

**THE PORTRAYAL OF CHILDHOOD IN GERMAN FICTION FROM
KELLER TO CAROSSA**

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**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



1947

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being a Thesis presented by

Jean Margaret Berneaud

to the University of St Andrews

in application for the degree of Ph.D.

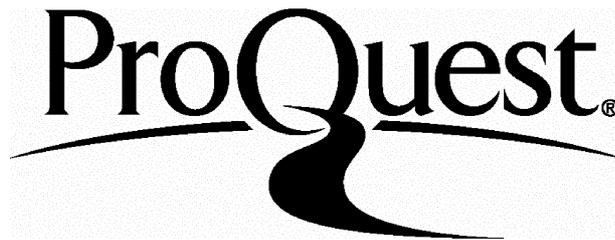
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is
based on my own reading and research,
that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it
has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.
The Research was carried out in St Andrews; with six weeks
at the University Libraries of Basel and Zürich in the summer
of 1947.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Jean Margaret Berneaud
has spent 8 terms at Research Work in St Andrews,
that she has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16
(St Andrews), and that she is qualified to submit the
accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

CAREER

I obtained the degree of M.A. with First Class Honours in German with subsidiary French at the University of Edinburgh in June 1940.

From November 1940 until October 1945 I held the post of temporary Assistant in the Department of German in the University of St Andrews, thereafter being appointed as Assistant for a period of three years, and in October 1948 as a Lecturer Grade III.

In November 1945 I commenced the research which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. Thesis.

INTRODUCTION

The middle of the 19th century marks a stage in the development of childhood portrayal in German literature. But to take Keller as a starting point rather than Gotthelf, is to recognize in the former the deliberate selectiveness of the artist, and the importance given by him to the whole period of childhood. The wealth of present-day literature dealing with children and childhood would seem to make the drawing of any line of demarcation something of an arbitrary matter. Yet the name of Carossa not only establishes a link with Keller in the poetic interpretation of childhood, but points to a culmination of artistic achievement within our own times. The thirties cannot be said to have brought anything distinctively new. No Nazi childhood has left its mark in literature; nor is there any evidence that a child's experience of the late war has received treatment as a literary theme. The only attempt to portray the post-war child, namely Robert Neumann's Children of Vienna (1946), did not originate in Germany. Time will be needed before these recent happenings can be viewed in their proper perspective and with the necessary artistic detachment by those who themselves experienced them.

Since the subject is childhood, as distinct from youth, it is necessary to define this more clearly, and to draw a dividing line somewhere at the period of adolescence. The

determining factor would seem to be that of sex, but sexual awareness in children comes at a much earlier age than might be expected, quite apart from variations between individuals. Adolf v. Grolman in his Kind und junger Mensch in der Dichtung der Gegenwart (pp. 10 and 112) therefore defines childhood as the period before sex becomes a decisive influence. Alexander Beinlich (Kindheit und Kindesseele in der deutschen Dichtung um 1900) seeks to distinguish between the child, which suffers through its surroundings, and youth, whose sufferings come from within. Although here it may be observed that Blanca Röthlisberger (Das Kind in der neueren erzählenden Literatur der deutschen Schweiz, p. 107) speaks of the child's self-inspired suffering, in Keller's Der Grüne Heinrich. Whether v. Grolman's or Beinlich's definition is accepted, the borderline is seen to be about thirteen for girls, and fourteen or fifteen for boys. No rigid age limit can be fixed, however, since there is a transition stage, at which the influences of both the earlier and the later period intermingle, and also because there are common problems, which make the term childhood to a certain extent inclusive of youth.

GENERAL SURVEY

It is only in comparatively recent times that the child has come to play an important part in German literature. Not until children had ceased to be regarded as grown-ups in miniature was it possible for the child to emerge as an individual with a personality of its own, and only then could children cease to be stiff little puppets, moving and speaking unnaturally.

The boyish Simplizius of Christoph v. Grimmelshausen's Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus (1668), glimpsed before he makes his way out into the world, is a refreshingly natural figure that stands out in isolation at this early date, for not until late in the following century does a truer understanding of children begin to make itself felt, and even then it is still some time before literature makes really effective use of the figure of the child or grants to childhood an importance of its own.

Something of a beginning may be seen in the children introduced into their plays by the young Sturm und Drang writers. They are still hardly more than dramatic devices, better, it is true, than Lessing's unchildlike and priggish Arabella (Miss Sara Sampson, 1755), but with little claim to independent literary value. Genuine understanding and love of children is apparent in Goethe's writings. Although in a sense stylized, the brief pictures of children found in Die Leiden des jungen

Werthers (1774) are charming. Götz v. Berlichingen's small son Karl (Götz v. Berlichingen, 1773) is a very real and captivating little boy, no matter if his principal function in the play is to illustrate educational theories of the author's own times. Felix in Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre (1796) is another such child, naturally and attractively drawn, but by no means introduced for his own sake, nor in any sense a dominant figure. By his side stands Mignon, child of mystery and wonder, quaint in her boy's clothing, elusive, appealing, pathetic and strangely beautiful. She is an inspired creation, full of the poetry of symbolism, and her influence has come down through the years into the present-day literature of childhood. With Dichtung und Wahrheit (Part 1, 1811) Goethe adds autobiography to his portrayal of children, and while thereby continuing the line that springs from Heinrich Jung-Stilling's Heinrich Stillings Jugend (1777), Rousseau's Confessions (1782) and Karl Philipp Moritz's veiled autobiography Anton Reiser (1785 - 1790), provides much that is of supreme literary influence for the future. The blending of fact and fancy contained in this account of his boyhood, together with the formative elements of Wilhelm Meister, is of the deepest significance for the development of the Entwicklungs- and Bildungsroman as well as for the theme of the child in literature. By contrast the influence of Rousseau's Emile (1762) is markedly educational. Beside Goethe's Felix, Emile seems a less personal and individual creation. Cast in a mould that corresponds to his creator's theories, he serves as a

model for the educational ideals of an age that is becoming ever more interested in the child and its development. This interest is in turn responsible for an ever increasing number of children in works of literature that bear a pedagogic stamp. Pestalozzi with his Lienhard und Gertrud (1781 - 1785) provides the transition from Rousseau to Jeremias Gotthelf (b. 1797, d. 1857) with his wealth of child portraits.

Increasing realism is achieved under these autobiographical, artistic and educational influences. Ideals and symbols of Romanticism mark a passing phase. The Romantic idea of childhood as a state of innocence followed by deterioration is soon out-lived. Later 19th century literature affirms a belief not only in a child's possible badness, but also in the possibility of improvement. But there is still something of Romantic longing for this lost paradise in many of the backward glances that are cast on childhood. The advancing 19th century is characterized by a deepening knowledge of psychology, an absorption with youth and the younger generation and a new attitude to the child, in which the hopes of the future become centred ¹⁾.

1) Influences that are felt are those of Nietzsche's: Menschliches, Allzumenschliches (1878), and Also sprach Zarathustra (Von Kind und Ehe) (1883-1885); and Ellen Key's: Das Jahrhundert des Kindes (German translation, 1902).

Against a general background of growing interest and changing perspectives the figure of the child gradually wins artistic independence, moving at the same time more and more into the foreground in literature, until it is possible for it to be not only a subsidiary, but also the central figure. The middle of the 19th century marks a point where the child can be said to have established itself and where the period of childhood becomes invested with a distinct literary significance.

A realistic note is the predominating one in child portrayal from mid century onwards. Guided by personal observation, often aided by personal experience, it is the aim of authors to depict children in a life-like and convincing manner. External details are noted, often with very pleasing effect, and artistic use is made of a widening range of childish activities. Keller proves himself a master in this respect, for scenes with children - quite brief at times - form an attractive feature of his writings. Raabe follows the same lines without adding anything distinctively new, while Storm introduces numerous children, all very truly drawn. In line with such realistic portrayal is Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach, whose forthright nature and shrewd observation are responsible for numerous child portraits, some slight enough, it is true, and serving perhaps only to "fill in the picture", others again exposing some aspect of human relationships or offering criticism of social conditions. Most significant is

the attention she turns upon the bad child ²⁾, recording faithfully this other side of childish nature. The influences at work here would seem to be more naturalistic than merely realistic. German Naturalism, concerning itself with social conditions and making fearless use of sordid details, is at its most powerful in the drama. The children here are, however, almost without exception (one might instance perhaps Fuhrmann Henschel's little girl, who moreover is really a secondary figure) already on the threshold of youth, and it is the adolescent rather than the child who finds presentation in the literature of Naturalism. Papa Hamlet and Der erste Schultag are the only prose sketches that can be said to portray children (from the collection Papa Hamlet by Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf, 1889). Nevertheless, due to this movement all aspects of childhood can now find expression. Delicacy no longer excludes the frank treatment of sex or illegitimacy, for instance. Where on the whole country settings had predominated for the portrayal of children of all classes, rich and poor, poverty in the big city becomes an added facet of child life with the spread of industrialism in the latter part of the 19th century, although Jol ³⁾ notes that the problem of the proletarian child is

2) "Kinder sind schlecht" we read in Ein Verbot (from the collection Alte Schule, 1897).

3) Jakob Jol: Die Jugend in der neueren deutschen Dichtung. (Schweizer Erziehungsrundschau, Jhg. 4, Heft 10, 1932, pp. 230 - 235).

hardly touched on in German literature, compared with the literatures of other European countries.

School-life is treated with increasing attention, the military academies taking their place alongside the other schools⁴⁾. Closely linked with school-life is the deepening theme of childish suffering. Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's statement is the first significant one in this respect⁵⁾, revealing a precarious relationship between children and parents, and children and their teachers, in Das Leiden eines Knaben (1883). Criticism of existing conditions and sympathy for the school-child form the keynote of the succeeding stories; these appear in the form of glimpses of certain phases of school life, or else in accounts of whole school careers. Thomas Mann achieves an unprecedented concentration within the limits of one chapter in his Buddenbrooks⁶⁾ (1901; vol.2, part 11, chap. 2) .

With the emphasis on childish suffering, the figure of the

- 4) Ernst v. Wildenbruch: Das edle Blut (1892); Georg v. Oertel: Sylvester von Geyer (1897); Rainer Maria Rilke: Die Turnstunde (1899; published posthumously in Prosafragmente, Ges. Werke, vol. 4).
- 5) See Adolf v. Grolman: Kind und junger Mensch in der Dichtung der Gegenwart, p.36f. and p.195. Although Alexander Beinlich in his Kindheit und Kindesseele in der deutschen Dichtung um 1900 tries to play down the key position accorded to Meyer by v. Grolman.
- 6) Noted by Gerda Eichbaum: Die Krise der modernen Jugend im Spiegel der Dichtung (Diss. Giessen, 1930).

sensitive child gains ground about the turn of the century, and a new type, the artist, makes his appearance. This is the child of Neo-Romanticism, whose writers invest their child portraits with a delicate beauty and sadness all their own. Music, known to the Naturalists to possess a particular appeal to youth, becomes a dominant influence and a gift which sets these children apart from their fellows. Elaborating v. Grolman's statement on the dwindling influence of nature and the arts, Jol⁷⁾ notes a falling off in the importance of music in connection with childhood after this period, suggesting that the post-war child is perhaps more materialistic in its outlook and no longer submits to the power of music. Certainly the heroine of Hesse's Gertrud (1910), in whom the urge towards a musical career is so strong, Thomas Mann's Hanno Buddenbrook and little child prodigy (Das Wunderkind, 1914), little Amadeus with his strange and daemonic gift of singing in Hermann Stehr's Geschichten aus dem Mandelhause (1913), all belong to the period before the first World War; and Ernst Wiechert's Percy (Geschichte eines Knaben, from the collection Der silberne Wagen,⁸⁾ 1928) seems merely an exception in an apparently unmusical age .

7) J. Jol, op.cit.; and v. Grolman, op.cit., p. 212ff.

8) This same author introduces the motive of flute playing again in Die Jerominkinder (1947), in the haunting music of one of the brothers.

But while Neo-Romanticism is at pains to show the isolation of the artist, a sturdier strain of children flourishes alongside. The two sisters and their brother in Friedrich Huch's Geschwister (1903) and Wandlungen (1905), growing up in poetic seclusion, are matched by Ludwig Thoma's Lausbub (Lausbubengeschichten, 1905). This more robust type predominates in the post-war years, although a sensitive strain is perpetuated in children like Hesse's Emil Sinclair, in Demian (1919), and Stehr's Peter Brindeisener (Hermann Stehr, Peter Brindeisener 1924).

Institution life and the new boarding schools provide a fresh angle on the school theme; but tragedy is still all too often associated with it. Something of the disillusioned and critical attitude of post-war youth makes itself felt, there is a note of defiance, of self-assurance, of stridency even ⁹⁾, for the nineteen-twenties are an uneasy age; but out of the exaggerations and distortions and unpleasant themes rise Carossa's Eine Kindheit (1922) and Verwandlungen einer Jugend (1928), to give a truer picture of childhood, at a time when writers seem often to stress its darker and more problematical aspects.

9) Certain titles are in themselves suggestive: Der Kampf der Tertia (Wilhelm Speyer, 1928); Kampf um Odilienberg (Erich Ebermayer, 1929); Aufbruch der Kinder (Arnold Ulitz, 1929); Revolte im Erziehungshaus, - Schauspiel der Gegenwart in drei Akten (Peter Martin Lampel, 1929).

Within the period under review, mid 19th century to 1930, all aspects of childhood find portrayal. Children appear as individuals or in groups, and all ages are represented. The earlier stages of childhood do not appear to offer the same interesting literary prospects as the later ones, especially in most recent times¹⁰⁾; the pre-school age has fewer representatives than the years immediately following¹¹⁾; while it is wellnigh impossible to convey subjectively the spiritual life of the infant in arms, Thomas Mann's Gesang vom Kindchen (1919) does attempt in verse to reveal something of the budding personality and awakening senses of the baby, but has to rely on external description; the perspective is that of the onlooker, the adult; moreover his real purpose is to express the feelings of the devoted father in the presence of his youngest child, which has come to him late in life, and it is only in this sense, in its influence on other people, that the child of tenderest age can be used in literature; whereas the slightly older child not only possesses an independent value, but, where the author is capable of sympathetic identification, can be revealed from within. This

10) A.v. Grolman, op.cit., p.67:" ... in der Spätstufe der Kindheit kommen die dichterischen und schriftstellerischen Denkmale in Massen"; and p. 160: "An künstlerisch irgendwie belangreichen Werken über das Lebensalter von 10-16 Jahren herrscht kein Mangel".

11) Alex. Beinlich, op.cit., para. 25: Die verschiedenen kindlichen Entwicklungsstufen in der Kindheitsdichtung.

is the manner increasingly in evidence, together with the tendency to represent things from the child's point of view¹²⁾, rather than merely from the point of view of the sympathetic adult. As a result of this, it is possible for the whole mode of expression to become that of the child too.

KELLER TO CAROSSA, BILDUNGS- UND ENTWICKLUNGSROMAN

Keller

The establishment of the child in literature opens up a wide field for its extended use as a secondary figure. Of even greater significance is the recognition of childhood itself as a distinct literary theme.

Keller in his Der Grüne Heinrich (1854) is the first to view childhood in its true perspective and realise its importance in relation to future development. While following, and bringing to perfection, the German tradition of the Bildungsroman he does not lightly pass over the early childhood of his hero, as earlier authors were wont to do, whose interest centred upon the period of young manhood, but gives full prominence to the formative years of Greencoat Henry, (more markedly even, by the position accorded to the childhood

12) Ignatz Bick: Das Erziehungssystem im modernen Roman, seit dem Naturalismus (Diss. Frankfurt, 1931), in his final conclusions.

chapters - provided moreover with special headings - in the second edition of 1879). The emphasis is on the "education for life" in the manner of the Bildungsroman, and there is no attempt at treating childhood in isolation, but here for the first time the full value of this entire early period in the shaping of the future destiny of the man finds recognition.

In presenting his picture of childhood Keller makes conscious artistic use of autobiographical material. Although relating his story in the first person and giving the child's perspective, he does not, however, reproduce merely the reactions, thoughts and speech of the child, but by means of unchildlike reflection and adult comment makes the reader aware that here is a mature man who has come to a clear understanding of himself, and who now sees how in his early years the pattern of his later life is set. In a passage omitted from the second version Keller goes even further than a mere tracing of the various formative influences of childhood. He

says: "Wenn ich nicht überzeugt wäre, dass die Kindheit schon ein Vorspiel des ganzen Lebens ist und bis zu ihrem Abschlusse schon die Hauptzüge der menschlichen Zerwürfnisse im kleinen abspiegle, so dass später nur wenige Erlebnisse vorkommen mögen, deren Umriss nicht wie ein Traum schon in unserm Wissen vorhanden, wie ein Schema, welches, wenn es Gutes bedeutet, froh zu erfüllen ist, wenn aber Übles als frühe Warnung gelten kann, so würde ich mich nicht so weitläufig mit den kleinen Dingen jener Zeit beschäftigen". 13)

13) Gottfried Keller, *Sämtliche Werke*, Herausgegeben von Jonas Fränkel, Zürich, 1926 ff.; Band 16, Der Grüne Heinrich, Erste Fassung; vol. 1. chap. 9, p.262.

Thus he appears to regard childhood as a preparation and at once a warning of the shape of things to come.

The link with Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit is evident in the whole line of development which is here followed out. The first impressions of the child centre on home influence and surroundings. Keller is able to reveal the boy's unfolding mind with its vivid flashes of imagination colouring the dawning comprehension of the idea of God. The need of some visible image to express the beauty and strangeness of God is strongly brought out, and it is when this childish imagination finds itself thwarted by a practical and uninspired teaching of religion that the first step towards an ultimate rejection of revealed religion has been taken. To Keller's Swiss predecessors religion had not constituted a problem for the child¹⁴⁾; he now proves that it may indeed be a profound one. The child's instinctive shrinking from any loud and compulsory utterance of religious feeling may be misinterpreted as wilfulness and cause suffering both to child and parent, as for instance in Heinrich's refusal to speak the grace; while all

14) Blanca Röthlisberger (Das Kind in der neueren erzählenden Literatur der deutschen Schweiz, p.96) says that Keller's negative attitude to religion would have been impossible for Pestalozzi, to whom religion meant an essential part of his reforms, while its portrayal, more especially in a child, would have seemed monstrous to Gotthelf.

the warmth of the child's natural approach is quelled both by his mother's inability to meet the needs of his imagination and by the school's insistence on the dry and bare repetition of the catechism. At a most impressionable age Heinrich is faced with the realization that God is to him a mere provider, someone he needs without being able to love ("... dass ich den Gott meiner Kindheit nicht liebte, sondern nur brauchte".)

Behind this portrayal of religious difficulties encountered by the child lies the failure of religion in Keller's own life, as well as a common attitude of his day against the teachings of orthodoxy. Significantly enough, there is no mention of religious instruction in Frau Regel Amrain und ihr Jüngster¹⁵⁾ (Die Leute von Seldwyla, 1856).

Other influences are, however, able to act on the child's imagination. In the case of Heinrich the stimulus comes from outside the home. A strange and fanciful world is opened up to him in the junk shop of Frau Margret, and inspired by what he has seen and heard here the boy turns to the creation of a quaint theosophy of his own, designing an intricate system of spheres and peopling the celestial and infernal regions with his acquaintances, whose fates he decrees in arbitrary fashion.

15) B. Röthlisberger, op.cit., p.100.

Accompanying the maps and tables and other paper records of this miniature universe is a ghostlike crew of misshapen waxen images, grotesque and embryonic creatures in glass bottles, provided with names appropriate to their weirdness. All this affords the creator infinite delight and entertainment, until his own exuberance is at last instrumental in the complete destruction of this particular form of amusement. This more elaborate imaginative preoccupation has been preceded by several attempts at collecting, in the manner of all small boys. Minerals, insects and animals have in turn held his attention, but unscientific procedure has resulted in frustration: lack of knowledge as well as inability to acquire the rarer and more precious minerals prevents his collection of stones from amounting to anything, while he cannot bear to destroy the gay beauty of the butterflies and is filled with melancholy at the holocaust wrought by his clumsy and inexpert fingers; in turn he wearies of his little private Zoo, and the animals pine as a result of his neglect and are eventually despatched with unconscious and unintentional cruelty by the child, who now shudders at the thought of the dark corner of the garden where the grisly remains lie buried.

The influence of Dichtung und Wahrheit can be seen in the description of these boyish preoccupations. Keller is

breaking fresh ground here, compared to Pestalozzi and Gotthelf, for he is showing the child at play, rather than at work or in the process of being systematically educated. The chapter heading "Das spielende Kind" places a new emphasis on this aspect of childhood¹⁶⁾; and Keller makes use of the child at play on many other occasions, most attractively perhaps in the artless behaviour of the two children in the opening scenes of Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe, which show all the swift changes of mood of which children are capable. The scene by the brook where Hadlaub gathers forgetmenots, pretty white starshaped flowers and little scarlet bells for Fides, who binds a fresh wreath for her hair and then falls to skipping from stone to stone until she is marooned in mid-stream and has to be carried to safety by the boy, is equally delightful, however; and the passing glimpse of Kängoltchen with Dietegen's long gallows shirt trailing behind her, walking solemnly about the room, hands on her back as though they were bound, chanting "Ich bin ein armes Sünderlein und habe keinen Strumpf am Bein!"¹⁷⁾ is not easily forgotten .

16) See B. Röthlisberger, op.cit., p.43: "Erdbeeri Mareili arbeitet ... emsig wie ein Bienchen, und seine Arbeit erscheint beseelt, poetisch und fast wie ein Spiel. Fast wie ein Spiel: denn das Spielen ist nichts für arme Kinder; es fehlt Gotthelf überhaupt das Verständnis dafür, und es bleibt Keller vorbehalten, das Liebliche des kindlichen Spiels zu enthüllen".

17) Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe and Dietegen (Die Leute von Seldwyla, 1856, 1873); Hadlaub (Züricher Novellen, 1876).

Heinrich making his collections and finding scope for his creative imagination shows the solitary child at play, but his contacts with other children give rise to scenes of group behaviour and explore the relationship of children with one another. Together with children of the neighbourhood Heinrich tastes the delights of play-acting, lack of a real stage and adequate costumes only serving as an added stimulus to the imagination and leading to performances of vigour and dash. A breath of the real theatre touches these children when several are permitted to play the parts of monkeys in a performance of Faust. The military exercises of the little boys are taken much too seriously to be called games, but here again are children in unison, this time at large in the countryside and serving to animate nature in a manner characteristic of Keller .¹⁸⁾

Intercourse with wealthier children brings difficulties and temptations, but it is through individual friendships that the child is here shown to suffer most. Keller touches on the problem of childish lying in an earlier episode, where the child's inability to distinguish between imagination and falsehood is brought out. Making friends with another boy Heinrich now enters a phase he terms "Lügenzeit" and finds himself entangled in a sinister web woven of boastfulness and imagination. The next step is stealing, under the influence of Meierlein, a

18) B. Rothlisberger, op.cit., pp. 119f.

mercenary little Philistine of unpleasant disposition. It is harder for Heinrich to free himself from this tormentor and the experience leaves a deeper mark. That parents may often be unaware of such difficulties through which their children are passing, is a point which links Keller with some of the most recent child portrayal.

His loving and devoted mother aids Heinrich once she has discovered his troubles, but other adults fail him. Lack of understanding on the part of his teachers colours the boy's school-life from the very first day¹⁹⁾. Heinrich suffers from a series of unfortunate contacts with authority, which culminate in his expulsion, - the final failure of the state in its obligation towards the child. Keller again differs from earlier writers, in particular Gotthelf, in representing school from the child's point of view. It is the child that is here for the first time shown to be critical of its teachers and of the educational system²⁰⁾. With the abrupt end of his school-days and his "flight to mother nature" Heinrich has also stepped over the threshold of his childhood. The rest of the

19) The references to certain good teachers (vol. 1, chap. 9 of Fränkel's edition of the original version) were later discarded, in order to present a uniformly unsatisfactory picture of the child's schooldays.

20) B. Röthlisberger, op.cit., p.102.

story is that of the youth rather than the child.

Keller's Heinrich is no model child; his failings are noted and he is not made to appear particularly attractive. Yet with all his individuality - and Heinrich is by nature and inclination an artist - his experiences are those common to every childhood, and herein lies Keller's particular contribution towards childhood portrayal and to the German Bildungsroman. His attitude to life is in the end a positive one, despite the acknowledgement of a darker side. This he makes clear in the stronger and in every sense more balanced second version, where Heinrich does not succumb to his sense of remissness and failure, but lives out his days in fruitful activity.

Keller's successors

Der Hungerpaster by Wilhelm Raabe (1864), lying between the first and second versions of Der Grüne Heinrich, shows ease and freshness in the treatment of simple childhood incidents, while at the same time retaining a familiar motive of the earlier Bildungsroman, that of the two friends of unequal character, whose divergent careers serve to underline the distinction between mere worldly success and true spiritual development and fulfilment. But among Keller's immediate successors the note of unhappiness is much more pronounced,

the childhood revealed has more individual features and the level attained is on the whole that of the *Entwicklungsroman*. In this childhood is also portrayed as a prelude to later life, but the aim is not, as in the case of the *Bildungsroman*, the ultimate understanding of certain ideal values and the attainment of a serene outlook on life, but simply the unfolding of a particular pattern of development, without the hint of a wider and universal element in each experience.

Sudermann's *Frau Sorge* (1887) introduces the misunderstood child whose individual and unhappy growing-up at times comes close to tragedy. Imaginative, sensitive, lonely, labouring under his early impressions and experiences, Paul Meyhöfer is the forerunner of many later children whose lives do not achieve final harmony and balance in the classical manner. That Keller too is already a step removed from this earlier tradition is clear, when one considers how narrowly his hero escapes a broken life, and how strongly Heinrich feels the need for atonement.

A work with close affinities to Sudermann's is Frenssen's *Jörn Uhl* (1901), the development of a child exposed to hostile influences, whose ultimate mastery of life is only achieved at the price of much suffering and hardship which have left their scars. In both these last named novels the regional influence

comes out strongly, whereas Keller attempts no such local-
 21)
 :isation .

There is a note of quiet heroism in these childhood stories which is also found in Sylvester von Ceyer by Georg v. Ompteda. The hardships of life with which the boy is familiar from his earliest days are not those of the impoverished East Prussian homestead or the Dithmarshian farm, but those of the town-dwelling military family of limited means, proud of its traditions, but unable even with the strictest economy to live up to its commitments. Discipline and self-denial are laid on the shoulders of a quiet, serious child who yet achieves the seemingly impossible, of making his way as an officer and a gentleman, - only to die of appendicitis at a moment when his worst trials appear over and he has prospects of happiness in his marriage to the sister of a fellow officer. All the struggles that have gone into the achieving of his career are made to seem meaningless; and yet what could his future be, with a wife as penniless as himself? Life itself is questioned here and a spirit other than Keller's makes itself felt.

21) Ernst Wiechert's Die Jerominkinder continues the manner of Sudermann and Frenssen with its regionalism and theme of the boy, different from his brothers and sisters, making his sensitive way through life.

A close attempt to follow in Keller's footsteps is evident in Otto Ernst's Asmus Sempers Jugendland (1904)²²⁾. Here again is a picture of homelife and upbringing, of childish joys and sorrows, of contacts with other people, of their influence, and of school, - which seeks for all the individuality of experience to present those elements which are common to every childhood. No single close approximation, like the second-hand shop of Moses Freudenstein's father in Raabe's Der Hungerpastor, to that kept by Keller's Frau Margret, is found, but reminiscent of Der Grüne Heinrich are Semper's excursions into the world of the theatre, his association with certain "characters" like Christel Bellièvre and the witch Adolfine Moses, his lack of an orthodox attitude to religion, while able to find inspiration in the Bible story which he views with imagination and a child's simplicity, and his dream meadows which he is unable to share with the other children. Nevertheless, despite the parallels which can be found, this work is lacking in depth when compared with Der Grüne Heinrich. Gerda Eichbaum²³⁾ goes too far perhaps when referring to the low artistic level, but it is true that this childhood, presented with a whimsicality which has a certain charm, is in many ways too

22) Sequels: Semper der Jüngling (1908), and Semper der Mann (1916).

23) G. Eichbaum, op.cit.; A. Beinlich (op.cit.) refers to Ernst's "in jeder Hinsicht bescheidenes Werk".

sunny and superficial and that there is no problem at the heart of the story. The ultimate slightness which writing of this kind can attain is perhaps best seen in the type of romanticised autobiography practised by Peter Rosegger. Memories of his forest home in Styria have gone to the shaping of his Haidepeters Gabriel (1875), together with the same note of sentiment and idealism that runs through the recollections of Waldheimat (1877) and Neue Geschichten aus der Waldheimat (1894).

A note of conflict is sounded in two stories by Hermann Anders Krüger, both again of lesser stature than Der Grüne Heinrich. Gottfried Kämpfer, ein Herrnhuter Bubenroman (1904), and Kasper Krumbholz (1909), give an account of childhood in a Moravian setting. Kämpfer is introduced at the age of nine, interest being centred on his relationship to his father and to his grandmother; friendships with other children, school struggles and difficulties of adjustment form an unsatisfactory early phase which ends with his transfer to a Moravian boarding school. Kasper Krumbholz on the other hand is an orphan whose earlier years are not described and who has no family life. Apart from this the similarities with Kämpfer are marked, particularly in respect of character. Both boys have a sturdy independence of their own, Kämpfer's stubbornness is in fact a problem both to his father and later to his teachers, but these

children are sound at heart and develop into men of marked personality. Their natures, together with the special setting, provide for the development of the religious aspect, introduced by Keller and now expanded to a major theme. Against the background of Brotherhood teachings, both boys experience spiritual conflict in their struggles to know God. Gottfried Kämpfer's later life is not recounted, the novel closing with his final school year, whereas the career of Kaspar Krumbholz is unfolded in all its episodic detail. Yet the link with Keller is stronger in the earlier work, which presents a more satisfying and balanced picture of childhood.

In line with Krüger's two novels is Jakob Schaffner's Johannes (1922), the first part, Die Kindheit des Johannes Schattenhold, being set in a protestant orphanage in Baden. Important in the light it sheds on the conditions prevailing in religious institutions of this kind, the chief emphasis is on the development of a child of strong character, and on the clash of personalities.

A tranquil atmosphere belongs to Otto Flake's Eine Kindheit (1928), final version of Das Freitagskind (1913) and first in the series Die Romane um Ruland. Although the boy, Karl Ruland, on his way to independence, is seen to pass through difficult phases such as stealing, running away and insubordination, there is no sense of restlessness and urgency. The

typical qualities of this boyhood development are indicated; background, and contacts with the community are stressed, and the child does not appear to dominate the scene. The reader is given a picture of life in Alsace during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Coming closest to Keller's interpretation of childhood is Carossa's Eine Kindheit, a personal record, yet lifted above the merely autobiographical by its poetic vision and its ability to convey something of the reality of childhood. The episodes and experiences selected bear a relationship to those presented by Keller and are in that sense typical. By means of characteristic influences and occurrences the development of the child within its own world is traced, with a strong sense of its closeness to nature and to the whole mystery of life. Home and parents give security and guidance. Through both father and mother the child is brought in touch with the forces of life, the beauty and wonder of plant life through the mother's garden, and the healing powers of nature through the father's profession of doctor.

Something of an elemental force too seems to belong to Die Forelle, a girl whom the child gets to know. Other children are shown as playing a normal part in its life; there are games, entertainments, interests shared; as in Der Grüne

Heinrich, some success but also failure in the child's inter-
:course with others, before whom it in no way stands out as an
heroic figure. The friendships with little girls are something
Keller's Heinrich experiences rather later, but the figure of
a tormentor among the boys makes his appearance with Carossa too.

The boy's uncle the magician, who awes and fascinates him
with the display of his powers, is responsible for another ele-
:ment in his life which is a common one of childhood, and for
which a strong literary influence exists. Both Rousseau and
Goethe refer to "magical" experiments²⁴⁾, Heine, in his Memoiren,
mentions his uncle the necromancer, Keller's Greencoat Henry
makes acquaintance with the magic arts through the influence of
Frau Margret and Asmus Semper's life is touched by them also.
When Carossa shows the boy dressing up in the magician's robes
and performing to an audience of children there is not only
something here of a child's desire to impress its companions,
but the love of acting, for which again literary precedent is
found in both Goethe²⁵⁾ and Keller, with Otto Ernst following
the tradition on his own more modest level.

The child's creative urge is seen at work in the making of
the Christmas tableau, in which at the same time religious
feelings find expression. This religious factor, another

24) Confessions, Part 1, Book 5; Dichtung und Wahrheit, Book 4.

25) Dichtung und Wahrheit and Wilhelm Meister.

important one, is delicately and surely handled by Carossa; in contrast to Keller there is no conflict here, no negative attitude to religion. The atmosphere is one of unquestioning and simple Catholic faith, and the child experiences no emotional storms on the occasion of its first Communion - as does the little girl in Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach's Die erste Beichte (Erzählungen, 1875) - thereby again underlining the fact that this is essentially a normal and healthy childhood, whose further development through the various classes of the Gymnasium at Landshut in ~~the~~ Verwandlungen einer Jugend gives the same sense of balance and completeness.

SUFFERINGS OF CHILDHOOD

In following the line of the Bildungs- and Entwicklungsroman from Keller to Carossa the emphasis has so far been laid on those developments which may be termed normal and healthy, although not necessarily presenting an altogether unclouded childhood. The truth and value of these portrayals lies rather in the recognition of certain difficulties with which the child may be faced. But already with Sudermann (and later Frenssen) there seems a different approach, for these children are striving against hardship almost too great for them to bear, and their childhood is heavy with sadness and suffering. It is towards sensitive and unusual children that interest turns in the

closing years of the 19th century, when with psychological insight the child's soul is revealed, shrinking from the harshness and lack of understanding of unfeeling adults. The essential loneliness of the child is stressed, and barriers are shown to exist between child and grown-up. A different race of children appears in literature and a different type of childhood is portrayed, - not only the normal or robust development now, but also that of the child cast in a more delicate mould, whose life is seemingly endangered from the outset. The closeness of the child to death is a striking feature, although the motive of child and death is not in itself new. The effect of a child's death on the character and life of the parents is a theme that goes back to Gotthelf; Otto Ludwig depicts a tense death-bed scene in Zwischen Himmel und Erde (1855); Storm shows the child as either uncomprehending and seemingly heartless when brought face to face with death, or filled with sudden fear and shrinking as from a new danger ²⁶⁾; while Raabe, with the death of little Sophie in Der Hungerpastor, points to the child's own knowledge of approaching death and brings the little girl's playmates Hans and Moses close to the great mystery too. Now, however, there is an awareness of death, a new relationship, brought about by the very precariousness of the child's existence.

26) See Leo Langer: Tier und Kindesseele bei Theodor Storm (Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht, Jhg.22, 1908).

Children such as these are frequently endowed with artistic and musical ability, and music and death are closely linked. There is no future to point forward to or recount, no "preparation for life", in many of these stories of childhood, for few win through to maturity.

The suffering of the sensitive child, unable to stand up to life, is in its beginnings associated with the school theme. Lack of sympathy and understanding, and the ambition of parents and teachers, are shown to be the cause of much childish misery. As already indicated, C.F. Meyer's is the first clear statement of this theme of "das leidende Kind". His Julian Boufflers is rather older, and the historical setting (characteristic enough for Meyer, who is thus enabled to mask his own personality and feelings) is unusual. Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach in her story Der Vorzugsschüler (Aus Spätherbsttagen, 1901) provides a straightforward account of the school tragedy. A sensitive boy is driven on at his lessons beyond the limits of his real ability. Filled with despair, his endurance taxed to the uttermost, he seeks a way out in suicide, not knowing that the father he fears, and who has made his childhood the joyless thing it is, has gone to interview his teacher and has after all the child's wellbeing at heart.

The theme is taken up and elaborated by Hermann Hesse in

Unterm Rad (1905). Hans Giebenrath springs from a family with no intellectual pretensions, yet turns out to be an extremely gifted child, the pride of his teachers and the pastor, who coach him for the highly competitive examination for entry into one of the state's "Klosterschulen", former monasteries, taken over and run as schools by the protestant state. A great strain is imposed on the health of the delicate boy by all the additional lessons, together with the preparatory confirmation classes, but he is allowed no relaxation after his success, for the summer holidays are filled with preparation for his new studies. The ambition of his teachers denies him the childish pleasures to which he has a right. The atmosphere he then encounters at Maulbronn is not one that takes account of the value of the individual life. Only when death claims one of the pupils do the teachers stand in momentary awareness of their sins of omission and commission against the children entrusted to their care. Hans's powers begin to flag as a result of the period of too intensive pressure, and with his fading ability the attitude of the staff changes. He is met with hostility and sarcasm, and his final nervous collapse is - somehow - resented and quickly hushed up. After his return home he lives for a space in a pathetic second childhood. Too late he is now allowed to turn to practical training; he can no longer adjust himself, and his death -

whether suicide or accident is not made absolutely clear - seems a merciful release. To the bewildered father, who has never had the least understanding for this fledgling of his with looks and spirit so different from his own, the shoemaker, a man of sympathy and insight, says at the funeral, pointing to teachers and pastor: "Dort laufen ein paar Herren ... die haben auch mitgeholfen, ihn so weit zu bringen", adding, "und Sie und ich, wir haben vielleicht auch mancherlei an dem Buben versäumt, meinen Sie nicht?", only to be met with uncomprehending stare.

School tragedy and tragedy of the artist are combined in Emil Strauss's Freund Hein (1902), the story of a musically gifted boy to whom death is indeed the gentle friend in whose arms he finds peace. Heiner's music places him in a class apart, yet he is forced through the school mill, meeting with frustration and failure despite genuine effort. Mature in his feelings and judgements, he condemns the pettiness and restraint imposed by his teachers and by the system, but deference to his father's wishes holds him fast. Suicide ends the impasse. The author proceeds with a delicacy and restraint which distinguishes from Hesse's bitterness of attack this mellow and beautiful development of a child doomed to suffering, by a father desiring only what is best for his son, and by an educational system unadapted to his particular needs.

Art is shown as a source of strength and inspiration by

Strauss, for Heiner has every promise of a great career and it is not his music which destroys him. A different influence is exerted by music over Hanno Buddenbrook, to whom it is a means of escape from reality, a beautiful but dangerous intoxication²⁷⁾. He is not like Heiner a creative artist with a future before him, but one whose music is a sign of inherent decadence. A frail offspring of a dying race, he has neither the strength nor the will to live. The voice of death is in his music, and the call of another world.

Decadence is evident too in Friedrich Huch's Enzio (1911), in Enzio, the boy of great hope and brilliant promise, as the name suggests. Outstanding beauty is allied to a musical ability which lets him appear in the light of a genius beside his undistinguished musician father; but in his genius and his good looks lie the seeds of his ruin, which faulty upbringing helps to bring about. Spoilt and indulged from childhood, Enzio gives himself up to the impressions of his senses, and lacks the self-discipline necessary for the artist, if he is to seize the creative moment in the midst of his enjoyment of

27) Hans Keller: Jugend und Erziehung in der modernen deutschen Dichtung (Diss. Zürich, 1938), chapter 1, Die ersten Schulromane, notes the contrast between Heiner's attitude to music and Hanno's; while A. Beinlich, op.cit., para. 22, stresses the unproductive element in Hanno's music.

beauty. He fails to establish himself - the positive achievements of his outwardly less prepossessing friend Richard provide a contrasting picture - and realizing this he seeks death by drowning, while skating along the frozen river.

An early death is the lot of Thomas in Huch's Mao (1907), no musical child, but hypersensitive and different, withdrawing from the companionship of other children and able to retreat into a dreamworld of his own, where he communes with a phantom child, whose picture hangs above his bed. Thomas senses a strange affinity with this child, whom by transposition of the middle letters of his own name he calls Mao, and in the end identifies himself so closely with the picture that he assumes its features. Two literary influences are interwoven here, the motive of the picture, and that of the finding of treasures in the attic. With slight variations these can be traced in Dichtung und Wahrheit, Heine's Memoiren, Der Grüne Heinrich, Rilke's Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge (1910), and later in Carossa's Eine Kindheit. Both are combined by Huch. When the picture has been removed from his room and Thomas goes through the house in search of Mao, led on by a mysterious sense of the other's closeness, he finds the portrait on opening the door of an old and dark cupboard, from whose depths Mao smiles and beckons. Carossa's attic holds no pictures among its wonders, but the boy finds the photograph

of a girl in an old album. He too experiences a sense of mystery and delight in the contemplation of the picture, but where Huch is only suggesting from afar the first sexual stirrings in the boy's imagination, Carossa clearly links the finding of the picture with the uneasy and unsettled state of mind of which the boy is aware at the time of his preparation for first Communion. The image of this lovely young girl fills him with assurance and calm and with his first awareness of love. With Rilke the motive is given an intensely personal turn, for significantly it is a mirror into which Malte gazes when playing at dressing-up in a disused part of the house. The sudden and terrifying awareness of the reality of the mirror image, which has absorbed his whole identity, sends the boy stumbling in headlong flight, the gaudy strangeness of his garments in grotesque contrast to his childish terror. Huch's Thomas sees in the portrait the spirit of the old house in which he lives, and when the family moves, and the building is to be demolished, Mao draws him back irresistibly, and he is found dead among the ruins.

Tragic as such an inability to adjust oneself to the realities of life may seem, it is perhaps even more tragic when such a child does not die, but goes the way of mediocrity. Lothar, another sensitive and gifted boy (there is a Jewish strain in his family), after a childhood of dreams, turns

commonplace and becomes in the end a "Spiessbürger" himself, submerged in the bourgeois world. Again it is decadence, decline, as the sub-title "Der Untergang einer Kindheit" suggests (Lothar, Der Untergang einer Kindheit. Oskar Schmitz, 1904).

Illness is another source of childish suffering and a means whereby the essential frailty of many of these children at the turn of the century is underlined. (Das Leiden eines Knaben already touches on this). Hanno Buddenbrook's delicacy as a baby, his teething troubles and nightmares are described at length; and his later visits to the dentist are dwelt on with a painful intensity found again many years later in Mann's Doktor Faustus (1947), where he does not spare the reader any of the terrible details of little Echo's death from meningitis. A child's illness and death, while the grown-ups stand by helpless in the face of its agony, forms an intrinsic part of Hesse's Rosshalde (1914). Rilke too makes mention of childish ailments. The aura of the sickroom hangs over Malte's childhood and presages a manhood of illhealth and nervous instability. There is a difference in these Neo-Romantic treatments of illness from that of Carossa, for instance, who also refers to the sick child and the strangeness of the world of fevers. The transition from childhood to sexual consciousness is

indicated here, and the sense of recovery is strong. Emphasis lies on the return to health and strength, where these other children succumb.

The note of decline and failure is the dominant one at this period in the history of literature. Of the artists whose ability bears fruit and who survive the loneliness of their childhood, Tonio Kröger is one of the few exceptions (Tonio Kröger. Thomas Mann, 1903). But he does not escape unscathed, for the sad smile and strange longing are his to the end of his days. Beside his, the life of Malte Laurids Brigge appears a broken one. There is no feeling of positive artistic achievement here; the strangeness and isolation of his haunted childhood have been experienced with too great an intensity.

A quieter and less tortured picture is presented by Hesse in Peter Camenzind (1904). There is loneliness here too, loneliness from which there is no escape, but at the same time strength and the will to live, despite the sufferings of the soul. Perhaps it is the close communion with nature that lends both beauty and a sense of power to the story, which is after all one of artistic failure, for this boy of character and unique mental endowment finds himself in the end prevented from pursuing further the literary career on which he has

embarked, and sees his aspirations come to naught. Childhood as Hesse portrays it has much of the fragility of Neo-Romanticism, more marked in Unterm Rad than in Peter Camenzind, who maintains his hold on life and accepts with resolution the forced return to the ways of his kindred and hides the hurt inflicted by the world.

Hesse is especially sensitive in revealing the spiritual life of the child, and this is again evident in his Demian (1919), a work which may fittingly close this line of childhood development fraught with loneliness and suffering. The boy, Emil Sinclair, treads a path beset with difficulties and perils in his search for truth, from which his sheltered home aims to protect him. Without the knowledge of his parents he seeks experience of the world outside, the world he feels to be the real one, containing evil as well as good. Father and mother must know nothing of the dangers to which he exposes himself, since they would not understand. The myth of the sheltered childhood is effectively destroyed here ²⁸⁾, but it is interesting to see the first hint of this in Keller. Emil Sinclair's loneliness is comforted by the guardian figure of Demian - heavily charged with symbolism - who aids him in developing his own will and judgement, so that he is able to face life and know something of its mystery and harmony. That

28) I. Bick, op.cit., section 2.

his road is no easy one is stressed at the outset: "Warum war das so sehr schwer?" reads the motto.

CHILDHOOD IN RETROSPECT

It will be seen from many of the works mentioned in the foregoing section that there is a tendency to portray the child with greater psychological insight from the closing years of the 19th century onwards. There is an absorption with its most sensitive reactions, seen to an almost startling degree in some of the fragile figures born of Neo-Romanticism, but present also in a less sensational way in those stronger and less erratic children who grow up to a life of positive achievement. Together with this turning inward, a change of perspective can be noted. Instead of looking forward, comes a looking back, and certain incidents of childhood, it may even be one particular experience, take on a new meaning in the light of the child's subsequent development. It is true that an element of retrospect is found in Keller's Der Grüne Heinrich, but Keller aims at presenting childhood in its entirety, passing through the various stages as steps in the preparation for later life. He is thus, while conscious of all that influences the child's future development, looking forward, as also are all those who have been shown to follow him most

closely. By contrast the method of psycho-analytical probing into the past can be seen clearly in Rilke's Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge, where Malte recalls with feelings strangely compounded of nostalgia and terror the sweet haunting presence of his mother, his own sick fancies, and the ghostly encounters of his childhood, in a setting of fantastic unreality; revealing thereby only too plainly the strain of madness in this ancient and dying family. How is it possible for this young man to be anything else but the neurotic, unstable, self-torturing, highly sensitive artist of uncertain future that he has become?

More marked still is the searching retrospect of Leonhard Frank's story Die Ursache (1915). One dominant incident is selected, one childhood experience which has left its mark on the subconscious: "Ist es denn aber möglich, dass ein Mensch als Kind qualvolle Erlebnisse hatte, ... von denen er nichts mehr weiss, die aber in seinem Gefühlsleben ein dunkles Dasein weiterführen und plötzlich einen Hassausbruch verursachen?"

asks the author. A grown man is shown as unable to forget a teacher's act of callousness to him when a boy. Returning to his native town, the poet Anton Seiler, conscious now that his whole life has been adversely affected by the incident at the school outing, determines to visit the teacher. Finding him on the occasion of his second call striking and sneering at a pupil, he kills him in an access of fury, and is condemned to

death. A plea that the teacher is a brute, and that the repeated evidence of his power over a child's whole life justifies the assault, is indignantly rejected by the public prosecutor ("Da könnte ja jeder Mensch mit Recht seinen Lehrer ermorden ... jeder Sohn seinen Vater").

Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordete ist schuldig (Franz Werfel, 1920) echoes the viewpoint of Leonhard Frank. The relationship between father and son is here subjected to psychoanalytical review. An incident at a fair, where the son, taunted unmercifully, throws the ball not as he imagines at the grinning puppet, but straight at his father, who is also his superior officer, proves a moment of supreme emotional crisis for the child. The boy is later shown to have freed himself from paternal domination, though not without extreme mental suffering; he then learns that the owner of the booth has been murdered by his son, who witnessed the accident so many years ago, and defends the son's deed out of feeling for one who may also have suffered at the hands of a parent.

A whole life is passed in review in Jakob Schaffner's Die Mutter (1924), in order to explain her killing. Her son is not prepared to plead the excuse of a neglected childhood, or her repeated and disastrous interference with his career, or the fact that she and her second husband have preyed on him

financially. He tells of his love and adoration for her, ever since he was a child, and it is as a final act of love and pity that he shoots her, when realising that she loves her unworthy husband who has just died of a heart attack. Now he is ready to face death in order to know why he had to act as he did, and in the certain hope of meeting his mother again.

Peter Brindeisener also looks back on his childhood, the unhappiness of his homelife, the torturing experiences that have affected his whole development. The serenity and happy activity of the neighbouring farm provide a sharp contrast to the strife and dispeace of his own home. The boy is mysteriously drawn to the little blind girl next door, and a strange spiritual link seems to exist between the two. The salvation which might have come to him through her is unhappily frustrated by his own family, and he enters upon the tragedy of his youth and manhood .

In an ironical vein Felix Krull the mountebank recounts the story of his childhood in his confessions (Thomas Mann, Die Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull, 1923). He is what home and early environment have made him. Growing up in an artificial world where nothing is genuine, where imitations

29) The same families are to be met with in Hermann Stehr's Der Heiligenhof (1917), but here the focus of interest is on the blind girl's home, her influence upon her father, and the latter's spiritual transformation.

are passed off as the real thing, and nothing is what it appears at first glance to be, young Felix has only false values to guide him, and the natural inclinations of a highly intelligent, quick, imaginative and gifted child are turned to doubtful ends. Early indications of his ability to play many parts can be seen in Felix's fondness as a baby for pretending he is the Emperor: the solemn infant wheeled along in its pram lets tears of emotion run over its elongated upper lip, as laughing, cheering Pate Schimmelpreester accords loyal acclamation. The school-boy's finished performance when feigning sickness, so convincing that he believes in it himself, is a later tribute to these histrionic powers, as is the perfect imitation of violin-playing, - a joke to take in the visitors at the health resort. Here no less than in the forged signatures and notes of excuse he reveals himself as the complete artist, the seriousness of his endeavour and the pride and delight of his achievement standing in marked contrast to the frivolity and falsehood of the ends they serve. Lightly and wittily told, each recollection, each amusing incident points with frightening certainty in the same direction. One by one the tricks of his later trade become apparent, each step seems easy and inevitable, as Felix Krull traces in his childhood the early stages in the career of a mountebank.

CHILD AND ADULT

The portrayal of childhood brings with it the problem of the relationship between children and adults, for wherever the child is not merely introduced for decorative effect, it is brought into contact with those around it. Its need of understanding and its dependence on affection and guidance are recognized, and account is taken of the part that can be played by parents and teachers. But with the growing insight into child psychology it is shown more and more clearly that the child lives in a world of its own and is not easy to reach. Fear of disappointment will cause it to withdraw, while eager for understanding, and a show of indifference may convince the adult of unconcern³⁰⁾. Authors, increasingly in sympathy with the child and trying to see things from the child's point of view, are inclined in some instances to stress the difficulties of bridging the gap. There are those who are intent only on showing the suffering that can be inflicted on the child, and its awareness of isolation, even where adults may be well intentioned; while others, conscious too of all that separates children from their elders, are more ready to show the happy relationships that can exist.

Parents

That even loving parents may be unable to help their child is the keynote of Hesse's Demian, the author being at pains

30) I. Bick, op.cit., Introduction.

to demonstrate that parents do not realize what is going on in the child's mind. This is significant of later childhood portrayal, although, as has been already stated, Keller too notes unawareness of parents of certain difficulties their children may be experiencing, also lack of understanding of religious struggles; he does not, however, make as much of this as later writers do, nor is there with him any deep sense of estrangement. Children who do not in the least resemble their parents present an angle of particular approach to the subject, although it is rare to find such differences in type unmotivated on either the father's or the mother's side of the family. Jürg Deubel the miller's son in Schlaf's Der Prinz (1908), who runs away from home to pursue his studies against his father's wishes, is the intellectual cuckoo in the family nest³¹⁾; but Peter Camenzind's qualities are not out of keeping with a family such as his, capable of throwing up the odd genius here and there as well as the occasional idiot.

When the author exclaims of Hans Giebenrath: "Gott weiss wo der Knabe die ernsthaften Augen und die gescheite Stirn und das Feine im Gang her hatte",

the answer is undoubtedly, from his mother; and Amadeus Mandel

31) G. Eichbaum (op.cit., section on Naturalismus, - Entwicklungsproblem) notes that Schlaf's own untragic schooldays are responsible for much of the adolescent optimism of this book; H. Keller (op.cit., chap. 1, Die ersten Schulromane) finds the different attitude to school problems interesting, while considering the work itself as not artistically representative for the period.

(Geschichten aus dem Mandelhause), who is such a source of wonder and amazement to his father, yet proves his kinship with the quaintly whimsical and imaginative old tailor.

The mother

Throughout the period under review the child is in the main shown as having closer ties with its mother. She is the one who is nearer to it in understanding, and her influence, often in marked contrast to that of the father, is a gentle and loving one. Exceptions would be hard to find. Wiechert's Die Jerominkinder belongs to a later date, but there the mother is a hard woman, embittered by the frustrations of her married life, capable of none of the little intimate acts of kindness, and openly hating one of her children, - the clever, malicious boy who understands her disappointed ambitions and stings her to resentment by his veiled mockery. Josef, in Hermann Kesten's Josef sucht die Freiheit (1927), is more drawn to his father, who does not live with the others. His son joins him after witnessing a particularly revolting exhibition of his mother's unchastity. Franz Werfel's Barbara oder die Frömmigkeit (1929) shows an affectionate father, and a mother to whom the child does not appear closely attached; since Ferdinand's mother elopes when he is five years old and his father, an army officer, dies when the boy is aged six, the

nurse Barbara continues to be the dominant influence in his life. Storm, at an earlier date, makes very much slighter use of an attachment between father and daughter, rather than mother and daughter (Pole Poppenspähler, 1874). Johannes Schattenhold's mother is glad to have him cared for in an institution, and finds excuses for not shouldering her responsibilities. Similarly in Schaffner's Die Mutter the mother's love is sought without genuine response. "Schöne Mutter, hab' mich lieb" is the child's silent appeal, but gay, beautiful, affectionate and superficial, she is incapable of a deeper understanding of her child. One of the members of the gang in Leonhard Frank's Die Räuberbande (1914) experiences the same desire for his mother's love, and, rather unconvincingly, one single sign of affection on the part of this hard woman is enough to make "Winnetou" give up the gang and change his entire life. He later becomes a monk. Jakob Wassermann shows a mother estranged from her son in Der Aufruhr um den Junker Ernst (1926). Torn from his sleep by his drunken father who is about to carry him off to witness the duel, the little boy, only half awake, puts his arms about his dissolute parent's neck, turning away from his mother. Unable to forget this sight, the baroness is filled with dread at the thought that the child may yet grow up to resemble the husband at whose hands she has suffered so much. She

sends her son away in the charge of a devoted maid, and Ernst, passing through a solitary childhood, only comes face to face with his mother again when he is fifteen, a grave, handsome boy, with a winning charm that fails to touch the poor haunted mother, whom years of wandering have rendered vague and remote. But in her son's hour of danger her love breaks through, and mother and son are united at length.

Motherless children are presented as pathetic objects, even before Keller's time; orphans like Barfüssele (Barfüssele, Berthold Auerbach, 1856) having a sentimental appeal quite their own. Storm exploits the pathos of the motherless child in Der Doppelgänger (1886), while Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach frequently introduces a motherless child, as well as foundlings and orphans. Of the schoolboys met with, Julian Boufflers is motherless, and Hans Giebenrath has no mother to whom he might have turned for comfort. Though it is more than doubtful whether his fate could have been a different one had she lived. Without her presence the author merely achieves a more clear cut statement of the whole problem. Kaspar Krumbholz is an orphan, Schaffner's Johannes virtually so. Jörn Uhl is left to shoulder heavy burdens on the death of his mother, whom he alone of all the family resembles; while much of the delicate poetry of the Geschichten aus dem

Mandelhause springs from the longing of little Amadeus for his dead mother.

The mother's influence predominates with Keller. In Der Grüne Heinrich it is she who bears the whole burden of the child's upbringing after the father's death, struggling to keep the home going, and silently making innumerable sacrifices for her son. The mother of the discontented and tearful Pankraz (Pankraz der Schmoller, from Die Leute von Seldwyla) resembles her closely in this respect, and both mothers suffer much anxious heart-burning at the often thoughtless behaviour of the boys. Frau Regel Amrain is of more heroic stature; no pathetic widow, missing her husband's support, she is quite able to dispense with Fritz's father, relying on her own sound principles and staunch determination in bringing up her son wisely and well. The Weidelich twins, too, in Martin Salander (1886), have a devoted mother, but her devotion has less fortunate results. Mistaken indulgence of her pampered darlings paves the way for their later moral downfall. This is the sole exception. Frau Marie Salander gives further proof of the simple goodness of Keller's mothers and the part they play in rearing their children. (Though it is true in the end only Arnold remains faithful to her influence in those childhood years,

when their father was absent and she had sole charge of the children).

A sensitive boy finds an understanding mother in Sudermann's Frau Sorge. There is the closest spiritual link between the two; she shares all Paul's hopes and fears, and mother and son find mutual support in each other against the intruding personality of the noisy, boastful and insensitive father. A somewhat similar relationship exists between Sylvester von Geyer and his mother. His father is no Meyhöfer, sneering at a wife and son whom he cannot understand, but while well-meaning, he is out of tune with his son's nature. Paternal self-pity and loud complaints are matched by a silent devotion to duty on the part of mother and son. Her patient contriving and loving watch over her son strengthen the resolution of this quiet, serious boy. Between them there is a bond that is all the stronger for being rarely voiced. Although the background is that of the army in peace time, there is a link here with Ina Seidel's Das Wunschkind (1930), a novel in which the sacrifice of mothers whose sons are born for war receives its most profound and beautiful expression.

Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach provides another instance of a close link between mother and son in Der Vorzugsschüler.

Georg's mother protects him from his father's harshness and tries secretly - for she fears her husband - to do all she can for the boy's physical welfare while he is being forced to overwork at his lessons. The situation is unusual in the same author's Das Gemeindegeld (1887), where Pavel's mother is serving a prison sentence for complicity in the murder for which her husband, a man of brutal and violent character, has been executed. Labouring under the disadvantages of this stigma, the boy passes from shame and a half-conscious resentment to a growing sense of duty: but it is not until his mother, having served her term and being received into her son's house, reveals her innocence to him that the sufferings of the past are finally compensated for.

A sound relationship with both parents is shown in Carossa's Eine Kindheit. The mother's influence is the quieter, and through her comes knowledge of some of the gentler things of life, the love of flowers for instance. Father and son seem to grow closer to each other with the passing of the years. There is both sympathy and respect between them.

Strauss's Freund Hein offers a similar picture of family life, only here there is a deterioration in the understanding between father and son. Heiner's father fails him in the

end. He loves the boy and wants only what is best for him, and therefore tries to save him from what he fears will only be a dilettante career. What he does not appreciate is that his son's music is inspired by genius, whereas his own playing was a lesser thing, and that he did right to banish it from his life as a distraction from serious purpose. For the sake of his father, whose wishes he honours, Heiner struggles towards his "Abitur", but finds no understanding for his real destiny in life. The widening breach between father and son ends in tragedy. A happier solution of a situation more ominous in its beginnings is found in Gottfried Kämpfer. Here there is a serious clash between the hot-tempered father and his stubborn son, but the man forces himself to exercise self-control and wins the child's confidence when already the threat of a rift is acute.

Father and son

The relationship of father and son is one of deep significance. The heart of the problem lies not in unhappy estrangement from a father who is respected and admired (Freund Hein), or in a clash of wills, fortunately resolved (Gottfried Kämpfer). Least of all is it a question of an author's outward exploitation of paternal cruelty, indifference, drunkenness or neglect. The seriousness is in the lack of affinity

between father and son, - visibly manifest in the very looks of Hans Giebenrath and his father, in the delicate, refined build of the son and the red faced coarseness of the parent; experienced with painful intensity by Peter Brindeisener, as he stares with cold hatred at the man who is in every respect a stranger to him; and painful as the lash of a whip to Percy Schurmann, reared to beauty and gentleness among the Malays, and brought into harsh contact with his father's Teuton spirit (Wiechert, Geschichte eines Knaben).

Most sensitive and profound is Hesse's revelation in Kinderseele (from Klingsohrs letzter Sommer, 1920). This is less an attempt to show lack of affinity under special circumstances than to explore the relationship common to all fathers and sons. In this short sketch the boy is shown as striving for his father's interest and affection, conscious of his desire and of his inward need, yet strangely thwarted both by his own and his father's actions. There is a feeling of frustration that is not healed by his father's forgiveness after he has confessed and been punished. The two are not completely reconciled, for the child is conscious of barriers between his father and himself, and the tale ends strangely with the child's words: "Als ich im Bette lag, hatte ich die Gewissheit, dass er mir ganz und vollkommen verziehen habe, - vollkommener als ich ihm".

This is a statement of the conflict between the older and the younger generation in its most modern and subtle form. Found even in Sturm und Drang times, this "Generationsproblem" has made itself felt with varying degrees of intensity in 19th century European literature as a whole ³²⁾. Sympathy is clearly on the side of the son and on the claims of the younger generation by the latter part of the century. The use of the theme father and son is of limited implication in Storm, who is, in effect, revealing the tragic possibilities of certain human relationships: the problem of the unsatisfactory son in Carsten Curator (1877); hatred of a father in Eekenhof (1879); the consequences of paternal domination in Hans und Heinz Kirch (1882). Although the injustice of the father stands out in all its magnitude in this last-named work, there is not in Storm the glowing partisanship for the son and his rights, which is such a strong feature of Naturalist drama (for instance Hauptmann, Sudermann). Hasenclever's Der Sohn (1914) is further proof that the more impassioned and forceful statement of a problem is made in the dramatic medium, which has the quality of immediate impact, - while unfortunately tending to

32) See G. Eichbaum, op.cit., section on Naturalismus, -
Generationsproblem.

33) exaggerate . The father's desire to dominate and youth's urge for freedom and independence, shown as a bitter struggle for recognition as an individual and not merely as an extension of the father's existence ("Ich konnte nicht Erbe sein" is the son's cry in Hasenclever's Der Sohn), continues as a literary theme in the post war years. Karl Duschek, the son in Werfel's Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordete ist schuldig, while seeking to explain in his letter to the public prosecutor the ties of love of and/hatred between father and son: "Er wird gehasst und geliebt, nicht weil er böse und gut, sondern weil er Vater ist", makes it clear that he is hated for all that he represents as "the father", who clings to his authority and will not resign when the time comes. According to Duschek the lad who has murdered his father does not bear the blame alone; both are guilty, but: "Er, (the murdered man) - er um ein wenig mehr". Wassermann's novel Der Fall Maurizius (1928) deals with the painful conflict between father and son and the emancipation from falsehood as represented by the older generation. Not only is this older generation proved to be in the wrong, it is

33) Robert Saudek's three one-act plays, Dramen der Kinderseele (1905), give prominence to some of the themes also treated in prose: a tragic clash between father and son in Das Schuldbewusstsein; the problem of a child prodigy in Ein Wunderkind; and a school-scene revolving round two Jewish boys in Die Judenjungen.

made to realize that it has failed (Laudin und die Seinen, (1925). In Wilhelm Süsskind's Jugend (1929) the voice of youth speaks clearly, condemning the dishonesty of their elders and expressing the determination that things shall be different:

"Jung, und wir wollen es ernst nehmen. Da sind Eltern, da sind Lehrer, da sind Prediger ... und Friede, haben sie gesagt, Liebe, nicht stehlen, nicht morden! Aber es hat uns hohl geklungen und sie haben uns schief dabei angesehen, nach Ausnahme und Vorbehalt haben sie gerochen, ihr Friede und ihre Liebe! Und das muss anders werden, denn - denn - denn wir sind jung", wiederholte er hilflos.

This conflict is in the main one that is felt most sharply at the stage of adolescence and young manhood, and it is at this rather later age that the drama has seized upon it. The novel, and particularly the post war novel, also features the youth rather than the child. Yet it is not only at this later point of open defiance, when the son, conscious of his growing strength, confronts his father, that the conflict is felt. Werfel's little cadet Duschek, experiencing the misery of joyless Sundays at home, and on the occasion of his thirteenth birthday alternating between gratefulness for the special treat he is so unexpectedly given, and the old bitter resentment when his father humiliates him anew at the fair and spoils his pleasure, confesses later: "Ich sehnte mich in bitteren Nächten nach seiner Liebe". Lack of understanding, latent hostility strangely mingled with moments of need and sympathy, is the basis of the relationship between father

and son of the third and fourth generation of Buddenbrooks. Hanno embodies all his father's hopes for the future of the family. Pride and ambition set standards out of keeping with the child's abilities. His father's failure to appreciate the child's nature, failure to find the right approach, the right words, intensifies Hanno's awkwardness and diffidence when reciting his poem, and the scene ends tearfully, while each is aware that the other should have been able to respond. Hanno is responsive only to the other's anxiety and suffering, and only in that encounter on the landing, while Gerda entertains the Lieutenant, is he able to answer his father's bid for sympathy: the appeal as from one generation to the other is met with a glance full of comprehension, and all the strangeness and coldness between the two are momentarily banished, - but Thomas ignores the terms on which he might win his son's devotion and affection and continues to impose his will on the child. Yet he fails to reach it, for by the characteristic veiling of the eyes by the lids fringed with their long lashes, the father is shut out from his son's world.

Teacher and pupil

Outside the home, the conflict between the older and the younger generation is shown in the relationship of children to their teachers. Lack of understanding and of sympathy for the

needs of the young are much in evidence here. From the time that Greencoat Henry suffers at the hands of "unskilled teachers", the figure of the teacher is seldom seen in a friendly light in German literature. Again it is about the turn of the century that the critical attitude to schooling and schoolmasters becomes really marked, and that expression is given to feelings which have gradually been growing: dissatisfaction with the state of the Gymnasien and the methods of instruction there and in other educational institutions.

Hesse, exposing the protestant theological schools of Swabia in Unterm Rad, refers with grim irony to the benevolent state which removes its pupils from harmful and distracting everyday influences, and in ideal natural surroundings is able to train them in all seriousness to accept the study of Hebrew and Greek and ancillary subjects as a final purpose in life, at the same time carefully eradicating all symptoms of individuality and setting the seal of mental and spiritual uniformity upon them, by which they will ever after be known. Some boys of genius, like Hermann Heilner, manage in spite of the system to make their individual way in life, but these unusual characters are a source of annoyance to their masters: "Für sie sind Genies jene Schlimmen, die keinen Respekt vor ihnen haben".

A quieter acknowledgement of similar conditions and a similar

attitude is found in Strauss's Freund Hein. Here too the emphasis laid on the grammatical aspect of Classical literature is criticised, and, with a more delicate irony, the ultimate aim of all these school years is underlined, in the sentence learned by the boys in Quarta - as an example of the 'Dativus commodi' - "Non scholae sed vitae discimus". Only the Professor of Greek has some appreciation for Heiner's real ability and imaginative gifts, the others are shown as shortsighted, uncomprehending or vindictive. Stupidity and incompetence are exemplified in Thomas Mann's Kandidat Modersohn, in the school chapter of Buddenbrooks. The elderly teacher cuts a pathetic figure and the boys are quick to take advantage. The extreme of incompetence and unsuitability is reached in Heinrich Mann's Professor Unrat, a gross exaggeration (Professor Unrat, 1905). More sinister is the figure of the school tyrant, hinted at in Freund Hein, and emerging as a distinct type. His power over the lives of his pupils is absolute and the consequences are far-reaching. Youth is at the mercy of such men, who represent the domination, injustice and might of the older generation. Teachers of this stamp, feared and hated, are Mager in Die Ursache and his namesake in Die Räuberbande. The conspiracy of this gang of fourteen year old boys is directed against this teacher no less than against the other grown-ups, the whole

older generation of Philistines. That they outgrow their boyish dreams of revolt is a disillusionment felt only by "Oldshatterhand", the youngest and smallest, whose sensitive and artistic spirit is later cruelly broken by the world, whereas the rest, passing first through other youthful phases - such as the athletic club instituted by "the Great White Chief" - imperceptibly adapt themselves to living the same dull bourgeois lives as their fathers.

Headmasters too figure as school tyrants: "Der liebe Gott", Hanno and his friend call theirs. Lothar's headmaster (Untergang einer Kindheit) is a pedant in whose unfruitful preoccupation with obscure textual renderings the dry-as-dust methods of a certain type of philologist, harmful to German education, are exposed, underlining once again the point made by Strauss and Hesse. True scholars, beloved of their pupils, "Philologen im alten Stil", like Kio in Werfel's Der Abituriententag (1928), are rare. Examples of the abuse of power by teachers are numerous and varied, and it would be wrong to say that in the school stories of more recent date the suffering of the child at the hands of such men is represented as less acute. Adolf v. Grolman³⁴⁾ demonstrates that the boarding and experimental schools have provided a distinctive type

34) Op.cit., pp.210-211.

of teacher, devoid of authority in the old sense, and placed in a new and personal relationship to his pupils. The nervous strain of being comrade and leader in one lets him appear emotionally exhausted before his time, a sorry counterpart to the traditional tyrant who continues to hold the stage. The gymnastics instructor and form-master in Ernst Glaeser's Jahrgang 1902 (1928) is entirely successful in his bullying of the little Jew, and only the "Red Major's" son has a complete defence against a man of this type, - who moreover is known to be marked for promotion by the Ministry and may even end up in Parliament. Johannes, the hero of Ernst Wiechert's Die kleine Passion (1929) is also made to suffer under the masters at two schools. Friedrich Torberg's Der Schüler Gerber hat absolviert (1930) states the theme of the conflict between teacher and pupil with undiminished violence. With the ominous words: "Ich will euch eure Karriere schon verderben".

"Der liebe Gott" stalks from the classroom in Buddenbrooks.

And "Dieses Früchtchen werde ich schon klein kriegen" is the boast of the master, "Gott" Kupfer, who holds the fate of Gerber and his classmates in his hands. Gerber's breaking resistance and suicide, before he knows the results of the final examination whereby he has been declared fit to pass out

of school and into life, bring to a close another "Gymnasia-
 35)
 astentragödie" .

It cannot be denied that authors are drawing on their own experiences when portraying school-life in this fashion, nor that prototypes exist for even the extremer portraits of teachers, yet exaggeration is certainly present. A fairer picture of conditions is given in those works which have already been noted for their portrayal of a more normal and average childhood. H.A. Krüger (Gottfried Kämpfer and Kaspar Krumbholz) tries to be fair to all teachers and shows both good and bad without undue exaggeration in either direction. No extremes of injustice occur, for never is a boy completely at the mercy of an overzealous or unsuitable teacher; always the wise guidance of the headmaster or the united counsel of the teaching body as a whole is brought to bear on the situation. Jakob Schaffner strikes a balance too in his Johannes.

35) H. Keller (op.cit., chap.1) speaks of distortion here, as does A. Schröder: Schüler und Lehrer höherer Schulen in der neueren deutschen Romandichtung (Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde, Jhg.45, 1931, Heft 5, p.508 ff.); but Alwin Müller: Die Schule wird angeklagt. Bericht über sechs Romane (Eckart, 1931, Heft 1) notes in defence that the author had heard of ten such schoolboy suicides during the winter of 1929. A. v. Grolman sees the teacher as a psychopathic case, and interprets the struggle between him and Gerber as a sporting contest upon which the pupil enters in the true spirit of his times (op.cit., p.162 and p. 221).

although the issue is sharp enough; while Carossa's Verwandlungen einer Jugend, not trying to minimise the possibilities both of injustice and faulty handling, shows healthy boyhood steering safely through the difficulties of school life.

Least satisfactory are those attempts at using good and bad teachers as contrasting types, in order to demonstrate A, the correct method and B, the wrong ³⁶⁾, from Otto Ernst's poor play Flachsmann als Erzieher (1900) to Studienrat Hancke by Karl Blitz (1930), himself a Studienrat and writing under this assumed name.

THE BAD CHILD

A most pronounced feature in the portrayal of children and of childhood is the growing awareness that a simple approach is not enough, that it is too comfortable an assumption that childhood is an age of innocence, or that entry into the child's world is easy. This is not to say that a happy and sunny childhood, free of problematical aspects, becomes incapable of portrayal. Otto Ernst's collection of sketches, Appelschnut (1905), proves on the contrary that there is a place for such a natural and unaffected picture - modest though its literary pretensions may perhaps be - only after realistic portrayal, allied to understanding and insight, has firmly established

36) H. Keller, op.cit., chap. 4, Die Gestalt des Lehrers.

itself. There is the realization, however, that such a picture may be both incomplete and tinged with adult sentimentalism.

An indication of the complexity of the child's nature is found in Keller's Der Grüne Heinrich. Subsequent literature casts a light on the often strange and incalculable behaviour of children, on unexpected traits, like a delight in the gruesome. There is Krix at the keyhole in Rilke's Die Turnstunde, and Erich in the portrait gallery in Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge; a later example of this taste for horrors is found in Ina Seidel's Das Wunschkind, when Delphine questions Christoph about the details of Vespery's suicide. And badness itself is portrayed; although as Josef Ponten makes clear in some of his shorter stories, it is not simply wickedness that lies at the root of certain childish misdeeds, but a mischievous and inquisitive disposition perhaps, as in Das Haus des Arztes (from Der Knabe Vietnam, 1921), or an extreme of thoughtlessness which in an evil moment can lead to a catastrophe affecting the future lives of those concerned, as is the case when a group of seven and eight year old boys tries the experiment of putting their playmate Fritzchen Warschauer's neck under the wheel of an oncoming cart (Unteroffiziersposten Bethanien legt die Waffen nieder, from the

collection Der Jüngling in Masken, 1922). A major question is that of childish cruelty.

Cruelty towards animals

The cruelty of children towards animals may be of the unconscious kind, as already seen in Greencoat Henry's treatment of his collection of animals. Provi, the foundling in Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach's Die Spitzin (Aus Spätherbsttagen, 1901), metes out to the dog the unkindness and hurt he himself has suffered at the hands of others, his deliberate acts of cruelty springing from a subconscious sense of desertion and frustration. The dying creature's last act of motherlove (she brings her puppy to the boy who has brutally kicked her, in order that it may not starve) touches his heart with longing that such a love might have been shown him by his own mother, and with a new pity and tenderness for the helpless little animal. Viewed superficially this is sentimental enough, but in reality an interesting excursion into the underlying reasons for acts of childish cruelty, together with a revelation of the means whereby healing may be effected. There is belief in the essential goodness of most children here; only in abnormal cases is cruelty a fundamental trait. Lore's unkindness to animals in Das Schädliche (1894) is proof of her genuine badness. Depravity of the mentally deficient child

is instanced in Glaubenslos (1893), and here it may be noted that only in such a case of mental backwardness, that of Tiberius in Bötjer Basch (1886), does Storm show cruelty towards animals in a child. Poor little Wienke in Der Schimmelreiter (1888) is not of this type; her dimly comprehending mind is able to reach out gratefully to affection, and the little dog and the tame seagull win her responsive love. A fondness for animals is characteristic of Storm's children, and he delights especially in featuring girls and devoted dogs. Cruelty of a child under intense emotional stress, and contrary to its normal instincts, is portrayed with refinement of insight and in a strangely moving way in Peter Brindeisener. The boy, unmercifully handled by his father and suffering extreme mental as well as physical agonies, sees a butterfly against the window, and reaching out his hand from the bed where he lies, he crushes its head, while a wave of intense bitterness flows over him at this beauty which he cannot bear. Whereupon he turns his face to the wall in silent hatred.

Cruelty to one-another

Unkindness of children to one-another is also found in Keller, more clearly in Martin Salander than in Der Grüne Heinrich. The aggressive little Weidelich twins, emboldened by the sense of security afforded them by their mother, resort

to physical as well as verbal attack against the older Arnold, shy and less certain of himself. By a trick of fate it is again the Weidelich twins who cause discomfort to the Salander children, - unwittingly this time -, as they enter the garden where the company is partaking of refreshments, and have little bits of roll and ham popped into their mouths, until the whole dish is empty and the watching children at the window realize they must go supperless to bed.

Group action by children against one of their number, psychologically well observed, is frequently shown. Moses Freudenstein, the little Jew in Raabe's Der Hungerpastor, is persecuted by the other boys. They turn from building their snowman to pounce on the hapless Moses, who has had the temerity to come out and see the new snow too, and proceed to wash his face in it. (Help comes from an unexpected quarter, however, for Hans Unwirrsch, made thoughtful by the death of his teacher, and resolved not to tease and torment, takes his side, and a glorious battle develops, finally sending Hans and Moses tumbling down the steps into the junkshop.) The village children try to drown Tonie Häusler in the pond, resenting her presence as an outsider, and feeling that her lack of social privilege places her at their mercy. (Raabe, Der Schüdderump, 1870). Similar tormenting of the outcast occurs in Das Gemeindegeld. Many

of the school stories provide instances of the individual suffering at the hands of the majority, because of the difference sensed by the others, and provoking outbursts of teasing and cruelty of the kind endured by Asmus Semper from his classmates, and again in a heightened and symbolical manner by Johannes "Karsten" Zerrgiebel, who in Ernst Wiechert's Die kleine Passion walks in the paths of Christ, and endeavours to take upon himself the sufferings of the many; or because of an unwillingness to conform to accepted standards, with the additional suggestion of being a cry-baby, which is the unfortunate position in which Gottfried Kämpfer finds himself in his earliest schooldays, before becoming a leader himself.

More often there is the figure of the one enemy. Such a tormentor is Meierlein (Der Grüne Heinrich) in his own particular way. This experience of Heinrich's is echoed in Hesse's Kinderseele, down to the final falling-out of the two boys. Paul in Frau Sorge has to contend with two tormentors, the redoubtable Erdmann brothers. Fear of thrashings enters as a motive here and continues as the threat of the school bully³⁷⁾. Erwin Jimmerthal does no physical violence to Tonio Kröger, but is able to hurt him in other ways. Symbolical value

37) Dichtung und Wahrheit (Book 2) mentions school bullies and thrashing.

attaches to the figure of Kromer in Demian, in whom the boy Emil Sinclair first meets danger and evil. But this same Kromer is foreshadowed by "Mao's" tormentor, who by threat of exposure maintains a hold over the younger boy, taking advantage of his simplicity and honesty, and making his life, for a space, a haunted one. The clash with Reisinger brings Carossa into line with others who feature this aspect of the relationship of children to each other.

But the background is not necessarily that of school, nor are the oppressors always boys. A stronger child preying on a weak one is the subject of Ein Verbot, by Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach, and in this case it is a girl, Milenka, who teases and torments the little crippled boy. A certain ruthless disregard for others, and a strength and determination to survive, are the characteristics of this orphan with her gypsyish fascination and gaiety. Her cunning and ability to look after herself are a contrast to the sad little figure of Franzko, who dies so pathetically as a result of Milenka's thoughtless and selfish cruelty. There is no idealization of childhood here! The children are aware of the brutalities of life and have no illusions. Survival of the fittest and each for himself is something Milenka senses instinctively. Despite their naturalness, Storm's presentation of similar scenes appears lacking in realism after this ruthless picture. The incidents

are slight, noteworthy more for the reversal of roles to the more commonly accepted ones of boyish tormenting of girls (Aquis submersus, 1886; Eekenhof). Such badness is rare, as in the case of cruelty towards animals. "Die Jugend ist nur selten böse", says Storm in Bötjer Basch, affirming his belief that badness is not a fundamental trait in children.

Lying

Next to cruelty comes the problem of childish lying. This is closely linked with imagination and the delight in weaving fancies, as may be seen in Greencoat Henry's early romancing, which gets some older schoolmates into trouble. The highly imaginative little girl in Die Heilige und ihr Narr (Agnes Günther, 1913) is seen to live on the fringes of a dreamworld of her own. Wassermann's Junker Ernst invents stories which to him are in no way divorced from reality; only gradually does he learn to keep the world of his fancies apart from the things of everyday, developing his gifts as a teller of quaint and whimsical tales, full of folklore and fairy magic. There is a resemblance here to Eine Kindheit, where we find Die Forelle thrilling her youthful listener with tales of white stags and other marvels, which inspire the boy to go off on an adventure of his own, armed with her magic word, and to give a triumphantly fanciful version of his doings on his return home. The

first stirring of the child's creative impulse is evident in this kind of story-telling, but it may readily turn to genuine lying and untruthfulness, if not finding an outlet into productive art³⁸⁾. The ease with which the borderline between fancy and deceit may be overstepped is a danger noted by Keller. Heinrich is saved from the worst consequences of his later "Lügenzeit", but his companion treads a downward path which leads him to ruin. The lying at this period in the boy's life also reveals an urge to boast, common enough in children. An amusing twist is given to this by Thomas Mann in Buddenbrooks, where Tony and her friend Julchen Hagenström are showing off, in an effort to impress each other (Vol. 1, part 2, chap. 2):

"Mein Vater hat tausend Taler!" sagte Julchen und glaubte entsetzlich zu lügen. "Deiner vielleicht -?" Tony schwieg vor Neid und Demütigung. Dann sagte sie ganz ruhig und beiläufig: "Meine Schokolade eben hat furchtbar gut geschmeckt ... Was trinkst du eigentlich zum Frühstück, Julchen?"

For all its lightness the episode forms a rather cynical comment, anticipating as it does the duplicity these two will practise as worthy matrons, before a society which must be impressed at all costs.

38) See Dichtung und Wahrheit, Book 2, where Goethe notes the unfortunate results that might have sprung from his youthful "Windbeutelereien", had he not learned to give them poetic form.

Falsehood that is in part the outcome of a natural tendency fostered by environment, and in part the exercise of faculties of imagination bordering on genius, is the essence of Felix Krull's sick-bed performances as a child. Pride of achievement outweighs every sense of guilt. Here is lying at its most perverting, for it is not recognized for what it is. It is perhaps worth noting that Felix Krull is foreshadowed by Christian Buddenbrook, who is also the possessor of a powerful imagination, which enables him to reproduce symptoms of illness through sheer self-persuasion. In his case the morbid dwelling upon the subject is an obvious sign of decadence.

The awakening sense of guilt, so markedly absent in Felix Krull, is a later factor in childish lying and may in its turn lead to further lies. This happens in Kinderseele, when Hesse shows the boy becoming more deeply entangled in falsehood after his initial lie, while bitterly resentful of a providence which has placed sin in his way. The whole approach to the question of childish lying is profoundly psychological here, for the subconscious motivation of the boy's theft of the figs from his father's room, and his subsequent lie to cover up the deed, is seen to rest in the whole complex relationship between father and son. Carossa's insight is also deep when he touches on another aspect of such lying in Verwandlungen einer Jugend. Here the boy confesses to something he has not done.

A subconscious feeling of guilt lies behind this action, although he knows he is in fact innocent, and to himself is aware only of a desire to end the intolerable interview and to oblige his inquisitor³⁹⁾.

Awareness of the complex motives underlying a child's actions, as well as appreciation and understanding of the phases of childish development, is increasingly evident in literature. The aim is not to show children that are either wholly good or wholly bad, but to reveal the subtle admixture of goodness and badness in the one child, and to explore more deeply the nature of such "badness", whose origins and import may be other than they at first glance appear.

LOOKS AND CHARACTER

In all child portrayal from the time of Keller onwards there is a decided link between character and appearance. This is seen in its crudest form where a good child is shown as beautiful and a bad one as ugly. Keller himself is never as obvious as this, but it is true to say that with him a generally attractive exterior is also an indication of inward

39) The problem of lying, the child's sense of guilt, and fear of public exposure, is discussed by Rousseau in Book 2 of the Confessions; and by Carossa in Der Arzt Gion (1931).

40) beauty . The tendency becomes, however, quite a general one to associate a certain outward appearance with a particular type of child. Illfavoured children can be recognized at a glance as being of questionable character, and a kind of conventional good looks are the hallmark of the virtuous child. This is especially pronounced in the case of those child heroes who are portrayed as manly little fellows of slender build with fair hair and, more often than not, blue eyes. Notable examples are Wildenbruch's little cadet in Das edle Blut, and Edwin McEndoll in Enrica v. Handel-Mazetti's historical novel Meinrad Helmpergers denkwürdiges Jahr (1900). Such looks are evidence of breeding, and may be used as clear indication of aristocratic birth. Storm's Junker Detlev in Eekenhof bears proof of his lineage in his whole appearance and bearing; on the feminine side there is the little Princess in Die Heilige und ihr Narr, with every mark of refinement and of her noble descent in her delicate countenance and beautiful hair.

Purposes of class distinction may be served by a device of this kind. Interesting is the instance afforded in Jörn Uhl of the marked difference in appearance between members of the two clans in the district. It is always possible to distinguish an Uhl from a Krey: blond serious children, slimly

40) B. Röthlisberger, op. cit., p.121f.

built, with strong features and clear, proud gaze; and round-headed, sandy-haired, freckled youngsters, bright-eyed and impudent. Children of more lowly origin are generally portrayed as coarser in features and build, and lacking the height of the more nobly born. This is true also where the refinement is spiritual rather than due to aristocratic descent, as may be seen for instance in the Geschichten aus dem Mandelhause, where the contrast to the fair, sensitive Amadeus, with his blue eyes darkening in thought, is provided by the little son of a neighbouring farmer, Martin:

"ein strunkiger, kleiner Mensch mit einer Knopfnase und einem verwogenen, gesunden Gesicht. Seine braunen Haare stehen durcheinander wie die Borsten eines zerstrichenen Butterpinsels, mit dem man die Kuchenbleche einfettet."

This distinction between highborn and lowly in turn gives rise to a conventional type of bad boy, squat, bandy-legged and red-haired, the complete opposite of the slender, fair "good" boy. It will be noted that Keller again avoids extremes. Meierlein is by no means ugly, yet there is that in his face and bearing which clearly indicates the hardened little go-getter. Storm shows ugliness only in the case of the mentally defective Tiberius (Bötjer Basch), as does Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach in Glaubenslos; but the objectionable boy Krix in Die Turnstunde is "small, catlike, with eyes full of cunning"; while Erwin Jimmerthal is seen approaching Tonio Kröger and his friend "with bandy legs and slit eyes". Felix Krull refers in superior

and disdainful fashion to "ordinary boys with hard hair and red hands", but notes with slight regret as he grows up that his legs are on the short side, - a significant touch, this, in conjunction with his otherwise perfect proportions and pleasing looks. It is not complete ugliness which provides the real key to a child's defects, but rather some one trait or outward characteristic, present in children that may be in every other respect good-looking. This is where authors of ability and keen observation stand out in contrast to the less skilled, who tend towards over-simplification, idealizing the good child and exaggerating the faults of the bad one.

That this ability to observe and record is by no means confined to writers of a later date may be seen from Annette v. Droste-Hülshoff's Die Judenbuche (1842). Friedrich Mergel is there described as quite a nice looking boy, on whose face, however, there occasionally appears a certain unpleasant expression, indicative of the later development of his character. Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach attempts to show that an evil spirit may dwell in a child of beautiful appearance. A look in the child's eyes can reveal with a sense of shock its latent badness: Anka, in Ein kleiner Roman (1889), Lore in Das Schädliche (the former in some respects a preliminary study for the latter).

It will already have been seen that certain individual features may give a clue to character in children. Soft fair or light brown hair generally suggests fragility and delicacy, as in the case of Hanno Buddenbrook for instance. Erika in Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach's Die arme Kleine (1903) has "dünne Locken von seidenweichem Haar", the thin hair being a further sign of her slender hold on life when a baby. Wienke's thin hair (Der Schimmelreiter) is associated not with poor health, but with her lack of mental powers. Spirited children have curly hair: Keller's Vrenchen (Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe); Storm's Jenni, Lisei, Fritz (Von jenseit des Meeres, 1864; Pole Poppenspüler; Bötjer Basch); as also the artist Heiner (Freund Hein). Pigtails are, more often than not, a sign of quaintness, or at least distinction from other girls. Storm's Kätti (Zur Wald- und Wasserfreude, 1878) is an unusual child, and Helene Böhlau's bouncing Ratsmädel (Ratsmädelgeschichten, 1888) a pair of rather attractive tomboys.

Eyes more than any other feature afford a glimpse of the child's soul. When he mentions Estherchen's laughing eyes, Keller reveals all her gaiety and simple pleasure in life, contrasting so sharply with her brother's sulkiness (Pankraz der Schmoller). Sali and Vrenchen have beautiful eyes as their only striking feature, yet these reflect their goodness of heart

(Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe). Storm's little girls have blue or soft brown eyes, that in each case seem to reveal something of the particular personality of the child. The children of Impressionism and Neo-Romanticism have serious, deepset eyes. These speak of knowledge and awareness, of sadness at times, and of mystery; their glance is precocious as Hanno's when still a baby, unsmiling and somehow remote as in the case of Hans Giebenrath. Suggestive use is also made of a darker colour, the golden brown of Hanno - which is also the colouring of Ina Seidel's very much later Wunschkind - instead of the heroic blue; or the beautiful dark brown of Erik (Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge) and the dark eyes of Tonio Kröger.

Hands receive some attention at this period. Beautiful hands being associated with aristocratic birth, and therefore refinement (see Enrica v. Handel-Mazetti, for instance), now come in for particular mention, either to suggest tiredness and decadence, or simply an artistic strain (e.g. Hans Giebenrath, Hanno Buddenbrook, and his friend Kai Mölln).

Differences of character and temperament are sometimes brought into sharper relief by the juxtaposition of children of contrasting appearance. Storm makes use of this device in Eekenhof, where the two boys of Herr Hennike's second marriage

are shown as the complete opposites of Detlev, the child of his first union with the gentle lady of refined birth. Henno and Benno are "Zwei untersetzte, kurzbeinige Buben---mit schier rotbrandigem Haar", whose favourite pastime is to push their wheelbarrows full of stones around a circular track, pausing to throw the missiles at each other. Again in Zur Chronik von

Grieshuus (1884) the two brothers are described:

"Ein Paar von Zwillingsbrüdern ist es gewesen, im Anfang fast sich gleich an Antlitz und schlanker Wohlgestalt: ein schmales Haupt mit hart an der vorspringenden Nase stehenden Augen und schwarzbraunem Haupthaar ist allen dieses Geschlechtes eigen gewesen; bei dem ältesten der Brüder aber, dem Junker Hinrich, hat an den Schläfen sich das Haar gleich einem dunklen Gefieder aufgesträubt, so dass man ihn mit seinen grauen, oft jähe Funken werfenden Augen einem Adler soll verglichen haben. Bei dem Junker Detlev dagegen ist das anfangs wellige Haar allmählich schlichter worden, bis es in Strähnen auf das Wams herabfiel, und wenn, was darum nicht seltener geschehen, Zorn oder Grimm ihn überkommen, so sind seine Augen wie stumpf geworden, und hat niemand sehen können, was dahinter vorgegangen. Es ist nicht kund geworden, dass er den Hörigen oder dem Gesinde etwas Ubles angetan, aber dennoch sind sie gern ihm aus dem Weg gegangen, als ob solches gleichwohl von ihm zu fürchten sei".

Of glaring sentimentality is Ernst v. Wildenbruch's picture of the two cadets, "das grosse und das kleine L" in Das edle Blut, the elder sullen, unfriendly, of no distinction, the younger full of spirit and natural charm, drawing his brother into his protective care. The difference between them is emphasized by

their complete lack of any outward resemblance:

"Das grosse L. war ein vierschrotiger Bengel mit plumpen Gliedern und einem dicken Kopf, das kleine L. wie eine Weidengerte, so schlank und elastisch. Er hatte einen kleinen, schmalen Kopf und blondes, welliges Haar, das sich von selbst lockte, und ein Näschen, wie ein kleiner Adler und überhaupt - es war ein Junge -".

The implication need not be that one such child is good, the other bad. In Tonio Kröger and Hans Hansen, for example, Thomas Mann has chosen to represent two distinct types. In order to express the artistic sensibility and emotional response to beauty of the one, he is given a Southern cast of features and colouring, while his friend's frank and untroubled nature, unaware of problems and living easily on the surface of things, is symbolized in his Nordic fairness and his clear blue eyes, the sailor suit and cap with its black streamers furthering the impression of a healthy open-air life full of the tang of the salt sea breeze, whereas a hothouse air seems to surround Tonio. The contrast between the two boys is indeed one that reveals itself in every detail of their appearance and dress. Tonio the artist has eyes that are dark, shadowed and heavy-lidded, their gaze at once dreamy and a little apprehensive; his sensitive mouth and chin suggest vulnerability; and there is something both luxurious and careless in his dress and manner of walking. Hans strides beside him, wellknit and athletic, hardier, as his clothing suggests, yet well cared-for, and, in keeping with his attitude to life, seeming to take it for granted that this should be so.

Without the sentimentality of Wildenbruch, Mann shows the difference between brother and sister in Unordnung und frühes

Leid (1926). Not only are their utterly different natures expressed in their outward appearance, there is also something essentially feminine in little Lorchén with her delicate limbs, smooth hair and intriguing dimples; as opposed to the sturdy masculinity of the four year old Beisser, apparent in his rough, unruly hair and his passionate fits of temper.

In summing up the relationship between looks and character, it can be said that to be able to tell at a glance by a child's beauty or ugliness whether it is good or bad, points on the whole to the work of an indifferent artist; although even this method can be employed in a convincing and pleasing manner, if some of Storm's children are taken as examples. The good child will always be in a certain measure attractive, while something repellent will be found about the bad child, even if it is only a small trait. Healthy plainness is more in evidence in the works that run alongside those featuring sensitive and artistic children, from the early years of the 20th century onwards. Interest becomes centred less on either goodness and badness in themselves, but on the whole complex personality of the child. It is, however, not possible to equate the awareness of good and bad in one child, with the portrayal of children undistinguished by their looks. Where the story is told in the first person the reference to looks is brief as a rule, and may not be more than a very general impression - e.g. Der Grüne Heinrich; Peter Camenzind;

Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge; Demian; Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordete ist schuldig; Johannes; Eine Kindheit and Verwandlungen einer Jugend; Peter Brindeisener; Jahrgang 1902; as well as Die Mutter, and Kinderseele. It seems only natural that the storyteller should refrain from thus describing himself, while he may have more to say about the appearance of the other children with whom he is brought into contact. It is the measure of Felix Krull's vanity, that he describes himself with evident self-satisfaction.

THE USE OF DETAIL

The use of descriptive detail in child portrayal is slight at the very start. The references to appearance are of a very general nature, and it is only when these become more precise and individual that the figure of the child begins to come alive and to stand out clearly. Some indication of manner and behaviour, together with details of dress, help to give a picture, as for instance in Barfüssele. The observations in Die Judenbuche are more significant, however. In Bergkristall⁴¹⁾ Stifter not only paints the children by means of sure though sparing touches, but sets them against a scenic

41) First published in 1845 as Der Heilige Abend and later incorporated under its present title in Bunte Steine (1853).

background. Brother and sister experience the terrifying grandeur of nature in their night amidst the icefields of the mountain top. Keller too frames his children in a natural setting, delighting in pictures where the childish figures move against the background of nature. His use of colour as a visual aid is both interesting and attractive, - one remembers the splash of blue, as Hadlaub moves among the trees, Heinrich's green coat that marks him out from his companions (symbolical too of his greenness), and the Weidelich twins in their flowered waxcloth pinafores. The image of the child is not conveyed solely by this means, although colour may play a great part in bringing a picture to life, as for instance that of the golden-haired Hadlaub in his linen tunic, emerging from the green of the forest, as he drives home the cows, a long reed in his hand; or Fritz Amrain, a little Saint George leaping to protect his mother, golden curls flying about his flushed face, blue eyes full of anger, his short white nightshirt fluttering like a crusader's tunic, a curtain rod with gold knob firmly grasped in his bare arms. There is the action in this latter instance, however, which goes far to revealing the child's character; and it is through some such characteristic action, mannerism, or a facial expression, together with mention of hair, eyes, or complexion, that Keller portrays children, avoiding lengthy descriptions of appearance, but achieving great vividness:

Pankraz is described as a not very attractive boy of fourteen, with grey eyes and a serious expression, fond of lying in bed of a morning, and withal a stubborn and sulky fellow, who never laughs and neither does nor learns anything useful; his favourite pastime is to watch the fiery sunsets, or to lie in the potato field with his little book of white and gold pages that contains his own strange drawings. His sister, twelve years old, is pretty as a picture with her long thick brown hair, large brown eyes, and lovely white skin; and she sings as sweetly as any nightingale; gentle and quiet, hers is a more harmless and innocent nature than that of Pankraz, and she gaily dips her spoon in her brother's portion of the dish, and sits laughing at her spinning wheel, as she sees his dismay, when he finds on another occasion that she has eaten part of his supper. Of seven year old Kungolt Keller notes that she is "keck, schön und lockig", this together with the adjective "heftig" is sufficient, however, to give a very exact impression, even without the several instances of her impulsive, affectionate, but also wayward behaviour.

Externals of dress and colouring are of some importance with Storm (more especially where girls are concerned), although he too shows significant behaviour. In many instances the children make only a fleeting appearance, serving often simply

to create a particular atmosphere, but the picture is held fast by the reference to hair and eyes, and sometimes the colour of a garment: the brown-eyed Elisabeth in Immensee (1849) wears a red silk scarf; Anne Lene (Auf dem Staatshof, 1858), the sun in her golden hair, comes to tea dressed in white with a blue sash, to dance the minuet; Nesi's dark hair and brown skin are set off by a red and white striped dress (Viola tricolor, 1873); and Leonore Beauregard (Auf der Universität, 1862), who has quickly slipped on a white collar and coral ear-rings when the boys call, attends the dance in a frock of black and red with a white shawl about her shoulders. Her strange dark beauty lingers in the mind, as does that of the wistful, black-haired Phia Sternow (Der Herr Etatsrat, 1881), pale and haunting as one of the Willis to whom she is compared. Among the boys, Storm manages very successfully to suggest differences of temperament and character, without going into great detail: there is the frank, friendly, jolly little Fritz Basch, young Rick with his daring stubbornness and good heart (John Riew, 1885), or Hauke Haien (Der Schimmelreiter), silent, thoughtful, moving with slow determination.

For all the number of children introduced by Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach, there is singularly little outward detail. She is content with brief references to height and colouring,

to hair that may in some way suggest the child's character (the wild brown hair of the good-looking but neglected Gemein-dekind Pavel; the "Pagenkopf" of Pia in Der Fink, - from the collection Alte Schule, 1897); or to eyes that hint at some individual trait (Provi's pale eyes are arresting; and Lore's glance is revealing, being spoken of as "ein erschreckend kluger, durchdringender Blick" and "ein ewig verneinender, ewig rebellischer Blick"). She describes children rather through their behaviour than simply through their looks, - Milenka's "wilde Lustigkeit" is referred to rather than her colouring or features. On the whole it seems that Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach allows children to reveal themselves in action: there is warmhearted little Pia, putting all the sternness and indignation of which she is capable into her commands to her dog, from whom she rescues the chaffinch, and determined too to save the bird from the cat which prowls up the turret stairs behind her; Milenka shouting insults at the deaf old witch, then on Sunday, dressed in her best, flitting about the poorhouse like an imp of mischief, before setting out boldly to "borrow" the witch's prettiest crock in which to gather the forbidden strawberries, - the terrified but admiring Franzko at her heels; there is "die arme Kleine", so pathetic as a baby, yet adoring the wild games of her three sturdy brothers, who in turn are devoted to their little

sister; and Clary (Die erste Beichte), impulsively trying to throw herself from an upper window rather than sin again after her first confession, and the same child, the incident already happily forgotten, seen again with her elder sister peeping in at their father and the kindly old priest, Elisa's lovely little face framed in the window, Clary not able to reach as high and presenting only the tip of her nose above her hands that grasp the sill, but with a triumphant look in her large blue eyes. Lore imitating her Aunt Maud as she struts down the garden path peering shortsightedly at the leaf in her hand affords an example of mimicry of a particularly cruel kind, far removed from the harmless and delightfully solemn performance of little Asmus Semper, who is secretly watched by the grown-ups as he parades up and down in the doctor's top hat, pretending to smoke a cigar. Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach probes more deeply here than Otto Ernst, who prefers to show the attractive side of childish behaviour. Her direct reference to the mark of the future adult on a child's face is of some interest and importance. The young priest in Glaubenslos, looking at the schoolchildren's faces before him, sees in all the clear indication of the personality that will later develop. "Do my thinking for me" is what some of these faces seem to say; the prevalent expression is one of harmless, lazy foolishness; while others again appear of a trusting intelligence. He

senses their instinctive need, the equal need and equal right of the bad as well as the good, and is momentarily inspired by the greatness and satisfaction of the task of guiding and keeping pure and unsullied even one of these springs of life, in the spirit of the words: "Love thy neighbour as thyself, and each one is thy neighbour".

Sudermann and with him Frenssen do not differ markedly from any of the preceding writers. Paul in Frau Sorge is characterized as "ein anspruchsloser Knabe mit schüchternem Blick und schwerfälligem Gebaren", while there is only the briefest reference to Elsbeth, and Paul's twin sisters, as far as features are concerned. Frenssen portrays with slightly more detail, but it is evident that neither relies on externals alone to create the picture of the child.

The tendency, by the turn of the century, is to achieve greater depth by dwelling on reaction and behaviour, and by revealing the child's thoughts, the "Seelentiefen", that is to say the child's spiritual life.

The children in Huch's Geschwister and Wandlungen are described in somewhat romantic vein, the author conscious of the need for visible contrasts, as well as delighting in the sensuous images evoked. Felizitas has black eyes with her

corn-blond hair of silky texture, and is a vision of lightness and grace, while her half sister Cornelle is described as "dunkel, schollenstark" with deep, unfathomable eyes. Jasmin, their half brother, is a cross between the two, darker than Felizitas, yet with lighter eyes ("tiefer Bernstein mit goldenem Schimmer"). There is symbolism here, rather than the portrayal of real children. But of "Mao" little is recorded beyond his silence and his dreamy look.

Rilke breaks fresh ground with the isolation of look or voice, in order to achieve startling effects. The impression gained from the glance and snigger of Krix as he whispers into his neighbour's ear what he saw, when peeping through the key-hole into the room where their comrade lies dead, is not a pleasant one (Die Turnstunde). In the same way, Erik whispers in Malte's ear as the two move along the dark portrait gallery, after he has blown out the candle. The eeriness of the scene, with this goblin child hanging on his arm, pinching him, tittering softly as he reveals that the ghost is invisible in the mirror, would haunt a child of stronger nerves than Malte. This same Erik is described as a frail boy with thin, pale neck and long chin above a ruffled collar, narrow closed lips, nostrils that quiver softly, and beautiful dark brown eyes, one of which is fixed in a squint. The last detail adds a final touch of

gruesomeness when taken in conjunction with the whole ghost-ridden atmosphere of Urnekloster. By means such as this, Rilke invests his portraits of children with a peculiar intensity and strangeness.

Hesse goes into details only in Unterm Rad, where it is necessary to emphasize the fineness of Hans Giebenrath in contrast to the others. Because he is accusing those in authority of blindness and insensibility, he dwells with some pathos on the attractive, intelligent schoolboy face, and the head well set on slender neck, the body delicate and slim. A rather spiritual look on the boy's face is much admired by those who appreciate his superior mental endowments. Ironically and fiercely the author bursts forth:

"In den letzten acht Tagen war die Vergeistigung eklatant geworden. In dem hübschen, zarten Knabengesicht brannten tiefliegende, unruhige Augen mit trüber Glut, und auf der Stirne zuckten feine, Geist verratende Falten, und die ohnehin dünnen und hageren Arme und Hände hingen mit einer müden Grazie herab, die an Botticelli erinnerte."

Hans's companions at Maulbronn are shown in their characteristic differences. This is something found in all school stories, only the degree of detail varying. Thus different schoolboy types are introduced in Buddenbrooks (Part 11, chap. 2); the classmates of Kämpfer and Krumbholz are described at length; and various boys are met with in Verwandlungen einer Jugend.

By far the greatest use of external detail is made by

Thomas Mann, notably in Buddenbrooks, where the revealing features of the various Buddenbrook children are recorded, and Hanno's development is followed from infancy. In each case their later dominant characteristics are seen to be already marked in childhood, and repetition serves to emphasize these traits: Tony's protruding upper lip, Christian's round deepset eyes and large nose, Klothilde's long, elderly face, and Klara's stern eyes. There is a concentration of small details in the picture of Hanno, details some of which are apparent only to the keenest observer, and all stressing his frailty and unfitness for life, - not only his slender build, the pale hands with the blue veins at the wrist, but the blue shadows under his eyes and about his nostrils, the closed mouth that is wistful and timid. The eyes are full of knowledge, and at times his mouth is drawn up in a small gesture of resignation. Everything that separates him from his kin is noted, his more delicate hands, the more sensitive nostrils. By contrast with this last offspring of the fading Buddenbrook line, the Hagenström boys of the younger generation are "dick, stark und übermütig".

Descriptive detail is used with the same effect in Tonio Kröger. And again many small points receive meticulous attention in Unordnung und frühes Leid. The two little late arrivals in the family are subjected to an intensive scrutiny,

as it were, and nothing is missed, hair, eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth, teeth are remarked upon, and even the little blemish on Lorchen's cheek, and the ear which is smaller than the other, do not escape attention. There is a delighted fascination in the discoveries the father makes about his small daughter, and at the same time a feeling of special tenderness in seeing the childishly thin neck, the delicate little hands and legs, and in hearing the sweet little voice, so different from her brother's gruff tones. The pathetic appeal of this baby of five years sitting up in bed, her features eloquent of distress, and her nightgown slipping from a shoulder that is like a little sparrow's, is undoubtedly great, but one cannot help feeling that it is a calculated effect, and that there is a curious sense of detachment in the author, even here, where personal emotions are involved.

Mann differs from other authors in this respect, that his descriptions do not spring from any real sympathy towards children. His use of detail is a trick of his style, not a sign of closer understanding, - or even of a desire to understand. That his viewpoint is essentially that of the grown-up is not in itself a reproach. This is, after all, Keller's perspective too, and yet there is no lack of warmth or understanding here. Mann, however, stands apart, a cool observer,

and far from a desire to think and feel with the child, there is a non-committal coldness. As far as his treatment of the school theme goes, this neutrality is interesting. He refuses to take sides in the struggle, and unlike those who champion the child against his teachers, shows awareness of the fact that schoolboys are not all angels⁴²⁾. His knowledge of schoolboy behaviour - in evidence again in the story Wie Jappe und Do Escobar sich prügeln (1911) - is convincing. His refusal to exaggerate in favour of the child has something in it of irony, however, and irony is at work again in Das Wunderkind, the irony of the observer of human behaviour who is expressing himself in the attitude of the child prodigy to its audience, and who at the same time is in a position of patronising detachment, in relation to the whole scene.

It would hardly be possible to say that Mann's portrayal of children is inspired by affection. Rather does he manifest an attitude of superiority in recording so minutely the many intimate details of appearance. There is truth in his observation, but it serves other ends than the delight in children.

42) See G. Eichbaum (op.cit., section on Naturalismus, - Entwicklungsproblem), who does, however, concede Mann's partisanship for youth, while noting his restraint and freedom from tendentiousness; H. Keller (op.cit., chap.1) notes that Mann is stating facts, and not aiming at educational reform.

This is most obvious when he treats of illness.

The medical details are noted with scientific detachment, - Hanno's baby ailments, his troubled sleep, his poor teeth; by a tour de force a sense of remoteness attends his death. There seems little likelihood of such detachment hiding genuine feeling and serving as a deliberate veil to the emotions ⁴³⁾.

A personal and warmer note enters into his Gesang vom Kindchen (not to its literary advantage) and is felt again in Unordnung und frühes Leid, with its hint of family experiences; but even here there is cleverness rather than a desire to take the child seriously.

METHODS OF APPROACH, THE PERSONAL ELEMENT

Purpose

To suggest that Mann does not take the child seriously, leads to the question whether the reason for the portrayal of children is necessarily a close personal interest in the child and its problems. In his case, childhood portrayal would seem to be much more intimately associated with his outlook on life as a whole, and subordinated to his stylistic intentions.

43) There is something pitiless about the exposure of the agonies of the dying child in Doktor Faustus, although Mann offers the assurance that the working out of what had become an artistic necessity affected him painfully. See Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus (1949), p. 191f.

There is the possibility that an author may be supplying a demand of the moment. When attention becomes focussed on a certain aspect of childhood, following the trend of the times, a run of popular works exploiting this particular topic will follow, often inferior, since the sincerity of the author originally giving expression to the theme may be lacking. Pleasure in showing children is capable of producing much that is of genuine value. Here Storm might be instanced. Yet simple delight is always in danger of becoming sentimental, as can be seen in some of Otto Ernst's work. (Especially his attempt to take the picture of Appelschnut a generation further, in Buzi, oder Morgenstunden einer Menschenseele, 1925). Keller derives a certain aesthetic satisfaction from the introduction of children, notably in his Novellen, while a conscious purpose underlies his Der Grüne Heinrich, namely that of showing the lessons to be learned from life; childhood thus assumes a new importance and deep significance. There is equal seriousness in Pankraz der Schmoller and Frau Regel Amrain und ihr Jüngster, although the author is less directly personal; remoter still is Martin Salander, where Keller's own childhood experience does not obtrude at all. But more than this, Keller is the poet, who seeks in his childhood the roots of his existence, and, glancing back to retrace the steps of his development, rediscovers something of the wonder and meaning

of this erstwhile state. It is in like spirit that Carossa looks back, knowing that eternal values from which the adult may have departed will be found again in his own childhood. The purpose of the poet is to free the past from the rubble of the years and to read again the mysterious inscription over this early period, in which lie both his origins and the ultimate purpose of his life⁴⁴⁾.

Memories of childhood

The personal attitude of the author is of some interest, for the ability to portray convincingly will be increased to the extent that he is capable of identifying himself with the child. Sympathy and a lively imagination will go far in enabling the adult to put himself in the child's place, but memories of his own childhood can serve both as a guide and as an inspiration. Personal experiences are drawn upon to a varying degree, however, nor is material of this kind necessarily employed with a definite purpose in view. Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach describes an incident in her own childhood in Die erste Beichte, shedding valuable light on the question of religion in the child's life, and the dangers of advanced instruction for a mind not yet mature enough to receive it.

44) See Hans Carossa: Autobiographische Skizze (Die Literatur, Jhg. 28, Heft 8, 1926).

Yet there is the feeling that she uses this personal episode just as she would have used any other material that came to her pen. As far as her other portraits of children are concerned, she does not appear to identify herself very closely with them, and remains, despite a lively sympathy and understanding, in the position of an observer.

The most direct use of the personal childhood is seen in the autobiographical Bildungs- and Entwicklungsroman, where, as has already been indicated in the case of Keller and Carossa, it serves the highest artistic purposes. In many instances the use of autobiography is more veiled, as for example in Sudermann's Frau Sorge, less so in Ernst's Asmus Semper, but so changed and hidden as to be almost unrecognizable in the case of Hesse. Thus Hans Giebenrath is in part the author himself, and again Heilner has many of his characteristics 45). Either consciously or unconsciously nearly all the school stories draw on the author's own experiences. Obvious exceptions are works like Der Vorzugsschüler; and those of a propagandist nature, for example Aufbruch der Kinder.

The use of the first person singular is, however, not

45) G. Eichbaum, op.cit., section on Neuromantik, - Entwicklungsproblem.

always an indication that the author is portraying himself, just as he may prefer to hide his identity behind someone whose story he recounts in the third person. The first person allows for complete identification with the child, and it becomes possible for everything to be seen with the eyes of the child (e.g. Jahrgang 1902); nevertheless, it does not follow that the child's point of view can only be given where the first person is employed (Fuch's Mao, for instance); while the autobiographical form does not automatically exclude an adult view-point.

Men and women

The number of boys portrayed is closely related to the autobiographical factor. With the women writers this element is less in evidence, and it is clear that the personal childhood has produced no feminine equivalent of the Bildungsroman. Nor are Entwicklungsromane featuring girls a characteristic product of the feminine pen. A work worth noting is Helene Voigt-Diederich's Drei-viertel Stund vor Tag (1905), which deals sensitively with the development of Karen Nebendahl, a girl stubborn, reserved and patient as the Low Saxon landscape that has produced her. But against this can be set works by male authors, such as Hesse's Gertrud, and Heinrich Sohnrey's Friedesinchens Lebenslauf (1887, volume 1 of Die Leute aus

der Lindenhütte), the latter deserving of mention both for the regional setting and for the well observed reactions of the children in whose midst the sympathetically conceived Friedesinchen grows up. More appears to have been written by women about adolescent girls than about childhood (e.g. Lou Andreas-Salomé: Ruth, 1895, Im Zwischenland, 1902; Henriette Fernholz: Bedrängte Jugend, 1929). Helene Böhlau, writing as the descendant of one of the Ratsmädel, affords some quite fresh and attractive glimpses into the lives of two "Teenagers" of a vanished generation. One looks in vain for school stories.

It may seem a strange conclusion to reach, that more men than women authors portray children and childhood, but Alexander Beinlich⁴⁶⁾, who has made an exhaustive study of even the less valuable literature of the period around 1900, notes one sixth of the authors as women, suggesting at the same time that following the emancipation of women, women are still too absorbed in this question and the problem of young girls, to turn their attention to childhood, - although inclined to assume in any event that the *Entwicklungsroman* as such is not really adapted to a woman's best abilities. Carrying his statistics further, Beinlich notes that women writers portray

46) *Op.cit.*, para. 25.

as many boys as girls. This bears out the conclusion previously recorded, that autobiography is not a strong element with women. Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach might stand as example here for portraits of both boys and girls; Enrica v. Handel-Mazetti centres her Meinrad Helmpergers denkwürdiges Jahr round the figure of a boy; while Ina Seidel's Das Wunschkind, representing a later date, introduces a boy, with the accompanying figure of a little girl.

Beinlich further asserts that men, although proportionately not attempting so many, succeed rather better when portraying girls than do the women. This seems justified when one takes into account such a sentimental product as the little Princess in Agnes Günther's Die Heilige und ihr Narr, and places beside her any of Storm's girlish figures. Keller appears equally successful with boys and girls, and his Anna (Der Grüne Heinrich), although a young girl rather than a child, is evidence of his supreme mastery. Carossa's girls, Die Forelle, Eva, Amalie, appearing as secondary figures in Eine Kindheit and Verwandlungen einer Jugend, are on the same level of artistic inspiration; while in their particular poetic sphere Huch's sisters Felizitas and Cornelia are creations of note.

RECURRING ARTISTIC DEVICES

Boy and girl friendships

Noteworthy are the many boy and girl friendships, favoured by most male authors, and appearing as a recurring device in the literature of childhood. In Keller's Der Grüne Heinrich Anna and Judith enter the hero's life at a rather later stage; Sali and Vrenchen, Dietegen and Künigolt, and Hadlaub and Fides are shown as playmates in childhood, and their early friendship is a prelude to later love. This is a feature very much in evidence in Storm's works (e.g. Immensee, Auf dem Staatshof, Von jenseit des Meeres, Aquis submersus, Pole Poppenspüler, Eekenhof, Zur Chronik von Grieshuus, Carsten Curator, Hans und Heinz Kirch, Bötjer Basch); and as in the case of Keller, the girl is often the more spirited. In Der Schüdderump Raabe shows a similar relationship between Tonie Häusler, the poor little outcast from society, and Junker Hennig von Lauen, where again the girl takes the lead in most of their childish exploits. The motive of a childhood attachment occurs in Frau Sorge, with Paul and Elsbeth, and is echoed by Frenssen, with Jörn Uhl and Lisbeth Junker, the schoolmaster's granddaughter. Otto Ernst's Asmus Sempers Jugendland introduces several little girls, one of whom, the little Queen of the Mainotten, is met again later. The two novels of Krüger also make use of boy

and girl friendships which lead to a serious attachment later on: Kämpfer's with Inge, whom he first meets on the stagecoach; and that of Kaspar Krumbholz with Ursemi, who has made him her protégé. Strauss's Freund Hein is in the tradition too, Heiner exerting a good influence over the temperamental and hoydenish Lene from next door, with her wild ways and good heart; but the tragedy of Heiner's school life places any future together outside their reach. Childhood friendship and adult love, not with a happy outcome, is found with Huch also, in Enzio's association with the sculptor's daughter Irene. In the same author's earlier, and in many respects awkward and unconvincing work, Peter Michel (1901), subtitled "Ein komischer Roman", the dark and lively Liesel grows up a complete little coquette, and although prepared to have an affair with her former childhood companion, does not love him. Peter Brindeisener and the blind Helene form another pair whose fate is already linked in childhood; while even in his Geschichten aus dem Mandelhause Stehr touches on a childish attraction and shows Amadeus playing with Veronika. The theme is notably absent in Hesse's works, however, only a schoolboy infatuation of Peter Camenzind's for the beautiful Rösli Girtanner being capable of even distant association with it.

Of the women Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach might seem out of

line too, in this respect, if Das Gemeindegkind were to serve as example, for Pavel and Vinska can hardly be called playmates in the accepted sense, since the girl is an enemy rather than a friend. Pretty Vinska playing her tricks on the slow-witted boy is in danger of being killed by him when he discovers her theft, yet she is able to exert a strong attraction over him, which only fades gradually. Lore and Rupert, son of the nurse Johanna, in Das Schädliche, present a clearer instance, but again the relationship is given an unusual character. The older and stronger boy submits to the little girl's tyranny and is her willing slave, having to suffer, as he grows up, her cruel mockery, and finally losing his reason after the tragic circumstances of Lore's death.

Ina Seidel makes a noteworthy contribution with her Wunschkind, Christoph, whose love for Delphine, his cousin, begins in infancy, when the younger baby is laid beside him in the cradle. His protective love continues through early childhood and binds him closely to her as he grows up. Yet the relationship is one-sided, for the girl, though drawing strength from him at all times, feels no sense of obligation or answering affection. Unwilling that he should take pleasure in the things that delight her, she shuts him out of her little world of childish fancies, playing games he is not allowed to

share; she does not suffer as he does at the period of separation, when she is carried off to their grandfather's estates in Prussia, nor is she greatly moved by his arrival there a year or two later. That she is at the last unfaithful to him, he does not know, for this Wunschkind, born to his mother in times of war and stress, is fated to tread the same road as his military ancestors, and dies a youthful soldier's death in the preliminary fighting leading up to the battle of Leipzig.

An attempt at portraying in natural fashion the reactions of little boys to little girls is provided by Carl Spitteler's Die Mädchenfeinde (first published 1890; in bookform 1907). Here is a rather different approach. The two little cadets are scornful and full of superiority, but by the end of the journey down the mountain, Gesima has won their approval and friendship. The whole manner of telling is fresh and attractive, the realism of speech and behaviour almost in advance of the other childhood literature of the time. On the other hand there is today a certain naive simplicity about the little story, which no longer makes it ring quite true.

The use of boy and girl figures offers the possibility of artistic contrasts, and this has been exploited by all authors in their own particular way. Contrasts of character or temperament are evident in all the cases of childhood friendship

instanced above; there may also be the contrast in outward appearance and colouring, - found for example in Tonio Kröger and his "flaxenhaired dancing partner" Inge Holm.

The influence exerted over the boy by a member of the opposite sex is capable of sensitive interpretation and treatment, as may be seen in certain of the works already listed. In fitting conclusion, however, Carossa requires mention. The elemental qualities of Die Forelle, a child of nature, have already been indicated. Her influence comes at an early stage, when the boy's mind is open to all suggestion of mystery and wonder, and his fancy is stimulated by this older companion with her vivid and vital personality. Later comes Eva, who aids the unhappy conjurer, and for a while shares the boy's activities and interests. There is something motherly in her attitude, she appears more experienced and mature in her judgments, but at the same time she is lively and full of enterprise, and of an enviable athletic prowess, so that the boy accepts her as a comrade. By her origins - her people are circus folk - no less than by her appearance and manner she betrays a kinship with Mignon (as indeed Lene in Freund Hein does too). Her influence over the boy comes at a time before either is troubled with a consciousness of sex. Not unlike Eva in some respects, only a little older and more feminine,

is Amalie, with whom the boy roams happily through the woods and by the river. Her beauty and freshness, together with those of the natural setting, prepare him for the next step, which is love itself. Thus Carossa infuses these girlish figures of Eine Kindheit and Verwandlungen einer Jugend with a meaning and value more profound than any mere realistic portrayal as companions of boyhood. At a time when the feeling for nature, strong at the turn of the century in Freund Hein and Peter Camenzind, is absent from the work of many authors who portray childhood, Carossa affirms his belief in the closeness of all human life to the eternal mysteries of nature, and affords a sense of one-ness between the figures and the landscape. The child is not set against the background of nature as it was in the middle of the 19th century, nor does it find itself face to face with nature in the manner depicted by Clara Viebig in her short story Das Kind und das Venn (from Naturgewalten, 1905), where a little boy, child of the sunny Rhineland, succumbs to the harshness of the upland climate and the stark terror of the open moor that stretches bleak and silent to the horizon. Carossa, rejecting any idea of isolation, achieves a fusion with the creative forces of life-giving nature.

Boys

Friendship between boys is also a device frequently employed and capable of being used in various ways. Keller for instance dwells on the bad influence that may arise from such a friendship on two occasions in Der Grüne Heinrich, when describing the period of boyish romancing and lying, and the subsequent phase of Meierlein's ascendancy⁴⁷⁾. In the school stories the friend and confidant is to be found, generally at the stage of adolescence (e.g. Heiner and Notwang), and often as a foil to a less robust character (this already in Das Leiden eines Knaben)⁴⁸⁾. A somewhat younger pair of friends is to be seen in Hans Hansen and Tonio Kröger, the one the object of the other's secret longing. The friendship of Hanno Buddenbrook and Kai Mölln is of long standing, but is treated in greater detail when the boys are about fifteen years old. Here a feeling of their inherent difference from the other boys has brought about the close association between the gently bred young Count, a slender, neglected figure, and the sensitive Hanno. The aristocratic Kai, with all the signs of

47) B. Röthlisberger (op.cit., p.113) notes that Keller shows no friendships between girls, and that those between boys in Der Grüne Heinrich have unfortunate results.

48) Such friendships, based on the contrast of characters, show the Crestes and Pylades motive found in Dichtung und Wahrheit (Book 2).

race and refinement in his features and bearing, has in him also those qualities which enable him to face life, and thus his strength and independence mark the contrast between him and his friend, a contrast which, characteristically, the author is at pains to indicate in every detail of their appearance.

This work would appear to have exerted a strong influence over Wiechert's Geschichte eines Knaben, where Graf Holger and Percy are drawn together in similar fashion and the stronger lad exercises a protective influence over the other, unable, too, to save him from death in the end. The contrast in appearance is, if anything more marked here. Hans Giebenrath's period of friendship with Hermann Heilner, springing from loneliness and desire for companionship, is of a less satisfactory nature, for the latter's genius proves distracting. The idea is, however, again that of the contrast between those fit and unfit for life. The ability to survive is the keynote in the character of these accompanying figures - Enzo's friend Richard points the moral once again - but it is found too where the central figure is not inherently decadent. Thus Notwang is armed against the world, but Heiner's death is not the inevitable result of his whole spiritual and physical make-up, not the suicide of someone essentially unfit for life. These sturdier secondary figures reappear as the principal characters

of novels such as Gottfried Kämpfer and subsequent works of a realistic nature ⁴⁹⁾. A further point is that these stronger heroes are in turn given companions of a more delicate stamp, for instance Kämpfer's friend, the poet "Nöke", who dies; and Hugo in Verwandlungen einer Jugend, whose health is of the frailest. Demian, the guide and mentor of Emil Sinclair, is by virtue of his symbolical quality in a category by himself.

Friendships in general form an important part of school and institution life. Thus Kämpfer and Krumbholz are brought into closer relationship with various boys at different stages of their school career. Jahrgang 1902 mentions school contacts, and a summer friendship with a French boy, to prove that international barriers do not exist for children. Gang life and enthusiasm for a Red Indian and adventure-story atmosphere find portrayal in Die Räuberbande. The treasure-hunting adventures of two boys and their companion the old golddigger Alaska with his niece Kittl are featured by Friedrich Schnack in his Goldgräber in Franken (1930).

Brothers and sisters

The relationships of brothers and sisters seem of slighter

49) H. Keller (op.cit., chap.3, Die Gestalt des Schülers), referring to Schaffner's Johannes, speaks of the secondary figures of the Neo-Romantic novel which have now moved into the central position, but does not altogether cover a case like Freund Hein by this.

significance as a recurring device than either the boy and girl friendships or the friendships between boys already referred to. Protective and sympathetic influence, contrasts in character, and lack of understanding - even animosity - are all found, but do not really assume marked importance as childhood themes.

Pavel, the charity boy, feels the greatest tenderness for his pretty and rather frail sister Milada, whose gentleness has a softening influence upon him; Edwin McEndoll is full of protective pride and brotherly affection towards little Editha; Heiner too is a fond and gentle elder brother to Stephanie, - who bears the same name as Carossa's younger sister in Eine Kindheit. Differences of temperament can be seen in Pankraz and Estherchen, while an even sharper lack of affinity is noticeable in "Mao" and his sister Ursula, whose manner and interests strike a jarring note to those of the boy; Lorchen and Beisser provide an instance of contrasting personalities, despite identical dress, and even a certain family resemblance, which underlies the individual traits they have developed. Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach makes use of the motive of contrasting step-sisters in Božena (1876), appearance and personality of Regula and Röschen being treated with a "black and white" technique.

Brothers may be shown as friends (Aufbruch der Kinder):

although often of different character (e.g. Wildenbruch's two cadets); or they may go their own way and have their own interests, while not in any way hostile, as for instance Thomas and Christian Buddenbrook. The hostility develops when the two grow up. Complete divergence of personality forms the basis of the relationship between the brothers Sintrup (Pitt und Fox, by Friedrich Huch, 1908), of whose actual childhood we learn little, however; open hatred between brothers is shown by Storm, coupled, in the case of the Junkers of Grieshuus, with the twin motive, beloved of Sturm und Drang writers. This same motive is found in Jean Paul's Die Flegeljahre (1804/1805), not in order to heighten the conflict between brothers, but rather in order to exploit certain more humorous possibilities; Keller introduces it too, in Martin Salander; and Paul in Frau Sorge has younger twin sisters to care for. Apart from its use in connection with the theme of inimical brothers, and perhaps for its humorous aspects, the portrayal of twins does not seem to attain to any real importance, either for actual recording of a biological possibility, or from the point of view of artistic treatment.

Brothers and sisters in the larger family unit do not give rise to any recurring motives. Variety of character and temperament are generally aimed at here: Friedesinchens

Lebenslauf, Appelschnut, Kindernovelle (Klaus Mann, 1926), Die Jerominkinder; and there may be special ties of affection between individual members.

SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL PORTRAYAL

Individuals and types

An inquiry into the varying success with which children have been portrayed gives rise not only to the question whether an author is idealizing the child, from poetical motives or for reasons of sentiment, or setting about his task in a realistic manner, prepared for instance to allow for some healthy badness and the peculiar interests of schoolboys (e.g. Die Räuberbande; Der Knabe Vielnam, Der Jüngling in Masken; Jahrgang 1902), but also whether the children are individuals or types. This means firstly, do they come alive as individual personalities, or are they mere pasteboard figures, standardized representatives of good and bad little boys and girls? Does one remember them in their characteristic individuality, like Keller's children, of whom each is a distinct person, - or are they like the children in Paul Ernst's Der schmale Weg zum Glück (1903) colourless and rather uninteresting, since they have been chosen as prototypes, with varying home backgrounds, and are moved like figures on a chess board in accordance with the author's special designs?

Secondly, are they exceptions, or do they, while preserving their individual traits, stand for some larger group, whose problems are expressed in their own particular circumstances and fate? In one childhood may be seen the difficulties confronting a whole generation, or the abuses arising out of certain conditions. The schoolboy at the mercy of the educational machine and its individual representatives may be typified by one special case; or the son in revolt against paternal authority; or again the average child, passing through trials and encountering obstacles, but undefeated by reason of its essentially unproblematical nature.

The problems and the special needs of the artist find expression in the later career of Der Grüne Heinrich. Here Keller succeeds in representing the artist as a type, whereas the artists portrayed at the turn of the century are romantic individualists, divorced from reality and turned in upon themselves. In each a decadent strain manifests itself, and each is destroyed in his own way, by an innate tendency peculiar to himself. These are exceptional cases and do not represent a generation of children distinctive in ability and isolated through their finer perceptions. Far rather is this the case of Strauss's Heiner, who indeed in his individual way represents a type. The case of Hans Giebenrath is by comparison with

Heiner also that of an exception. Gerda Eichbaum⁵⁰⁾ goes so far as to suggest that he bears all the signs of dementia praecox and is therefore to be regarded as a special case; Hans Keller⁵¹⁾ quotes Hans Rudolf Schmid as saying: "Hesse will einen Schulroman geben und schreibt die Geschichte eines Neurasthenikers", a statement which Keller feels to be hardly just; Ignatz Bick⁵²⁾ sees in Hans the harassed and overdriven schoolboy, intended by nature for a scholar's career, but by his father's refusal to let him study should he not win a scholarship, subjected to undue pressure by his teachers and exposed to the jealousy of his classmates. All this would appear to prove that the author's intentions to portray a typical case of schoolboy suffering have through overstatement resulted after all in presenting exceptional circumstances.

Behaviour and speech

Ability to portray children successfully is dependent on both sympathy and understanding, as has already been suggested, while personal recollections, or children of one's own, can provide a further valuable aid. It is strange indeed that

50) Op.cit., section on Neuromantik, - Entwicklungsproblem.

51) Op.cit., chap. 1.

52) Op. cit., section 3.

Fontane, the outstanding German realist, and a master in the portrayal of adults, should be so curiously ill-at-ease with children on the rare occasions on which he introduces them into his novels; there is a stiffness as well as a concession to conventional picture-book appearance about them, notably in the unchildlike older girl in L'Adultera (1882), and Effi's daughter (Effi Briest, 1895), although the portrait of little Lizzi, the model child, in Frau Jenny Treibel (1892), is drawn with conscious humour. A certain precocity attaches to some of the children of Neo-Romanticism, so that one may be tempted to ask whether they are really children after all. Gerda Eichbaum⁵³⁾ speaks of "greisenhafte Jugendlichkeit" at this period. This clearly applies to a child like Hanno, who seems old before he has ever been young. Other of Mann's children have this rather alarming precocity too, yet at times he succeeds, through his powers of accurate observation, in glimpses of natural reactions and behaviour, for instance in the school chapter of Buddenbrooks, and in Wie Jappe und Do Escobar sich prügelten. He is unable, however, to achieve anything like the artlessness of Sali and Vrenchen at play, when he shows childish games and pastimes in Unordnung und frühes Leid. "Four gentlemen taking a walk", and the cushion game which evokes the same thrill of delight every time it is played, are certainly inspired by real life, and the funny

53) Op.cit., section on Naturalismus, - Dekadenz und Todesproblem.

nursery jingles too; but when Keller shows Sali and Vrenchen wandering over the field, swinging their linked hands over the tall thistles, then busied with the doll, and at length lying in the grass, where Vrenchen sings the same words over and over again to a monotonous and drowsy little tune, and both children stir into activity once more to count how many teeth they have, - the little girl in disarmingly inexpert fashion, - before the two finally fall asleep in the warm sun, he is presenting children at play in a manner that is at once effortless and wonderfully true. Keller's simplicity still holds its own against the elaboration and subtlety of Thomas Mann; and certainly against the artificiality of Klaus Mann's Kindernovelle, for all its attempt at showing the inventiveness of children at play: imaginary journeys to imaginary lands, and dressing up, and playing at weddings. While both Keller and Thomas Mann observe children from without, Keller seems closer in spirit and is both natural and charming when describing childish behaviour.

Keller shows himself in touch too with the questions asked by children, remembering his own early, and for the adult puzzling queries regarding the Deity. This childish questioning, showing knowledge of the child's viewpoint and ability to see with the eyes of the child, while at the same time presenting the difficulties in which the grown-up may be placed in trying to find an answer, is successfully shown by Otto Ernst

in Appelschnut, and in Hermann Stehr's Geschichten aus dem Mandel-
 hause. The child's way of expressing itself is also familiar
 to Keller; he does not make extensive use of direct speech,
 however, and it has remained for a later age to develop the
 childish idiom more fully. Conclusions here are necessarily
 of a fairly general nature, but the often sparing remarks found
 in earlier works indicate on the whole the more careful,
 restrained speech of a stricter age, while childish prattle is
 first attempted on a larger scale in Appelschnut, and schoolboy
 slang comes in by way of such works as Thoma's Lausbubengeschich-
 ten; Die Räuberbande; and Jahrgang 1902. This latter work
 contradicts any assumption that the use of the first person
 singular goes hand in hand with less direct speech. The story-
 teller gives his own as well as the other boys' words as often
 as possible, striking a note of casually familiar, racy moder-
 nity. Beside this, Keller, and even Carossa, appear relatively
 sparing in their use of direct speech.

It may be assumed that greater realism is achieved in
 childish speech with the increasing tendency for the author to
 set himself in the child's place and, as it were, to let the
 child talk as it really would. With outstanding success
 Kolbenheyer presents the thoughts and words of the very young
 child in Die Kindheit des Parazelsus (1917), demonstrating his

perfect ability to identify himself with the little boy who is only just beginning to walk and talk, seeing everything with the eyes of the child, reacting to each new experience of things and of people with the naive wonder and complete reversal of adult values and standards of measurement peculiar to a being of such diminutive height. It is rare indeed to find such fusion of thought and feeling with a child as young as this. To have combined with the childish idiom of the youthful Theophrastes, - "Frästeli", - the dialectal and historical note, is something of a feat on the author's part.

Historical backgrounds are rare in German childhood portrayal. Ernst Penzoldt tells the story of "the wonderful child of Bristol" in Der arme Chatterton (1928), an account of the brief career of the youthful 18th century English poet, Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770), in which there is skilful blending of the possible and the probable, on the basis of the available historical data. Here is the theme of the child prodigy in an historical setting, and at the same time an interesting attempt to recapture a foreign atmosphere. But the only really outstanding works, apart from Kolbenheyer, are Ina Seidel's Das Wunschkind, a notable piece of period reconstruction, covering the era from before the siege of Mainz to the impending French defeat on German soil at Leipzig;

and Enrica v. Handel-Mazetti's Meinrad Helmpergers denkwürdiges Jahr, written thirty years earlier, in 1900, and dealing with religious persecutions in the early 18th century (1710-1711). This story is in many respects a harrowing one, details of physical torture being witnessed by the child, in addition to the mental and emotional conflicts this sensitive ten-year-old is made to undergo. Caught up in the cross currents of contemporary religious feeling, - catholic, protestant, atheist, - the child in his own pure and simple belief, imparted by a Lutheran mother, resists all efforts at conversion to Catholicism, unaware that his father has become an atheist. Put to cruel torture by the witch-hunting North German Protestant clergy of the day, the father, adored by his son, and a man of finest character, goodness and sincerity, receives in a moment when the boy too is threatened with physical torture, a sign of grace, and dies believing in God, the child thereafter seeking comfort in the arms of Meinrad, the simple priest who has befriended him, and being received into the Catholic faith. Brief reference to the plot stresses its emotional qualities, which are indeed intense. The portrait of Edwin is convincingly boyish in many details, despite his goodness and beauty. Wiechert's Die kleine Passion, with which this work can in some measure bear comparison, reveals in Johannes a figure of selfconscious sentimentalism beside this child, truly pure in

heart, and winning the involuntary affection of all with whom he is brought into contact. As in the case of Kolbenheyer, realism in childish speech and idiom appropriate to the setting is competently handled by Enrica v. Handel-Mazetti, who is accorded high praise for her historical reconstruction in this and other works, which also turn on religious issues and show plainly her own Catholic convictions.

The shorter historical tale of Wassermann's, Der Aufruhr um den Junker Ernst, takes up the theme of religious persecution and witch-hunting, the period being the early 17th century, and the setting Würzburg and the surrounding country. As a parallel to Edwin's presence in the torture chamber we here have Ernst, himself accused of sorcery, as a witness of his mother's sufferings on the rack. It is at this moment, when the two are brought face to face, that Ernst is vouchsafed the happiness of knowing that he has a mother who loves him.

The similarity of Wassermann's theme to that of Enrica v. Handel-Mazetti suggests a "borrowing" which may be quite unconscious. A memory of something read, an impression gained, perhaps years ago, would seem to be at work in a case such as this. The marked resemblance between Graf Holger and Percy (Geschichte eines Knaben) and Kai Mölln and Hanno Buddenbrook has already been referred to, as has that between the bully

Kromer in Hesse's Demian and his earlier counterpart in Mao. That Werfel quotes "Non scholae sed vitae discimus" - with ironical inversion - in his Der Abituriententag, may not be due to the influence of Freund Hein so much as to the fact that this is a tag familiar to many schoolboys; it seems pure coincidence that the characters of Werfel's novel are boys who left school in 1902, whilst those born in that same year figure in Glaeser's Jahrgang 1902; both these books were published in 1928. A chord of memory is struck by an incident in Das Wunschkind, for in his fevered state after Delphine's abduction Christoph speaks the words of the plaintive little song sung by Jorinde in the fairy tale, before she is transformed into a bird. This is the tale that was being told him at the time Delphine was snatched from before his horrified gaze. One is taken back to a similar scene in Buddenbrooks, where Hanno, out of his troubled sleep, repeats the rhyme about the little hunchbacked mannikin that haunts him with his spiteful presence, yet asks to be included in the child's prayer; and where one sees the highly strung little boy moved to tears by the strange words of the "Ammenuhr".

Dangers of distortion. Dating.

The dangers of exaggeration and distortion through sentimentalism or overstatement are always present, for it is rare

for a child to be portrayed purely for its own sake. Even after this has become increasingly possible, the theme of childhood is still generally linked in the author's mind with some special purpose. If the child is no longer to serve as moral example, as in the 18th century and earlier, or to be used to illustrate educational methods, as from the time of Rousseau onwards, then it may be used, as has been seen, to expose social or educational conditions, either dispassionately, in an impersonal statement (e.g. Die Räuberbande), or in the form of a clearly voiced accusation.

There is ruthless exposure of orphanages, remand homes and similar institutions in the late nineteen-twenties. A comment from Kesten's Josef sucht die Freiheit is significant, though made with a certain detachment, for Josef is a child of the city, whose early knowledge of sordid and brutal facts has given him an air of almost cynical superiority and disillusionment: "...denn er wusste, wie jedermann übrigens, dass Kinder in den Zwangsfürsorgeanstalten zu Verbrechern oder Schurken oder Heuchlern würden..."

Violence of attack is always more noticeable in the drama, which presents the case in its extremest form, as a comparison between Arnold Ulitz's Aufbruch der Kinder with the play Revolte im Erziehungshaus, by Peter Martin Lampel (based on information provided by former inmates of such an institution),

will show. This is not to say that Ulitz's novel does not reveal conditions sordid and shocking beyond measure. It requires both skill and restraint to make children appear and act naturally, where criticism of this kind is intended, and the setting itself consequently presented in its darkest colours. Ulitz does manage to make his orphan brothers, children of a family of artists, quite convincing in their sensitive shrinking from the brutalities and lack of privacy to which they are exposed as "Spittelkrebse".

There is a dating in works of this kind, as the subject arises directly out of conditions existing at a particular time, to which public attention is thus directed, if it is not already aware of the facts, or possibly already concerned with rectifying the evil. The interest attaching to such writings may not be of a very permanent nature. Dating in a rather different sense is found in works of literature based on the author's own childhood. In such cases - and v. Grolman points out that almost without exception, the author looks back to his own childhood days, and is therefore rarely portraying the child of the present ⁵⁴⁾ - the conditions revealed are ones obtaining a number of years ago. The actual span will be found to vary, and need not be as much as from twenty

54) A. v. Grolman, op. cit., p.111.

to forty years back, as Beinlich puts it ⁵⁵⁾. Leonhard Frank's Die Räuberbande (1914) describes the situation at the turn of the century, 1899-1902 ⁵⁶⁾. Ernst Glaeser in Jahrgang 1902 (1928) tells of boys who were twelve years old at outbreak of war in 1914. The political views of the fathers (various income groups are represented) are subjected to a quietly critical irony, which deepens into disillusionment during the war years, as a younger generation feels itself betrayed: "La guerre, ce sont nos parents", says Gaston sadly. With regard to the school theme, which is one that has claimed attention over a long period and has not been subject to rapid dating, it will be noticed that in levelling criticism the author may either be drawing on his own experiences, which are already to a certain extent out of date, or he may seek to record the contemporary scene, purely as an observer. This is the difference between Jahrgang 1902 and Der Schüler Gerber hat absolviert, with its tendentious ring. But personal memories undoubtedly go to the shaping of a work of this kind too. If, however, the backward glance can result in dating, childhood which is thus re-created out of the past will also show something of the

55) A. Beinlich, op.cit., para. 23.

56) See I. Bick, op.cit., section 1.

stylistic influences of a later age. Otto Flake's Eine Kindheit, for instance, gives an impression of modernity, although the events related lie far back. The manner of telling, and the whole tone, are likely to reflect the period at which the book is actually written, - in a sense bringing it up-to-date by this means.

THE PLACE OF ART

There is a timelessness about the great works of literature which places them beyond the transitory problems and passing slogans of the day, leaving them untouched by the tendentiousness which may mar a work lacking their intrinsic artistic merit. In the portrayal of childhood those authors who are true poets stand distinct from their lesser brethren, who convince by their sincerity and realism, but are without the genuine inspiration of art. A pedestrian, though honest attempt like Gottfried Kämpfer fades into relative insignificance beside a supreme achievement like Keller's or Carossa's. For art implies something more than mere realism of presentation, and the part it plays may be measured not only from the results achieved by a purely decorative use of the child, - the animation of a scene through the introduction of children (Keller), or the creation of an atmosphere (Storm); or by

the child's presence as a foil to adult characters, with a possible sharpening of conflicts; or by the poetic effects dear to Huch, but more especially it reveals itself as the transmutation of things seen and experienced, their raising to a level of poetic meaning and lasting worth, found in such simple beauty in Keller and Carossa, and more subtly and strangely in Rilke or Hesse.

There is also on the side of art the possibility of pure artistic creation, like Keller's *Meretlein*, a wonderfully inspired figure, the poetic symbol of his own religious difficulties in childhood. Here Keller has portrayed the "idea" of the child itself, as a being close to nature and utterly unspoilt, responsive to beauty and eager for happiness. Stern orthodoxy remains unmoved by the child's delighted laughter and sweet singing, and equally by her cries and lamentations when soundly beaten; it is blind too to the wild shy grace of the little elfin maid, artlessly at play in the garden with other children and birds and little creatures, or seated in carefree abandon in a sunny spot in the woods, unclothed and crowned with beech-leaves, eating her fill of wild strawberries. Only shocked amazement is registered when locked in the dark larder, Meret, to comfort her fears, joyously chants the psalms she had refused to learn by rote. A sensitive response comes only

from the artist, who places a rose between her fingers when painting the little figure in its stiff silks, supporting a skull in the other shrinking hand. This same compassion is Keller's, enabling him to infuse life into the old and dark picture which served as his inspiration. (Storm's use of pictures as an artistic device owes something to Keller here, the portrait of the dead child with a water lily in its hand, - Aquis submersus, - being even more closely related than the group of children with the little whipping boy standing on one side, - Im Schloss, 1861.)

Meretelein is an interpretation, on a more realistic plane, of the Romantic ideal of childhood as a state of "innocence, serenity, freedom and peacefulness", of the belief in a common association of children in Elfland, of the delight in showing children playing, dancing, surrounded by little birds and little flowers. Romanticism too emphasizes the child's closeness to nature, its harmony with nature. Its ultimate symbolic value is that of beautiful humanity.⁵⁷⁾

The influence of this and of a later symbolism can be seen in Thomas Mann's artistic creation of Tadzio in Der Tod in

57) See Hans-Georg Kind: Das Kind in der Ideologie und Dichtung der deutschen Romantik (Diss. Leipzig, 1936).

Venedig (1913), who is more than a real child. The figure of George's Maximin stands behind this beautiful boy, symbol of all that lures and holds the artist. Yet the longing itself commands a delicate approach, there can be no close, possessive contacts. Tadzio remains an ideal which calls to him, he is beauty, he is love, and lastly and mysteriously he is death as well, claiming the poet who has delighted in his slender grace, his delicate hands, his sweet mouth and divine gravity of expression, and sensed in him the smile of Narcissus; who has been pierced by the knowledge of Eros in the antique splendour of the proud head (Mann's love of detail is here in lavish profusion); and who is irresistibly drawn over the confines of his life by the beckoning figure with the eyes that are of the peculiar grey of twilight.

A curiously close link with the Romantics is evident in Mann's most recent work. Echo, the child in Doktor Faustus, seems to express again Romantic conceptions, only this five-year-old, inspired by the author's favourite grandson Frido with the lovely blue eyes ⁵⁸⁾, is more clearly drawn as a figure, and lacks the vagueness of outline and the dreaminess associated with early Romantic childhood. The author refers to his "Gültigkeit als Erscheinung des Kindes auf Erden", in his

58) See Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus.

beauty, charm and strange wisdom symbolizing both the earth-bound naturalness and the mysterious divinity of the child. Again there is the characteristic detail of description, full of delicate and suggestive individual touches. Romantic fairy-tale associations come out strongly when there is mention of him as "Elfenprinzchen", or looking at his picture-book like the little angels in Heaven turning the pages of their songs of praise. There is a magic about this child, who seems to come from afar off, and people are deeply moved by his presence. Significantly though, his uncle does not caress him, avoiding close contact with the object of his love, as does Gustav Aschenbach the poet with Tadzio. Inevitably there is the feeling that he is bound to change as he grows older, and turn into quite an ordinary little boy. It is symbolical too, that he never does, - or is it the irony of Mann, destroying what is beautiful, in the most cruel manner?

Knowledge as of another world seems to emanate from this child, Echo, sent perhaps as messenger and mentor ("...Lehrendes, Botenhaftes..."). One senses the influence of Rilke here, yet the symbolism is not the same. To Rilke the child is in touch with the mystery of life and of death, closer to reality than the adult, who has grown away from this erstwhile state of knowledge, and is to be pitied for the false values he has acquired. Yet childhood is made heavy with awareness,

and there is fear as well as security. "Ängste der Kindheit" are referred to by Malte; and Rilke's poetry - which more than his prose expresses his conceptions of childhood - echoes the word fear, creating at the same time the symbol of the child full of strange sadness and loneliness, pathetic in its helplessness, yet infinitely sure and wise.

This purely poetical expression of childhood takes shape at a time when literature reaches out to embrace every aspect of the child's life, and both contemporary realism and psychological insight are at work to present the child as it is believed to be. But "Wer zeigt ein Kind, so wie es steht?...", asks Rilke, making the child again difficult to know, withdrawing it into the mystery of things sensed not seen, and at the same time echoing in deeper and subtler form the Romantic longing for the lost state of childhood.

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