werk; es will weder interessieren noch etwas beweisen" is the passing observation of Ludwig Hatvany.<sup>159</sup> Plato's Dialogues are the key to this book.<sup>160</sup> It is a

collection of pointed conversations and stories put awkwardly together, without perceptible "zusammenhang".<sup>161</sup> Heilborn believes that it is perhaps the most witty piece of all France's works; the same kind of wit that Bernard Shaw provides.<sup>162</sup> But, Heilborn contends:

Ein Roman ist Anatole Frances "Auf dem weissen Felsen" nicht zu nennen. Es werden Gespräche geführt, es werden gelegentlich Erzählungen, wie die von Gallio, vorgelesen. Zugerlich klappt alles auseinander. Innerlich aber gibt sich die klarste, denkbar schlichteste Komposition.<sup>163</sup>

Hofmiller saw resemblances between Sur La Pierre Blanche and L'Ile des Pingouins: the author plays with utopian dreams in both of them. This difference may be noted: in the first story, where the utopian ideas are relatively optimistic; in the second, where they become anarchistic and barbarous. The critic candidly admits that the Utopian stories of Bellamy and of H.G.Wells, with their descriptions of primitive conditions of mankind, are more interesting to him than the Americanized society of Anatole France.<sup>164</sup> And Emilie Schomann declares that the world is not in any way benefited by France's calling our attention to the problems of mankind. We are not particularly satisfied with the disconnected epigrams. It is not a story, nor a philosophic work; it "will weder interessieren, noch etwas beweisen."<sup>165</sup> The opinion of Hugo Eick is even more adverse. It is this:

Was Anatole France daneben an Bemerkungen über Rassen, Politik, Christentum, Planetenentwicklung, Napoleon, Arbeitsformen, und noch 1001 anderen Fragen gibt, mag man als anregende Causerie an sich vorübergleiten lassen: Wir schweren Deutschen haben dabei nur zu oft das Gefühl, das uns auch bei den ernstesten romanischen Schriftstellern selten verlässt: das sie nur bis zu einem gewissen Grade sachlich ernst zu nehmen sind.<sup>166</sup>

Observations of German critics about L'Ile des Pingouins are, strange to say, very meager. One critic (1912) said that it is nothing more than a history of France in a mystified form.<sup>167</sup> Its chief aim is to satirize the political structure of the Third Republic of that time.<sup>168</sup> Also Vogt (1911) thought three years later that Anatole

France was in no other of his works as bold as in L'Île des Pingouins and that nowhere else did he satirize French history so brazenly.<sup>169</sup>

Le Jardin d'Épicure is regarded by Platzhoff-Lejeune (1912) as the most finished ("vollkommenste") book of Anatole France. In it the writer attained harmony between form and content that is not shown by his preceding or following works.<sup>170</sup> Le Jardin d'Épicure, as well as Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard, Thaïs, Le Lys rouge, and Le Livre de mon ami, mark the high spots of his literary labor.<sup>171</sup>

Hofmiller (1907) found La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque a charming story, filled with adventures characteristic of the 18th century stories. The handling of it suggested that of Dumas père, of Mérimée, or of Balzac.<sup>172</sup> Commenting on France's works in general, Hofmiller quotes Paul Wiegler who says:

"Man fühlt bei Anatole France den Einfluss Voltaires, und seine Werke spiegeln abwechselnd die würzige Kraft von Rabelais wieder und das weiche Kopfkissen Montaignes, das flammende Mitleid von Dickens, und eine Ironie, die mit Sterne lächelt und bitter ist wie Swift." <sup>173</sup>

Hofmiller maintains further that they presuppose an immense amount of culture on the part of the author. To understand them, the reader is expected also to possess some of it. The cultures of the Greeks and Romans, of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance, heathen and Christian, as well as the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, are diffused in France's works. Finally, we read these words:

Man kann nicht bestreiten, dass sie bodenständig sind; aber ihre Bodenständigkeit ist durch einen chemischen Prozess hindurch gegangen, in dem Schärfe und Würze gesteigert worden sind, aber die Blume gelitten hat.<sup>174</sup>

In a long study of La Vie Littéraire, Schön (1911) makes several thoughtful observations on this journalistic work. They may be summarized briefly as follows: The series of articles is filled with pictures of various cultures, ancient and modern, as well as with

glimpses into many beliefs and philosophies.<sup>175</sup> Lack of organization of the material is due to the fact that the articles had to be ready at an appointed time.<sup>176</sup> Although it is in the feuilleton form, the author's style makes it more than a collection of daily articles, because here ". . . ist sein Plaudern immer anmutig, vertraulich, nie banal, nichtig, wässrig". Some of the articles contain a great deal of taste and information.<sup>177</sup> Hofmiller (1907) tersely wrote thus:

. . . und hatte in den vier Bänden seiner Vie littéraire manche Eitelkeit verletzt und in manchen litterarischen Pneumatik die feine Nadel seiner Ironie gebohrt.<sup>178</sup>

Direct criticism of Les Dieux ont soif (1912) is scanty during this period. A year after its publication, the Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde carried a brief unsigned review in which no attempt was made to evaluate or appraise the book.<sup>179</sup> This same year, Wilhelm Stahl commented on it as follows:

Das reizvolle Problem, den hier vorliegenden Prozess mentaler und sittlicher Entartung durch alle Stadien hindurch zu verfolgen, hat Anatole France mit der ganzen ihm eigenen Kraft seelischer Einfühlung gelöst. In der Beurteilung der Revolution selbst steht er als ironischer Weltbetrachter über den Parteien; andersorts ist die Wahrung der Geschichtlichen Treue bei einem so sicheren Kenner der Vergangenheit selbstverständlich.<sup>180</sup>

La Révolte des Anges was published in 1914, on the occasion of the author's 70th birthday. I have found only one article, dated before the outbreak of the Great War, which contains some opinion about the novel. It was regarded by Carl Lahm as a "Zeitdokument Roman" of Balzac's scope, replete with irony, skepticism, and objections to dogmatism. Lahm also remarked very briefly about Jeanne d'Arc and called it "das vollendetste, seelisch verständnisvollste Buch". His statement about France's works as a whole was that apart from Crainquebille and short-stories, which are in themselves deeply human and of fine humor, the latter books are of high intellectual pretension.<sup>181</sup>

Platzhoff-Lejeune, speaking about the shorter stories of Anatole France wrote in 1912 that:

In den kleinen Geschichten von France steckt oft mehr Philosophie als in seinen grossen Romanen . . . Neben den historischen tritt aber der politische, der gegenwärtige Skeptizismus. Grainquebille ist eine Illustration.<sup>182</sup>

1. Arthur Eloesser, Literarische Porträts aus dem modernen Frankreich, 1904.
2. Ibid., p. 208.
3. Ibid., p. 214.
4. Ibid., p. 212.
5. Ibid., p. 207.
6. Josef Hofmiller, "Geijerstam und A. France," Süddeutsche Monatshefte, II (1907), 539.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 540.
9. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France," Die Zukunft, LX (1907), 185.
10. Marie Herzfeld, "Anatole France," Die Zeit, 1900, No. 295, p. 123.
11. Ernst Heilborn, "Anatole France - Stimmungen," Das Literarische Echo, XIII (1911), 1223.
12. Hans Land, "Anatole France. Zum 70. Geburtstag des Dichters," Reclams Universum, XXX (1914), 181.
13. Ibid., p. 182. (Cf. pp. 7-8, chap. II)
14. Karl Lahn, "Anatole France," Illustrierte Zeitung, CXVII (1914), 864. (The Illustrierte Zeitung printed France's picture on the occasion of his 70th birthday.)
15. Eduard Schön, Anatole France: La Vie Littéraire, 1911, p.5.
16. Ibid., p. 19
17. Ibid., p. 14.
18. Ibid., p. 3.
19. Ibid., p. 8.
20. Ibid., p. 9.
21. Ibid., pp. 6 and 16.
22. Ibid., p. 6.
23. Hermann Fernau, "Anatole France in Argentinien," Nord und Süd, CXXXII (1910), 88.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 90.
26. Arthur Eloesser, Literarische Porträts aus dem Modernen Frankreich, 1904, p. 208.
27. Hans Lindau, "Anatole France," Nord und Süd, XCIII (1900), 305.
28. Ibid., p. 304.
29. Ibid., p. 305.
30. Marie Herzfeld, "Anatole France," Die Zeit, 1900, No. 295, p. 123, (Cf. F. Kreyssig, Geschichte der französischen Nationalliteratur, page 352.
31. Ibid.
32. A. Brunnemann, "Anatole France," Das Literarische Echo, III (1901) 1456.

33. Marie Fuhrmann, "Anatole France. Komödiantengeschichte. Roman," Preussische Jahrbücher, XCVII (1904), 344.
34. Ibid.
35. Josef Hofmiller, "Beiferstam und Anatole France," Süddeutsche Monatshefte, II (1907), 340.
36. Hans Lindau, "Anatole France," Nord und Süd, XCIII (1900), 304.
37. Hans Hagen, "Anatole France als Sozialist," Sozialistische Monatshefte, XIV<sup>2</sup> (1910), 1104.
38. Eduard Schön, Anatole France: La Vie Littéraire, 1911, pp. 50-51.
39. Ibid., pp. 53, 57, and passim.
40. Felix Rosenberg, "Der Schlimmheiliger Vitalis von J. Keller und Thais von Anatole France," Herrigs Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literatur, CXII (1904), pp. 372-373.
41. Eduard Engel, Geschichte der französischen Literatur, edition of 1912, p. 437.
42. Eduard Platzhoff-Lejeune, "Anatole France, Die Grenzboten, LXI (1912), 232.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., p. 241.
45. Ibid., p. 232.
46. Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: Die Romane der Histoire Contemporaine," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXI (1913-14), 310.
47. Ibid., p. 615.
48. Ibid., p. 618.
49. Max Lorenz, "Anatole France: Die Rote Lilie," Preussische Jahrbücher, CV (1901), 347.
50. Ibid., p. 346.
51. Marie Fuhrmann, "Anatole France. Der Garten des Epikur," Preussische Jahrbücher, CXXV (1906), pp. 360-361.
52. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France," Die Zukunft, LX (1907), 134.
53. H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, Geschichte der Französischen Literatur, 1913, p. 436.
54. Ibid., pp. 436-437.
55. Richard M. Meyer, Die Weltliteratur in 20. Jahrhundert, 1913, p. 146.
56. Ibid., p. 162.
57. Ibid., p. 215.
58. Hans Lindau, "Anatole France," Nord und Süd, XCIII (1900), 324.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., p. 310.
61. Ibid., p. 313.
62. Ibid., p. 312.
63. Ibid., p. 310.
64. Eduard Engel, Geschichte der französischen Literatur, 1912, p. 437.
65. E. Engel, "Anatole France," Der Türmer, II (1905), 829.
66. Ibid., pp. 829-830.
67. Ibid., p. 830.
68. Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: Die Romane der Histoire Contemporaine," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXI (1913), 600.
69. Ibid., p. 599.
70. Ibid., p. 601.
71. Ibid., p. 608.
72. Ibid., p. 609.
73. Marie Herzfeld, "Anatole France," Die Zeit, 1900, No. 295, p. 123.
74. Richard M. Meyer, Die Weltliteratur in 20. Jahrhundert, 1913, p. 175.
75. Ibid., p. 176.

76. Eduard Engel, Geschichte der französischen Literatur, 1912, p.437.
77. Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: Die Romane der Histoire Contemporaine," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXI (1913), 501.
78. Ludwig Katvany, "Anatole France," Die Neue Rundschau, II (1905), 1361.
79. Ibid.
80. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France," Die Zukunft, LX (1907), 186.
81. Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: La Vie Littéraire," 1911, pp.22-24.
82. Ibid., p. 24.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., p. 27.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
87. Richard M. Veyer, Die Weltliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert, 1913, p.210
88. Marie Herzfeld, "Anatole France," Die Zeit, 1900, No. 295, p. 123.
89. Ibid.
90. Felix Rosenberg, "Der Schlimmheiliger Vitalis von J. Keller und Thais von Anatole France," Herrigs Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen, CXII (1904), 374.
91. Supra, p. 34.
92. Hans Hagen, "Anatole France als Sozialist," Sozialistische Monatshefte, XIV<sup>2</sup> (1910), 1101.
93. H. Suchler and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, Geschichte der französischen Literatur, 1913, p. 436.
94. Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: La Vie Littéraire," 1911, p. 22.
95. Ibid., p. 8.
96. Ibid., p. 10.
97. Ibid., p. 8.
98. Ibid., p. 37.
99. Hans Land, "Anatole France. Zum 70. Geburtstag des Dichters," Reclams Universum, XXX (1914), 181.
100. Ibid. p. 184.
101. Ibid., p. 181.
102. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France," Die Zukunft, LX (1907), 186.
103. Kasimir Kelles-Kranze, "Die Metamorphose eines Skeptikers," XXI<sup>1</sup> (1903), 587.
104. Ernst Feder, "Der religiöse Skeptiker Anatole France," Die Nation XXII (1905), 521.
105. Arthur Bloesser, "Anatole France," in Literarische Porträts aus dem modernen Frankreich, 1904, pp. 202-223.
106. Josef Hofmiller, "Auf dem weissen Steine," Allgemeine Zeitung, August 6, 1910.
107. Hans Land, Loc. cit., p. 182.
108. Ibid., p. 181.
109. Eduard Schön, "Anatole France: La Vie Littéraire," 1911, p. 8.
110. Ibid., p. 10.
111. Ibid., p. 9.
112. Ibid., p. 44.
113. Ibid., pp. 44-45.
114. Ibid., p. 45 and ff.
115. E. Schön, "Anatole France: Die Romane der Histoire Contemporaine," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXI (1913-'14), 608-609.
116. Ibid., p. 506.
117. Felix Rosenberg, "Der Schlimmheiliger Vitalis von J. Keller und Thais von Anatole France," Herrigs Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen, CXII (1904), 373.
118. Ibid., p. 375.

119. Felix Vogt, "Das Neue Legendenbuch von Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, August 2, 1909.
120. Hermann Fernau, "Anatole France in Argentinien," Nord und Süd, CXXXII (1910), 89.
121. Eduard Platzhoff-Lejeune, "Anatole France," Die Grenzboten, LXXI (1911-'12), 237.
122. Hans Land, "Anatole France: Zum 70. Geburtstag," Reclams Universum, XIX (1914), 182.
123. Emilie Schomann, "A.F., Sur la Pierre Blanche und L'Ile des Pingouins," in Französische Utopisten und ihr Frauenideal, 1911, p. 220.
124. Ibid., p. 222.
125. Ibid., p. 227.
126. Ibid., p. 220.
127. Ibid., p. 223.
128. Ibid., pp. 223-224.
129. Ibid., p. 223.
130. Hans Hagen, "Anatole France als Sozialist," Sozialistische Monatshefte, XIV<sup>2</sup> (1910), 1102.
131. Cf. Ernst Feder's statement, supra, p. 39.
132. Hans Hagen, loc. cit., p. 1102.
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## IV. FROM 1914 TO FRANCE'S DEATH IN 1924.

### 1. Anatole France the Man.

As far as it is possible to ascertain, only two articles were published by the German critics in 1914 after the breaking out of the Great War. One of them, by Josef Froberger, was published in October by Die Bücherwelt; the other, by Wilhelm Hausenstein, a historian of contemporary literature, in November by Das Forum. Both studies are already tinged with war attitude.

Speaking of the fact that Anatole France had celebrated his 70th birthday that year and that a number of extravagant ("überschwänglicher") articles had appeared in periodicals and newspapers, praising him as the greatest writer of his time, Froberger states that his works were spreading also in Germany. The critic writes:

In Deutschland haben seine Schriften eine grosse Verbreitung gefunden, eine Anzahl seiner Werke wurden ins Deutsche übersetzt, und namhafte Literaturhistoriker haben ihn, sogar auf Kosten der übrigen bedeutenden Dichter Frankreichs, um die Wette gepriesen.<sup>1</sup>

Next, Froberger mentions the fact that R.M. Meyer, a prominent German scholar,<sup>2</sup> in his book Die Weltliteratur im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert (1913) had praised Anatole France very highly and had written his name at the head of a list of three writers to whom the book was dedicated. However, in Froberger's opinion, France's good fortune in Germany was due to a certain literary circle which influenced the public taste for domestic and foreign writers. Here are his own words:

Der Literatenring, der in Deutschland die öffentliche Meinung so stark beeinflusst, der Ring, der Gerhart Hauptmann zum geistigen Führer Deutschlands stempelt möchte, . . . dieser mächtige

und exklusive Ring, hat auch den französischen Dichter zum grossen "Meister" abgestempelt, und wer sich dagegen aufzulehnen wagt, hat seinen literarischen Namen verwirkt.<sup>3</sup>

Proberger next asserts that in order to appraise Anatole France correctly it is necessary to distinguish in him the stylist from the philosopher, or to consider his "Formkunst" apart from his views on life. The point of contention of the critic is rather delicate and therefore his own words should again be quoted.

Will man Anatole France richtig würdigen, so gilt es bei ihm den Stilisten vom Lebensphilosophen streng zu scheiden, es gilt seine Lebensansicht von seiner Formkunst getrennt zu betrachten und darauf hinzuweisen, dass für den Dichter und seine zahlreichen Verehrer gerade seine eigentümliche Lebensansicht die Hauptsache ist. Und seine Grundsätzlichen Auffassungen über das Ziel des Lebens und die Bestimmung des Menschen, über Religion und Kirche stehen in schärfstem Gegensatz zum Christentum, er ist ein Heide, ein bewusster und hartnäckiger Heide, das Christentum wird von ihm bei jeder Gelegenheit mit einem ingrimmigen Hass bekämpft . . .<sup>4</sup>

On the whole, Hausenstein's opinion of Anatole France is less adverse than that of Proberger. Hausenstein abstains from finding fault and points out France's inborn French characteristics. For him, Anatole France was an historical mind and the last sprout of the ancients. He even thinks that France was "erkonservativ". As a humanist, he was closely identified with the Latin culture, or the French, which is more or less the same thing. In him:

. . . der lateinische Geist sich zum letzten Raffinement spitzte, Frankreich durchschaut wie kein zweiter seit Voltaire.<sup>5</sup>

Anatole France was so much French that he would some day become Chauvinistic; he was too human to act otherwise. This prediction of Hausenstein proved to<sup>be</sup> a fact, as we shall see further on. Notwithstanding all this, the critic thinks that:

Anatole France hat sein Frankreich mindestens dreimal auf dem Altar seiner so französischen Gesinnung und seines so französischen Stils geopfert: in "der Insel der Pinguine", in dem Revolutionsroman "Die Götter dürsten" und in dem . . . unerhörten Romanblasphem "Die Revolution der Engel."<sup>6</sup>

The following year, 1915, one German critic makes indirect comments about Anatole France the man. In an open letter, Fritz Mauthner, well-known author and philosopher, while rebuking Anatole France for having published Sur la Voie glorieuse in which the Germans are called barbarians, addresses the French writer as a very learned man with a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and German. Mauthner also reminds Anatole France of the fact that the Germans had regarded him until then as freedom-loving, incorruptible among the living French writers, and as the true and worthy heir of Voltaire, who was in his time the real leader of the intellectuals in Europe. But alas, the feeling has changed because:

Man erzählt mir, Sie seien in den ersten Wochen des Krieges ein Gegner der rasch aufgestachelten Hetzerei gewesen, man habe Sie deshalb bedroht; der Tod Ihres Gesinnungsgenossen Jaurès sei Ihnen in Aussicht gestellt worden. Nun, niemand ist verpflichtet ein Märtyrer zu werden; auch Ihre prächtigen Vorbilder haben bei aller geistigen Tapferkeit keine Neigung zur Blutzugenschaft gezeigt, weder Montaigne, noch Pierre Bayle, noch Voltaire, Diese beredten Männer schwiegen, wo das Reden lebensgefährlich war; auch Sie, mein Dichter des "Aufstands der Engel", hätten ja schweigen können.

In June, 1916, a certain Ernst Goth published in a newspaper, Pester Lloyd (Budapest), a review of Sur la Voie glorieuse. In this book-review, Goth repeats Mauthner's words, saying: "Anatole France hätte schweigen können". He adds however that France was perhaps compelled to speak. Goth spoke of the fact that for many years Anatole France was considered an example of fine wisdom and a mild and illustrious wise-man, who always had shown a rational attitude toward international problems, especially toward Germany, for:

. . . Anatole France kennt Deutschland. Seit Jahrzehnten fanden sich die besten Deutschen, die Paris besuchten, auf seinen allwöchentlichen Empfängen ein . . . in seiner Bibliothek steht Goethe, Lessing, Kant, neben Mommsen, Ranke und Gregorovius. Der Historiker, der Altertumsforscher France namentlich weiss genau, wie viel er deutschem Geist, deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit verdankt.

The critic concluded that the name of Anatole France will never be spoken henceforth with the same feeling of respect as it had been before the publication of Sur la Voie glorieuse. "Hätte er doch lieber geschwiegen!"<sup>8</sup> As far as I am able to determine, this is all that there was written about Anatole France in 1916. For the following years, 1917-1920, I have found no articles dealing with Anatole France the man.

In an anonymous article appearing in the Allgemeine Zeitung, May 23, 1920, Anatole France is spoken of as a lonesome man and a descendent of great French writers. This unknown writer added that:

. . . er ist kein Zola, und auch kein Gelehrter vom Schlage Flauberts, dem Typ erstaunlichsten Mosaikarbeitertums, aber ein durchweg logischer Geist und Mensch genug, um sein Werk nicht lediglich in Ironie zu ertränken . . .<sup>9</sup>

Quoting Der Vorwärts, Wilhelm Herzog (1921) used as a starting-point for his article this piece of news: "Anatole France ist den Kommunisten beigetreten. Dichter sind sonderbare Leute!" Herzog agreed with Der Vorwärts and elucidated the idea that poets were strange people and that Anatole France, the greatest writer of France, its clearest-thinking head and the most skeptical mind, was indeed the queerest writer in the world.<sup>10</sup>

In 1922, some one writing briefly on "Anatole France im Kreise seiner Freunde" remarked casually that the popularity of Anatole France was peculiar in the way it convinced different groups of people of his being popular; or, as the critic put it:

. . . die Popularität Anatole Frances hat die Eigentümlichkeit, dass sie eine nach Überzeugung buntgemischte Gesellschaft herbeilockt.<sup>11</sup>

In the early part of 1924, Willy Haas published a short article on Anatole France the world citizen.<sup>12</sup> Haas felt very impressed with the significance of the name "France". No other writer ever was so

appropriately named as this French writer who was originally called Thibault. Here is the reason:

Denn er ist Frankreich; er ist das französische Volk, der französische Geist, die ganze französische Geistesgeschichte, von Froissard über Brantôme, Rabelais, Montaigne, Racine, Bossuet, Voltaire, Renan bis zu dem allerletzten dernier cri des "Neoklassizismus". In ihm ist die sonnige, schlichte Anmut des Hirtenmädchens von Domremy und des Bischofs Fénelon (sic), von Cambrai und der komplizierte psychologische Trick Maupassants und Bourgets. Die bäurische Verschlagenheit des Galliers Vercingetorix und die weltmännische Allüre seines Besiegers Caesar.<sup>13</sup>

The list of what Anatole France embodied is even longer. Haas saw in him also the poetic strains of the Pléiade, the rhetoric of the grand-seigneur-poets, the childlike belief in the Virgin Mary that possessed the French crusaders, and the Encyclopedists' dislike for discipline. Yes, even the vegetable vendor of the streets of Paris and the book merchant of the Quai Voltaire were lurking in him; and :

... in seinen Büchern ist alles, alles, was Frankreich je hervorgebracht hat, mit allen Wurzeln und mit allen Blüten.<sup>14</sup>

Hermann Wendel also wrote that "Er ist Frankreich, er heißt ja Frankreich". But neither the German nor the Slavic world had much meaning for him, since he knew very little about the literature of the Germans and of the Slavs. Although Anatole France is said to have been moved by the play "Hamlet", the first part of "Faust" was for him full of mist. But, on the other hand, his knowledge of antiquity was enormous. He read Homer, Virgil, and Horace as easily as the priest reads his prayer-book.<sup>15</sup>

Fritz Schotthöfer, calling attention to Anatole France's 80th birthday on April 16, 1924, declared that the day would not pass without the whole world's taking notice of this eighty-year-old French writer. The Germans also should not forget him, for he was one of those men who cannot be hated. The critic pointed out further that Anatole France seemed to be one of the 18th century spirits, wander-

ing through our times. Having understood almost everything, he resembled a lenient judge and in some ways recalled the patriarchal air of Voltaire.<sup>16</sup>

On that same day, Max Konzelmann published even more revealing observations of the grand old man. His description of him is as follows:

Als Anatole France an der Renanfeier den Trocaderoaal betrat, gross, gütig, weiss, gottväterlich, da merkte es die vieltausendköpfige Menge, dass nicht nur ein grosser Franzose vor ihr stand sondern auch ein grosser Weltbürger.<sup>17</sup>

Konzelmann also indicated that the charm of France's mind and of his speech influenced various parties and factions to regard him as the master of the French language. Everything he said sounded clear, balanced and simple, like the classic literature which he so ably imitated. Like the leading characters in his works, Anatole France was a teacher of wisdom. He became a "bon maitre" not only on account of his art and wide knowledge but also because of his deep thinking and viewpoints. Lacking the sense of systematic arrangement, Anatole France did not take the trouble to appear what he was not. No doubt the original statement of the critic will bring out this point more clearly:

Die systematische Veranlagung fehlte ihm. Sonst erschien er so, wie er wirklich war: der weiseste unter den Moralisten, eine Art wunderbarer Vereinigung von Epikur und heiligem Franz von Assisi.<sup>18</sup>

Anatole France with mildness and understanding disdained men. His aim was to teach them that nothing was as useful to entertain in one's heart as sympathy. With this virtue he liberally endowed the Abbé Jérôme Coignard.<sup>19</sup>

Just as the worldly librarian of the Bishop of Séz, so the librarian Anatole France visited all the remote places of history, examining all kinds of human problems, and brought back with him for

the modern world a great deal of knowledge and information. The outcome of it is:

Er ist fast etwas wie eine Verkörperung französischen Wesens geworden, in dessen Person sich alle in Gruppen zersplitterten Franzosen finden und ihrer Verwandtschaft bewusst werden können. In seinem Hause an der Villa Saïd verkehren Anarchisten und Prälaten, Royalisten und Kommunisten.<sup>20</sup>

The famous literary historian Hugo Sieber also expressed some compliments on the occasion of Anatole France's 80th birthday. Among other things, he wrote that the French writer was a worthy successor to Montaigne and Voltaire, that he was a student and a literary disciple of Renan, and that he contributed a great deal to the furthering of the French traditions, making them European. Anatole France inherited from Montaigne the gift of permeating ideas with life and from Voltaire the unshakable determination to fight against illusions.<sup>21</sup>

On May 18, 1924, Otto Friedländer published in the Vorwärts, one of Berlin's important dailies, an account of his visit to Anatole France. The description of the aged writer is vivid, personal, and apt. It seems better to quote it in the original.

Nahe der Tür sitzt Anatole France. Scharfen und feingeschnittenen welken Zügen entschlisst ein weisser Bart. Über den schwarzen klugen und klaren Augen wölbt sich die hohe Stirn um die ein leuchtend rotes Seidentuch malerisch geschlungen ist. Patriarch und Jakobiner! Weltweise und spottisch ist France im Altern noch Jugend, die aus Hüllen von Spott und in ihrem herrlichsten Recht: der ewigen Empörung.<sup>22</sup>

## 2. The Writer and Critic.

In the opinion of Froberger (1914), Anatole France was a writer for whom the details of man's everyday living had great importance; and it was these details that claimed his attention while he was writing novels. The result was that he could not compose a novel of unified action or of masterful character development.<sup>16</sup> The point in

question seems important enough to have the critic's exact words on it:

Die Einzelheiten des Menschenlebens in seinen unbedeutendsten Regungen haben für ihn grosse Bedeutung; diese Einzelheiten sind es, die in seinen Schriften Farbe erhalten, in diesen Einzelheiten geht seine ganze Schriftstellerei auf. Grosse Uebersichten und Gesamtbilder sagen ihm nicht zu, das Detail ist ihm lieber als das Ganze, eine gelegentliche Beobachtung mehr als ein grosses System. Darum hat er nie einen Roman geschrieben, in dem eine einheitliche Handlung oder eine Charakterentwicklung gezeichnet wird, die grossen Leidenschaften mit ihren Stürmen und tragischen Wirkungen stossen ihn ab, er bleibt stets ein ruhiger Zuschauer, der aber im grössten Drama nur einzelne Vorgänge festhält, die ihm Teilnahme einflössen, für den Stimmungen wichtiger sind als Geschehnisse.<sup>23</sup>

It is to be noted that Froberger wrote his article on Anatole France in 1914, the year in which La Révolte des Anges was published. Basing his judgment upon this novel, the critic asserted that the whole career of Anatole France as a writer was on the decline and that "Sein letztes Buch ist für ihn zum Grabstein geworden". This the critic regretted because Anatole France did possess a great talent and because: "Als S t i l k ü n s t l e r steht er mit seinen besseren Werken in der ganzen Weltliteratur der Gegenwart auf einer überragenden Höhe der Meisterschaft."<sup>24</sup> Froberger pointed out further that as a stylist Anatole France had attained a high degree of perfection in the way of harmonious prose-writing, because:

Er schreibt gewöhnlich nur in kurzen Sätzen, aber er legt jedes Wort nach seinem Klangwerte auf die feinste Waagschale, er weiss die verschiedenen Klänge berechnet aneinandereiheilen und in geschichtesten Modulationen auf- und nieder-schweben zu lassen. Der Ausklang mancher Sätze ist bald das langgezogene Verhauchen einer Melodie, bald das leise Austönen einer silbernen Glocke, bald ein kurzes, metallenes Aufschlagen.<sup>25</sup>

Even the simplest and most unimportant words are often so used as to produce a very musical effect. France's harmonious style is not only the outward arrangement of words but also the expression of the inner state of a soul. This is characteristic of true art.<sup>26</sup>

Josef Hofmiller (1915) reworked his article which was originally published by the Allgemeine Zeitung in 1910 and had it reappear after the breaking out of the Great War in Süddeutsche Monatshefte.<sup>27</sup> Hofmiller's criticism regarding Anatole France's way of writing became even more adverse than it was five years before. Now he raised the question whether Anatole France had not been over-rated for years. And here are the reasons:

Der Nur-Ironiker ist im Grunde immer ein wenig hinkend, ein wenig schwindstüchtig, ein wenig Kastrat. Die wahrhaft grossen Geister sind nicht so gern ironisch, so einseitig ironisch, so nichts als ironisch.<sup>28</sup>

A few years after the war, Arthur Hübscher (1921) raised another question, namely: What do we really admire in France's works? His answer was as follows:

Sind es nicht in jedem seiner Bücher diese vielen kleinen Ueberraschungen, Liebenswürdigkeiten und Bosheiten, geistreichen Bemerkungen, Witze, Plaudereien, Abschweifungen, alle diese erzählerischen Reize, die das Leben noch nicht reizlos erscheinen lassen, solange jedes Jahr ein neuer France erscheint? Und vermissen wir nicht anderseits in jedem seiner Bücher, was man von grosser epischer Dichtung erwarten sollte: Straffheit der Komposition, klare Linie im Aufbau, und mehr: eine gewisse innere Notwendigkeit der Gestaltung? Sind seine Kapitel nicht nur lose und sorglos aneinandergereiht? Seine Romane nicht überhaupt nur Vorwände? Ist das alles nicht (in einem sehr hohen Sinne) Literatur? . . .<sup>29</sup>

Eugen Kohler wrote in 1918 a few remarks on the ageing of Anatole France. In the opinion of this critic, Anatole France was destined to be always more or less Parnassian. At times however it seemed that a lyrical note was lurking in him; but no longer could traces of it be detected. With the exception of some fine observations and descriptions, he could no longer give anything really substantial. His own people, especially the young literati, felt that France had become a man of the past.<sup>30</sup>

The same year, Kurt Pinthus, famous literary historian, while

reviewing France's "Homodiantengeschichte" and "Der Aufruhr der Engel" stated that some of the younger critics found France's works tedious to read. Not so for Pinthus: "Ich kann das nicht finden, nicht empfinden". Although a "raisonneur" appears in almost every one of France's novels, Pinthus found him an enticing, experienced, and thought-provoking personage who shares with the reader his fine wisdom and wide knowledge. Sometimes he may be an odd individual, or a popular, cultivated fool, but always a superior man, a philosopher: some one like Anatole France.<sup>31</sup>

Friedrich Oppeln-Bronikowski, the able and important critic and translator of French books into German, who was more responsible for making Anatole France known in Germany than any other single individual, contended in an article named "Anatole France als Plagiator" (Die Literatur, 1923) that Anatole France was positively a plagiarist. As such, the critic put him into a class of famous writers: Rabelais, Molière, Stendhal, and Goethe. According to Bronikowski, France took from Renan: "Gedanken, Tatsachen, Quellen, das geschichtliche Milieu und oft selbst die Worte" that constitute the charming episode "Gallio" in Sur la Pierre Blanche. The critic continued that:

Fast unbegreiflich und doch wahr ist es, dass dieser Stil ganze Sätze und Perioden aus Renan und dessen Quellen (Seneca, Tacitus usw.) sich einzuverleiben vermag . . . dessen Elemente, Gedanken und Worte ihm Renan geliefert hat . . . <sup>32</sup>

Wilhelm Herzog (1921) mentioned the intimation on the part of some critics that Anatole France was more of an enlightener than "Dichter". He was for some readers too critical, inexorable, and skeptical, too close to daily living. Nevertheless, Herzog classified him with Maxim Gorki and Upton Sinclair, whom he considered the leading writers of contemporary times.<sup>33</sup>

Hermann Wendel (1925) pointed out that Anatole France was able

at composing sentences containing measure and order as well as rhythm and harmony.<sup>34</sup> But to attain such style, he was obliged to write laboriously.

. . . alle Leuchtkraft seiner Sätze, alle Leichtigkeit seines Ausdrucks ist das Ergebnis mühevoller Arbeit.<sup>35</sup>

France's manuscript, with many corrections and insertions, recalls Flaubert's method of writing. Still, creating literature was not for him, as for the author of Mme Bovary, a substitute for living. For Anatole France to write was to enjoy life.<sup>36</sup> It was to enjoy life through the medium of thought, because: "In seinen Büchern wird denn weit mehr gedacht als gehandelt". Most of France's novels lack "Handlung", and nearly all of them are autobiographical.<sup>37</sup> The leading characters such as Professor Bergeret, Abbé Coignard, Doctor Trublett, Pierre Nozière, the old scholar Bonnard, and others, are more or less Anatole France; and they spread what they know just as he did.<sup>38</sup>

Max Konzelmann (1924) also reported that during all his life Anatole France labored on his style at length, as the following statement would indicate:

Anatole France, was man nicht überall weiss, mit fast achtzig Jahren die meisten seiner Bücher noch einmal genau durchgesehen und stilistisch umgearbeitet.<sup>39</sup>

Fritz Schotthöfer (1924) did not think that Anatole France was as painstaking an artist as Flaubert. Believing that anyone can say things in his own way provided he has something to say, Anatole France would not follow any literary school. Even so, he managed to find his way into the literary world of his time. Proving thereby that an ingenious soul can neither be influenced nor enslaved. In Schotthöfer's opinion, Sylvestre Bonnard, Coignard, Bergeret, Gamelin, and others are universal types and will be understood hundreds of years hence, as Voltaire's Candide is understood today. This critic declared that:

"Wenn er Menschen schilderte, dann schienen sie direkt aus dem Leben gegriffen". And yet, France's works are more suited to the time in which they were written than to the future. Here is the reason:

In seinen Zeitgemälden hat France trotz allem oft der Zeit mehr gedient als der Ewigkeit. Nur der Zeitgenosse wird noch alle Feinheiten verstehen, weil er die Anspielungen, die Durchsichtigkeiten noch mit Lebendigem zu füllen weiss . . . Seine stärkste Wirkung war auf die Gegenwart, in der er stand.<sup>40</sup>

As far as I have been able to determine, nothing was said during this period concerning Anatole France's criticism.

### 3. "Weltanschauung".

Hardly anything was written about Anatole France's philosophy during this period. Hermann Wendel (1924) made an observation that Anatole France prized the philosophical freedom as the highest good of men. He valued also all the educational enterprises which compelled men to exercise the mental faculty.<sup>41</sup> According to Wendel, the whole science of love for Anatole France consisted of "schonen, verzeihen, trösten", that is, to be indulgent, consoling, and forgiving. Did he himself not say: "La pitié c'est le fond même du génie"?<sup>42</sup>

### 4. Ironist and Skeptic.

Kohler was the first critic of the war period who referred to Anatole France's irony, and he did it only in passing, with two sentences. He wrote:

France hat selten erwärmt. Er war immer der kalte, aber treuherzig-naive Beobachter, der mit tiefgründiger historischer Gelehrsamkeit ausgestattete Ironiker, der abgeklärt-nüchterne Epikuräer gewesen.<sup>43</sup>

The following year, 1919, three critics made comments on France's skepticism and irony. Berta Schult declared in an article

published in Das neue Europa, that Anatole France had, in his skeptical attitude and unbelief, joined Diderot and the Encyclopedists. The critic added that Anatole France was not a good monarchist even in his youth.<sup>44</sup>

Otto Grautoff also believed that France's skeptical soul lacked the power of belief. As a result, because of this lack, his mind was unable to create new ideas.<sup>45</sup> Disagreeing with Paul Souday<sup>46</sup> who had advanced the idea that Anatole France's more thoughtful works resembled those of Boileau, Grautoff argues thus:

Dem feinsten aber auch dem m ddesten Erben des klassischen Zeitalters fehlt es gerade an dogmatischer Kraft, und sein Fatalismus ist so allgemein, dass er nicht einmal mehr die Kraft hat, hinter die grosse Frage: "Was ist Gott" ein Fragezeichen zu setzen, weil er  berall nur Fragezeichen sieht.<sup>47</sup>

Michael Charol showed more penetrating insight into Anatole France's irony. He perceived that a sense of superiority was the inner essence of Anatole France. This sense of superiority was based upon clear thinking, thorough knowledge, and logical conclusions. The critic's statement is so full of meaning that it should be quoted in its entirety.

Das innerste Wesen von Anatole France ist  berlegenheit. Die auf klarem Geist, gr ndlichem Wissen, reifer  berlegung und logischen Konsequenzen begr ndete  berlegenheit. Wenn dieser Geist auf Unverstand, diese  berlegenheit auf D nkel, dieses Wissen auf Borniertheit stossen, werden sie sp ttisch, ironisch, manchmal sogar k stlich satirisch. Aber niemals sarkastisch. Anatole France fehlen der Hass und Bitterkeit. Seine Stacheln sind scharf, aber ohne zersetzendes Gift. Seine Pfeile entstehen im Geist und nicht im Herzen. Seine Worte treffen, aber sie sind nicht mit Galle getr nkt. Eher haben sie noch Naivit t, Treuherzigkeit. France ist leidenschaftlich, aber von einer Leidenschaft des Verstandes.<sup>48</sup>

It is evident from these words that the critic had more than a mere acquaintance with France's works and that he understood quite well the ironic and skeptical elements of them. In the opinion of Charol, Anatole France was never sarcastic, nor bitterly hateful; although his

irony was biting, it was not injurious. Skepticism and irony originated in his mind and not in his heart.<sup>49</sup>

J. Kliche (1922) detected in France's works Molière's taunting attitude toward man-made institutions and practices. Anatole France directed his irony mainly against the church, the state, and society at large, just as Molière did in his time. Kliche expressed the idea thus:

Rücksichtslos geht dieser Satiriker den Idolen der Überlieferung zu Leibe. Gesellschaft, Staat und Kirche trifft mancher Peitschenhieb. Just so wie es vor drei Jahrhunderten Meister Molière in seinen Komödien tat.<sup>50</sup>

More specifically, as Schotthöfer (1924) states, Anatole France directed his irony against social abuses and political injustices rather than men. Schotthöfer thinks that he always regarded men sympathetically and that to scoff at concerted evil-doing or any sort of "Heuchelei" was his second nature. Moreover, a great deal of France's tendency toward skepticism and irony is attributed by Schotthöfer to personal make-up and experience, as the following statement would suggest:

Spott und Zweifel wurzeln noch tief im lebendigen Gefühl. Sie sind noch keine Befreiung des Geistes, sie sind Kinder des Schmerzes, des Verzichtes, der Bitterkeit, der Verachtung. Sie sind noch voll vom Rhythmus des pulsierenden Blutes. Sie sind Zuckungen von Kämpfern, die noch nicht ausgerungen haben.<sup>51</sup>

Adding as it were to the ideas of the last two critics, Schoenberger (1924) points out that Anatole France "treibt sein wunderbarer Hang zum Zweifel, zum Misstrauen" against everything.<sup>52</sup> The original meaning of the word "skepticism" which came from a Greek word *SKEPSIS* was to reflect, consider, deliberate, and investigate. And οἱ *ΣΚΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ* were the members of the philosophical sect of Pyrrhon Eleusis, who abstained from affirming or denying anything, and who maintained that nothing can be asserted, for:

. . . der weder ja noch nein sagt, behauptet, man könne nichts behaupten. In diesem erweiterten Doppelsinn ist Anatole France ein Skeptiker.<sup>52</sup>

R. Schudel-Benz (1924) attributed France's irony and pessimism to his profound knowledge of history. The bitter satire of L'Île des Pingouins and the ironic depiction of the French Revolution of 1789 in Les Dieux ont soif confirm this assertion.<sup>53</sup>

##### 5. Social and Political Views.

Partly due to the events of the time and partly to France's failure to live up to his expressed stand against war, the German critics harped a great deal on France's inconsistency and inclination toward Chauvinism during the Great War. Hausenstein (1914) was of the opinion that although Anatole France kept silent about his war instinct, it resided in him always as a possibility. Every true Gaul from the time of Vercingetorix to the present, Flaubert included, has been war-like. And, Socialist that Anatole France was, it is a wonder that he wrote a novel against the French Revolution. But, Hausenstein questions France's sincerity in posing as a supporter of socialism. The critic reasons thus:

Sein Sozialismus ist zwar im Grunde nichts als die künstlichste Angelegenheit der lateinischen Syntax seines Geistes . . . seine berühmte Trocaderrede für den Frieden, seine letzte Friedensdemonstration nichts als eine Bekundung oder besser eine Form, die ihren geistigen Adel von der zum Höchsten getriebenen rhetorisch-abstrakten Logik einer antik gedachten Rednertribüne empfing.<sup>55</sup>

Raoul Auernheimer, commenting on Sur la Voie glorieuse in 1915, wrote also the following observations. Anatole France was usually alone, but when war broke out he joined the crowd. "Er hat nicht mehr den Mut, zu widersprechen, er verleugnet die Wahrheit."<sup>45</sup> In regard to France's attitude toward Germany during the conflict, as in

icated in Sur la Voie glorieuse, Auernheimer compares him with Professor Bergeret. This leading character in France's book was full of wisdom, but he was also human; Anatole France was also a wise man, but at the same time he was French. And,

Der Franzose siegt unter allen Umständen wenn nicht anders - über die Wahrheit.

Um diese Zeit, sollte man denken, müsste ein Mann von der leuchtenden Intelligenz eines Anatole France, einer der hellsten Schriftstellerköpfe der Welt, bereits eingesehen haben, dass die Strasse des französischen Ruhmes von den Deutschen endgültig verbarrikiert ist. Aber vielleicht hat er es eingesehen und bloss nicht öffentlich zugeben wollen.<sup>56</sup>

In an open letter to Anatole France, published October 31, 1915, Mauthner regretted the fact that the tone of Sur la Voie glorieuse was that of a Parisian street instead of that of a worthy disciple of the great Voltaire. Mauthner reproached France for having apparently forgotten everything of importance since the outbreak of the war, even:

Ihre kostbare gallische Heiterkeit und Ihren philosophischen Zweifel an den Wahrheiten der Heerstrasse.<sup>57</sup>

Felix Vogt (1919), discussing France's attitude toward war, pointed out the fact that at the beginning of the war Anatole France made an effort to oppose it and to make his people realize that the enemy were also men with whom they would have to live after the conflict was over. Vogt explained the situation thus:

Zu Beginn des Krieges hatte er einen schüchlernen Versuch gemacht, öffentlich gegen das tolle Geschimpf, gegen den Feind Einspruch zu erheben und zu bemerken, dass man schliesslich doch wieder einmal als Menschen mit Menschen werde verkehren müssen. Das zog ihm die Missbilligung der Regierung zu, und seither schwieg er.

Vogt showed sympathy for Anatole France when he added these words:

Endlich lässt sich auch leicht erkennen, dass France gerade jetzt zu seiner Kinderzeit zurückgekehrt ist, um sich von der traurigen Kriegesgegenwart abzuwenden.<sup>58</sup>

The Alsatian critic and dramatist, R. Schickele, understood Anatole France's position during the war perhaps better than any of the critics already mentioned. Schickele contended in an article that appeared on February 10, 1924, in the Frankfurter Zeitung, that war was for Anatole France an intolerable calamity. Had he been only a prominent writer, he would have done one of two things: either, having stated his stand against war, shut himself up in his ivory tower and let the world rage; or, maintaining his objections to the folly of mutual destruction, uphold pacifism and become eventually a martyr. But, Anatole France was more than a famous writer; he was more than an average man; he was a "Dichter".<sup>59</sup> Therefore, being a poet, writer, philosopher - everything that the word "Dichter" implies - he found himself in a difficult situation, for:

Der Krieg war der Sannum für ihn, er verschlug ihm den Atem! Sein Herz glühte für die gerechte Sache", aber er sprach nicht mehr wie ein Mann, und nicht einmal wie ein Kind - er sprach die Sprache eines anderen, eines Fremden. Im Buche Sur la voie glorieuse lag Anatole France begraben, und ein fremder Herr laserte eine bedeutungslose Rede.<sup>60</sup>

The critic continues, saying that Anatole France hated and abhorred war, that war was the only manly action that he despised, and that war was so contrary to his inner self that the mere thought of it was confusing to his clear and brilliant mind. France was afraid of the outcome of war - victory or defeat - during the whole time of conflict. The last work in which he fled from the present back to his youth, the past, La Vie en Fleur, (1922) tells eloquently the author's abhorrence of war, as Schickele points out in the following words:

La Vie en fleur lässt uns erkennen wie tief die Abneigung dieses Organismus gegen den Krieg wurzelt. Der ausgezeichnete Freund der Eltern, M. Dubois, erklärt dem Kind, was der Krieg, sein Pomp und seine Werke in Wirklichkeit sind. Er entkleidet den Krieg der Romantik, von der er zur Hälfte lebt.<sup>61</sup>

The Great War which Anatole France had predicted in the preface to La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc (1908) made him lonesome, according to Konzelmann's article published on the 80th birthday of the old seer and prophet. At one of the solemn occasions held after the Armistice, in commemoration of Jaurès, Anatole France silently expressed his feelings for humanity by pinning the war cross of a fallen soldier upon the bust of Jaurès. He no doubt could have spoken a significant word against war at that time, but his silence was just as eloquent. Besides, all his literary works were proclaiming this same condemnation throughout the whole world.<sup>62</sup>

Otto Friedländer visited Anatole France in 1924 and published in Vorwärts (May 18) an account of the visit. According to the critic's report, Anatole France spoke about the paradox of the world and its wars. The Great War reminded him of one of the feudal wars after which both the victor and the vanquished suffered great losses. Making it clear that the European situation was close to his heart, Anatole France pleaded for understanding. At the end of the visit, the Frenchman wrote on a slip of paper, which he gave to the German visitor for a souvenir, these words: "Soyons bons Européens".<sup>63</sup>

Regarding Anatole France's views on other social and political problems, the opinion of the critics is also varied. Franz Blei (1914), important German naturalist and student of literary movements, evinced that Anatole France was essentially of the "Ancien Régime" and therefore upheld the classical tradition of Rabelais and of Montaigne, who were the Latin rationalists. Connecting this idea to the modern social trends in France, Blei maintained that:

Was man den typischen französischen Geist nennt, das inkarniert sich in Anatole France und in ihm endet sich zugleich der sentimental werdende Bourgeois, der an seiner Zivilisation verzweifelt und Sozialist wird, womit er den Kapitalismus

aufzuheben meint, während er ihn nur vollendet: ganz kapitalistisch sieht er in einer kapitalistischen Änderung das goldene Zeitalter.<sup>64</sup>

Berta Schult (1919) was convinced that Anatole France, after having publicly joined the Socialist Party, in 1904, continued persistently to support it actively and even to proclaim its practical program until the outbreak of the Great War. The critic's words on this point are too positive for paraphrasing, so it seems better to quote them:

Mit jugendlicher Begeisterung stellte er sich in den Dienst seiner Ideen: Meetings, Wahlversammlungen und Arbeiterhochschulen waren die Schauplätze seiner Tätigkeit; sein Name stand unter zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen sozialistischen und kommunistischen Geistes, um ihn scharten sich alle linksstehenden Parteien. Er ist der geschworene Feind jeder Reaktion; sein Hass geht bis zum Fanatismus. Seine sämtlichen neueren Schriften stehen unter dem Zeichen dieses Geistes.<sup>65</sup>

Berta Schult also thought that Anatole France had chosen the novel as the medium by which to spread his socialistic ideas and that each of his novels became a sort of prayer-book for his followers. Whenever anarchists were arrested, France's books were invariably found to be in their possession. Professor Bergeret, who is Voltairian, pacifist and antinationalist, is distinctly modelled after the author.<sup>66</sup> In the time of test, Anatole France failed to maintain his intellectual freedom. When the war ended, he reverted to his previous position. The critic concludes:

Freilich von Dauer war diese Verirrung nicht, konnte sie bei seiner Geistesart nicht sein.<sup>67</sup>

In 1921, Anatole France was identified by Wilhelm Herzog with the Communist International. Pointing out that he was always a supporter of socialistic principles, Herzog asserted that the greatest French writer at last made it known to the world that he was for the revolution - the world revolution - through which was to come the liberation of the proletariat. We read further that:

. . . er kennt nicht die Bedenken und die Hemmungen jener  
 Soldschreiber des Bürgertums. Er bekennt sich - als Pionier  
 der Idee, der er sein ganzes Leben opferte - zur Revolution,  
 zur Befreiung der Menschenklasse durch die Diktatur des Pro-  
 letariats, zur Weltrevolution. Er, der Nachkomme der grossen  
 französischen Enzyklopädisten, der Diderot und d'Alembert,  
 kämpft Seite an Seite heute mit dem französischen Proletariat.<sup>68</sup>

Toward the end of his life, the critic goes on, Anatole France began to see the light streaming from the East, and his questioning mind did not question this time but accepted the ideas of Marx, of Lenin, and of Trotzky; more than that, he became a valiant soldier in the Red army of the International.<sup>69</sup>

The same year, Iwan Goll, the poet, having spent one afternoon with Anatole France, reported that the newly-converted communist spoke about Russia and said the following:

"Ich liebe und schätze die Sowjets, ich verehere Lenin und das Land, das allein den Wink der Geschichte verstand."<sup>70</sup>

Goll further reports that Anatole France expressed doubt of the pretended good-will of Europe, holding that another war was unavoidable and that there would be only one of two outcomes of the then existing armistice: socialism and peace, or capitalism and eventually war. It is reported that he finally said this:

"Wir haben den Krieg gewählt, der vielleicht ein hundert-jähriger werden wird . . . Die Politik ist blind. Die Völker sind dumm und stier geworden . . . Ich sehe kein Heil mehr."<sup>71</sup>

In the article of J. Kliche, entitled "Der geächtete Nobelpreis-träger" (1922), it is said that Anatole France was possessed with kindness and love for men, that he was a writer who spoke through his writings and actions in the interest of social right and the ideals of socialism.<sup>72</sup> He was the first one in France who tried to promulgate reconciliation among peoples after the war and therefore was regarded as the only writer of world reputation in France who worked for world peace. It is further pointed out that he showed a favorable disposi-

tion toward Russian Bolshevism.<sup>73</sup> The Neue Zürcher Zeitung for March 3, 1922 carried a short anonymous article containing the following statement:

Anatole France geht mit den Regierenden und der grossen Presse Frankreichs strang ins Gericht, neben sozialistischen Uebertreibungen sagt er Wahrheiten, die man gerne verzeichnet: "Die aussere Gewalt erreicht nichts, wenn sie gegen die Natur der Dinge angewendet wird. Wir sind nicht mehr in der Epoche der goldbringenden Siege. Der letzte Krieg hat Europa erschöpft. . . Ich sage nicht zu meinen Landsleuten: Hasset nicht mehr, vergesset! Ich kenne zu gut die arme Menschennatur. Aber ich sage: Seid vernünftig, seid verträglich!"<sup>74</sup>

Schotthöfer reported in 1924 that Anatole France became a member of the French Communist Party and that, although he had written Sur la Voie glorieuse a few years before, he showed there his bourgeois side.

Er ergriff die Partei seines Vaterlandes. Er schrieb sogar ein Buch, in dem das Vaterland auf dem "Wege zum Ruhm" gezeigt wurde. Aber es war der Staatsbürger, nicht der Schriftsteller France der es geschrieben hatte. Der wahre France ging darin nicht auf.<sup>75</sup>

More information on this point comes also from Hermann Wendel (1924), from whom we learn that Anatole France spoke on various occasions suggesting and even urging the people to establish cooperatives, to support the popular education movements, and to free themselves from the triumvirate oppressors, the priests, the soldiers, and the financiers. Wendel wrote:

Und sein Sozialismus ist nicht wie der manch Anderer eine Mode, "une élégance"; der Dichter trägt sich in die Mitgliederliste der Partei ein, gibt sich als Citoyen unter Citoyens, sitzt in Ansschüssen, hält Vorträge und leitet Versammlungen.<sup>76</sup>

And R. Schudel-Benz stated in an article entitled "Anatole France als Soziologe" (1924) that the aged French writer took interest in the living conditions of the working people, that he regarded any manual labor as noble occupation, and that he felt down in his heart keenly

sympathetic towards the lower classes of humanity.<sup>77</sup>

## 6. The Literary Works.

Joseph Froberger was of the opinion in 1914 that the leading character of the novel Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard reappears in all the other novels of Anatole France. Of course, this character is somewhat different in various books but always under the form of a skeptic philosopher. This philosopher leads the life of a recluse, but he keeps his eyes open in order to observe the peculiarities and weaknesses of mankind. In Sylvestre Bonnard he is still kind-hearted and forgiving; in later books he becomes Bergeret, a pessimist and an ironist.<sup>78</sup>

In L'Histoire contemporaine (this is the general title for the collection of four novels: L'orme du mail, Le mannequin d'osier, L'anneau d'améthyste, and M. Bergeret à Paris) the leading character is Bergeret. According to Froberger, he is a skeptical observer of the contemporary French politics. Bereft of any idealism and inner fire, he notices only social defects and blunders. His viewpoint is Voltairian: all evils of France can be traced to the church and religion. To these four novels may be added L'île des Pingouins, suggests Froberger, which is likewise a social satire.<sup>79</sup>

The anti-revolution novel, Les dieux ont soif, states Froberger, depicts the French Revolution in the same astringent manner that other novels treat the church, religion, and especially Catholicism.<sup>80</sup> In Les dieux ont soif, the critic finds vivid landscapes intended to produce a certain state of mind in the reader rather than a true picture of the time of the French Revolution. His own words on this point are worth quoting:

Auch in diesem Werke hat er weniger ein Bild der Zeit gegeben als eine Reihe von Stimmungsbildern über nebenfällliche Begegnungsmomente. Seine Unfähigkeit, grosse Begebnisse zu überschauen und darzustellen, trat auch hier wieder hervor; einige unbedeutende Ereignisse aus dem täglichen Leben mit eingehender Liebe zu malen ist für ihn wichtiger, als die völkerumwälzende Zeitbewegung in ihren Beweggründen, Ausschreitungen und Verhängnissen zu schildern.<sup>81</sup>

Of La révolte des Anges Froberger speaks quite adversely, as the following quotation clearly indicates:

Dabei benehmen sich diese "Engel" so liederlich, sie treiben solchen Unfug, verführen die Frauen der Menschen, organisieren anarchistische Attentate, dass das ganze Buch zur widerlichstn Anhäufung von Widersinn und Schmutz wird und einen wahren Ekel einflösst.<sup>82</sup>

The critic asserts that the whole of Anatole France's writing activity steadily degenerated and finally resulted in La révolte des anges (1914), which represents the author's "geistigen Selbstvernichtung". This novel is his tombstone.<sup>83</sup>

Making an evaluation of France's works in general, Froberger states that those books which do not attack religion or social customs may be profitably put into the libraries. Of these books he mentions: Le livre de mon ami, Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard, Grainquebille, Jocaste et le chat maigre, Les dieux ont soif, and Pages choisies.<sup>84</sup>

Fritz Schotthöfer shows little appreciation for La Révolte des Anges. In an article of 1914, he declares that the novel is rather confusing to the reader. The story begins with a depiction of real men, types of people that are encountered in L'Histoire contemporaine; then the author, true to his usual manner of narrating, pours into the conversations the enormous accumulation of learning that he derived from reading the church fathers. As to the angels, they are disguised people whom the author knew in life. Schotthöfer affirms that:

Sie leben in Paris. Man erkennt in ihnen allerhand Revolutionäre und Anarchisten slawischen Ursprungs, einer ist sogar Ostasiate.<sup>85</sup>

Wilhelm Hausenstein, in an article on "Anatole France, die französische Gesellschaft und der Krieg" (1914), states that the Insel der Pinguine annuls happily the France of the Dreyfus affair. The novel is a satiric drama "à la Zola's 'j'accuse' ". Its content is certainly destructive to the officialdom of the Third French Republic.<sup>86</sup> The critic considers it entirely satirical, as the following words would indicate:

Eine Satire kann kaum deutlicher sein . . . Aber diese Satire ist erstens sozialistisch, das heisst antibürgerlich. Zweitens freilich ist sie französisch; das heisst unverbindlich, unbuchstäblich, immateriell.<sup>87</sup>

Josef Hofmiller reported in 1915 that "Das Verbrechen Sylvestre Bonnard" was most known in Germany. It is the first of the best-constructed and best-narrated of France's works; hardly any one of the later books compares with it from the standpoint of technique. The author put into it all of his best qualities: charm, intellectual wealth, and kindness.<sup>88</sup>

The "Garrösterel zur Königin Gänsefuss" is a story of the Gil Blas sort, according to Hofmiller. The handling of its theme reminds one of the method of Dumas père, as well as of Mérimée and of Balzac. Here the writer "verzichtet auf die Originalität des Was und sucht seine Stärke in der Originalität des Wie".<sup>89</sup>

"Die Ulme am Spielplatz" (L'Orme du Mail) is a modern story almost without an "Inhalt". It is one of those books that have neither beginning nor ending, only an arbitrary slice of life. It is exquisite in details, impossible as a whole. The characters seem excellent but they are not developed.<sup>90</sup>

Hofmiller states also that in the smoothly narrated story of Thaïs the reader finds a great deal of fineness and a revealing study of the human soul. Deep currents of feeling and emotion run

beneath the surface of daily events.<sup>91</sup> The critic found the woman Thais quite modern and more or less typical of the heroines of French novels, for we read:

Klingt sie nicht etwas sehr modern, diese Selbstrechtfertigung der veilchenäugigen Sünderin? Ist die blond Thais nicht ein wenig verwandt mit der Kameliendame? Hat Anatole France nicht eigentlich eins der Ältesten Themen der französischen Literatur auf seine anmutige Weise variiert, das von der geretteten Courtisane? <sup>92</sup>

Hofmiller repeated several of his statements made in earlier articles on Anatole France. With reference to Sur la Pierre Blanche, the critic asserts that:

France hat in diesem neuesten Roman vollends das Gefühl für Aufbau und Verhältnisse eines Romangesamten, das er nie recht besass, verloren. Seine acht Kapitel hängen nur Kusserlich zusammen, und die Erzählung verflacht, dass es ein Jammer ist.<sup>93</sup>

In der Tat, dies Buch ist nur das Bankröttchen eines bouguiniste, der sich zwischen Büchern und Kunstwerken solange einhäuselte, bis er von der reichen und wundervollen Geschichte seines Volkes nichts mehr sah als ein Dutzend Klümpchen Blut und ein Dutzend Klümpchen Dreck.<sup>94</sup>

Making some observations on France's works in general, Hofmiller points out that the abundant conversations which are rich in meaning make up for the weak handling of his stories. This idea is stated by the critic as follows:

Die Handlungen seiner Geschichten sind dünner, feiner Stramin. Aber die Gespräche, mit denen er ihn bestickt, die Einschaltungen, Abschweifungen, Zwischenbemerkungen, die Beleuchtung, das ist er, und nur er. Seine künstlerische Phantasie ist nicht gestaltend, sondern kombinierend. Sie setzen auch beim Leser etwas von der Kultur voraus, die der Dichter besitzt: griechische und römische, besondere spätgriechische und spätrömische, Epikur und die Stoa, der Goldene Esel des Apulejus und die Goldene Legende des Jakobus a Voragine, französisches Mittelalter und italienische Renaissance, Rabelais und Voltaire, sechzehntes und achtzehntes Jahrhundert sind in seinen Büchern wie in einem feinen Elixir.<sup>95</sup>

In his open letter to Anatole France (October 31, 1915), Fritz Mauthner refers to a few of France's books with either appreciation

or with scorn. With scorn of course to Sur la Voie glorieuse, for we read:

Es wäre töricht, Ihnen vorwerfen zu wollen, dass Ihr ausgedehntes Büchlein, Sur La Voie Glorieuse viel mehr gutes Paper als gute Worte und dennoch mehr gute Worte als gute Gedanken enthalte.

With appreciation, the critic speaks of La Révolte des Anges:

Mit dem feinen Lächeln Ihrer Resignation, mit Ihrem freundlichen Pessimismus ohne Galle hoben Sie im "Aufstande der Engel", Ihren Landsleuten einige Wahrheiten gesagt noch im Jahre 1914. . . Ich liebe Ihren Roman von den rebellischen Pariser Engeln, weil er ebenso lustig ist wie die "Pucelle" Ihres Voltaire und ebenso keck wie der "Götterkrieg" Ihres Parny . . .<sup>96</sup>

Raoul Auernheimer discusses only one of Anatole France's books in an article entitled "Das Buch eines Feindes" (1915), namely: Sur la Voie glorieuse. The critic finds this book very thin, not in format but in thought and contents. It is a book in which the author makes paper bullets and fires them from France all the way to Germany. Its format is large and its title sounds rather optimistic. But the war is in its early stage.<sup>97</sup>

In a rather sketchy book-review, Eugen Kohler declared in 1918 that La Révolte des Anges (1914) and Les Dieux ont soif (1912) were of small importance; both books contain hardly anything new and are noticeably expanded with needless material. These books mark the author's decline as a writer, because:

. . . nichts ist neu in diesem Buch (La Révolte des Anges), und das Alte ist bedenklich verwässert. Verwässert ist diese Geschichte der Menschheit, die aus Renan und Darwin zusammengesetzt, kondensiert, und extrahiert ist.<sup>98</sup> . . . Zum Werke Frances fügen diese beiden Bücher, kaum eine neue Seite hinzu, ja, der Aufbruch der Engel fällt sogar merklich von der Höhe seiner Gesamtproduktion ab.<sup>99</sup>

The same year, however, appeared in the Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, another book-review of La Révolte des Anges written this time by Kurt Pinthus, a much better known and no doubt more able

critic than Kohler. Pinthus evaluated this novel as:

. . . ein grosses, reifes Hauptwerk des Alten, vielleicht sein Hauptwerk überhaupt: ein philosophisches, ein theologischer Roman, und doch ein Menschheitsroman.

La Révolte des Anges is a novel that may be defined as philosophic, theological, and human. In order to realize how much philosophy and humanity there is in it one should read it twice.<sup>100</sup>

Franz Graetzer in 1918 was even more enthusiastic about this novel than Pinthus. At least he found more in it than Kohler and Pinthus together. For him the book contains the soul of France:

Viel von Frankreichs zeitlos gleicher Seele steckt in diesem Roman seines grössten lebenden Dichters . . . In diesem Werk am klarsten offenbart sich des Dichters Abkunft von Voltaire. . . . Hier ist Lästerung bestehender Ordnungen, skeptische Zersetzung sklavischer Abhängigkeit von herkömmlichen Glaubensregeln, hier der Grundsatz, mit Entsetzten (künstlerisch erhabenen) Spott zu treiben, allbestimmend . . . Politik und Erotik, Mode und Kunst, Philosophie und Historie, vor Allem aber die bleibenden, dauerhaft wirrnisstiftenden Grundprobleme der Religion, werden abgehandelt.<sup>101</sup>

The following year, 1919, Michael Charol declared that many French writers could compose stories about revolution, but only Anatole France was able to write "Die Götter dürsten." And as to the "Aufbruch der Engel," the critic asserts that:

Im "Aufbruch der Engel" verschmäh't France jegliches technische Kunstmittel. Gedanklich wie formell absolut vollendet steigert sich das Werk bis zum Schluss, der in dem praxvollen Traum des Satanas endet . . . In diesem Roman erreicht France einen Gipfel. Er erläutert nicht seine Helden, er zergliedert und verfasst sie nicht. In einer luftigen Höhe des umfassenden Geistes schwebend, sieht er alles Geschehen von dieser Höhe. Und er besitzt die Kraft, das Geschehene so niederzuschreiben, wie er es erschaut hat. Wir sind dadurch in andere Sphären gehoben.<sup>102</sup>

The characters appear to be as transparent as glass, and the reader perceives Anatole France pulling the strings. The angels find themselves on earth, among mortals, and all their actions are quite human. We wonder why they act so foolishly at times, but we realize that we

too would act as they were we in their places.

The novel on the French Revolution, Les Dieux ont soif, is not comparable to La Révolte des Anges either in form or in strength.

Hier versucht Anatole France von derselben grossen Höhe die Französische Revolution zu überblicken. Aber er kann es nicht. Es steckt in ihm noch zuviel Sympathie für die untergehende Aristokratenklasse, die in den früheren Revolutionsgeschichten so klar zum Vorschein kam. Vergebens sucht er sie jetzt zu verbergen. Man spürt nur zu deutlich, dass er sich nie mit den regierenden Kleinbürgern eins fühlen wird.<sup>103</sup>

Le Jardin d'Epicure (1894) contains all the possibilities of La Révolte des Anges; it is excellent and amusing with all its paradoxes, but not as thought-through nor as solidly founded as La Révolte des Anges. In this connection, Charol states something that is just the opposite of what other critics have written:

Dieser Grundzug ist die beste Erklärung, warum mit steigender Reife des Verfassers der Wert seiner Werke steigt. Alle Gedanken, alle Ansichten sind schon in den früheren Schriften von France enthalten, bei jeder Wiederkehr aber - und sie kehren sehr oft wieder - sehen wir sie vollendeter, klarer, künstlerischer und tiefer geworden.<sup>104</sup>

Commenting on France's works in general, Charol states that in the earlier novels a fable was used as a nucleus for the story. This was to attract the interest of the reader. In later works the use of fables was abandoned. "Die Fabeln sind zu einem Unbedeutenden in den 'Göttern' zu einem Nichts in dem 'Aufruhr' zusammengeschmolzen." The strivings and struggles of humanity became the dominating theme. And the author himself has changed from a mere intellectual observer into a spirit that directs the battles of mankind.

Er fühlt sich gross genug, wenn auch nicht darüber zu entscheiden, so doch um deren Wichtigkeit zu beurteilen. Er ist nicht mehr ein inmitten der Vielen Kämpfender, er ist kein Aussenseiter, kein beschaulicher Intellektueller, er ist ein über dem Kampfe schwebender Geist.<sup>105</sup>

In an article published by the Allgemeine Zeitung, May 23, 1920, and signed by the letter "H", we read that "Die rote Lilie" is a fragrant

analysis of the soul of a French "Typ der Ehe" and a study of the customary practices of people in love and that Die Insel der Pinguine is perhaps the best satire since Voltaire on contemporary French conditions.<sup>106</sup>

Arthur Hübscher in 1921 called Le Petit Pierre (1918) one of the most charming and delightful books that Anatole France had written.<sup>107</sup>

Otto Grautoff reports in 1922 that Crainquebille was adopted, reworked, and published by Leo Tolstoi. The German translation of the original version of this story is however preferred by the critic, as the following statement would indicate:

Die Novelle ("Affaire Crainquebille") ist seinerzeit von Leo Tolstoi frei bearbeitet worden und findet sich in dieser Form auch in dem bei Kurt Wolff erschienenen Lebensbuch Tolstois "Für alle Tage". Vergleicht man die wörtliche Übersetzung . . . mit der freien Umgestaltung Tolstois, so muss man der ersteren den Vorzug geben. In ihr kommt der klare, ironische Stil des Franzosen besser zum Ausdruck als in dem Umweg über Tolstoi. . . Das Schönste an Anatole France bleibt die Knappheit des Stils, die klare und bestimmte Sprachkunst.<sup>108</sup>

In an article entitled "Der geächtete Nobelpreisträger" (1922), J. Kliche makes only very brief observations on several of France's books. Thais is a charming novel. La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque contains a remarkable theme: the author depicts a priest who really believes in God. "Visionär ist sein Buch" Sur la Pierre Blanche. The critic is content with stating in a sentence or two what happens in a book instead of giving his impression of it. More is said about Le Petit Pierre, which Kliche probably understood better than other books of Anatole France and therefore appreciated it. He describes it as:

. . . bunte Szenen und Bilder aus den frühen Knabenjahren, meist häuslich-familiärer Art, daneben aber auch vieles, was nicht ohne geschichtlichen Reiz ist. Das Ganze durchströmt von Sonne und Wärme, von Humor und milder Ironie. Absichts-

lose Darstellungen und kluge Reflexionen eines lächelnden Skeptikers und gereiften Lebenskünstlers.<sup>109</sup>

Kliche reports in this article the fact that the works of Anatole France were put on the Papal Index in 1922. This happened about eight months after his receiving the Nobel prize for literature from the Swedish king.<sup>110</sup>

La Vie en Fleur (1922) is a "Lebensgeschichte" according to Max Hermann (1924). It is in a way a continuation of Le Petit Pierre, with many personal experiences disguised in poetic phraseology. Hermann's estimate of the book is altogether favorable:

Es ist ein sehr schlicht und verständlich, auspruchlos klar und zärtlich erzählendes Buch, dessen rührende oder ironische, herbe oder heitere Geschichten den Reiz des menschlich Wahren, Charakteristischen haben, nichts Gefärbtes geben, sondern ein Stück Dasein, so wie es tatsächlich war.<sup>111</sup>

R. Schickele (1924) considers Les Dieux ont soif and La Révolte des Anges as the best of Anatole France's works. In both of them the author exercised his talent to the highest degree. The critic says:

Er hat nichts Köstlicheres an irisierender Ironie geschrieben als die Szene in der "Revolte des Anges" wo der Engel dem Liebespaar in Pyjamas erscheint, keine überzeugendere Gestalt geschaffen als den Maler Everiste Gamelin in "Les Dieux ont Soif."<sup>112</sup>

Fritz Schotthöfer (1924) is of the opinion that Grainquebille reveals the inner convictions of the author. The poor old man, a sacrifice to justice, or rather to the miss-carriage of justice, is a striking symbol of "Ungerechtigkeit" perpetrated by the courts at the trial of Dreyfus.<sup>113</sup>

Hermann Wendel (1924) declares that Anatole France stands against all kinds of "Dummheit" and animosity especially in L'Histoire Contemporaine, L'Île des Pingouins, and Les Dieux ont soif. These works contain also the author's opposition to war hysteria and Chauvinism.<sup>114</sup>

1. Josef Froberger, "Anatole France," Die Bücherwelt, XII, (1914), 2.
2. Cf. supra pp. 28-29
3. Josef Froberger, Loc. cit., p. 2.
4. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
5. Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Anatole France, die französische Gesellschaft und der Krieg," Das Forum, November, 1914, p. 379.
6. Ibid., p. 381.
7. Fritz Mauthner, "An Herrn Anatole France. Ein offener Brief," Berliner Tageblatt, October 31, 1915.
8. Ernst Goth, "Ein neues Buch von Anatole France," Pester Lloyd, June 17, 1916.
9. Anonymous, "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, May 23, 1920, p. 198.
10. Wilhelm Herzog, "Anatole France, Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Internationale," Das Forum, 1921, p. 95.
11. Anonymous, "Anatole France im Kreise seiner Freunde," Neue Züricher Zeitung, March 3, 1922.
12. Willy Haas, "Weltbürger," Die Neue Rundschau, I (1924), 409-11.
13. Ibid., p. 409.
14. Ibid.
15. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Weltbühne, XIX (1924), 402.
16. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung (Erstes Morgenblatt), April 16, 1924.
17. Max Konzelmann, "Anatole France: Zum achtzigsten Geburtstag," Neue Züricher Zeitung, April 16, 1924.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Hugo Bieber, Berliner Börs. Cour. Nr. 183, 1924. (Quoted in Das Literarische Echo, XXVI (1924), 540-1.
22. Otto Friedländer, "Ein Besuch bei Anatole France," Vorwärts, May 18, 1924.
23. Josef Froberger, "Anatole France," Die Bücherwelt, XII (1914), 3.
24. Ibid., p. 5.
25. Ibid., p. 6.
26. Ibid.
27. Josef Hofmiller, "Anatole France," Süddeutsche Monatshefte, I (1915), 780.
28. Ibid.
29. Arthur Hübscher, "Kindheitserinnerungen von Anatole France," Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, Sept. 10, 1921.
30. Eugen Kohler, "Vom Alternen Anatole France," Das Literarische Echo, XX (1918), 843.
31. Kurt Pinthus, "Anatole France. Komödiantengeschichte," Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, XI<sup>1</sup> (1918), 198.
32. Friedrich Oppeln-Bronikowski, "Anatole France als Plagiator," Die Literatur, XXVI (1923), 203-4.
33. Wilhelm Herzog, "Anatole France, Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Internationale," Das Forum, V (1921), p. 98.
34. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Weltbühne, XIX (1924), 402.
35. Ibid., p. 403.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., p. 430.
38. Ibid., p. 431.
39. Max Konzelmann, "Anatole France: Zum 80. Geburtstag," Neue Züricher Zeitung, April 16, 1924.

40. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, April 16, 1924.
41. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Weltbühne, XIX (1924), 430.
42. Ibid., p. 432.
43. Eugen Kohler, "Vom Älternden Anatole France," Das Literarische Echo, XX (1918), 843.
44. Berta Schult, "Anatole France," Das Neue Europa, No. 12, 1919., p. 25.
45. Otto Grautoff, "Anatole France," in "Französischer Brief," Das Literarische Echo, XXI (1919), 814.
46. Paul Souday (1869-1929), a French journalist and critic.
47. Otto Grautoff, "Anatole France," in "Französischer Brief," Das Literarische Echo, XXI (1919), 813-14.
48. Michael Charol, "Der Späte Anatole France," Wieland, V (1919), 22.
49. Ibid.
50. J. Kliche, "Der beachtete Nobelpreisträger," Die Neue Zeit, XV (1922), Part 2, p. 502.
51. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, April 16, 1924.
52. Franz Schoenberner, "Anatole France," Der neue Merkur, I (1924), 681-82.
53. R. Schudel-Benz, "Anatole France als Soziologe," Wissen und Leben, XVII (1924), 1146.
54. Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Anatole France, die französische Gesellschaft und der Krieg," Das Forum, 1914, p. 388.
55. Ibid., p. 389.
56. Raoul Auernheimer, "Das Buch eines Feindes," Neue Freie Presse, September 28, 1915.
57. Fritz Mauthner, "An Herrn Anatole France. Ein offener Brief," Berliner Tageblatt, October 31, 1915.
58. Felix Vogt, "Ist Pierre Nozière Anatole France?" Neue Züricher Zeitung, March 29, 1919.
59. R. Schickel, "Der Dichter und der Krieg," Frankfurter Zeitung, February 10, 1924.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Max Konzelmann, "Anatole France: Zum 80. Geburtstag," Neue Züricher Zeitung, April 16, 1924. ( Cf. Supra p.64.)
63. Otto Friedländer, "Ein Besuch bei Anatole France," Vorwärts, May 18, 1924.
64. Franz Blei, "Anatole France," Berliner Börs.-Cour., 1914. (Quoted in Das Literarische Echo, 1914, p. 1122).
65. Berta Schult, "Anatole France," Das Neue Europa, 1919, No. 12, p. 27.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., p. 29.
68. Wilhelm Herzog, "Anatole France, Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Internationale," Das Forum, 1921, p. 96.
69. Ibid., p. 98.
70. Iwan Goll, "Ein Nachmittag mit Anatole France," Berliner Tageblatt, June 23, 1922.
71. Ibid.
72. J. Kliche, "Der geachtete Nobelpreisträger," Die Neue Zeit, XV (1922), 502.
73. Ibid., pp. 502-3.
74. Anonymous, "Anatole France im Kreise seiner freunde," Neue Züricher Zeitung, March 3, 1922.

75. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, April 16, 1924.
76. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Weltbühne, XIX (1924), 453.
77. R. Schudel-Benz, "Anatole France als Soziologe," Wissen und Leben, XVII (1924), 1145.
78. Josef Froberger, "Anatole France," Die Bücherwelt, XII (1914), 3-4.
79. Ibid., p. 4.
80. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
81. Ibid., p. 5. (See Supra, p. 65).
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., p. 5.
85. Fritz Schotthöfer, "La Révolte des Anges," Das Literarische Echo, XVI (1914), 1067.
86. Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Anatole France, die französische Gesellschaft und der Krieg," Das Forum, November, 1914, p. 380.
87. Ibid., p. 382.
88. Josef Hofmiller, "Anatole France," Süddeutsche Monatshefte, I (1915), 771.
89. Ibid., p. 772.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., p. 774.
92. Ibid., p. 775.
93. Ibid., p. 778.
94. Ibid., p. 779.
95. Ibid., pp. 771-2.
96. Fritz Vauthner, "An Herrn Anatole France. Ein offener Brief," Berliner Tageblatt, October 31, 1915.
97. Raoul Auernheimer, "Das Buch eines Feindes," Neue Freie Presse (Morgenblatt), September 28, 1915.
98. Eugen Kohler, "Vom Elternden Anatole France," Das Literarische Echo, XX (1918), 842.
99. Ibid., p. 843.
100. Kurt Pinthus, "Anatole France. Komödiantengeschichte. Roman - Der Aufruhr der Engel," Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, X (1918), 198-99.
101. Franz Graetzer, "Anatole France, Aufbruch der Engel," Die Neue Generation, 1918, 14. J., pp. 83-4.
102. Michael Charol, "Der Späte Anatole France," Wieland, V(1919), 22.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Michael Charol, Loc. cit., p. 25.
106. "H", "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, May 23, 1920.
107. Arthur Hübscher, "Kindheitserinnerungen von Anatole France," Münchner Neueste Nachrichten, September 10, 1921.
108. Otto Grautoff, "Anatole France: Der fliegende Händler," Das Literarische Echo, XXIV (1922), 1260.
109. J. Kliche, "Der geachtete Nobelpreisträger," Die Neue Zeit, XL (1922), 503.
110. Ibid., p. 502.
111. Max Hermann, "Vom Sechzigjährigen Anatole France," Die Aktion, XIV (1924), 201.
112. R. Schickele, "Der Dichter und der Krieg," Frankfurter Zeitung, February 10, 1924.

113. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung,  
April 16, 1924.
114. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Weltbühne, XIX (1924), 452.

## V. FROM ANATOLE FRANCE'S DEATH TO 1938

### 1. Anatole France the Man.

Anatole France died on October 12, 1924. Ernst Robert Curtius, perhaps the most scholarly professor of Romance literature,<sup>1</sup> published one article on the deceased French writer in the Kölnische Zeitung on October 13 and another article in the Allgemeine Zeitung on October 14. In both articles, Curtius showed a wide acquaintance with Anatole France and an appreciation of his works.

Curtius's remarks on Anatole France the man are many and quite varied. First of all, Curtius pronounced him a European of French nationality and of definitely classical formation and background. More specifically, Curtius regarded Anatole France as a classicist in the French 18th century sense: as the champion of social justice, mouthpiece of reason and advocate of "Aufklärung".

Anatole France war klassisch im Sinne des französischen 18. Jahrhunderts. Unzugänglich der Musik, verschlossen der religiösen Wirklichkeit, aber ein Bekenner und Vorkämpfer der Vernunft, ein Wortführer sozialer Gerechtigkeit, ein Weltbürger und ein Weiser, wurzelte er ganz in der Epoche, die er als die glücklichste der Weltgeschichte pries, im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung. Was er vom 19. Jahrhundert aufnahm, waren die Tendenzen, mit denen er das 18. fortgesetzt hat: die historische Kritik, die mechanistische Naturwissenschaft, den allgemeinen Entwicklungsgedanken.<sup>2</sup>

In passing, Curtius pointed out two other French writers who might be considered great Europeans: Romain Rolland and André Gide. They however were classicists in a different sense from Anatole France, and they belonged to another world of mentality. The 19th century traits that Curtius detected in Anatole France were historical criticism and belief in natural science and evolution. The critic thought

that Taine, Renan, Darwin, and Sainte-Beuve were France's preferred masters. Curtius further characterizes this modern French writer, who was a disciple of Voltaire, of Michelet, and of Renan and who desired to establish freedom and justice among men, as

Ein freier Geist, frei und tapfer trotz des Relativismus des geschichtlichen Denkens, . . . trotz seiner Verbindung mit klassenkämpferischen Sozialismus, das war Anatole France.<sup>3</sup>

On the next day, October 14, Curtius wrote that with Anatole France departed the last great Frenchman, whose views were not only European but of the whole world. In this second article, Curtius declared that Anatole France was the last great humanist in the Renaissance meaning of the word, at least as far as modern literature was concerned. More than that: "Er war ein Polemiker, er war ein Lyriker, er war ein Tragiker, ihm stand die politische Satire zur Verfügung"; and also he was a Latinist to such an extent that all the writings of his countrymen were easily comprehensible to him. The following statement of the critic indicates that there was in Germany a feeling that the world was poorer after his death.

Der Verlag Kurt Wolff und der Musarionverlag erwarben sich grosse Verdienste um die Popularisierung von Anatole France in Deutschland. Der Musarionverlag will sich keines seiner erzählenden Bücher entgehen lassen, und die deutsche Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke ist dort im Entstehen. Sie ist dort gut aufgehoben. Das Bild das Eugène Carrière von Anatole France gemalt hat ist vor 14 Jahren in den Sozialistischen Monatsheften (1910, II, Seite 994) wiedergegeben worden. Wir werden das Bild dieses Mannes, der der grösste Geist Europas nach dem Tode August Strindbergs war, noch oft betrachten müssen, um uns von ihm aufrütteln zu lassen. . .<sup>4</sup>

Eduard Wechsler, professor of French literature,<sup>5</sup> also published an article on Anatole France, October 14, in which he said that Anatole France was the staunchest French representative of the movement for enlightenment of people in general. He was ". . . der letzte grosse Ueberlebende aus der Altersgemeinschaft, die um 1866

ins geistige Leben Frankreichs eingetreten ist".<sup>5</sup>

In the second of three articles (1924), A. Eloesser speaks of Anatole France's versatility in the realm of intellectual pursuits. Having been reared by the keeper of a bookstore, he grew up reading all sorts of books. This resulted in France's becoming an historian, a skeptic philosopher, a grammarian, a Latinist, a humanist, as well as a distinguished author. But over and above all this, "Anatole France war ein erklärender Geist."<sup>6</sup>

The following year, 1925, Eloesser wrote the third article, reviewing now J.-J. Brousson's book, Anatole France en Pantoufles. This time Eloesser showed even deeper insight into Anatole France than he did in the two studies preceding. After having indicated Brousson's personal malice and prejudice, he wrote about Anatole France as follows:

Anatole France war eine unbefangene Natur. Anatole France gehörte zu den eben nicht seltenen Menschen, die in der Jugend nicht glücklich sein können, zu den reizbaren und schüchternen, die sich leicht gestossen fühlen, ohne wieder stossen zu können. Solche Leute ohne Hornhaut zum Schutz, ohne Ellenbogen zum Trotz, brauchen den Erfolg, den Ruhm, um sich überhaupt sicher zu fühlen, um ihren Launen und Einfällen mit spätem Genuss, mit bewusster philosophischer Befriedigung folgen zu können. Solche Leute werden Ironiker, aber sie pflegen ihre Jugend nachzuholen, indem sie zugleich weise und kindhaft werden, indem sie eine zweite Naivität gewinnen. Brousson zeigt uns seinen Meister sehr nahe in Pantouffeln, im Schlafrock, in Unterhosen, in noch weniger, eben als einen Grossen, für den nichts zu klein ist, in dem ein Kind spielt und von dem es wie von seinem tapferen Professor Bergeret heissen konnte: er war voll Weisheit, aber er war ein Mensch.<sup>7</sup>

Raoul Auernheimer modified his judgment of Anatole France in his second article, which was published after France's death. In 1915 Anatole France seemed to him to be an average Frenchman; now he was a towering personality with a vast accumulation of knowledge. Now Anatole France is called without any reservation the last of the

Encyclopedists. Auernheimer likewise credited Anatole France with marked universality, as the following statement clearly shows:

Sein Genius, dem die französische Sprache ihre klingenden Flügel lieh, hatte längst schon alle Landesgrenzen überflogen, und nun, da er ohne allzu grosse Ueberwindung vermutlich, von einer nicht schöner gewordenen Erde sich abscheidet, dürfte es in allen fünf Weltteilen wohl kaum einen Gebildeten geben, der nicht wüsste oder noch zumindest in seinem Herzen ahnte, dass dieser Franzose allen Nationen gestorben ist.<sup>8</sup>

In an article of October 15, 1924, Fritz Schotthöfer differentiates Anatole France from Flaubert, Maupassant, and Zola. For all three of these French writers, according to Schotthöfer, art was for its own sake - "die Kunst um der Kunst allein Willen da war". But on the other hand, the critic maintained that Anatole France

. . . wollte der Moralist sein, der durch das wirkt, was er sagt, und nicht, wie er es sagte. Freilich das Wie wurde ihm das beste Vehikel für die Propaganda seiner Ideen.<sup>9</sup>

Schotthöfer states further that Anatole France could not be influenced by any school or system and that he was the lonely follower of his own art. Notwithstanding, Anatole France was not left alone: many young writers came to him to learn and to get inspired. In his last years, he lived like Voltaire, a sort of "Weltmeister", speaking through his books which are replete with wisdom for the whole of humanity. In preparation for such living at the end of his life, Anatole France thoroughly studied the classics, the theology of the Middle Ages, and the period of the Renaissance, as well as the whole history of his people. Although this vast erudition did not dry up his mind, he lacked the passion which drove both Voltaire and Diderot to action. Therefore, he will be counted not among the reformers but among the great moralists of France. And so the critic concludes:

. . . in ihm lebte nicht mehr das Leidenschaftliche, das in Voltaire, in Diderot jeden Gedanken zu einer Tat machte. Jenen hat die Polemik, die Revolte die Feder geführt, ihm der moralisierende Hintergedanke. Aber das, was er ganz von selber gab, das war die "nonchalance".<sup>10</sup>

Hermann Wendel noted on October 16, 1924 that Anatole France was of pure Gallic blood and that by temperament he felt at home only in his own country; mentally however he crossed continually all the social and political borders of this earth. Just as Voltaire was regarded by many people in his old age as the patriarch of Ferney, so Anatole France was considered as the patriarch of La Béchellerie during the last few years of his life. His death caused mourning to the whole world.<sup>11</sup>

Heinrich Mann, brother of Thomas Mann, in an article on "Skepsis und Liebe", published about a week after France's death, asserted that Anatole France was not as great as Renan, but that he was in full possession of everything French. Mann summarized the main points about Anatole France in three sentences:

Ein Achtzigjähriger, der viel geliebt wurde.

Ein Schriftsteller, der den grösstmöglichen Teil der Menschen zu Lesern hatte.

Ein Geist, der zusammenfasste: mehrere Jahrhunderte französischen Geistes und alle seine Kämpfe im letzten . . .<sup>12</sup>

K.O.Erdmann (1924) wrote about Anatole France the man in appreciative terms. To this critic, Anatole France was not a prophet, nor a fighter, but he was a valiant man, an independent spirit, and above all a philosopher.

"Schaut ihn nur an! - Niemandem war er untertan."

In Erdmann's opinion, many qualities which are seldom found in one man had united themselves in Anatole France: critical mentality, keen reasoning power, artistic taste, admiration of the beautiful in

all forms but especially in art, and an unusual subtlety in conversation.<sup>13</sup> In order to really understand Anatole France, Erdmann suggests that it is necessary to conceive him as "ganz konsequente[n] Relativisten und radikale[n] Skeptiker". He was an enemy of systems and metaphysics.<sup>14</sup> Erdmann sees a resemblance between Anatole France and Nietzsche, especially in the ideas of morality, for we read:

Aber Anatole France war nicht ein Mann der grossen Geste; er liebte nicht Pathos und Feierlichkeit; er spottete lieber in seiner unendlich anmutigen, gelassenen Art, als dass er sich trübsinnig oder entrüstet gebärdet hätte. An allen Moralien hat er kaum weniger einschneidende Kritik geübt als Nietzsche. Aber wie viel bedingter, lebenswürdiger und im Grunde Überlegener ist seine Art als die outrierte, gewaltsame Ausdrucksweise Nietzsches.<sup>15</sup>

When Anatole France came to the end of his long and active life on October 12, 1924, there went from us a sovereign and towering personality. He was not by nature constituted to be popular, being extremely out of his time, and yet, he became one of the most widely known of French writers. Erdmann also states that at France's burial officials of various ranks gathered: church dignitaries and military officers, diplomats and clerks, leftists and monarchists, to pay homage to this Communist and radical free-thinker, whose books were on the list of the Papal Index of forbidden reading. Erdmann suggests that: "Sein Ruhm hatte etwas so paradoxes wie seine Persönlichkeit".<sup>16</sup>

Max Hochdorf expressed almost similar views in an article published in the Sozialistische Monatshefte of the same year. We read as follows:

Die Parteien einigten sich über seinem Grab, das heisst, jede Partei meinte, das Genie habe zu ihr gehört, das Genie habe für sie die Gedanken ausgedacht, die der Unsterblichkeit sicher sind.<sup>17</sup>

The physiologist and the physiognomist combined in Anatole France; he understood all the methods of weeping and of laughter. In his enormous thirst for knowledge, he resembled Tolstoi and Balzac.

Hochdorf explains this idea thus:

Anatole France war ein gelehrter Dichter, aber auch ein dichtender Gelehrter. Er ist in seinem ungeheuren Wissensdurst Genies vom Schlag Tolstois oder Balzacs verwandt. Er liess sich kein Gebiet der Theologie, des Aberglaubens, der Mystik, der Alchemie und der Sterndeuterei entgehen . . . Er betrachtete die Finger des Buchhändlers, . . . Er suchte die Welt, die ihn umgab, nach den Schwestern der Jungfrau von Orléans oder der orientalischen Kurtisanen des Altertums ab. Er entdeckte überall Gleichnisse, durch die die Gegenwart mit dem, was war, verknüpft wurde. Er war ein Weiser, und er war gleichzeitig ein Pfadfinder durch die Kleinigkeiten des Alltagslebens.<sup>18</sup>

The critic goes further, stating that Anatole France was a skeptic "den sehr warmes Blut durchfloss" and that he succeeded in being a critic, writer, and artist at the same time. And in addition, "Er war ein Polemiker, er war ein Lyriker, er war ein Tragiker". He was so much French that even the Italians found it difficult to translate his works. It is hardly possible to render the charm of his language into the Germanic tongues. And finally, Anatole France was "der Aufklärer des 20. Jahrhunderts". He was an enlightener, quite different from those of the 18th century, in that:

Seine Vernunft war immer tief hineingetaucht in das Blut des Herzens. Das starke soziale Gewissen zitterte in ihm. Selbst wenn er einen Hund schilderte . . . Die Aufklärer des 18. Jahrhunderts glaubten nur, dass noch in den Negern ein Stück von dieser Alkibiadesseele vorhanden sei. Dieses Ausbreiten des Gefühls, das nicht vor den Nebenmenschen haltmachte sondern auch zu den Tieren, zu den Steinen und den Pflanzen hinüberwanderte, zeichnete den Aufklärer Anatole France aus. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Johannes Thomas (1925) in treating the subject of "Anatole France, der Mensch der Vergangenheit," indicates that style, form, and general literary tendencies connected him to the time of Montaigne and of Voltaire, although in other respects he was the son of the

19th century. Moreover, according to Thomas, Anatole France cannot be specifically put into any period of time, because:

A. Thibault . . . repräsentiert doch au fond de son coeur die ganze historische Psychologie und ideologisch-stilistische Tradition der französischen Bourgeoisie in ihrer politisch-materialistischen Hauptverwurzelung.<sup>20</sup>

During the following year, 1925, more than half a dozen outstanding German critics or writers published their views on Anatole France. In an article entitled "Anatole France," Walther Kuchler, editor of the Neueren Sprachen and famous professor of French, designates Anatole France as the last of the kind of men that Montaigne, Voltaire, and Renan were. More specifically the critic says:

Der Nachkomme von Menschen, die sich alle durch eine ausserordentliche Leichtigkeit und Beweglichkeit des Geistes auszeichnen und in der Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit ihres Geistes kein anderes Gesetz kennen als den Geboten dieses Geistes zu folgen.

Der Nachkomme eines Geschlechtes von Menschen, die man Herrenmenschen nennen könnte . . . Geistige Herrenmenschen und feine Epikuräer. Menschen des Glaubens und der Skepsis.<sup>21</sup>

They were believers in themselves, in reason, and in the power of thought, as well as in the goodness of nature, in progress, and in the ultimate victory of truth and righteousness. But they were skeptical at the same time about man's opinions, deeds, and feelings. Anatole France was more or less like them, because:

Zu ihnen gehört Anatole France als Denker, Dichter und Künstler. In dieser vornehmen französischen Tradition wurzelt er. Er war mit Bewusstsein Franzose. Und als Franzose fühlte er sich als Lateiner.<sup>22</sup>

And, in addition to all this, Anatole France was the most charming "rhetoriqueur" and sophist; he was also very skilled in handling words and in expressing paradoxical ideas.<sup>23</sup>

Eugen Lerch (1925) finds that it is difficult to understand

Anatole France. He writes an article on "Das Problem Anatole France." In this article he states that "Je mehr man von ihm weiss, desto weniger wird man aus ihm klug". Even the French people find this true. French critics do not agree in their views about Anatole France and have advanced various theories about him:

Und so geht es nicht bloss uns, sondern sogar seinen Landsleuten. Was haben sie alles für verzweifelte Theorien aufgestellt, um sich das verblüffende Phänomen zu erklären, dass Anatole France, der an allem zweifelte, der alles ironisierte, Vergangenheit wie Gegenwart wie Zukunft, der jeden Glauben, jedes Dogma lächelnd zerpfückte, . . .<sup>24</sup>

Right or wrong, Lerch advances the idea that Anatole France was a "ganzer Mensch", and that he was more a man of action than of ironic meditation. He wrote his books out of compulsion; but he acted without hesitation out of his own conviction.<sup>25</sup>

Richard Schaukal, a quite prominent German lyric poet, who published at least four studies of Anatole France, points out in his first article "Anatole France: Gedanken an seinem Grabmal", that Anatole France was not king of a literary realm as was Voltaire; that he was only a "Statthalter". Nor was Anatole France "Selbstherrscher"; instead, he was subject to uncertain influences. Moreover, Anatole France was not original, but "ein Ergebnis"; he was not a re-discoverer - merely a collector and preserver.<sup>26</sup> The poet displays lack of information about the way Anatole France came to be called "France" when he writes: "Anatole France sich geruhig den Namen Frankreich beilagen dürfen". After this he rightly suggests that Anatole France was France (Frankreich), that he was the "geistiger Ausdruck" of his country and the expression of the historical development of the French people into a nation.<sup>27</sup> Finally, touching on the idea of tradition, which is mentioned by nearly every German critic, Schaukal writes:

Anatole France ist den Elementen gemäss, die seine literarische Erscheinung ausmachen, anzusprechen als Klassiker, als Rationalist; . . . man sieht, dass er eine Sublimierung des französischen Geistes bedeutet, . . .<sup>28</sup>

Kasimir Edschmid (1925) declares that Anatole France was a great man. The French writer lightened the paths of life and made social prophesies. He had the mien of Louis XIV, Gambetta's power, Fontenelle's courtly disposition, and at the same time the rebellious ways of J.-J. Rousseau. In short:

Er ist der gebildetste Mann seiner Nation, der klügste Mann Frankreichs und sein zartestes Gewissen.<sup>29</sup>

Edschmid is perhaps more complimentary than most of the other German critics. He speaks of Anatole France as a spark of that wisdom for which the Greeks went regularly to Delphi, for which Moses ascended Mount Sinai, and which is expressed in literature once about every hundred years. Consequently, the critic counsels his own countrymen thus:

Es ist die edelste Pflicht eines Deutschen, diese mit Grösse gemischte Erlesenheit restlos in einer Figur zu bewundern, die, wie Anatole France, als vollendeter Franzose und als grosser Europäer, zu den besten Geistern gehört welche diese Welt heute Bewohnen.<sup>30</sup>

Hermann Engel (1925), speaking of Anatole France the man, observed two things: first, his humor which greatly helps the Germans to appreciate his works and which is not to be found in most French writers; second, his vast learning which did not interfere in any way with the play of his wonderful imagination. Engel himself imagined Anatole France sitting behind a stack of old manuscripts, always hunting for some additional information, or uncovering an old legend. Without being able to see with his worn-out physical eyes, he beheld visions which emerged from his innerself. But: "Dabei war er doch kein verknöchertes, nur der Vergangenheit zugewandter Gelehrter".<sup>31</sup>

The year 1926 was very lean as far as German criticism of Anatole France is concerned. I have been able to trace only four articles that were published during this year, one of which is by a major critic, Victor Klemperer.<sup>32</sup> Jacob Overmans considered Anatole France as important a representative of his country, from the standpoint of art, as was Balzac, Stendhal, or Flaubert.

Alle andere sind grosse Künstler, Anatole France aber vollendet sie erst. Er ist der Geist Frankreichs, während sie nur die einzelnen Glieder sind. Anatole France ist die letzte Abgeklärtheit der französischen Romans.<sup>33</sup>

H. W. Eppelsheimer speaks of Anatole France as "L'âme livresque". No other French writer lived so much with books, was nourished by books, and educated with the help of books, as was Anatole France. He lived in the world of books as others live in the world of business. Consequently:

Er, der mehr und in tieferem Sinne als irgend Einer, den er darum beneidete, bewohnt und besessen war von einer âme livresque.<sup>34</sup>

Walter Gottschalk published in 1927 one of the most comprehensive articles on Anatole France that we have from the pen of any German critic. While giving information about France's family, Gottschalk states that both the father and the mother came from humble country folk. The father grew up as a peasant boy in Anjou and was illiterate until serving his military term. Not much is known about the mother, except that she was a very pious and industrious woman.<sup>35</sup> It was supposed by some critics<sup>36</sup> that the name "France" was a nom de plume of the writer. Gottschalk rectifies this misunderstanding by giving the following facts:

Der Name Anatole France ist nicht eigentlich ein Pseudonym, er bedeutet nicht, wie oft gesagt wird, ein Symbol.

François-Anatole Thibault hat sich nicht den Namen seines Landes zugelegt. France ist die in Anjou übliche Diminutivform für François. France wurde der Vater des Dichters als

Kind gerufen, später hiess der Buchhändler im Bekanntenkreis allgemein nur der père France . . . Der Sohn hat allmählich den Vornamen France als Familiennamen übernommen. In seiner Jugend schrieb unser Dichter bald noch Anatole France-Thibault, bald schon einfach Anatole France.<sup>37</sup>

For the most part, Gottschalk comments on Anatole France's books. His observations on him as a man consist of a few generalities, such as: "Anatole France war eine geistig überragende Persönlichkeit, aber er blieb doch nur ein Mensch"; ". . . erkennen wir ihn rasch als einen trügen, überaus weichlichen und stark sinnlich veranlagten Mann . . ."; only through great effort was he able to come out of his customary lethargy for any kind of work;<sup>38</sup> and, "Es fehlte ihm der heisse Atom der Jugend, das feurige und sprühende Temperament. Kraft und Leidenschaft im edlen Sinne blieben ihm fast völlig unbekannt".<sup>39</sup>

Alfred Fillet repeated Gottschalk's explanation of the origin of the name "France" four years later, 1931, and also corrected another false impression. Because of Anatole France's zealous siding with Zola on behalf of a Jew, there arose in Germany a suspicion that France was a Jew.<sup>40</sup> Fillet presented the facts that Anatole France was distinctly a Parisian, a Roman Catholic by rearing, and a man who understood children.<sup>41</sup> This critic furnishes some information concerning France's domestic troubles. We read:

Seine Ehe ging bereits nicht mehr, als er Madame Arman de Caillavet vorgestellt wurde; sie wurde dann bald gelöst, das Kind blieb bei der Mutter. Gewiss hat der launische und unzuverlässige France einen guten Teil der Schuld getragen, aber die grössere Schuld lag wohl auf der Seite der Frau, die den Ausnahmemenschen nicht verstand und sogar ihn zu übersehen glaubte; . . .<sup>42</sup>

In a lengthy study on Anatole France's art of writing novels by Robert Blanck in 1934, we are told that Anatole France as a man was thoroughly French in his thoughts and feelings, that he was well-

grounded in the tradition of the French classics, and that he was the last representative of this tradition as well as the last humanist.<sup>43</sup> Books were the world in which Anatole France lived, moved, and had his being, for by nature he was more inclined to study and reflection than to physical activity. This typical Frenchman peculiarly embodied various French writers of the past. Consequently, elements were evident in his thinking that seem contradictory. Blank expresses this idea as follows:

France ist der Erbe Rousseaus, Racines, Voltaires, Renans, und mancher anderer. So sind die widersprechendsten Elemente und Ideen in ihm vereinigt. Eins hatten sie aber gemeinsam: die Beweglichkeit des Geistes, die sich auf France in verstärktem Masse vererbt hat.<sup>44</sup>

Heinrich W. Kirchhoff in 1935 was in agreement with other critics when he stated that Anatole France was a man whom it was difficult to understand and to evaluate.

Frances wunderbare Eigenheit - sein Bild steht noch heute in der literarischen Kritik umstritten da - ist kaum zu fassen. Es ist ungemein schwer, diesen geschmeidigen und biegsamen Causeur als Mensch wie als Künstler ganz einzufangen.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, Anatole France was a restless spirit: he had read everything and heard all the opinions, without arriving at any definite conclusion.<sup>46</sup> This difficulty is enhanced by the unusual combination of many craftsmen in Anatole France. We read:

France ist immer der Denker, Künstler, Polemiker, Philosoph, Kritiker und Schöngeist z u g l e i c h; die verschiedenen Geisteselemente des Denkers, des Künstlers, des Philosophen usw. treten nie gesondert und unabhängig voneinander auf, sie durchdringen sich vielmehr gegenseitig - das eine von dem andern beeinflusst und bedingt - und lassen in ihrem Zusammenschwingen und Zusammenklingen das Wesen Anatole Frances in seiner ganzen Grösse erscheinen, mit all der wunderbaren Vielfarbigkeit und Eigenart, die diese komplizierte Persönlichkeit in sich birgt.<sup>47</sup>

This complicated personality is presented in a somewhat different form in almost every one of France's books. As a result, we may

learn something new about the author's personality in each of his novels. The three characters that are most typical of Anatole France are Sylvestre Bernard, Monsieur Bergeret, and Abbé Goignard.<sup>48</sup>

The last one, like France, has read everything and knows much; he is a friend of the "bouquinistes" whom he frequently visits; and, he is a "feiner und reicher Geist".<sup>49</sup>

Er ist eine Persönlichkeit von ungewöhnlicher Eigenart, die jeder Einordnung in die üblichen psychologischen und literar-historischen Einschachtelungen spottet. In seiner Person vereinigen sich die widersprechendsten Eigenschaften. Er ist ein kritischer Kopf, scharfsinniger Denker, subtiler Dialektiker und doch ein echter Künstler. Ein Kenner von erlesenem Geschmack. Liebt und pries die Schönheit in allen Formen.<sup>50</sup>

Kirchhoff seems to repeat throughout his article the idea of Anatole France's being a versatile man whose nature was many-sided and whose personality was so colorful and rich that the reader finds again and again variations of it in whatever book of Anatole France he happens to peruse.

Der gutmütige, alte Gelehrte, der überlegen-lächelnde Causeur, der Vielwischer, der immer anderer Meinung ist, der aggressive Denker und scharf-ironische Polemiker, der Künstler, der Ästhet, alle stellen sie Seiten dar, die sich in dem Autor zu dem komplizierten Ganzen vereinigen; sie sind Abstraktionen seines weiten Wesens und können, so gesehen, das verschleierte Bild der Persönlichkeit deuten helfen, die in Anatole France vor uns steht.<sup>51</sup>

And even as late as 1938, Alfred Bösch, in his book Anatole France und das achtzehnte Jahrhundert, declares that France is still a psychological puzzle, whose mysterious smile is difficult to interpret and whose brain may be compared with the theater of the marionettes, always in commotion, always acting and contradicting. "France ist in der Tat ein weltanschauliches Chamäleon."<sup>52</sup> Already as a child and youth, he appeared dreamy, pensive, solitary, and rebellious to compulsion. Early in life he abandoned formalistic

beliefs and interested himself deeply in the thought of the 18th century.<sup>53</sup>

## 2. The Writer and Critic.

### A. The Writer.

Nearly every critic, whose criticism was published during this period, had something to say about Anatole France as a writer; hardly anything was said about him as a critic. Discussing France's poetic traits, Curtius (1924) designates him as "Dichter der Erinnerung". Many of his most meritorious works received their poetic charm from the scenes of childhood and the thoughtful melancholy early years of manhood. He was not therefore as a poet a "Vorfühler" or "Wegbereiter", types not necessarily most important. He was a "Schöpfer eines Zeitbewusstseins", a "Nachfühler und Bewahrer der Kultur", a type of greater importance than a mere echo of the time in which he lived.

In solchen Stimmungen entfaltet Anatole France einen elegischen Zauber und einen zärtlich unschuldigen Humor, ja ich möchte sagen eine Gemütsinnigkeit, die uns Deutsche seltsam verwandt berührt.

Seine Beschaulichkeit, die sich liebevoll ins Vergangene versenkt - das ist eine der seelischen Wurzeln von Anatole Frances Schaffen. Sie bestimmt auch sein Verhältnis zur Geschichte.

However, Curtius also observes that

Mit der vorwärts deutenden Dichtung und Geistigkeit der letzten Jahrzehnte hatte France kaum eine Berührung, und die jungen Generationen standen ihm fremd, wo nicht ablehnend gegenüber.<sup>54</sup>

In the second article that appeared on the following day, Curtius comments on France's style, saying that it is clear, sparkling, ironical, and that it embodies the French literary tradition

of three centuries. Millions of readers all over the world have a better picture of French culture after reading Anatole France's books. He has become the classicist of his nation and his works will be read wherever the French language is known. Although not a creator of new genres in the world of literature,

Dennoch trug France als Schriftsteller mit Recht den Namen seines Landes. Alteste Art lateinisch-gallischen Volkstums lebte in ihm auf im zauber vollendeter Form . . . Übersichtliche, gepflegt und eben wie ein Garten Lenôtres ist die Kunst von Anatole France. Ein französischer Park mit Ziergängen und lächelnden Götterbildern. Ein Griechenhimmel blaut darüber . . . Antike Weisheit und Anmut tönt von seinen Lippen.<sup>55</sup>

Curtius also observes casually that Anatole France knew how to tell stories about children and that mothers will always be thankful to him for Le Petit Pierre.<sup>56</sup>

Not many of the German critics had the opportunity to hear Anatole France speak. Raoul Auernheimer (1924) was one of the few who did. His evocation of this experience is worth recording here, especially since it speaks of France's style in oral expression.

Gleich einem antiken Lehrer der Weltweisheit sass er an seinem Schreibtisch vor einem Halbkreis von Jüngern, und honigstüss troff das Wort von seinen Lippen. Ich habe nie ein schöneres Französisch und diese schöne, beredte Sprache nie schöner sprechen hören als in dieser denkwürdigen Viertelstunde. Dabei lag dem alten Herrn - er war schon damals über die Sechzig - nichts ferner, als die landläufige Schönrederei. Er sprach über ein sehr unphilosophisches Thema: die sogenannte Separation, die Trennung von Staat und Kirche . . . Mit welchem Anstand, welchem heiteren Weltverstand, welcher geistgesättigten Anmut, welchem - es gibt kein deutsches Wort dafür - Attizismus! Diese seine Sprache war unabhängig vom Gegenstand und adelte einen jeden. Aber es war nicht nur Sprache, es war auch Gesinnung . . . und ich erinnerte mich leicht, dass dieser feine, alte Herr . . . dass dieser selbe Anatole France, der wie ein griechischer Weiser redete und wie ein Florentiner Goldschmied aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert aussah.<sup>57</sup>

Eduard Wechsler (1924) predicted that even though Anatole France will not be always regarded as a great poet and seer, he will

pass into posterity as "ein grosser Lebensweiser". Speaking of his style, Wechsler observed that no other writer of France's time is comparable to him from the standpoint of sentence structure, rhythm and harmony of sound.<sup>58</sup>

Victor Auburtin (1924) characterized France's style as very clear, colorful, and melodious. The critic added that Voltaire's language when compared with that of Anatole France seems diluted ("wässerig") and that the translation of France's works is really "ein Unding". Therefore the critic conjectures that perhaps Anatole France is only to be understood completely by those Frenchmen who possess the highest intellectual culture.<sup>59</sup>

Fritz Schotthöfer (1924) speaks of France's immunity to literary influences. Although he walked, from the standpoint of time, along with Flaubert and Maupassant, he was not in the least influenced by either one. Bourget's Disciple had a tremendous vogue for about two decades, without affecting in any way France's style or subject matter. The only influence that can be detected in his works is that of French Classicism. For this reason, Anatole France was of little influence in his turn upon the younger generation of writers in his day.

Eine Persönlichkeit, die etwas zu sagen hat, kann es immer auf ihre Art sagen. Sie braucht sich nicht in eine Richtung einpressen zu lassen, braucht auch keine Zugeständnisse an den Geschmack, an die Mode zu machen. Darum hat France auch keinen Einfluss auf die jüngere Literatur ausgeübt. Sein Einfluss war hier nicht anders als der, der auf seine ganze Lesewelt überging.<sup>60</sup>

The critic adds that Anatole France lacked the sense of evil and that therefore his sense of the tragic was also weak. Consequently, he could not compose dramas. His only tragedy Les Noces corinthiennes is theatrically a failure and Crainquebille borders on the

grotesque.<sup>61</sup>

Hermann Wendel (1924) remarked merely that Anatole France was considered the greatest prose-writer since the time of the author of Candide and that he was frequently called "Racine der französischen Prosa".<sup>62</sup>

Max Hochdorf (1924), touching on France's style, wrote:

Er war ein ungeheuer Melodiker, aber ein Melodiker, der mit ganz bescheidenen und schlichten Mitteln arbeitete. Er liebte es niemals seine Sprache zu orchestrieren. Man konnte ihn nüchtern finden, wenn man nicht den geheimen vibrierenden Sinn dieses besondern Anatole France-Stils entdeckte. Wenn er trotzdem ein Schriftsteller von europäischer Geltung wurde, so geschah das, weil er die Gehirne ausserordentlich von verstaubten Gedanken reinigte.<sup>63</sup>

Johannes Thomas, probably a third-rate critic, considered Anatole France a better journalist than poet. Thomas wrote in 1925:

Denn Anatole France war kein wahrer Dichter . . . vielmehr nur ein - Schriftsteller. Er hat die R o l l e des Dichters nur g e s p i e l t; es zu sein war er zu trocken; sein Prophetentum war ein nach rückwärts gewandtes; er war vielmehr nur ein journalistischer Humanist.<sup>64</sup>

Walther Kückler (1925), on the other hand, thought that Anatole France had poetic inspiration equal to that of the writer of Paul et Virginie and that his language was as pure as that of Villeharduin. In Kückler's opinion,

Anatole France war der graziöseste Rhetoriker und Sophist, den man sich denken kann. Ein Zauberer der Worte, ein Liebhaber der Paradoxe, der feinste Literat - eine Quelle des Genusses für die Freunde raffinierter sprachlicher Kunst. Ein Künstler und kein Kämpfer.<sup>65</sup>

Kasimir Edschmid (1925), one of the most vigorous spokesmen of the expressionistic movement in literature, was more favorably impressed with Anatole France's ability as a novelist than other critics. In fact, Edschmid pronounced him the greatest novelist of his time. Comparing him with other European writers, the critic wrote:

Er ist offenbar der grösste Romancier den das Abendland im Augenblick besitzt . . . D'Annunzio bleibt neben France immer ein begrenzter Italiener . . . Gorki ist ebenfalls völlig an seine Heimat gebunden. Der Engländer Kipling ist eine Persönlichkeit von gewaltigem Format, aber er verkörpert lediglich die gepanzerte Faust mit dem Schwert, welche England gross machte. Vergleichbar mit France ist in Europa heute nur der irische Stückeschreiber Bernard Shaw und der norwegische Romancier Knut Hamsun.<sup>66</sup>

R. Schaukal (1925), the German lyric poet of note, commenting on a translation of Paul Gsell's Die Vormittage der Villa Saïd, speaks about Anatole France as a great writer, a perfect stylist, and a master of the French language.<sup>67</sup> And, in another article (1925), under the title of "Gedanken an seinem Grabmal", Schaukal asserts that Anatole France will be known to many future generations, in fact, as long as the French language lives, because:

Das ganze 19. Jahrhundert, das seit Chénier, dem Ausklang des bereits verklärten 18., und der Staël, dem selbstbewussten stürmenden Auftakt der neuen Zeit, sich in glänzenden Experimenten verausgabte, von Balzac über Boyle und Flaubert bis Mallarmé, hat Anatole France in seiner Sprache, die leicht und schwebend ist wie die Cazottes und Rivarols, dennoch aber gleich diesen und ihresgleichen Pascals würdig und der Sévigné, gleichsam von gesammelter Fülle abgeschöpft.<sup>68</sup>

Eugen Lerch (1925) not only agrees with Curtius that Anatole France was a poet of recollections ("Dichter der Erinnerung"), who wrote "so vieler Rückblicke aus seine Kindheit", but also adds that:

Er ist nicht so sehr ein Dichter als ein Didaktiker, ein Moralist - ein Moralist, wie die Literatur seiner Nation ihrer so viele hervorgebracht . . . France ist kein Dichter; das ist ein Irrtum, in dem er selber befangen war und der heute noch ziemlich verbreitet ist; . . .<sup>69</sup>

Lerch asserts in this connection that later histories of literature will classify Anatole France as a "Didaktiker" and not as a "Dichter" such as Voltaire was. It will then be understood why he wrote such books as Opinions Sociales and Vers les Temps meilleurs, and the bond that united Anatole France the novelist with Anatole France the

man, interested in social conditions ("Politiker"), will be explained.<sup>70</sup> Lerch further contends that "Als Didaktiker ist Anatole France selbständiger denn als Dichter. Er ist kein Menschenschöpfer wie Balzac oder auch nur Zola."<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, whoever reads all of France's works discovers that there is much repetition and that as a rule it is the author who is depicted, or his own immediate surroundings. Every time Anatole France tried to portray a character other than himself, he was not successful.<sup>72</sup> Regarding France's style, Lerch is just as severe:

Sein Stil endlich, sein viel gerühmter Stil, ist eine geschickte Mischung aus Voltaire, Rabelais, Montaigne, Sterne, Swift und Dickens; diese nennt Wiegler (S. 16), wobei er aber Flaubert und Renan vergisst. . . Zweifellos ist aus all diesen Elementen durch zähe Übung etwas Eigenes geworden - allein was hilft der geschliffenste Stil, wenn er nicht im Dienste eines grossen Menschenschöpfers steht? Auch der Stil des Anatole France ist ein didaktischer, kein dichterischer. Er ist klar und einfach, leicht und witzig - nicht tief, nicht farbig, nicht würzig, nicht poetisch. Ihm fehlt die Schwere, der Gehalt.<sup>73</sup>

Lerch concludes his article by pointing out that just as Voltaire's works are the key to the 18th century, so France's writing will help the future readers to understand French civilization existing about 1900. "Als Didaktiker wird Anatole France noch eine Weile dauern."<sup>74</sup>

Victor Klemperer, the learned German critic and scholar, in his Geschichte der Französischen Literatur (1926) allows a great deal of space to Anatole France. After referring to Lerch's article as a study rich in contents, Klemperer approves of Lerch's title, "Das Problem Anatole France". He disagrees however as to the way of solving this problem.

. . . als er 1924, achtzigjährig nach ganz erfülltem fruchtreichem Leben starb, konnte man manche Erklärung seines Wesens lesen, und die gehaltvolle Studie Eugen Lerchs trägt mit Recht den Titel: "Das Problem Anatole France". Ich

glaube freilich nicht, dass man dieses Problem löst, indem man den Dichter France einigermaßen leugnet und nur den auf seine alten Tage immer streitbarern, dabei aber nie seiner jugendlichen Grazie beraubten Didaktiker gelten lässt.<sup>75</sup>

Taking up Lerch's contention that Anatole France was greater as a moralist than as a writer, Klemperer seems to be less hostile and withholds only the qualifications of a lyric poet.

Er ist kein lyrischer Plastiker, weder das rein Lyrische, noch das rein Plastische entspricht seinem Wesen. Er muss zwangloser werden, muss plaudern, um in seinem Tese zu sein; er muss sich frei bewegen können zwischen Gefühl und Gedanken, zwischen bildlicher und begrifflicher Sprache, er muss den Begriff erwärmen und das Bild abkühlen dürfen.<sup>76</sup>

Of the few German critics who connect Anatole France's style with rococo, Klemperer is one. Designating Renan as the "Vollender" of French rococo, the critic asserts that "In France lebt neben dem Rokoko die Aufklärung".<sup>77</sup> In fact, Klemperer becomes more positive on this point and states that "Bis an das Ende seiner vierziger Jahre dominiert doch das Rokokotum in ihm".<sup>78</sup> Klemperer does not commit himself directly regarding France's qualities as a novelist or story-writer; indirectly however, the critic suggests an adverse opinion, as the following statement would indicate:

Ein reichliches Dutzend Jahre blieb er als Roman- und Novellendichter - soweit man seine Geschichten Romane und Novellen nennen darf - ,<sup>79</sup>

And yet, after briefly analysing Crainquebille, Klemperer emphatically calls this story a "dichterische Frucht" and admits that the term "Dichter" cannot be withheld from Anatole France.

. . . trotz allen Plauderns, Meditierens, Politisierens, auch trotz aller Stoffübernahme, hat sich France als Menschengestalter bewährt, und so kann man ihm in keiner Phase seines Schaffens den Namen eines Dichters absprechen.<sup>80</sup>

Walter Gottschalk (1927) explains that as a writer Anatole France was distinctly of the subjective or expressionistic kind,

whose personality is reflected everywhere in his works, and for whom the art of writing and life are very closely connected.<sup>81</sup> Gottschalk states that Anatole France was naturally more apt at writing short stories than novels.

Von Natur aus war France Novellist, und wenn er später zum Roman übergegangen ist, so geschah es zumeist nicht aus eigenem Antrieb, sondern unter fremdem Druck. Die Novelle entsprach seinen Fähigkeiten. Er war vor allem Stilkünstler und konnte sein Talent am besten in der kürzeren Novelle zeigen, während der weitausgesponnene Roman oft störend seinen Mangel an Phantasie, an neuen Gedanken, und eine mangelhafte Komposition bekundet. Ursprünglich hatte sich Anatole France seinen Sylvestre Bonnard nur als Novelle im Sinne der zeitlich vorausgegangenen gedacht.<sup>82</sup>

Gottschalk attributes France's election to the French Academy in 1896 to the "Klarheit, Anmut und Eleganz" of his style as well as to his classical education. This critic adds that the demoralizing features of his stories and novels were not at that time detected.<sup>83</sup>

As an answer to his own question whether Anatole France had fulfilled his mission as a writer, Gottschalk states:

France ist in den Jahren von 1885 bis 1910 der meistgelesene zeitgenössische Schriftsteller seines Landes gewesen. Er war in diesem Zeitraum nicht nur der Liebling der Franzosen, sondern auch des gebildeten Europäers. Sein Dichtwerk konnte also auf weiteste Kreise grossen Einfluss ausüben. Befleissigen wir uns strenger Objektivität, so müssen wir erklären, dass dieser Einfluss zugleich erzieherisch und verderblich gewesen ist.<sup>84</sup>

From the standpoint of language, Gottschalk designates Anatole France as one of the greatest stylists of his country. The care for style and form had remained with him since his early days when he imitated the Parnassians. In addition to his classical style

Er war ein unendlich feiner Nachzeichner längst verschwundener Zeiten, ein Schöpfer seltener Bilder und ein grosser Stimmungskünstler. Und welche Fülle auserlesenster Gaben hat uns sein Humor beschert, wenn er in duldsamen Jahren und später noch in Tagen milderer Gesinnung zum Vorschein kam! Wahrlich, die Kulturwelt verdankt ihm viel!<sup>85</sup>

Finally, Gottschalk concludes that if Anatole France had a religion

it was his admiration of beauty in every form. Clearness, charm, fluency, and elegance in France's works invariably give delight to every reader who is able to see beauty in literature.<sup>86</sup>

Another critic who briefly touches on the subject of rococo in France's works is H.W.Eppelsheimer (1927). In his article "L'Âme livresque - Anatole France", we are told that critics (Eppelsheimer does not name them) find traces in France's books of ideas and details that Anatole France derived from wide reading. This interpolation of details and subject matter from history and other sources constitutes the mosaic style or rococo in the works of Anatole France.<sup>87</sup>

In an article entitled "Anatole France und sein Sekretär" (1928), Eugen Lerch defends the master against some of the scandalous remarks of his servant. Brousson's information about France's way of writing and re-writing his works is superfluous for Lerch. The critic knew that Anatole France did not come from a family of writers and that he did not inherit the gift of writing but developed the art through repetition. Moreover:

Um die Wahrheit zu sagen: ich glaube nicht alles, was Herr Brousson erzählt. Sein guter Glaube soll nicht in Zweifel gezogen werden. Allein er ist Meridionale wie Tartarin, und seine Landsleute stehen in dem Ruf, dass sie gern ein bisschen übertreiben, aufschneiden, zuspitzen . . . Bei Brousson kam die persönliche Gekranktheit hinzu . . . Brousson ist wie Kriemhild, von langer Rache.<sup>88</sup>

Valerin Marcu (1929) draws our attention to the familiar practice of most children, that is, of taking a plaything apart and then trying to assemble it. Anatole France was no exception to this instinctive inclination of homo sapiens. The exceptional feature about the French writer was that during his years of maturity he still retained the desire to take things apart in order to put them

together again. Anatole France exercised this desire not upon things but upon ideas.

. . . Ideen und Systeme schüttelte er ineinander, gegeneinander, durcheinander, repräsentierte sie in Personen, liess sie dann Dialoge und Monologe halten, aus denen seine Romane wurden, die gar keine Romane, sondern die schönsten Geschichten der Weltliteratur sind.<sup>89</sup>

Marcu states further that France's art consisted of putting a great deal of historical material together and combining it with his personal contemplation over conditions of his own time. Anatole France once wished to compose a novel in which love might be depicted. His philosophical wisdom interfered however and he proceeded in his customary manner to elaborate on the fact that we want to be loved and that when we attain that bliss it turns out to be rather wearisome.<sup>90</sup>

Alfred Pillet (1931) answers affirmatively the question: "Tu vera gloria?" (sic) Then the critic suggests that whoever wants to know Anatole France the writer-artist (Künstler) should read his greatest novels which are: Sylvestre Bonnard, Thaïs, La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque, L'Orme du Mail, Les Dieux ont soif, La Révolte des Anges, and selections from his short stories, as well as L'Histoire comique and Grainquebille. The critic adds that ". . . dieser Künstler wird dauern", because:

. . . er schrieb das anerkannt reinste, fliessendste, schönste Französische der Zeit. Auch nach dieser Richtung verglich man ihn gern mit Voltaire. Die Sprache, die er handhabt, ist wie die Flöte des gefallenen Engels Nectaire, der alle Wesen lauschen, und auch die Erzählung, die er immer wiederholt, ist die Nectaires von der Entwicklung und Befreiung der Menschheit.<sup>91</sup>

Fraugott Fuchs's article (1931), which examines the study of Gabriel Des Hons entitled "Anatole France et Jean Racine; ou, La clé de l'Art Francien", is interesting enough to be at least cited

here. Although Fuchs does not discuss Anatole France as a writer, he positively disagrees with Des Hons who had advanced the idea that there are similarities between Racine's and France's ways of writing.

Wir sind nicht der Ansicht, dass vielen einzelnen Racine-Reminiszenzen o i n g r o s s e s Ganzes Racine'schen Geistes bei France entsprechen müsse, auf das Des Hons gläubig und stillschweigend hinweist.

Sollte eine grosse Brüderschaft nicht unmittelbar zu spür-en sein? Doch spürt man vergebens in der France'schen Gesamtatmosphäre nach Racine'schem Wesenshauch. Beide schöpfen nicht aus der gleichen Quelle, sie sind keine "Brüder", France verhält sich zu Racine n i c h t wie zu seinem Ideal, und die meisten kühnen, hehren und schmückenden Vergleiche und Schlüsse Des Hons' sind Illusion, . . . <sup>93</sup>

Willy Lewinson states in an article on "Der Geist des Widerspruchs - Anatole France" (1931) that in the psychological sense Anatole France was a dialectic writer. For him every thesis immediately suggests antithesis (Satz und Gegensatz). Moreover, there is much paradoxical whim and playfulness in France's works. The writer (Anatole France) expresses sneering views against his own thinking as well as against the thoughts of others. In fact, he seemed to delight in contradictions. Anyone reading his works discovers anew the contrast between the form of representation and the world represented: the form is clear, rational and classic; the world depicted therein is filled with confusion and absurdity.<sup>94</sup>

Robert Blanck published a study (1934) of Anatole France as a stylist in the writing of novels. This study contains much insight as well as sound judgment. The point of departure seems to be France's intelligence and vast information.

France ist wohl der geistreichste Schriftsteller seiner Zeit zu nennen. Die ausserordentliche Beweglichkeit und Leichtigkeit seines Geistes lässt ihn seine Gedanken so scharf und fein formen dass es oft unmöglich ist, die Umrisse deutlich zu erkennen.<sup>95</sup>

Blanck next mentions France's unusual aptitude in utilizing the thoughts of others, without really adopting them as his own. He often entangles and confuses these ideas, playing with them as a juggler with balls. At the end they are skillfully rearranged and become amply clear.<sup>96</sup>

Doch alle Ideen und Gedanken, die France von unseren Augen aufrollt, entbehren der Tiefgründigkeit. Er dringt nicht in die Tiefe der Probleme ein, er versucht nicht die letzten Schleier zu lüften. France bleibt immer nur an der Oberfläche haften; er will nichts als ein geistreicher Plauderer sein. So sind es nicht die Ideen, die unser Interesse erregen, sondern die Form, die unübertrefflich harmonische Form, in die er seine Gedanken einkleidet.<sup>97</sup>

To make his language clear and euphonious, Anatole France purposefully took pains to form sentences as short and simple as possible. Long, heavy sentences, loaded with subordinate clauses, he avoided, for they interfere with the easy flow of words and make the meaning obscure.<sup>98</sup> His aim was to construct sentences that are balanced and at the same time contain vividness and ~~warmth~~. Blanck states that Anatole France outgrew the impressionistic style; the excesses and exaggerations of impressionism were not to his taste. Instead

Schönheit und Ebenmass, Harmonie und Klarheit sind auch hier die Normen, nach denen er sich richtet. Er nimmt darauf auf, was ihm geeignet dünkt, und alles, was er übernimmt, gliedert er so meisterhaft in seine Sprache ein, dass immer wieder seine Persönlichkeit, sein Geist, sein Wesen darin ihren Ausdruck finden.<sup>99</sup>

In Blanck's opinion, Anatole France's characters show little development. Most of his heroes are at the beginning of the story the same as they are at the end. There are, of course, a few exceptions.

In den wenigen Fällen aber, in denen er eine Entwicklung von Seelenzuständen schildert, zeigt er sich als echter Künstler. Thaïs, Le Lys rouge, und Le Livre de mon ami gehören zu den wenigen Romanen, in denen er dieses Ver-

fahren anwendet.<sup>100</sup>

Blanck concludes that on the whole Anatole France's language is clear, light, fluent, and comprehensible, as well as charming, elegant, and even enchanting. It is for the most part a conversational style. The dialogues of the characters take up much space in his novels. On the debit side, the critic points out: first, it is without a definite taste ("bestimmten Geschmack"); second, it lacks the "Erdverbundene Kräftige"; and third, there is insufficiency of depth and earnestness. The final word is:

France ist unbestritten einer der grössten Sprachkünstler, die Frankreich aufzuweisen hat. Die Harmonie und das Ebenmass seiner Sprache können von keinem übertroffen werden. Seine Sprache hat aber keinen Ewigkeitswort.<sup>101</sup>

The most recent German criticism on Anatole France that I have been able to examine is Alfred Bönsch's Anatole France und das achtzehnte Jahrhundert (1938). Most of the casual references to France's style of writing seem to center on the influence of classicism, of the 18th century and of the rococo school. Bönsch is another German critic who finds mosaic style in France's works. One reason for France's language being mosaic is that

Wenige Schriftsteller haben sovieler Einflüsse aller Art in sich aufgenommen wie Anatole France . . . Der Einfluss dieser Autoren (Renan and Taine) war auf jeden Fall ungeheuer, und France überliess sich ihm völlig.<sup>102</sup>

Another reason that Bönsch mentions is this:

Nichts ist so stark auf Anatole France abgefärbt wie der lächelnde Nihilismus, der in der Gesellschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts zu Hause war und in der Auffassung der Nachwelt die charakteristische Kadenz aller Rokokomelodien geworden ist.<sup>103</sup>

And a third reason is found in the influence of the Goncourt brothers:

Die historischen Werke der Brüder Goncourt haben seine Neigung zum Rokoko höchstwahrscheinlich vertieft. Die

Goncourt verkehrten in dem väterlichen Buchladen.<sup>104</sup>

From these, and probably some other, reasons Bönsch deducts that:

France bewundert die Haltung des Rokokozeitalters gegenüber dem Tode und macht sie zu seiner eigenen.<sup>105</sup> Und auch die Charakteristik der kleinen contes des Rokoko trifft für France zu.<sup>106</sup>

Bönsch is aware however that the literary influence upon Anatole France came from more remote time than the rococo period of the 18th century. The critic points out the influence of Voltaire, of Racine, and especially of the Classics.

Die Ahnenreihe unseres Dichters aber reicht über das 18. Jahrhundert hinaus tief in das 17. hinein. Der klassische Geist ist das Element, in dem France lebt . . . Von Voltaire übernimmt France manche Formulierung, manche ironische Zuspitzung, manche stilistische Anleitung. In der reinen Sprache aber scheint ein anderer Klassiker noch mehr auf ihn gewirkt zu haben: Racine.<sup>107</sup>

Not only in style but also in the choice of words and grammar Anatole France is classic, according to Bönsch. "Die sprachliche Kunst Frances ist allgemein klassisch. Er ist imprägniert mit Racine."<sup>108</sup> This critic also sees many things in common between the style of Anatole France and that of Voltaire. France's form is similar to the form of the "contes philosophiques" of the 18th century. He did not borrow this form directly; it was his literary disposition to write in that form.<sup>109</sup>

Discussing France's art of writing novels and short stories, Bönsch states that "Seine Novellen sind dramatisierte Dialoge, seine Romane sind zusammengeheftete Novellen". In both genres, episodes count for everything, actions count for little, and dramatic unity counts for nothing. More specifically stated, the critic says:

Er bringt keinen Roman zustande, in dem die Handlung alles und die Philosophie nichts ist . . . Seine Romane zerflattern in Episoden und Anekdoten. Und dieses Auseinander-

schwärmen der Elemente ist charakteristisch für die Rokoko-literatur.<sup>110</sup>

As to the characterization, it is very weak, because: "Die Menschen werden nicht plastisch, die Charaktere bleiben blass. France wusste sehr genau, dass die Menschengestaltung nicht seine Stärke war."<sup>111</sup>

### B. The Critic

What have the German critics said since France's death about his criticism? In proportion to what was written on this subject before 1924, Anatole France, the critic, fell into the background during this last period. Only a few casual remarks can be gleaned from the numerous articles.

Curtius (1924) makes the following observations regarding Anatole France's literary criticism: first, as a critic, Anatole France disregarded all new tendencies of his day in the world of literature; second, although Zola was recognized by him in a political way, he condemned the school of naturalism; and third, such prominent movements as symbolism, dadaism, and other kinds of -isms were simply ignored.<sup>112</sup> H. Engel (1925) states that Anatole France took the opposite view in his La Vie Littéraire to that of Brunetière regarding objective criticism.<sup>113</sup> Victor Klemperer (1926) merely remarks that Anatole France may be called a critic "soweit man seine subjektiven Plaudereien als Kritiken bezeichnet kann".<sup>114</sup> And Gottschalk (1927) definitely denies him the title of critic, as the following statement clearly shows:

France war nicht der geborene Kritiker. Er bleibt auch in seinen Buchbesprechungen Schriftsteller. Seine Kritik ist mehr als eine interessante Plauderei aufzufassen. Er steht in dieser Hinsicht Jules Lemaitre noch am nächsten . . . Seine Kritik ist viel zu lau.<sup>115</sup>

Finally, Eugen Lerch (1925) expresses a few pointed words on Anatole France the critic. Although Lerch calls La Vie littéraire "ein Hauptwort jener Zeit", which should be known more generally in Germany, he does not regard it as literary criticism in the true sense of the word.

Es sind weniger Kritiken (denn er hatte ja keine Grundsätze, keine Methode, er kokettiert ein bisschen mit seiner Flatterhaftigkeit), sondern, nach seinem eigenen Wort, Märchen über Bücher.<sup>116</sup>

### 3. "Weltanschauung".

Paul Wiegler (1924) observes that tolerance was the corner stone in France's philosophy of life. As soon as the Great War ended, he again posed as "ein guter Europäer". By his "Weltanschauung", France was a close relative of Renan.

Der Denker Anatole France war ein Zuschauer des Lebens, ein Beobachter im Dahinschlendern.<sup>117</sup>

On the following day after the statement quoted above was published, Wiegler also wrote this:

Er war auch ein viel zu gründlicher Philosoph, um an eine Veränderung der Menschheit von heute auf morgen zu glauben. Die grosse Triebkraft des sozialen Wirkens Anatole France war das Mitleid.<sup>118</sup>

The idea of the relativity of things, or the two sides of every proposition, which seems to lie at the bottom of France's philosophy, is clearly and tersely stated by K.O. Erdmann(1924).

Sein Relativismus drängte ihn immer dazu, von allen Dingen auch alle Seiten zu betrachten; von jeder menschlichen Institution, von jeder Theorie, von jedem Werturteil sah er immer auch die Kehrseite, die Gefahren, die Unvollkommenheiten. Er kannte kein absolutes Ideal. Was er von einem Standpunkt aus gepriesen hatte, das musste er von einem anderen aus als bedenklich und fragwürdig hinstellen und gelegentlich verspotten. Gerade weil er die Wissenschaft leidenschaftlich liebte, erkannte er mit

schmerzender Deutlichkeit ihre Grenzen, . . . 119

With such a sense of relativity, it was only natural for Anatole France to be radically skeptical of everything. And yet, according to Erdmann, he did not believe in absolute relativity.

Anatole France aber lehnte alle Dogmen ab, ohne ihren relativen Wert zu bestreiten. Er war ein Feind aller Systeme, aller Metaphysik. 120

Walther K uchler's interpretation (1925) of the philosophical ideas of Anatole France seems original and interesting. If we take Abb  Coignard for France's philosophical mouthpiece and analyse everything he says, we necessarily arrive at the conclusion that the philosophy of Anatole France is altogether different from that of all French philosophers from Descartes to the present time. From the utterances of Abb  Coignard, we are led to believe that man is destined for ignorance and that he is not created for the intellectual enterprise called thinking. Man's effort to formulate principles and think out philosophical systems has really no sense and often leads him to nonsense. Therefore, the shrewd old abb  regards all systems and philosophies as a mouse-trap, from falling into which he guards himself. Of course, he studies philosophers; but he does it not to learn a certain system of philosophy but to become acquainted with the documents of human thought. All the metaphysical treatises are thought of by the abb  as mere novels, containing no more truth than the usual type of fiction. 121

K uchler states further that Anatole France considered metaphysics as an outcome of positivism and that he himself was not a positivist.

Daf ur fehlt ihm die positivistische Strenge und die positivistische  berzeugung, mit Hilfe der peinlichst erforschten Tatsachen das Gesetz ableiten zu k nnen. Er tadelt geradezu den Positivismus . . . Der Positivismus -

sagt der künstlerische Gedankenspieler Anatole France -  
lässt uns nicht in Freiheit mit den Phänomenen spielen,  
erlaubt uns nicht, am leeren Schein uns zu berauschen!

Moreover, according to the critic, Anatole France was against learning, but was very much for "curiosité". Study prompted by curiosity brought pleasure followed by enjoyment; this was of greater worth to him than merely acquiring new truths which tomorrow might be discarded.<sup>122</sup>

Kazimir Edschmid's explanation (1925) of the inner state and attitude of Anatole France toward the exterior world seems very apt and reasonable. It is the following:

Anatole France hat es erreicht mit so ungeheurer innerer Distanz zu allen Dingen der Welt zu stehen, dass er jene furchtbare Objektivität erreicht, die Shakespeare hatte. Anatole France nimmt nicht Partei, will nicht überzeugen, bestrebt sich nicht mit seinen Figuren verwechselt zu werden, sondern er gibt allen recht und erzeugt damit jene grauhaft schöne Überlegenheit . . . Er stellt wohl alles in Frage, was unsere Welt ausmacht, aber sein Geist ist so leicht und grossartig, dass er der Liebe nicht entbehren kann.<sup>123</sup>

Hermann Engel (1925) points out that the characters in France's works frequently express pessimistic views. They seem to be all in accord that "das Leben heisst leiden". Or, as Jérôme Coignard tersely states it: "Ils naquirent, ils souffrirent, ils moururent". However, Engel does not say that Anatole France considered this world a fool's house, he was too much of an epicure not to enjoy its pleasures, its beauty, and its art.<sup>124</sup>

Arthur Eloesser (1925) gives us a brief analysis which is rather subjective of what truth meant to Anatole France.

Die F r e i h e i t für Anatole France war: Aufstehen, wann er wollte, oder krank im Bett bleiben, wann er nicht wollte, Bücher und Antiquitäten kaufen, soviel in seine Wohnung hineinging, Einladungen unabsichtlich vergessen, die ihm nicht passten, vor allem aber plaudern und rücksichtslos und cynisch rässionieren.<sup>125</sup>

After this, Kloesser states that Anatole France saw everything in the light of association, that things of the present were connected in his mind with the past. He did not share however in the Romantic enthusiasm for nature which was originated by J.-J. Rousseau, for whom he did not have very much regard. For Anatole France, nature was without form; this was disagreeable to his sense of taste which required form above everything else.<sup>126</sup>

A certain obscure critic by the name of Jacob Overmans (1926) finds France's thinking sophistic and nihilistic. Without having any system and discarding the usefulness of observation, he could not have been logical, says the critic: Here are the exact words of Overmans:

Damit soll heileibe nicht behauptet werden, Anatole France habe logisch gedacht. Sein Denken ist im Gegenteil oft genug sophistisch . . . Sein eigenes Denken war so vollkommen nihilistisch, dass er sich aus diesem Grunde die Fähigkeit zu beobachten absprach; denn eine Beobachtung sei wertlos, wenn man sie nicht systematisch mache, und er habe nirgends ein System.<sup>127</sup>

Victor Klemperer (1926) suggests that Anatole France was essentially a dreamer, a contemplator, and a reader of books; hence his philosophical viewpoint was characterized by nonchalance. The comparison that Klemperer draws between the writer and the cat Hamlikar is unforgettable:

France ist wirklich auf dem Grund seiner Seele "Bibliothekar", oder noch besser, er ist eng verwandt mit dem Kater Hamlikar seines Sylvestre Bonnard, mit dem prince somnolent de la cité des livres. Unter Büchern leben in einem halben Traum, studierend und phantasierend, dichtend und nachdichtend: das ist ihm Wollust und angenehmste Tröstung für quälende Zweifel und den immer vorhandenen Gedanken der Vergänglichkeit und Wichtigkeit alles Irdischen.<sup>128</sup>

Walter Gottschalk (1927) declares that Anatole France's philosophical views are not only dangerous but destructive. He lists such elements as pessimism, unbelief, and skepticism as entering into

the composition of France's "Weltanschauung". The following statement of Gottschalk includes nearly everything that is written on this point by him:

Die Philosophie seiner reiferen Mannesjahre und seines Alters lautet: Skepsis und Pessimismus. . . Zornig und missmutig rüttelt und zerrt er an dem, was Menschenhand und Menschengestalt geschaffen haben. Er benimmt den Atem, raubt Glauben und jeden geistigen Besitz und zerstört unsere zuversichtliche Hoffnung. Auf blumenreichem Wege führt er in den Abgrund. Die allermeisten Werke seiner zweiten Hauptperiode zeigen eine unterwühlende, demoralisierende Tendenz. Hier war France ein Verderber.<sup>129</sup>

According to Valerin Marcu (1929), Anatole France held metaphysics entirely superfluous. No other French writer since Diderot was so convinced as France that the metaphysicists occupied themselves with things that do not exist. True to his color,

Anatole France aber denkt in Gegensätzen; er freut sich, dass jede Tatsache und jeder Begriff ihren Anwalt haben können; er versucht, der Anwalt der von ihm bekämpften Tatsachen und Begriffe zu werden, und meint, dass sogar die Metaphysik notwendig sei.<sup>130</sup>

Alfred Pillet (1931) likewise states that "eine Metaphysik gibt es nicht für ihn". Well acquainted with all the philosophical systems, France had neither inclination nor preference for any specific school of philosophy. He was skeptical of all knowledge and was epicurian in ethics. The only system of psychology that he deigned to consider was of his own making.

. . . er hat keinen Glauben in die Möglichkeit einer grossen Synthese und also auch weder die Kraft noch den Willen, einem bestimmten System sich anzuschliessen.<sup>131</sup>

Pillet adds that Anatole France did not possess a knowledge of the natural sciences and therefore did not see much use for them. The question whether science would take the place of religion France preferred to let others answer - Zola, for example, and his disciples.<sup>132</sup>

Robert Blanck (1934) merely notes that France's pessimism is nothing more than sport (Spielerei) and that there is not a trace in it of the earnestness of a German thinker.<sup>133</sup>

Alfred Bönsch (1938), who made a special study of Anatole France in relation to the 18th century, finds that his philosophic ideas are colored by the ideas of the 18th century French writers. For example, Buffon furnished him with theories on physiology;<sup>134</sup> Tracy, Volney, and Condillac were his sources of sensualism; and Voltaire was his model of the mental struggle for freedom. Anatole France was by nature well disposed toward the 18th century sensuality, the aesthetic view of the world, the inclination to reflect, and the taste for the comic.<sup>135</sup> Proportion and beauty were his principal ideals. Bönsch declares that Anatole France gazed at objects in which he saw beauty with the same tenseness that the mariner experiences while looking at the North Star at night. Abbé Coignard, who personifies his creator, Anatole France, is in every respect the child of the 18th century: voluptuousness, rationalism, cult of the beautiful, yes, and ennui are his personal characteristics.<sup>136</sup> Finally Bönsch asserts:

Er setzt sich für die humanistischen Studien ein und lobt das 18. Jahrhundert, in dem die Geltung der lateinischen Sprache noch unangetastet war. Er trennt sich von den germanischen, irrationalen Konzeptionen und schliesst sich der als eng erkannten, diesseitigen Geisteshaltung der Rationalisten des 18. Jahrhunderts an: Auch France ist ein "Kreuzfahrer gegen die Romantik".<sup>137</sup>

This critic is of the opinion that Anatole France was stronger as an aesthete than as a moralist.<sup>138</sup> He admired the beautiful, he liked life, and considered life a dream.

France wusste selbst, dass das Leben ein Traum sei, den wir in dem engen Gefängnis unserer Sinne träumen, und da Traum gegen Traum und Illusion gegen Konterillusion

steht, riet er, den liebenswertesten Traum zu träumen.<sup>139</sup>

#### 4. The Ironist and Skeptic.

It would be unjust to think of Anatole France's skepticism in terms of frivolity, according to Curtius (1924). To speak of him as a blasé skeptic is not only to show lack of understanding of his intellectual personality but also to do him wrong. Curtius's reason for such an opinion is this:

Auch bei ihm waren die Skepsis und der Spott nur eine Ausdrucksform des kritischen Geistes und des Kampfes für das unabhängige Denken.

Der verführerische Zauber, der Anatole France unzählige Leser in allen Ländern gewonnen hat und gewinnen wird, quillt nicht zum wenigsten aus der Skepsis. Es fehlt ihr alles Verletzende, alles Bittere. Sie ist gesättigt mit ironischer und melancholischer Weisheit und bekennt damit ihre Abkunft aus der Altersphilosophie Renans.<sup>140</sup>

At the same time, the critic is aware of the fact that France's skepticism had become out of date. People again demanded positive views and convictions, such as expressed by dogmas, hierarchy, and absolutism. Anatole France himself had experienced in his later years this tendency, and, being true to his intellectual conviction, ridiculed it.<sup>141</sup>

In the second article (1924), Curtius is even more specific and states that skepticism for Anatole France was only a means for his critical mentality to combat intolerance and fight for the independence and freedom of thought. Moreover, Anatole France was not impartial, because:

Man sieht Anatole France steht dem Vernunft- und Fortschritts-glauben der Aufklärung nicht weniger kritisch gegenüber als der kirchlichen Orthodoxie. . . Der ironische Zweifler, der rückgewandte Schönheitsgeniesser, machte gemeinsame Sache mit Sozialisten und Antiklerikalen. . . France blieb seiner Denkweise treu.<sup>142</sup>

According to Lehmann (1924), so radical was the skeptic in Anatole France that he was skeptical of his own skepticism; so strong was the sense of relativity in him that he was always on the look out for the relative in relativity.<sup>143</sup>

Paul Wiegler (1924) shows less understanding and therefore less tolerance than Curtius. "Er ist ein Feind des Christentums gewesen", declares Wiegler and a Voltairian propagandist against religion. France was too embittered to write in the manner of Romain Rolland.<sup>144</sup>

Comparing Anatole France with Voltaire, Schotthöfer (1924) finds the 20th century ironist milder, almost benevolent.

Voltaire war beissender Spott, der töten wollte, France gütige Ironie, die sich selbst ausleben müsste, die den Menschen ihre Sünden vorhielt, um sie zu absolvieren. . .<sup>145</sup>

Wendel (1924) connects France's skepticism with that of Montaigne, Voltaire, and Renan, from whom he had learned to consider always the whole and its parts as relative and never absolute. But, France's irony was diluted with both cheerfulness and sadness; this made it less biting.

Hinter dieser Ironie lebte viel Heiterkeit, denn als Nachfahre von Rabelais wusste France, dass kein Lachen unnütz und die Freude gut ist. . . Hinter dieser Ironie lebte auch viel Traurigkeit, denn wie nur einer empfand France die Unvollkommenheit der Welt, die Kläglichkeit des Menschen und die Melancholie des Daseins.<sup>146</sup>

Rudolf Keyser's interpretation (1924) of France's irony is quite favorable. In the opinion of this critic, the irony of Anatole France is mild and warm and not as pugnacious as that of Bernard Shaw. It is intended to be the friendly admonition of a good-natured humanist. This qualified Anatole France to be regarded as one of the valuable possessions (Besitztümer) of Europe.<sup>147</sup>

Arthur Bloesser's comment (1925) on France's irony contains

many practical suggestions. As an answer to the question "What is a skeptic?" we are advised:

Ein Geist, der an sicheren, beständigen Erkenntnissen zweifelt. Denn der Mensch ist ein armes, gebrechliches Wesen. Wenn er aber das ist, schuldet man ihm Mitleid und brüderliche Liebe, und so wird man I r o n i k e r, weil es besser ist, mit den Menschen zu lachen und gerade da zu lachen, wo man über sie weinen möchte.<sup>148</sup>

E. Lerch (1925) merely states that Anatole France doubted everything, that he satirized all things of the past, present, and future, and that laughingly he picked to pieces every dogma and every creed.<sup>149</sup> That his ironical temperament was altogether impartial is evidenced by the fact that he satirized the Socialist Party of which he was a member as well as Communism to which he eventually subscribed.<sup>150</sup>

But, no one should take offence, because, as Kasimir Edschmid (1925) perceives:

Er spottet nicht aus Hass, sondern um seinen weisen gallischen Spitzbart schwebt jenes Lächeln, das bereits alles durchschaut, alles verachtet hat, und nun angefangen hat, zu verzeihen.<sup>151</sup>

In comparison with Renan's, Klemperer (1926) maintains, "In seiner Skepsis war immer mehr Trauer und Bitterkeit, wenn auch nicht mehr Angst".<sup>152</sup> And speaking on the subject of irony in general and of France's irony in particular, Klemperer states that

Die Ironie ist immer Zerstörerin. Sie zerstört Hass und Liebe, Stimmung und Illusion. Und im Zerstören befreit sie, aber im Befreien wirkt sie erkältend. Dies ist das Grundwesen jeglicher Ironie. Aber man muss doch zwischen drei Arten der Ironie unterscheiden. Ich möchte von romantischer, melancholischer und zynischer Ironie sprechen. Hinter der ersten, die in Deutschland am stärksten vertreten ist, steht das Aufwärtsstreben unersättlicher Sehnsucht. Der Romantiker erhebt sich über sein Kunstwerk, indem er die Illusion vernichtet, um als Persönlichkeit frei darüber hinaus zu gelangen. Hinter der zynischen Ironie steht die anarchische Stimmung des Après nous le déluge. Ihr wird man bei Offenbach und seinen Librettisten begegnen. Dazwischen liegt die melancholische Ironie. Passi-

mismas, der aber nicht ohne einen mildernden Zusatz selbstgeniesseriſchen Rokokotums vorhanden iſt, Stoizismus, der aber ein wenig Weichheit und Wehmat nur ſchwer und niemals ganz verleugnen kann, ſind die Baſis dieſer ſpezifisch Franceschen Ironie.<sup>153</sup>

Gottſchalk (1927) iſt inclined to be too ſevere in his judgment of France's ſkepticism. Having ſtated that his early reading made out of him "ein völlig Ungläubiger",<sup>154</sup> the critic declares:

Er verweilte am liebſten beim 18. Jahrhundert mit ſeiner Skepsis, ſeinem Pessimismus, ſeinem Unglauben, ſeiner heidniſchen Fröhlichkeit, ſeiner frivolen Spottluſt und ſeinem zweifelhaften Menſchentum. Für den Geiſt des 19. Jahrhunderts, inſondere für die neuen Strömungen um die Jahrhundertwende, zeigte er kein Verſtändnis. . . Mit beſtändigem Zweifel, spöttiſcher Ironie und finſterer Menſchenverachtung erzielt man in normalen, geſunden Zeiten keine geiſtige Nachfolge.<sup>155</sup>

And finally, Gottſchalk decides that "Er ſtarb als Heide, der er immer geſeſen war".<sup>156</sup>

Schaukal (1930) points out Anatole France as one of thoſe ſkeptics who, ſhrugging their ſhoulders, query, "What iſt Truth?" Of one thing he iſt certain, namely:

. . .daſſ wir die Sinnloſigkeit des Geſchehens niemals aus den gewitzigten Augen laſſen und unſer Verhalten dieſer Erkenntnis gemäß einrichten.<sup>157</sup>

Blanck (1934) diſcuſſes briefly France's irony from the ſtandpoint of the influence of Renan and of Voltaire. The earlier works contain, according to Blanck, a "douce ironie" which iſt frequently mingled with delightful humor. The influence of Renan iſt in evidence during the firſt years of his literary effort, although Renan's irony iſt not quite as ſharp as France's. But with the Histoire contemporaine a change iſt noticeable: Anatole France definitely abandons his ivory tower and becomes more active.

Seine Ironie wird beiſſender und ſtechender; der Humor tritt mehr und mehr in den Hintergrund. Er nähert ſich mehr dem Zynismus Voltaires. Doch ſoweit wie Voltaire iſt France nicht gegangen. Seine Ironie iſt feiner, maſſvoller, dabei

treffend und natürlich. Sie ist darum für uns anziehender als die Ironie Voltaires.<sup>158</sup>

Kirchhoff (1935) is impressed with the wide range of France's skepticism, and so he asserts that:

Anatole France ist Skeptiker und seine Skepsis macht vor nichts halt. Nach seiner Ansicht ist alles subjektiv. . . Seine Skepsis erfasst alle Gebiete des Geistes und des Wissens: die Geschichte, die Naturwissenschaft, die Metaphysik, die Religion, endlich die Ästhetik, für die es ebenfalls keine ewigen Gesetze gibt.<sup>159</sup>

Moreover, as Kirchhoff explains, France's skepticism consists not so much in denying everything as in tolerating all things without holding them for certain. Consequently, "Frances Skeptizismus hat nämlich keine verderbliche Tendenz. Er ergibt sich notwendig aus seinem scharf-kritischen Intellekt und seinem Bestreben".<sup>160</sup>

Bönsch (1938) hints that irony was France's vital characteristic by which he was drawn to the 18th century. Then too, "Sie (irony) ist mit dem Skeptizismus eng verbrüdet". Anatole France used irony and skepticism - particularly the latter - as fortifications in the face of life's crises.<sup>161</sup> His irony, as Bönsch understands it, is finer than the irony of Voltaire.<sup>162</sup>

##### 5. Social and Political Views.

On the day following France's death, Curtius advised those who might want to understand why Anatole France entered the arena of political strife toward the end of the 19th century and became eventually a social agitator to read his speeches, messages, and manifestos, which were published in 1906 under the title Vers les Temps meilleurs.

Hier spricht er als Bürger zu Bürgern; er warnt, er kämpft, er weckt Verantwortung. . . Hier ist die Urkunde eines jahrelangen Kampfes gegen Nationalismus und Chauvinismus,

gegen kapitalistische Interessen politik. Hier spricht ein freier und tapfer Geist, der das Wohl seines Vaterlands und seines Erdteils will. Hier ertönt die Stimme jenes Frankreichs, an das wir heute kaum mehr glauben können; . . . 163

And on October 14th Curtius lamented the fact that the world lost at Anatole France's death not only a great literary artist but also a man of world-consciousness. He was the first one after the Great War to openly take a stand in France for international understanding and general reconciliation. 164

In a telegram announcing France's death, sent by Paul Block to the Berliner Tageblatt and published October 13th, we read:

Er war stets ein Demokrat in dem weitesten und zugleich in dem edelsten Sinne dieses Wortes. 165

On October 14th, Eduard Wechsler eulogized the departed great French spirit in these terms:

Herzensgüte und eine immer junge Liebe zur Gerechtigkeit und Wahrheit waren dieses Geistes Erbgut, Freiheit, Gleichheit, und Brüderlichkeit waren in seinem Munde mehr als ein Schlagwort. 166

Auernheimer's comments published on that same date are these:

Was der nationalistische Ungeist immer wieder zu verdunkeln sucht, das hat der leuchtende Geist eines Anatole France noch im Erlöschen bescheinigt: dass es tatsächlich gemeinsame Angelegenheiten der Menschheit gibt. 167

Paul Wiegler (1924) indicated that Anatole France was a political thinker and critic of considerable importance.

Mit Anatole France ist nicht nur ein unvergleichlicher Meister der französischen Sprache und ein Dichter von persönlichster Ideenwelt dahingegangen sondern gleichzeitig ein politischer Denker und Kritiker, dessen stimulierender und läuternder Einfluss auf die dritte Republik bedeutend war. 168

Schotthöfer came out on October 15, 1924 with assertions concerning France's political ideas and practices in more detailed manner. In his opinion, Anatole France, the disciple of the Encyclopedists, stood aside from democratic practices. After a time of fight-

ing in the arena of social reform, France moved over to the left. He saw in Communism only a possibility for future development and dynamite for a world revolution. He did not live, politically speaking, as Renan on the Sirius, but was in touch with the social developments of his day. And

Mit allen Fasern war er in die Gegenwart verwebt. Er griff seiner Mitwelt aus Herz und legte ihr Innerstes bloss. Er war der stärkste Gesellschaftskritiker von zwei Generationen, seine Riesenauflagen trugen seine Wirkung weit über Frankreichs und Europas Grenzen hinaus.<sup>169</sup>

Schotthöfer also points out the fact that as soon as armistice was declared,

. . . verschwand der französische Staatsbürger in ihm wieder hinter dem Weltbürger, dem Pazifisten, dem Apostel der Humanität der jede Gewalttat verfehmt.

This critic recalls France's good words of counsel offered while receiving the Nobel prize two years previous to his death, which were:

Seien wir nach dem schönen Wort Goethes gute Europäer!

And, he candidly declares:

France ist einer der wenigen Franzosen, die wir Deutsche lieben können.<sup>170</sup>

Hermann Wendel (1924) apparently went deeper into France's social philosophy than any of the critics already mentioned. Having stated the fact that the disciples of such modern schools as Futurism, Cubism, Dadaism,<sup>171</sup> and others, manifested aversion to his interest in the masses, in the common people, Wendel affirms that

In der Tat befasste er sich wie die geliebten Denker des 18. Jahrhunderts in seinen Darstellungen stets mit dem Einzelmenschen, nie mit der Masse, nie mit der Klasse. Jedes Menschenleben war für ihn Mittelpunkt der Dinge, Zentrum der Welt.<sup>172</sup>

Furthermore, Anatole France became<sup>a</sup> pacifist and joined the ranks of the socialists not because any new social theories were of great importance to him, but because the prevailing social and political con-

ditions in his country were such that his "bon sens" could not tolerate them. France's siding with the extreme leftists, the Social-democrats, and then later, at the age of 77, enrolling in the Communist Party, did not necessarily mean that he became a zealous missionary of these movements. It is a fact that he spoke at labor gatherings, promoted cooperatives, and appeared on tribunals, but all this was done always with his characteristic smile and never with a gun in his hand.<sup>173</sup>

Als Sozialist sah France den grössten menschlichen Wert im Menschen selbst, aber seine Skepsis bewahrte ihn auch jetzt von einer romantischen Ueberschätzung des Menschen. . . . Aber wenn er an Menschen zweifelte, glaubte er doch an die Menschheit.<sup>174</sup>

The concluding words in Wendel's article are prophetic, laudatory, and perhaps socially significant.

Anatole France gehört zu den grossen Seelen und freien Stirnen, die eine ganze Bewegung vor der Nachwelt adeln. Wenn von unserer gesamten abendländischen Zivilisation nichts als ein Häuflein Asche und ein paar seiner Bücher übrigbliebe, und wenn man dann von der Arbeiterbewegung unserer Tage nichts erführe, als dass dieser Dichter J a zu ihr sagte, würde das allein jenem kommenden Geschlecht genügen, dem Sozialismus die Krone zu reichen.<sup>175</sup>

Erdmann (1924) is of the opinion that Anatole France was a convinced pacifist and that the silly current saying "Wars have always been and always will be" provoked in him an ironic smile. Not that he believed in immediate universal peace, seeing so many nations arming themselves to the very teeth, but he did think that eventually from necessity peoples would no longer resort to mutual destruction.<sup>176</sup> Similarly Anatole France identified himself with the Socialist Party, although socialism was for him

. . . kein Glaubensartikel, kein endgültiger Zustand der Menschheit, kein absolutes Ideal, . . .

and at the same time, notwithstanding all this

. . . er erkannte seine relativen Vorzüge an und hielt sein Kommen für unvermeidlich. Er zog aus staatlichen Einrichtungen und Produktionsmethoden der Vergangenheit Analogieschlüsse auf die der Zukunft, und er meinte, man könne "in Ermangelung der Gewissheit" über "die Wahrscheinlichkeit" entscheiden, ob der Kollektivismus sich eines Tages verwirklichen werde, nicht etwa weil er gerecht ist, - denn es läge kein Grund vor, an den Sieg der Gerechtigkeit zu glauben - , sondern weil er die notwendige Folge des gegenwärtigen Zustands und das unvermeidliche Ergebnis der kapitalistischen Entwicklung sei.<sup>177</sup>

Eugen Lerch (1925) questions Paul Bourget's explanation of France's embracing socialism, arguing that it was not a mere substitution for his lost belief in the church and its teachings.<sup>178</sup> Although Anatole France was conservative at first "nicht nur in seinem literarischen Geschmack, sondern auch in seinen politischen Anschauungen", there was definitely, when he stood at the peak of his literary fame, a change of heart, a conversion. And this right-about-face took place for no personal motives, Lerch contends.

Wir, wir können nicht glauben, dass diese Verkehrung irgendwie von persönlichem Interesse, persönlicher Ranküne diktiert war. Wir glauben, im Gegensatz zu seinen Landsleuten, dass lediglich ehrliche Entrüstung über die Behandlung des jüdischen Hauptmanns ihn an die Seite Zolas, an die Seite der Sozialisten getrieben hat. Und nun zeigte sich, dass in ihm noch etwas anderes steckte als Ironie und geistiges Epikureertum: jener lebendige Kern jener gewaltige Ernst, der in allen echten Satirikern schlummert.<sup>179</sup>

Walter Kitchler (1935), on the other hand, presents the other side of the picture. In his opinion, Anatole France was essentially a "Künstler" and not a man of politics, although occasionally he showed interest in social problems.

Um aus Gesinnung und aus tiefstem Herzen Sozialist zu sein, muss man an die Menschen glauben. Anatole France aber war auch als Sozialist zu sehr Skeptiker und Pessimist. . .<sup>180</sup>

And so this critic repudiates the notion that Anatole France was a pacifist. "Anatole France glaubte im Grunde nicht an die Möglichkeit des Friedens."<sup>181</sup> Moreover, "Er ist kein Revolutionär".<sup>182</sup>

Wie der Pazifismus von Anatole France wesentlich sentimental ist, so ist sein Sozialismus wesentlich rhetorischer Art.<sup>183</sup>

In fact, Krichler insists that Anatole France was neither democrat nor monarchist, that he considered the belief in the sovereignty of the people just as superstitious as the acceptance of the divine right of kings. "Er ist ein Zerstörer von Prinzipien, aber nicht von Einrichtungen."<sup>184</sup>

Hermann Engel (1926) seems to take the middle ground regarding France's stand on politics. He points out that although France belonged to the social-democratic party, upheavals of any sort were condemned by him. To prove this, Engel cites the fact that Anatole France ridiculed the French Revolution of 1789 as well as its leaders and their activities. France believed that human progress came gradually. Why did he then support various social movements? The answer is that

Sein Bekenntnis zum Sozialismus ist wohl auch nur seiner Philanthropie, seinem Mitleid mit allen vom Mangel Bedrückten oder vom Schicksal Ererbten zuzuschreiben.<sup>185</sup>

Victor Klemperer (1926) also finds it difficult to determine the exact political status of Anatole France. On the one hand he appears to be an internationalist in principle and an active enemy of nationalism, Chauvinism, and militarism;<sup>186</sup> on the other hand, he accepts and opposes various social movements. In the face of such a record, the critic decides that it is impossible to know just where he stood politically.

Er war ein Gegner des dritten Napoleon. . . Gegner des Kaiserreiches, aber auch Gegner der Kommune, in späteren Jahren einmal Anhänger Boulangers und für das Meer begeistert, im Weltkrieg durchaus nationalistisch gesinnt, und vor und nach dem grossen Kriege dabei doch eifrigster Sozialist, Antimilitarist, Pazifist - was war er bei alledem im Kern seines Wesens? Ich glaube: in Bezug auf die Politik gar nichts, ein unpolitischer Mann, so leidenschaftlich er auch für eine bestimmte Partei eintrat. Sein persönliches Ideal ist das der Ruhe im Schönen

und im Betrachten; . . . 187

Klemperer adds that Anatole France was just as "wenig Politiker" as Voltaire and just as little revolutionary as his famous predecessor. But, in spite of it, just as Voltaire,

. . . er muss gegen Bindungen freier Gerechtigkeit ankämpfen bis zum Fanatismus.

What he did have that both Voltaire and Renan lacked was "ein warmes soziales Mitleid". 188

Anatole France's attitude toward war in general and the Great War in particular drew the attention of several German critics. Franz Farga discussed the subject as late as 1927. He states that Clemenceau prevented "Einer der grössten Schriftsteller Frankreichs der Stolz der Nation" from writing and saying anything against the war that was being waged. In fact, Anatole France was threatened with imprisonment. As soon as the conflict was over, however, Anatole France resumed his efforts to abolish war. While attending the Teachers' National Congress, he advised the delegates to stop hating the neighboring peoples. Farga reports further that during the war Anatole France visited his most trusted friends and proposed schemes to end the human slaughter. He had even written letters destined for Wilson and Poincaré in which was pointed out the futility of the continuation of war. Of course, no publisher would print these letters, and he was advised not to send them out. But, the longer the war continued the more he was convinced that his country, or any country, victor or loser, would eventually suffer the more on account of the conflict. Anatole France expressed hopes that in the event that his country should win the war, it would follow the Roman example and make friends with the conquered people. For this he was abused with harsh words. And, the day of his funeral is described by Farga thus:

Er wurde im Friedhof von Neuilly gebettet, und als sich der Zug durch die Champs Élysées bewegte, gab es zwar Neugierige, die den Weg säumten, aber an den prächtigen Palästen blieben alle Fenster geschlossen.<sup>189</sup>

Gottschalk's enumeration (1927) of Anatole France's activities for social betterment is lengthy and comprehensive. I quote in part:

Er kämpfte gegen Lüge und Verstellung und setzte sich für Wahrheit, Ehrlichkeit und Gerechtigkeit ein. Er lehrte die Völker Versöhnlichkeit und predigte den Frieden auf Erden. Auf einem im August 1919 abgehaltenen Lehrerkongress erklärte er: Ich kenne nur e i n e n Hass: den Hass gegen den Hass.<sup>190</sup>

And finally, Alfred Bönsch (1938) tells us that Anatole France was in reality an epicure and not a revolutionist. He condemned wars, social upheavals, revolutions in general and the French Revolution in particular. In this respect France was the opposite of J.-J. Rousseau, whom he disliked. Rousseau was the only 18th century man who did not find favor with Anatole France.<sup>191</sup> The following statement of Bönsch is fitting to end the discussion of this subject:

Er entschlief dieser Welt im Jahre 1924, und das Volk trauerte um ihn, da es glaubte, France wäre sein trauer Mitkämpfer gewesen. Er war es in der Tat, aber in einem anderen Sinne, als man sich vorstellte. France hatte es verstanden, diese Illusion bis zu Ende zu spielen. Aber im Grunde seines Herzens stand er dieser neuen Welt skeptisch gegenüber. Er war ein Mensch des 18. Jahrhunderts ein Epikuräer, ein Aufklärer, ein Aristokrat, aber kein Gleichheitsapostel.<sup>192</sup>

## 6. Literary Works.

E.R.Curtius (1924) characterizes the four volumes of La Vie littéraire, as well as all the works of Anatole France, as having "einen unvergleichlichen Reiz", in which "Philologie und Poesie reichen sich bei ihm die Hände". An encyclopedic learning is evident throughout his books. Galleries of portraits of librarians and of book-

lovers can be arrayed out of France's novels. The background of Sylvestre Bonnard is unquestionably "la cité des livres". His books always testify the fact that their author had the natural aptitude for conceiving antiquity vividly every time he read an old book or examined a relic of the past. Anatole France was generously favored by the Muses. Without making a dogma out of antiquity, he succeeded in turning into harmonious prose various facts and detailed information derived from the past.

Le Jardin d'Epicure is like a summer house, so to speak, of the mind and spirit of the writer. And, Les Bieux ont soif clearly shows what Anatole France thought of the Jacobins.<sup>193</sup>

In his second article (1924) Curtius expresses the feeling that France's books are extracts of a great number of books of other writers of the past, and that

Ein unmittelbares Ergreifen des Lebens liegt seiner Kunst ganz fern. Er formt nur Geformtes.

Curtius's comment on La Révolte des Anges is simply this:

. . . ein glänzende Roman, ein Meisterwerk des Siebzigjährigen, das eine Denkwürdige Satire der dritten französischen Republik unmittelbar vor dem Ausbruch des Weltkrieges ist.

The speeches and manifestoes collected and published under the title Vers les Temps meilleurs appeared to Curtius of considerable social significance, for he describes them thus:

Sie bedeuten einen Feldzug für wahre Demokratie, für Säuberung der Politik, für internationale Verständigung und friedlichen Menschheitsfortschritt.<sup>194</sup>

Auernheimer (1924) calls Le Livre de mon ami "bezauberndes Buch" and Le Lys rouge "zärtlicher Liebesroman". And, the Histoire Contemporaine is said to be a satirical description of French society under the Third Republic. In this last work, Anatole France is definitely a Republican and a friend of progress and enlighten-

ment, 195

The two novelettes Jocaste and Le Chat maigre (1879) are considered by Lerch (1925) as rather weak stories and reminiscent of the works of Flaubert, Daudet, and Dickens. In them, as in Les Désirs de Jean Servien (1882), the heroes are "lauter Narren". Before Thaïs, such works as L'Abeille (1883), Le Livre de mon ami (1885), Nos Enfants (1887), and the collection of stories under the title Balthazar (1889) are all "entzückend - aber nicht sehr original".<sup>196</sup> And Thaïs (1890), says the critic, "ist ohne Renan und Flaubert (Tantation de Sainte-Antoine) nicht zu denken".<sup>197</sup>

Victor Auburtin (1924) has indicated his predilection for France's works which are free from political tendency, such as: Thaïs, Les Dieux ont soif, La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque, and others which are mainly manifestations (Offenbarungen) of beauty and wisdom. In some of these, the critic states, often one sentence teaches a greater lesson than volumes of "Fachwerke".<sup>198</sup>

Otto Grautoff reported in 1925 that according to a popularity vote taken in America at the beginning of 1924, Anatole France was, after Maurice Maeterlinck and Romain Rolland, the most widely read writer. The critic added that France's books had a large circulation also in Germany.<sup>199</sup>

Disagreeing with the Danish literary historian, Georg Brandes, who had divided the whole literary activity of Anatole France into two periods and had asserted that Anatole France was different during these two periods, a fine ironist during the first and a political fighter during the second, Walther Kuchler (1925) declares that:

Die literarische Wirksamkeit von Anatole France erstreckt sich über mehr als 30 Jahre. Seine Hauptwerke fallen in die zwei letzten Jahrzehnte des 19. und in das erste Jahrzehnt des 20. Jahrhunderts. In allen diesen Jahren und in

allen Werken bleibt er im wesentlichen derselbe.<sup>200</sup>

Victor Klemperer (1926) calls Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard (1881) "Doppelorzählung". He agrees with Lerch that the second part of the book has little originality and the first part, La Bûche, reveals Anatole France at his best. ✓

Aber es ist doch schon der ganze France vorhanden, und der Vorwurf gartenlaubenhafter Reichlichkeit, den Lerch mit einigem Recht gegen den zweiten Teil des Buches erhebt, trifft eben nur diesen zweiten. Es ist charakteristisch, dass France an seiner Originalität dort Schaden erleidet, wo er in üblicher Weise ein geschlossenes Kunstwerk anstrebt, ein Gedicht, das nur Gedicht, eine Novelle, die nur Novelle sein will, wo er sich die Seitensprünge ins meditative Plaudern, ins halbe oder ganze Philosophieren einigermaßen untersagt. . . diese zweite Novelle ist wirklich bei aller Anmut ein klein wenig süßlich. Aber ist La Bûche, der erste und für sich bestehende Teil des Buches, auch wirklich so "belanglos", wie Lerch meint? Ich halte gerade dieses Stück für den ersten richtigen France.<sup>201</sup>

La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque (1893), according to Klemperer, is a mile-stone along the way of France's literary activity. With this book, Anatole France left his library and came out of the "Gelassenheit des Rokokotums". There is a great deal of agitation à la picaresque novel and a great deal of Rabelaisian epicurianism (Lebenslust) in the adventures of Jacques Tournebroke, the narrator of the story.<sup>202</sup> And finally,

. . . sein höchst locker gefügte Histoire contemporaine. . . zeigt ihn ganz und gar bei den Gegnern der Kirche, des Heeres und jeder Einrichtung, die er für reaktionär hält. Weite Strecken dieser Bücher sind polemische und satirische Essays über Zeitthemen.<sup>203</sup>

Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard is strongly recommended by L. Schorlemmer as a textbook. In an article (1927) on "Kulturkundliche Betrachtungen bei der Lektüre von A. France: Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard" various cultural themes are pointed out by the critic: ✓  
geographical beauty of France, significance of Paris with its intellectual life and educational activities and the river Seine as its

soul, a mother's influence on her children, the ideals of French women, politeness of the cultured French people, etc. All these informative and cultural features are found by Schorlemmer in Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard.<sup>204</sup> Furthermore:

Diese schlichte Erzählung hat nun A. France nicht nur mit dem ganzen Zauber seiner Sprache ausgestattet, sondern auch mit den Ausstrahlungen seines vielseitigen Geistes unkleidet, . . .<sup>205</sup>

La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc (1908) is one of France's books which remains, in comparison with his other works, less known to the German critics. Georg Ranschoff is one of the few who read the book in the translation of F. Maria Zweig (1926) and published in 1927 a book-review of it. Among other things, Ranschoff wrote as follows:

Anatole France, den man sich kaum ohne ironisches Lächeln denken kann, hat vor dieser ergreifenden Geschichte seiner "kleinen Heiligen" sich auch das leiseste spöttische Zwinkern versagt. Nur ab und zu ist etwas, wie ein unterdrücktes Lächeln stehen geblieben - geduldsam, beschwichtigend: "So werden wir leider niemals erfahren, ob sie Briefe vom Erzengel Michael oder von den heiligen Damen Katharina und Margareta erhalten hat."

Das Buch ist ein Meisterwerk - heute nach zwanzig Jahren braucht man das eigentlich nicht mehr zu sagen - eine Leistung der Sachlichkeit und künstlerischen Selbstbeherrschung ...<sup>206</sup>

Max Pribilla (1927) was less favorably impressed with La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, for he wrote as follows:

Zusammenfassend können und müssen wir sagen: Das Werk Frances bietet nicht objektive Geschichte, sondern ist durch und durch ein Tendenzwerk.<sup>207</sup>

Max Hirsch(1928), on the other hand, commends Anatole France for having written the life story of Joan and for the way he did it. The good features of the work are these:

Die Darstellung der geschichtlichen Ereignisse, der Schlachten und Belagerungen, der Bischöfe, des Kaisers und seiner Umgebung sind meisterhaft.<sup>208</sup>

Eindrucksvoll und ergreifend werden die Visionen des kleinen Hirtenmädchens und die schmutzigen Phantasiegebilde ihrer

richterlichen Gegner geschildert. . . Das Werk ist von der Seele geschrieben. Es mutet an wie ein Akt der Selbstbefreiung. Die Analyse von Johannas Wesensart aber ist ein Dokument der Frauenkunde.<sup>209</sup>

Les Noces Corinthiennes (1876) is of Parnassian form, according to Walter Gottschalk (1927), and is "sein Meisterwerk als Dichter im engeren Sinn". Although the collection of poems is not strictly speaking original - Goethe had treated the same theme in the Braut von Corinth - "Doch wahrt sich der Franzose seine Eigenart. . . Ein eigenartiger Duft antiken Weihrauchs strömt uns aus ihm entgegen". With the publication of Jocaste and Le Chat maigre in 1879, Anatole France had given up writing poetry. This Gottschalk regrets, because as a poet Anatole France was very promising.<sup>210</sup> Gottschalk's brief comments on these two novelettes are the following:

Die Schilderung der leichtlebigen Völkchens, das es zu keiner wahren Künstlerschaft bringt, erfolgt halb komisch, halb satirisch. - Beide Novellen lassen uns im Grunde kühl. Keine Person erweckt unser Interesse, geschweige denn unsere Sympathie. Die Spannung erlahmt streckenweise. France hat sich noch nicht selbst gefunden, er ist noch ein Suchender, ein Tastender. Nur an ganz wenigen Stellen zeigt sich schon die künstlerische Eigenart des Autors.<sup>211</sup>

Gottschalk reports that at the time he wrote his article, Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard was France's most popular book in Germany. Every reader remembered vividly the kind old man Bonnard who possessed an understanding mind and a youthful heart.<sup>212</sup> Gottschalk agrees with other critics on some points of this book and disagrees on other points, as the following statement clearly shows:

Alle Kritiker haben richtig erkannt, dass sich Anatole France in dem Professor Bonnard zum ersten Male selbst zeichnet. Aber es ist irrig zu behaupten, er habe dem Gelehrten seine eigene pessimistische Weltanschauung in den Mund gelegt. Sylvestre wird ebenso wenig von einseitigem Pessimismus beseelt wie Anatole in diesem Abschnitt seines dichterischen Schaffens. Der Gelehrte tritt uns als Humorist in des Wortes edelster Bedeutung entgegen. Unter Humor verstehen wir jene Weltanschauung, die uns Menschen am besten gerecht wird. Sie leugnet nicht unsere vielfachen Fehler und Schwächen, sie

sieht aber auch das gute Wollen in uns. . . Mit Anatole France ist zugleich Sylvestre Bonnard ein echter Menschenfreund.<sup>213</sup>

The novel Les Désirs de Jean Servien (1882) does not fall, according to Gottschalk, into the period of humorous writings of Anatole France. It is a "roman d'analyse" and it was composed in diary form ten years previous to its publication. In it we have France's own recording of the feelings, aspirations, and longings of his youthful soul.<sup>214</sup>

Gottschalk's summary observations of La Vie littéraire are these:

Wollen wir den Gesamteindruck seiner Vie littéraire festhalten, so ist es zu sagen, dass wir France weit genauer kennen lernen als die Werke, die er zu besprechen hat. . . Wer aber genauer zusieht, muss zu der Überzeugung gelangen, dass die vier Bände der Vie littéraire nicht immer ausgeglichen sind, dass bisweilen Gedanken geäußert werden, die zu dem Grundton des kritischen Werkes im Gegensatz oder doch wenigstens mit ihm nicht ganz im Einklang stehen.<sup>215</sup>

Thais (1891), in Gottschalk's opinion, is a novel "psychologisch fein aufgebaut und sprachlich hervorragend".<sup>216</sup>

La Rôtisserie de la reine Pédauque (1893) is considered by Gottschalk as the chief novel of the skeptical kind written during the second period of France's literary production, and, "Formal betrachtet gehört er zweifellos zu den besten Leistungen des Schriftstellers. . . die Darstellung wirkt äusserst lebendig".<sup>217</sup> After presenting the pros and cons of the leading character, Abbé Coignard, and mentioning the fact that some critics found the novel serene while others thought it grave and sober, Gottschalk declares that "Bis kurz vor Schluss des Romans bleibt uns so ein herber, bitterer Nachgeschmack im Munde".<sup>218</sup>

Gottschalk's estimate of Le Lys rouge (1894) is enclosed in two short and pointed sentences:

Der Wert von Le lys rouge kann nicht im Stofflichen liegen. Er beruht auf den geistvollen Gesprächen einiger Personen und den einzig schönen Naturschilderungen. 219

L'Histoire contemporaine as a whole is considered a great work by this German critic. In this group of four novels, pessimistic depictions seem to predominate. Therefore, the critic chooses to designate the years during which these novels were written (1897-1901) as ". . . zweiten Unterabschnitt der zweiten Hauptepoche des Franceschen Romanwerkes die pessimistisch-satirische Periode". Discussing these four novels further the critic writes:

Gewisse Kapitel von M. Bergeret à Paris stehen nicht auf künstlerischer Höhe, sondern verraten in unäusserst störender Weise den sozialistischen Parteistungen. Sie sind weiter nichts als Programmreden. Für den Fortbestand des Romans bedeutet diese Tatsache eine grosse Gefahr. 220

Of the few books of Anatole France about which Gottschalk is more or less enthusiastic, La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc is one. His comment on it is this:

Künstlerisch betrachtet steht die "Vie de Jeanne d'Arc durchaus auf der erwarteten Höhe. France zeigt sich auch hier als entzückender Erzähler, grosser Stimmungskünstler und feinsinniger Psychologe. 221

L'Île des Pingouins (1908) is called a powerful and oppressive satire on Christianity and modern civilization. In this novel we see Anatole France's change in political sense:

Er ist vom Sozialismus zum radikalen Kommunismus abgeschwenkt. Nihilismus und Anarchismus sprechen auf Schritt und Tritt aus der "Insel der Pinguine", dieser grandiosen Travestie Frankreichs. 222

France's novel on the French Revolution of 1789, Les Dieux ont soif (1912), is considered by Gottschalk superior to La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc (1908) from the standpoint of composition, but not a historical novel in the full sense of the word.

In seiner "Vie de Jeanne d'Arc" war France Geschichtsforscher, hier in "Les dieux ont soif" ist er weit mehr Künstler.

als ersteres. Er zeichnet nur Episoden, die vielleicht charakteristisch sind, nicht aber die ganze Geschichte der grossen Revolution. Von Vollständigkeit kann keine Rede sein, denn die Massen setzt er nicht in Bewegung. 223

In Gottschalk's opinion, La Révolte des Anges (1913) is France's last great novel. However, he agrees with Paul Wiegler in that this work is actually France's paradise lost.

"La révolte des anges" stellt die grandiose, aber unheimliche und bedrückende Satire eines völlig Unglücklichen dar, der den unzulänglichen Jaldabaoth der Christen verleumdet und schmählt. Zugleich haben wir auch hier noch einmal den ganzen Anatole France der satirisch-pessimistischen Periode, den alternden Dichter mit seiner Spottlust, seiner Sinnlichkeit und seiner tiefen Menschenverachtung. 224

Valerin Marcu (1929) applies a metaphor to the works of Anatole France in general which is quite appropriate and well-conceived.

France ist der Magiker, der Zauberünstler des Materialismus, der die Steine und die Knochen der Karthager Hannibels durch die Berührung mit seiner Vernunft zum Leben erweckt; seine Bücher sind der Rahmen eines Pantheons, in dem die Kleinen und die Grossen, die Gemüseverkäufer und die orientalischen Königinnen mit demselben Rechte ruhen. . . der Gang durch das Labyrinth der Gedanken, Nuancen, und Reflexe zur notwendigen Einseitigkeit der Aktion, zur Res publica, bildet erst den ganzen Anatole France. Er verkündet ein Welt ereignis: der Klassizismus, eine alte gloriöse Kultur, begrüsst in der integralen Revolution die neuen Elementen der Gesellschaft. 225

Alfred Pillet detects (1931) the influences of the Parnassian school of poetry in Anatole France's Poèmes dorés (1873) and characterizes them in the following manner:

. . . sie sind klug und fein und kühl, auffallend unpersönlich, eine Lyrik ohne Liebe, der reinste Leconte de Lisle.

Les Noces corinthiennes (1876) Pillet declares "eine freie Nachdichtung von Goethes Braut von Korinth". 226

Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard marks for Pillet the beginning of Anatole France's maturity as an artist and popularity as a writer. Pillet finds the two parts La Bûche and Jeanne Alexandre, which make up the novel, loosely connected by the personality of Bonnard.

The critic characterizes the first part as "einer nicht bedeutenden, aber lebenswürdigen und heiteren Novelle", and the second part he speaks of as "einer grösseren, tiefer angelegten und anspruchsvolleren, romanartigen Erzählung".<sup>227</sup>

Pillet designates La Pâtisserie de la reine Pédauque as the ripest work of Anatole France. The following sentences summarize the critic's views of this novel:

Hier steht alles auf gleicher Höhe: die Erzählung, bald heiter behaglich, bald atemlos drängend, manchmal sich verzweigend und nie sich verlierend, die Charakteristik der Personen, die in ihrer Menschlichkeit gesehen sind, in der Dumpfheit ihrer Instinkte, aber auch in der Grösse ihrer Ideale und selbst ihrer Manieren, die Fülle und Mannigfaltigkeit der Gedanken, die Anmut des Stils, die durch die Schlichtheit und Naivität des Erzählers Jacques Tournebroke noch künstlerischer wird.<sup>228</sup>

Pillet examines most of France's works, some briefly, some at length, without making an appraisal of many of them. But, he has something to say about La Révolte des Angas.

Ich würde es nicht für das grösste Werk des Dichters ansehen: dazu fehlt mir wenigstens der Sinn des Ganzen; denn dass dieser Sinn wirklich der wäre, dass die ganze Empörung der Engel gegen Gott - oder vielmehr gegen den alten Demiurgos unserer kleinen Welt, den beschränkt-tückischen Jaldabaoth und seine himmlischen Heerscharen - k e i n e n Sinn hat, weil doch auf den Sieg Satans einmal die Rache Jahves folgen würde, das scheint mir nur ein rettender Einfall, ein annehmbarer Schluss:<sup>229</sup>

Alfred Bönsch (1958) considers Jean Servien an autobiography with a thin coat of literary varnish. Citing Giraud's <sup>230</sup> suggestion that a comparison between Jean Servien and Daudet's Le Petit Chose may be easily established, Bönsch points out the similarity between the desires of Jean Servien and the "Leiden" of young Werther.

Die Ähnlichkeit geht über die parallele Fassung der Titel hinaus. Goethe und France haben sich frühzeitig selber dargestellt. Goethe hat e i n Erlebnis seiner Jugend, und France hat d a s Erlebnis seiner Jugend in eine durchsichtige Form gegossen. Es ist überraschend, dass beide ihren Helden den Weg ihrer eigenen Erlebnisse gehen lassen und ihn am Ende in

die Katastrophe stürzen.<sup>231</sup>

Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard is called by Bönsch a "menschenfreundlichstes Werk". At the same time, the critic finds its composition very imperfect, because:

Man kann das Buch in keine literarische Ordnung einreihen. Eine Handvoll Tagebuchaufzeichnungen und zwei lange Episoden, die nur den gleichen Helden, aber sonst nichts gemeinsam haben.<sup>232</sup>

Bönsch is the only German critic, whose comments on Anatole France's works I have examined, who has expressed his opinion of Le Puits de sainte Claire. Judging by his reaction to this book, the novel is of greater importance than is generally known. Here is what Bönsch wrote about it:

Nirgends ist er vielleicht so tiefsinnig, so treuherzig, so wahr, so edel und so einfältig wie in dieser Erzählung. Er zeigt sich als ein Dialektiker von unheimlicher Scharfsichtigkeit, als ein Sophist von überragenden Dimensionen, als ein Logiker des Paradoxen, als ein überlegener Spieler mit Worten und Begriffen: Die Ironie schlummert tief im Grunde dieses Brunnens.<sup>233</sup>

Bönsche's observations on Anatole France's works in general are these:

- a) They lack a definite form and hence it is impossible to classify some of them.
- b) They were composed not so much for the sake of treatment of themes and character depiction as for the purpose of expressing ideas.
- c) There is very little of the fable element in them.
- d) The works generally show that their author was a moralist and critic rather than a novelist.
- e) France's books are sprinkled with numerous anecdotes.
- f) After the anecdotes, France had a predilection for the novelette, which he used as a vehicle for his thought.

g) As to his novels, Bönsch quotes Klabund<sup>234</sup> who says that they are "beladen mit ausserkünstlerischem Ballast, mit Kunsttheorien, Moralitäten, pädagogischen Problemen und tausend anderen Peinlichkeiten. . . Romane sind nur annähernd vollkommen".<sup>235</sup>

1. Cf. Supra, p. 4 in the Introduction.
2. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Kölnische Zeitung, October 13, 1924.
3. Ibid.
4. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
5. Eduard Wechsler (at the University of Berlin since 1920), "Anatole France," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
6. Arthur Bloesser, "Anatole France," Die Weltbühne, 1924, 20. J., p. 667.
7. Arthur Bloesser, "Anatole France in Pantoffeln," Frankfurter Zeitung, January 31, 1925.
8. Raoul Auernheimer, "Anatole France," Neue Freie Presse, October 14, 1924.
9. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, October 15, 1924.
10. Ibid.
11. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Glocke, October 16, 1924.
12. Heinrich Mann, "Skepsis und Liebe," Frankfurter Zeitung, October 21, 1924.
13. K. O. Erdmann, "Anatole France," Kunstwart, XXXVIII(1924), 111.
14. Ibid., p. 113.
15. Ibid., p. 115.
16. Ibid., p. 111.
17. Max Hochdorf, "Anatole France," Sozialistische Monatshefte, XXX (1924), 724.
18. Ibid., pp. 724-725.
19. Ibid., p. 725.
20. Johannes Thomas, "Anatole France, der Mensch der Vergangenheit," Nochland, 1925, 22. J., I, p. 492.
21. Walther Kückler, "Anatole France," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXXIII (1925), 12.
22. Ibid., p. 13.
23. Ibid., p. 24.
24. Eugen Lerch, "Das Problem Anatole France," Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung, I (1925), 74.
25. Ibid., p. 84.
26. Richard Schaukal, "Anatole France: Gedanken an seinem Grabmal," Orplid, 1925, 11. J., Heft 7., p. 270.
27. Ibid., p. 269.
28. Ibid., p. 272.
29. Kasimir Edschmid, "Anatole France," Die Horen, I (1925), 85.
30. Ibid., p. 86.
31. Hermann Engel, "Anatole France," Zeitschrift für französische und englische Unterrichtung, XXIV (1925), 14.
32. See Infra, p. 112.
33. Jakob Overmans, "Anatole France oder Maurice Barrès?" Stimmungen der Zeit, CX (1926), 140.
34. H.W. Eppelsheimer, "L'Âme livresque - Anatole France," Jahrbücher Deutscher Bibliophilen, 1927, J. 14/15, p. 62
35. Walter Gottschalk, "Anatole France, der Dichter und sein Werk," Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, L (1927), 86-87.
36. Supra, p. 101.
37. Walter Gottschalk, Op. cit., p. 87.
38. Ibid., p. 128.

39. Ibid., p. 129.
40. Alfred Pillet, "Anatole France," ZfFSL, LIV (1931), 9-10.
41. Ibid., p. 18.
42. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
43. Robert Blanck, "Anatole France als Stilkünster in seinen Romanen," Arbeiten zur Romanischen Philologie, 1934, Nr. 7, p. 2.
44. Ibid., p. 3.
45. Heinrich W. Kirchhoff, "Selbstdarstellung bei Anatole France," Arbeiten zur Romanischen Philologie, 1935, Nr. 23, p. 2.
46. Ibid., p. 3.
47. Ibid., p. 9.
48. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
49. Ibid., p. 16.
50. Ibid., p. 3.
51. Ibid., p. 52.
52. Alfred Bönsch, Anatole France und das achtzehnte Jahrhundert, 1935, p. 3.
53. Ibid., p. 29.
54. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Kölnische Zeitung, October 13, 1924.
55. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
56. Ibid.
57. Raoul Auernheimer, "Anatole France," Neue Freie Presse, October 14, 1924.
58. Eduard Wechsler, "Anatole France," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
59. Victor Auburtin, "Anatole France," Berliner Tageblatt, October 14, 1924.
60. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, October 15, 1924.
61. Ibid.
62. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Glocke, 1924, 10 J., p. 942.
63. Max Hochdorf, "Anatole France," Sozialistische Monatshefte, XXX (1924) 725.
64. Johannes Thomas, "Anatole France, der Mensch der Vergangenheit," Hochland, 1924-'25, 22 J., I, 494.
65. Walther Kückler, "Anatole France," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXXIII (1925), 24.
66. Kasimir Edschmid, "Anatole France," Die Horen, I (1925), 83.
67. Richard Schaukal, "Anatole France: Die Vormittage der Villa Said. Gespräche," Literarische Wochenschrift, 1925, Nr. 13, p. 409.
68. Richard Schaukal, "Anatole France: Gedanken an seinem Grabmal," Orplid, 1925, 11 J., Heft 7, p. 271.
69. Eugen Lerch, "Das Problem Anatole France," Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung, I (1925), 81.
70. Ibid., p. 85.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 86.
73. Ibid., p. 87.
74. Ibid.
75. Victor Klemperer, Die Französische Literatur von Napoleon bis zur Gegenwart, 1926, V, Teil 2., p. 150.
76. Ibid., p. 154.
77. Ibid., p. 151.
78. Ibid., p. 158.

79. Ibid., p. 157.
80. Ibid., pp. 160-161.
81. Walter Gottschalk, "Anatole France der Dichter und sein Werk," ZfFSL, I (1927), 85.
82. Ibid., p. 97.
83. Ibid., p. 115.
84. Ibid., p. 126.
85. Ibid., p. 128.
86. Ibid., p. 127.
87. H.W. Appelsheimer, "L'Age livresque - Anatole France," Jahrbuch Deutscher Bibliophilen und Literaturfreunde, 1927, J. 14/15, p. 60.
88. Eugen Lerch, "Anatole France und sein Sekretär," Berliner Tageblatt, August 3, 1928.
89. Valerin Marcu, "Anatole France oder die Tradition in der Literatur," Schatten der Geschichte, 1929, p. 126.
90. Ibid., pp. 126-7.
91. Alfred Pillet, "Anatole France," ZfFSL, LIV (1931), 32.
92. Gabriel Des Hons's Anatole France et Jean Racine; ou, la clé de l'Art Francien was written as a thesis at the University of the Sorbonne and published in 1927 by A. Colin in Paris.
93. Traugott Fuchs, "Des Hons, Gabriel: Anatole France et Jean Racine ou la clé de l'Art Francien," ZfFSL, LIV (1931), 354-355.
94. Willy Lewinsohn, "Der Geist des Widerspruchs - Anatole France," Neuphilologische Monatsschrift, II (1931), 182.
95. Robert Blanck, "Anatole France als Stilkünstler in seinen Romanen," Arbeiten zur Romanischen Philologie, 1934, Nr. 7, p. 2.
96. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
97. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
98. Ibid., p. 17.
99. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
100. Ibid., p. 100.
101. Ibid., p. 135.
102. Alfred Bünsch, Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert, 1938, pp. 24-25.
103. Ibid., p. 74.
104. Ibid., p. 243.
105. Ibid., p. 244.
106. Ibid., p. 241.
107. Ibid., p. 238.
108. Ibid., p. 246.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., p. 241.
111. Ibid., p. 46.
112. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
113. Herman Engel, "Anatole France," ZfFEU, XXIV (1925), 13.
114. Victor Klemperer, Die Französische Literatur von Napoleon bis zur Gegenwart, 1926, p. 151.
115. Walter Gottschalk, "Anatole France, der Dichter und sein Werk," ZfFSL, I (1927), 101-102.
116. Eugen Lerch, "Das Problem Anatole," Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung, I (1925), 70.
117. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France," Vossische Zeitung, October 13, 1924.

118. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France als politischer Denker," Neue Züricher Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
119. K. O. Erdmann, "Anatole France," Kunstwart, XXXVIII (1924), 114.
120. Ibid., p. 113.
121. Walther Kückler, "Anatole France," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXXIII (1925), 15.
122. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
123. Kasimir Edschmid, "Anatole France," Die Horen, I (1925), 84.
124. Hermann Engel, "Anatole France," ZfFEU, XXIV (1925), 14.
125. Arthur Bloesser, "Anatole France in Pantoffeln," Frankfurter Zeitung, January 31, 1925.
126. Ibid.
127. Jakob Overmans, "Anatole France oder Maurice Barrès?" Stimmen der Zeit, CX (1926), 130-131.
128. Victor Klemperer, Die Französische Literatur von Napoleon bis zur Gegenwart, 1926, p. 153.
129. Walther Gottschalk, "Anatole France, der Dichter und sein Werk," ZfFSL, L (1927), 128.
130. Valerin Marcu, "Anatole France oder die Tradition in der Literatur," Schatten der Geschichte, 1929, p. 132.
131. Alfred Pillet, "Anatole France," ZfFSL, LIV (1931), 34.
132. Ibid., p. 35.
133. Robert Blanck, "Anatole France als Stilkenstler in seinen Romanen," Arbeiten zur Romanischen Philologie, 1934, Nr. 7, p. 4.
134. Alfred Bönsch, Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert, 1938, p. 47.
135. Ibid., p. 243.
136. Ibid., p. 156.
137. Ibid., p. 244.
138. Ibid., p. 86.
139. Ibid., p. 81.
140. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Kölnische Zeitung, October 13, 1924.
141. Ibid.
142. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
143. K. O. Erdmann, "Anatole France," Kunstwart, XXXVIII(1924), 115.
144. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France," Vossische Zeitung, October 13, 1924.
145. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, October 13, 1924.
146. Hermann Wendel, "Anatole France," Die Glocke, 1924, Nr. 29, pp. 943-4.
147. Rudolf Keyser, "Anatole France," Die Neue Rundschau, XXXV (1924) Part 2, pp. 1185-86.
148. Arthur Bloesser, "Anatole France in Pantoffeln," Frankfurter Zeitung, January 31, 1925.
149. Eugen Lorch, "Das Problem Anatole France," Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung, I (1925), 74.
150. Ibid., pp. 76-77.
151. Kasimir Edschmid, "Anatole France," Die Horen, I (1925), 84.
152. Victor Klemperer, Die Französische Literatur von Napoleon bis zur Gegenwart, 1926, p. 151.
153. Ibid., p. 156.
154. Walter Gottschalk, "Anatole France, der Dichter und sein Werk," ZfFSL, L (1927), 91.

155. Ibid., p. 129.
156. Ibid., p. 128.
157. Richard Schaukal, "Anatole France," Die Zeit, 1930, I.J., p. 430.
158. Robert Blanck, "Anatole France als Stilkmstler in seinen Romanen," Arbeiten zur Romanischen Philologie, 1934, p. 5.
159. Heinrich W. Kirchhoff, "Selbstdarstellung bei Anatole France," Arbeiten zur Romanischen Philologie, 1935, Nr. 23, p. 3.
160. Ibid., p. 4.
161. Alfred Bönsch, Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert, 1938, p. 30.
162. Ibid., p. 246.
163. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Kölnische Zeitung, October 13, 1924.
164. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
165. Paul Block, "Anatole France," Berliner Tageblatt, October 13, 1924.
166. Eduard Wechsler, "Anatole France," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
167. Raoul Auernheimer, "Anatole France," Neue Freie Presse, October 14, 1924.
168. Paul Wiegler, "Anatole France als politischer Denker," Neue Zürische Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
169. Fritz Schotthöfer, "Anatole France," Frankfurter Zeitung, October 15, 1924.
170. Ibid.
171. The Futurists constituted a school of art and literature which disregarded all academic rules and restrictions. They originated in Italy about 1909.  
The Cubists reduced all forms in art to mere schematic outline and lines. They came into being in 1910.  
The Dadaists are probably the ultra-modernists of the Futurists and the Cubists. Their movement began in 1917.  
(Larouse du XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle, ed. of 1928-'29 in six vols.)
172. Hermann Wendol, "Anatole France," Die Glocke, 1924, Nr. 29, p. 943.
173. Ibid., p. 944.
174. Ibid., p. 945.
175. Ibid., p. 946.
176. K. O. Wrdmann, "Anatole France," Kunstwart, XXXVIII(1924), 159.
177. Ibid., pp. 159-160.
178. Eduard Lerch, "Das Problem Anatole France," Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung, I (1925), 81-82.
179. Ibid., p. 84.
180. Walther Kückler, "Anatole France," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXXIII (1925), 18.
181. Ibid., p. 19.
182. Ibid., p. 20.
183. Ibid., p. 24.
184. Ibid., p. 20.
185. Hermann Engel, "Anatole France," ZfFuEU, XXIV (1925), 15.
186. Victor Klemperer, Die Französische Literatur von Napoleon bis zur Gegenwart, 1926, p. 150.
187. Ibid., pp. 152-3.
188. Ibid., p. 154.

189. Franz Farga, "Anatole France und der Weltkrieg," Neue Freie Presse, September 18, 1927.
190. Walter Gottschalk, "Anatole France, der Dichter und sein Werk," ZfFSL, L (1927), 127.
191. Alfred Bönsch, Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert, 1938, p. 246.
192. Ibid., p. 207.
193. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Kölnische Zeitung, October 13, 1924.
194. Ernest Robert Curtius, "Anatole France," Allgemeine Zeitung, October 14, 1924.
195. Raoul Auernheimer, "Anatole France," Neue Freie Presse, October 14, 1924.
196. Eduard Lerch, "Das Problem Anatole France," Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung, I (1925), 78-79.
197. Ibid., p. 86. (See also Alfred Pillet, "Anatole France," ZfFSL, LIV (1931), 21.
198. Victor Auburtin, "Anatole France," Berliner Tageblatt, October 14, 1924.
199. Otto Grautoff, "Anatole France und die Jugend," Orplid, 1925, 2.J.Heft 1, p. 40.
200. Walther Kückler, "Anatole France," Die Neueren Sprachen, XXXIII (1925), 22.
201. Victor Klemperer, Die Französische Literatur von Napoleon bis zur Gegenwart, 1926, pp. 154-155.
202. Ibid., p. 158.
203. Ibid., p. 161.
204. L. Schorlemmer, "Kulturkundliche Betrachtungen bei der Lektüre von Anatole France: Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard," ZfFuEU, XXVI (1927), 415-433.
205. Ibid., p. 417.
206. Georg Ranschoff, "Das Leben der Heiligen Johanna von Anatole France," (Übersetzt und bearbeitet von F. Marie Zweig.) Die Literatur, XXX (1927), 55.
207. Max Pribilla, "Anatole France als Geschichtschreiber," Stimmen der Zeit, CXII (1927), 41.
208. Max Hirsch, "Anatole France: Das Leben der heiligen Johanna," Archiv für Frauenkunde, XIV (1928), 157.
209. Ibid., p. 158.
210. Walter Gottschalk, "Anatole France, der Dichter und sein Werk," ZfFSL, L (1927), 94-95.
211. Ibid., p. 96.
212. Ibid., p. 97.
213. Ibid., pp. 97-98.
214. Ibid., p. 98.
215. Ibid., pp. 102-103.
216. Ibid., p. 106.
217. Ibid., p. 108.
218. Ibid., p. 109.
219. Ibid., p. 111.
220. Ibid., p. 116.
221. Ibid., p. 119.
222. Ibid., p. 120.
223. Ibid., p. 123.
224. Ibid., p. 123.

225. Valerin Marcu, "Anatole France oder die Tradition in der Literatur," Schatten der Geschichte, 1929, pp. 129-130.
226. Alfred Pillet, "Anatole France," Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur, LIV (1951), 13.
227. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
228. Ibid., p. 23.
229. Ibid., p. 29.
230. Victor Giraud (1868- ), French historian, essayist, editor of Revue des Deux Mondes, author of Les Maitres de l'heure (1914).
231. Alfred Bönsch, Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert, 1938, pp. 41-42.
232. Ibid., p. 48.
233. Ibid., p. 162.
234. Klabund is the pen name of a German writer whose real name is Alfred Henschke (1890-1928).
235. Alfred Bönsch, op. cit., pp. 239-240.

## VI. CONCLUSION

It is sufficiently evident, from the material presented, that the German critics gave Anatole France the consideration that he as a man of letters merited. At first the critics were rather cautious, concise in their criticism, and relatively few in number. If we take the year 1889 as a point of departure, before which date no German criticism was published as far as it is possible to determine, we may say that France's fortune in Germany was slow in coming. In 1889 he was forty-five years of age and had already written and published about a dozen books. His Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard (1881), the best of the earlier works, and Le Livre de mon ami (1885) had made his name widely known at home and abroad. Fr. Kreyssig's mention of Anatole France in Geschichte der französischen National-literatur (1889) is very brief and inconspicuous. Kreyssig deigned to include his name among the lesser writers of France.

During the ten years from 1889 to the close of the Dreyfus case in 1899, major German critics published only three articles which may be considered as critical studies of Anatole France and his works. Of these three articles, the first one, that of Hermann Bahr in 1894, is a good example of German objective criticism. Centering his attention mainly on Anatole France's literary criticism, Bahr rightly asserts that the criticism of Anatole France is entirely subjective and impressionistic. Eduard Engel, another literary historian, gave more space to Anatole France in his Geschichte der französischen Literatur (1897) than Kreyssig did eight years before,

without contributing however very much to the beginning of German criticism on Anatole France.

M. Beer's article of 1898 is the first German study which treats with appreciation the versatility of Anatole France; and, A. Brunnemann's contribution the following year, 1899, is the only detailed study of France's works in general and Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard in particular that was made during this first period. In my judgment, Brunnemann shows more understanding and appreciation of Anatole France and his literary works than any other critic before 1900. Other articles and book-reviews which appeared during the first period are on the whole of little importance.

Anatole France's participation in the Dreyfus case during 1898 and 1899, contributed toward creating more interest in his works among the German critics. Beginning with 1900, during which year at least seven articles or book-reviews appeared, German criticism became quite voluminous. It increased in volume and importance until the outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914. During this period, many articles in which Anatole France was studied from different points of view appeared in various German publications. Most of the writers of these articles maintained a very favorable impression. Some of them even had great enthusiasm for Anatole France as a writer. Among these numerous commentators, ten or twelve are of national fame and a few of international renown. It should be noted that none of the major critics during this second period held an adverse attitude toward Anatole France. With the exception of the war period this is true regarding German criticism as a whole. Hostile views were expressed only by the second-rate critics.

Arthur Eloesser, famous literary historian and critic and first

of the major students of France's works in point of time during the second period, is, without any doubt, one of the German critics who are scholarly in their interpretation of Anatole France. Eloesser's emphasis is rightly put on the idea that Anatole France was distinctly a Latinist in taste, style, culture, and turn of mind. Regarding Anatole France's merits as a critic, Eloesser disagrees with Hermann Bahr and pronounces Anatole France one of the finest of modern literary critics.

Disagreement on some points is in reality the marked feature of the critics. In general they agree as to France's achievements as a stylist, but they express divergent opinion about his writing of novels, telling of stories, and evaluating the literary works of others, as well as his poetic inspiration. For Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, France's novels are disconnected episodes; for Hans Lindau, on the other hand, they are better than most modern novels. Lindau also maintains that France's portrayal of characters is masterful and that his characters remain vivid in the memory of the reader. Eduard Engel however is of the opinion that Anatole France lacked skill for developing a character and that the ending of his novels is always weak. While Engel claims that Anatole France could not tell a story, R.W. Meyer declares that he successfully combined the old English story of adventure with the philosophical tale of Voltaire. Eduard Engel and Ludwig Hatvany expressly indicate that Anatole France was not a poet; Eduard Schön, however, allows him a sensitive and poetic soul, if not "poetische Fundamentalgeföhle".

In my judgment, Eduard Schön, the author of two long studies, one on La Vie littéraire and the other on Die Romane der Histoire contemporaine, is the most scholarly critic of this second period.

First, Schön displays a fair estimate of Anatole France the man. In the second place, this critic seems to have drawn information directly from the works of Anatole France rather than from other critics, German or French. And in the third place, Schön displays no bias or prejudice; his viewpoint is that of a learned man who seeks first to understand, then to inform. He is an admirer of Anatole France's style without being over-enthusiastic about it. Discussing France's art of writing novels, Schön does not merely comment on whether the novels are good or bad, he carefully points out in detail their good points, or the defects if there be any. Schön agrees with Hermann Bahr that France's criticism is purely subjective. His explanation of this, however, is thoughtful and well-founded. He does not expect objective criticism from a writer who is primarily an artist.

Most of the critics are baffled at France's philosophic ideas; they find so many contradictions and paradoxes in them that they are at a loss as to his "Weltanschauung". Hans Hagen thinks that no philosophy was acceptable to his ever-changing point of view. Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld characterize France's philosophy by the word "Nichtwissen". But Schön, with whom Hans Land is in accord, considers Anatole France a philosopher by nature. He says that France took everything philosophically, even all the systems of various philosophies. Here Schön shows a deep insight into the meaning of France's thoughts. Whereas other critics do not think that France's philosophy is tenable, Schön and Land consider it a true philosophy with a firm belief in the progress of mankind.

As might be expected, there is no agreement among the critics regarding Anatole France's various literary works. It is impossible to make any reasonable estimate as to which one of the novels is pre-

ferred by most critics, since not all of them discuss all the books that Anatole France wrote. During this second period, Le Lys rouge appears to be in the lime-light. A. Brunnemann describes it as the most colorful of French passionate novels, and Arthur Eloesser calls it France's "Meisterwerk". An anonymous reviewer of M. Bergeret à Paris thinks it an excellent sketch of contemporary life. Eduard Engel however would not admit it to the class of novels which constitute works of art. Hans Hagen considers L'Histoire contemporaine a skillful depiction of French society during the 1890's. Eduard Schön finds all four volumes of this collection without unity both in composition and in action. At least five German critics concur in their estimate of Sur la Pierre Blanche; all of them, Ludwig Hatvany, Ernst Heilborn, Josef Hofmiller, Hugo Fick, and Emilie Schomann, would not place it in the category of either novels or philosophical works. Not much has been written on L'Ile de Pingouins. My suspicion is that the book was too difficult for interpretation. That it satirizes French history is the most that was said about it.

On the whole, German criticism published between 1900 and the Great War is favorable and distinctly individualistic. Only the minor critics show dependence upon sources of information other than Anatole France's own works. The major critics as a rule base their opinion on what they have derived from reading the works themselves, either in the original or in a translation.

Anatole France's future seemed indeed very bright in Germany just before the declaration of the Great War. Eduard Schön's scholarly and comprehensive study in 1911 and another in 1913, Richard Meyer's book, Die Weltliteratur im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert (1913) in which Anatole France is given a prominent place, articles by Ernst

Heilborn, Josef Hofmiller, and Franz Blei, as well as a large number of studies coming from critics of lesser fame, indicate the growth of interest in him. Unfortunately the international conflict descended like a thunderbolt and annihilated many good things, among them the growth of interest in Anatole France's works. As soon as war was declared, German interest in Anatole France became practically dead. Only three articles appeared in 1915 and every one of them in a hostile tone. As far as I am able to determine, 1916 brought forth only unimportant comments that were written by a certain E. Goth on Sur la Voie glorieuse, and 1917 registered nothing.

Although German interest in Anatole France revived after the cessation of national hostilities, the war attitude lingered somewhat until his death on October 12, 1924. During the post-war years while Anatole France lived, no major critic devoted any space to him. Of the several articles or notices that were published during this time, Eugen Kohler's comment (1918) on the ageing French writer is somewhat adverse in tone. Several others are tinged with the socialistic mood of the time, and the article of Friedrich Oppeln-Bronikowski (1923) openly accuses Anatole France of plagiarism. It seems that it was indeed unfortunate for Anatole France to finish the course of his life during the post-war years. Had he lived in the time of Victor Hugo or of Flaubert his fame in Germany would have been much greater.

German interest, which was revived on the day following his death, was for a time quite enthusiastic. Numerous articles began to appear in the German newspapers and soon lengthy studies were published in various periodicals. By the end of 1924, nearly two score of articles were printed, most of them coming of course from minor critics, but quite a number from renowned scholars. Among the latter

appear such names as Ernst Robert Curtius, perhaps the most important German scholar of Romance languages and literatures; K.O. Erdmann; Kasimir Edschmid, the novelist, dramatist, and leader of the expressionistic movement in Germany; Arthur Eloesser, the literary historian; Heinrich Mann; M. Passarge, translator of Ibsen; René Schickele, Alsatian writer; Eduard Wechsler, a professor in Berlin; and a few articles of distinct merit published anonymously.

It was indeed a fact that in order to live in Germany Anatole France had to die. German interest in him continued strong also during the following three years. Kasimir Edschmid and Arthur Eloesser contributed other articles in 1925. The same year Walter Kückler, editor of the Neueren Sprachen, wrote a lengthy study on Anatole France, and the lyric poet Richard Schaukal published three articles, all very flattering. During 1926, two well-written and scholarly studies were published: one by Victor Klemperer in his book Die Französische Literatur von Napoleon bis zur Gegenwart and another by Max Fribilla entitled "Anatole France als Geschichtsdreier". Of about a dozen articles that appeared in 1927, Walther Gottschalk's and Alfred Pillet's are most scholarly.

After 1927, German criticism of Anatole France began to wane in volume and content. During a period of ten years, only about four studies were published by the major critics. They are the articles of Alfred Pillet (1930), of Robert Blanck (1934), and of H.W. Kirchof (1935), and a book of Alfred Bönsch entitled Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert.

After Anatole France's death, his personality seemed of greater dimension to the German critics. Ernst Robert Curtius considered him a great European, a champion of justice, and the last of the im-

portant humanists who stood for "Aufklärung". To Arthur Bloesser, he was now a man of extraordinary versatility. Raoul Auernheimer's views enlarged and the critic saw a towering personality in a man who previously was only an average Frenchman.

Some commentators viewed this imposing personality as problematic. Eugen Lerch for example in 1925 wrote directly on the subject "Das Problem Anatole France". Five years later, Heinrich Kirchhof also emphasized the complexity of France's personality. And as late as 1938, Alfred Bönsch spoke of Anatole France as a psychological puzzle. There is no doubt but that it was difficult for the Germans to interpret Anatole France. His distinctly Latin turn of mind and Gallic temperament baffled them. The result is that on some points the critics differ.

Anatole France's style is one thing about which there seems to be general agreement. The major German critics, without any exception, proclaim Anatole France the best French stylist of his day. Some analyse his way of writing, some stress the fact that France's language is untranslatable into German, but all admire its lucidity, clearness, and harmony. No doubt France's language influenced many critics to speak of him as essentially French and a representative of the Latin culture. Judging him by the language, he seemed altogether classic in style and taste. That a man with such classical language, aristocratic manners and taste should attend socialistic and communistic gatherings later in life did not seem congruous to many critics.

If we consider the German criticism as a whole, the following points stand out clearly:

- 1) Not a great deal of attention was paid Anatole France and his books before the end of the 19th century.

- 2) France's joining Zola in the interest of social justice during the Dreyfus affair spurred the German critics to study his works.
- 3) Judging by the number of articles appearing in the German press, interest in Anatole France increased gradually until the Great War.
- 4) The hostilities between France and Germany definitely checked this interest.
- 5) What was written and published during the war is tinged with the war attitude of the time and is distinctly of little value.
- 6) Whatever adverse criticism came out was largely due to the Great War, and it was made by second-rate critics.
- 7) The fact that the cessation of hostilities immediately increased the publication of German criticism which was on the whole quite favorable makes the last three points more tenable.
- 8) Soon after France's death a flood of articles appeared, many of which were rather hastily written, or as Gottschalk expresses it, "offenbar lange Hand vorbereitet".
- 9) The tide of German criticism stood quite high for about four years, then beginning in 1928 receded, and steadily lowered itself until the ground became entirely dry in 1936 and 1937.

It is neither easy nor entirely feasible to evaluate all the critics. In the first place, they are too numerous, and in the second place, most of them are altogether unknown outside of Germany. The best that could be done is to judge them by their contribution to the field of criticism on Anatole France. This method, of course, is not entirely lost in some cases. Because a certain writer did not produce a long article on Anatole France does not necessarily mean that he is a minor critic in the field of literature. The following classification is entirely arbitrary and based solely on what the critic has written on Anatole France and his works. The critics whose criticism seems to me most valid, scholarly, and of first importance, presented in the order of the four periods in which their

criticism appeared, are these:

1889-1900

1) Hermann Bahr: His article on Anatole France in general and on his place in French literature as a critic in particular is judicious, original, and thought-provoking. Being the first study of its kind, it no doubt influenced other German critics.

2) M. Beer: He is the first to publish a lengthy study of Anatole France, the man. His comments on him as a critic definitely show Hermann Bahr's influence.

3) A. Brunnemann: Having produced a good article in 1899 and another one the following year, in which France's works are well examined, Brunnemann no doubt made Anatole France more widely known in Germany and influenced other critics to take up the study of the French writer.

1900-1914

1) Arthur Eloesser: As a critic he is certainly equal to Bahr. This he shows at least in his three articles on Anatole France. His scholarly interpretation of some of France's works show fairness and sound judgment, and his comments on J.-J. Brousson's book Anatole France en Pantoufles (1925) are timely, informative, and perspicacious. While reading Eloesser's article the reader sees clearly M. Brousson himself "en pantoufles", the way Brousson wanted his master, Anatole France, to be seen.

2) Josef Hofmiller: This Bavarian journalist manifests originality in criticism, acquaintance with France's works, and careful evalua-

tion of Anatole France in general. Although Hofmiller evinces some hostility in his article (1915), on the whole he is fair and scholarly.

3) Eduard Schön: I have not succeeded in finding out who this critic is. His name does not appear in any of the books that list important people. In my judgment, his two long studies of France's La Vie littéraire and L'Histoire contemporaine are the best critical contribution that was published in Germany before the Great War. Schön not only gives information about Anatole France's works but also instills a desire in the reader to get to know them first hand. Schön's analysis of France's criticism parallels that of E.R. Curtius. He seems to fully appreciate France's style and succeeds in giving a fair description of it. After reading Schön's two articles, which are rather lengthy, one wishes that he had written even more, giving his appraisal of other books of Anatole France.

#### 1914-1924

With the exception of Josef Hofmiller's article (1915) which appeared in the Süddeutsche Monatshefte, there was no criticism published during this period by the major critics. It seems that they preferred to keep silent when there was so much war hysteria and clamor.

#### 1924-1938

1) Ernst Robert Curtius: This learned professor of Romance languages and literatures apparently possesses a deep knowledge of France's works. His analysis of France's poetic traits, as well as his characteristics as a writer in general, is original, scholarly,

and informative. It is Curtius who describes France's writings as poetry of "Erinnerung". He also gives a very good idea of the world outlook of Anatole France. It is regrettable that Curtius has not given more criticism of a French writer whom he knew well and fully appreciated.

2) Victor Klemperer: This critic is thoroughly German in spirit, attitude, and criticism. After that of Gottschalk's, his analysis of many of France's works is as good as any in the German language. But his opinion appears somewhat too positive. For example: Klemperer is the only major German critic who sees rococo in France's style. He makes this assertion without substantiating it. He agrees with Eugen Lerch that Anatole France is a problem rather difficult to solve, but he definitely disagrees with Lerch as to how to solve it. Klemperer also objects to Lerch's suggestion that Anatole France was a poet.

3) Walter Gottschalk: From this critic the German reading public received a very good examination of most of Anatole France's books. He also corrected the misinformation about the origin of the name "France". It was generally thought that Anatole France willfully derived it from the name of his country. Gottschalk stresses more perhaps than any other German critic the idea that Anatole France was an impressionistic writer. On the whole, Gottschalk's long article is comprehensive, informative, and less academic than Klemperer's.

4) Alfred Bönsch: His book Anatole France und das 18. Jahrhundert is not an original contribution to the sum total of German criticism of Anatole France. It is however a long study on the subject, containing some personal reactions to Anatole France's leaning toward

the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Other critics touched on the subject in passing; Bönsch developed it almost exhaustively. On the whole, the book reflects a great deal of the opinions of others, mixed with Bönsch's views on France's works in general.

It is quite probable that some of the writers whom I shall class as minor critics may be just as important in a literary or professional way as any one mentioned in the previous group of critics. The only criterion that determines their classification here is their criticism of Anatole France. Under those conditions the following list contains the names of the minor German critics, presented as far as possible in the chronological order in which their articles appeared:

1) Eduard Engel: Before there was much written in Germany about Anatole France, Engel ventured to introduce him to the German people as a versatile writer, novelist, and critic.

2) Hans Lindau: He too ventured as early as 1900 to point out Anatole France as a novelist of great merit. For Lindau, France's novels are interesting and contain characters that linger in one's memory.

3) Ernst Heilborn: He is one of the first critics to detect skepticism in France's works. His article of 1898, treating the subject of skepticism, is neither profound nor altogether objective, but it shows some original observations.

4) Ludwig Hatvany: The clever dialogue which Hatvany imagines taking place between two leading characters of Anatole France, M. Bergeret and Sylvestre Bonnard, shows ingenuity, imagination, and a fair know-

ledge of France's works. Matvany appears to be a better artist than critic.

5) Paul Wiegler: He has written quite a comprehensive analysis of France's political views as well as some general comments on Anatole France and his works. Wiegler however displays prejudice prompted apparently by his religious convictions.

6) Friedrich Oppeln-Bronikowski: No doubt much may be said on the subject of France's plagiarism. Bronikowski writes summarily on the problem without substantiating his assertions. He is probably a better translator than critic.

7) K.O. Erdmann: His article contains only general comments which on the whole are reasonable, fair, and appreciative.

8) Raoul Auernheimer: This Viennese critic deserves a place on the list on account of his second article, published in 1924, in which he indirectly retracted some of the statements written by him in 1915. It was not fair to judge Anatole France by the "thin" book Sur la Voie glorieuse (1915). When the war was over Auernheimer realized this, and his second article shows a much better understanding of the Frenchman.

9) Eugen Lerch: He skillfully presents Anatole France as a problem in his article "Das Problem Anatole France", without giving any feasible way of solving it. Klemperer's suggestion was, for example, to study France's background, his youth, and examine his whole literary works.

10) Richard Schaukal: At least four articles were written by him,

none of which is truly scholarly. Generally speaking, however, there is considerable insight into the French writer.

11) Max Pribilla: From him we have as good an article on France's art of writing stories as the German critics have written.

12) Alfred Pillet: His emphasis on the importance of Anatole France as a writer indicates that Pillet had a better comprehension of France's works than some other critics.

13) Robert Blanck: His long and detailed article on Anatole France as a stylist in writing novels would put him into the ranks of the major critics were it more original. It reads like a thesis rather than a scholarly criticism. It is however a well-documented study of the subject and contains references to both German and French critics.

14) Walter Kuchler: By pointing out that Anatole France was primarily an artist and not a man of politics, Kuchler certainly gives evidence that he understands Anatole France from that standpoint. To explain France's philosophy is easier for him than for some of the other critics.

The remaining commentators, numbering close to a hundred, must be listed as third-rate critics. Many of them contributed only brief book-reviews or short articles which contain little or no originality of judgment. Anatole France is for them distinctly a foreign writer. His language is too fine, too artistic for complete appreciation, especially when it is read in translation, and his thoughts are too varied and elusive. The best criticism comes from those who probably read France's books in the original.

German critics who have published adverse opinion about Anatole France belong to two categories, the extreme nationalists and the churchmen. Of the first group, Raoul Auernheimer, Josef Hofmiller, and Fritz Mauthner are the chief examples; in the second class probably belong Walther Gottschalk, Paul Wiegler, and Josef Froberger. There are among the commentators unknown to me a few who indicate, if not hostile, at least an unfavorable impression of France's works. It is impossible to determine whether their lack of appreciation is due to their insufficient knowledge of his works, their nationalism, or their religious convictions. Probably it is due to their insufficient knowledge of him and his works. These commentators therefore constitute a third, unimportant class. Max Lorenz and Ludwig Karl are good illustrations of these third-rate critics.

On the whole however the adverse criticism cannot be regarded as hostile. The nationalists naturally displayed antipathy during the war period, especially after the appearance of Sur la Voie glorieuse. Mauthner in particular is mild in his utterances, reproaching Anatole France for writing such a "thin" book. The critic justly insinuates that it would have been better for Anatole France to have kept silent. Hofmiller is more pronounced in discrediting several of France's books. Auernheimer is quite sympathetic with the author of Sur la Voie glorieuse; he merely points out prejudice and poor judgment.

The critics designated above as "churchmen" are even less adverse than the "nationalists". By inference they impute certain characteristics to Anatole France. Walter Gottschalk for example suggests that he lived and died a heathen. The fact that Paul Wiegler dwells on the idea that Anatole France was Voltairian and even

an irreligious propagandist against the church and religion makes me class him with this group. Wiegler insists that Anatole France was altogether hostile to the Church and declares: "Er ist ein Feind des Christentums". Froberger is even more outspoken in his objections on religious ground to Anatole France's works. He attributes to France not only lack of faith or belief in the efficacy of religion but also accuses him of being antagonistic to the whole of Christendom. In Froberger's opinion, Anatole France was by nature and up-bringing irreligious. Did he not display it as early as 1868, when making his first literary effort, by writing a study of Alfred de Vigny, another atheist? Froberger's answer is of course in the affirmative, and his decision is therefore this: Anatole France was "ein bewusster und hartnäckiger Heide".

Eugen Lerch does not belong to either of these two categories of critics nor can he be classed with the third group, the less informed. Lerch shows considerable acquaintance with Anatole France's works; at the same time, his criticism is in parts distinctly adverse. Lerch's suggestion that the future literary historians will probably consider Anatole France "Didaktiker" rather than "Dichter" is plausible. Most critics praise France's style; Lerch on the other hand finds fault with it. For him, Anatole France skillfully blended the styles of other French writers but repeated too frequently.

Several German critics, among whom are the most informed, maintain that Anatole France was not a critic in the true sense of the word. Ernst Robert Curtius, Hermann Engel, Victor Klemperer, Walter Gottschalk, and Eugen Lerch are the leading critics of this group. On the subject of France's criticism, the German critics show more

sound judgment and just appraisal than on any other phase of Anatole France's art of writing.

In conclusion, my personal reaction toward the German criticism as a whole, briefly stated, is the following. For the most part, I find it interesting, just, and informative. It is quite extensive as to the number of articles and essays on Anatole France, the man, and voluminous as to the opinion on some of his works. A considerable part of it, however, is amateurish and hastily composed from the standpoint of content, originality, and thought. In fact, many of the articles do not deserve to be classed with objective criticism. With the exception of the few major critics, which are in the main objective, the minor critics are either personal in their views or noncommittal. Such important books as Les Dieux ont soif, L'Île des Pingouins, Thais, and others, are as a rule examined summarily and not critically appraised. Most of the book-reviews contain descriptions of the contents of a book without any evaluation of its worth. At any rate, after reading them I feel that something is lacking. Furthermore, my impression is that many of the minor critics both repeat each other's statements and appropriate the ideas of major critics. For example, too many of them harp on Anatole France's style, on the idea that he is a Latinist, or a literary descendant of Voltaire, and that Renan was his immediate model and master.

The opinion of the major critics is objective but not entirely original; many of them use French critical works as the basis of their assertions. Then too, none of them has done a comprehensive study of all of Anatole France's works. Hermann Bahr emphasizes the fact that France's criticism is subjective. Eduard Schön is primarily concerned with La Vie Littéraire and L'Histoire contemporaine.

Walter Gottschalk devotes more space to summarizing the contents of some of France's books than to appraising them. Victor Klemperer insinuates that Anatole France's style of writing is rococo, without substantiating this assertion. Alfred Fönsch's book deals particularly with France's ideological connections with the eighteenth century. These are the leading major critics. Of these five Gottschalk is probably the one who shows the most independent and original study of France's works. Schön displays more appreciation of the good points of Anatole France as a writer. Klemperer and Bahr - and Gottschalk at times - seem to be more severe in their pronouncements than all other German critics. But, it is necessary to read all of them to derive from German criticism a fair picture of Anatole France.

With the exception of a few major critics, perhaps the most objectionable feature that may be imputed to the German criticism of the French writer under discussion is that it does not create much interest in him or desire to read his literary works. At the same time, German critics as a whole perceive that, as Hochdorf tersely states, Anatole France "war ein gelehrter Dichter, aber auch ein dichtender Gelehrter".

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