ABSTRACT

Ann Marie McMahon D. Phil.

St Hilda's College, Oxford Hilary Term 1989

Heine and the Victorians

This thesis considers the reception of Heine in Victorian Britain and charts, through the medium of periodical articles in particular, the general development in British attitudes towards him, from the bewildered hostility of the 1830's through to the sentimental eulogising which is frequently found in articles written after his death. Unquestionably the most important articles written on Heine in nineteenth-century Britain were by George Eliot and Matthew Arnold. The aims and achievements of these authors, in writing on Heine, were very different, but both produced articles of enduring significance, and together they had a strong influence on the general improvement in Heine's fortunes in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. In turn, Heine was of importance not only for George Eliot and Matthew Arnold but also for some of the lesser figures of Victorian literature, notably Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), Julian Fane and the Lyttons. All of these played some part in promoting Heine's reputation in Britain, and in this role Milnes enjoyed the help of Lucie Duff Gordon, one of the closest of Heine's English friends. Heine exerted a relatively small but definite influence on the creative works of both George Eliot and Matthew Arnold and on the poems of Milnes. In the case of Matthew Arnold, however, those critics who have considered Heine's influence in any depth have tended also to exaggerate it beyond reasonable bounds.

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This thesis considers the reception of Heine in Victorian Britain and charts, through the medium of periodical articles in particular, the general development in British attitudes towards him, from the bewildered hostility of the 1830's through to the sentimental eulogising which is frequently found in articles written after his death. Unquestionably the most important articles written on Heine in nineteenth-century Britain were by George Eliot and Matthew Arnold. The aims and achievements of these authors, in writing on Heine, were very different, but both produced articles of enduring significance, and together they had a strong influence on the general improvement in Heine's fortunes in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. In turn, Heine was of importance not only for George Eliot and Matthew Arnold but also for some of the lesser figures of Victorian literature, notably Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), Julian Fane and the Lyttons. All of these played some part in promoting Heine's reputation in Britain, and in this role Milnes enjoyed the help of Lucie Duff Gordon, one of the closest of Heine's English friends. Heine exerted a relatively small but definite influence on the creative works of both George Eliot and Matthew Arnold and on the poems of Milnes. In the case of Matthew Arnold, however, those critics who have considered Heine's influence in any depth have tended also to exaggerate it beyond reasonable bounds.

For Brian John and Patrick Michael

Contents

Preface v

Bibliographical Note vii

1 Introduction: Nineteenth-Century Growth of Interest in German Literature, Especially Heine 1

2 George Eliot and Heine 22

3 Matthew Arnold and Heine: Prose 69

4 Matthew Arnold and Heine: Poetry 101

5 The Wider Response to Heine: Lucie Duff Gordon, Richard Monckton Milnes, Julian Fane and Robert Lytton 125

6 Heine and the Periodicals after 1856 182

7 Conclusion 206

Appendix: Translations 209

Bibliography 224

Preface

This thesis aims both to chart the reception of Heine in Victorian Britain and to assess his importance for the two major writers George Eliot and Matthew Arnold - both of whom wrote influential essays on Heine - as well as for the secondary figures Richard Monckton Milnes and Julian Fane. Other lesser-known figures, Lucie Duff Gordon and Robert Lytton, are considered in the light of their role as promoters of Heine in Britain, but Heine's reception in Britain is otherwise traced principally through the medium of periodical articles.

Two general studies of Heine's reputation in England stand out amongst the secondary materials: Sol Liptzin's *The English Legend of Heinrich Heine* (New York, 1954) and Stanton L. Wormley's *Heine in England* (Chapel Hill, 1943). Both are American studies, and nothing comparable has been produced by a British scholar. These two works are a good starting point for anyone interested in this subject, but both are now dated, and both contain generalisations which do not stand up to detailed scrutiny.

In addition to these the American scholar Joseph Carroll has devoted a substantial portion of his book *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold* (California, 1982) to a consideration of Arnold's indebtedness to Heine, particularly on the subject of 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism', and another American, G. Robert Stange, has suggested in his book *Matthew Arnold: the Poet as Humanist* (Princeton, 1967) that Heine influenced Arnold's 'Switzerland' poems. Carroll, however, overstates his case, whilst Stange's theory is, at best, tenuous in the extreme. The most detailed study of Heine's influence on Arnold is by the German Ilse-Maria Tesdorpf in her book *Die Auseinandersetzung Matthew Arnolds mit Heinrich Heine, des Kritikers mit dem Kritiker* (Frankfurt, 1971). Here Tesdorpf claims that Arnold's theories of history and culture were entirely dependent on Heine. She examines in depth Arnold's essays 'Heinrich Heine', 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment' and *Culture and Anarchy* and his poem 'Heine's Grave', but her conclusions, like Carroll's, exaggerate the case for Heine as source material for Arnold.

The subject of George Eliot's relation to Heine has not been specifically explored in depth in any publication in English. Two articles from German

literary journals are of interest in this context, however: Sibilla Pfeiffer's article 'George Eliots Beziehungen zu Deutschland' in *Anglistische Forschungen*, lx (1925), 200-214, and Lotte Simon-Baumann's 'George Eliot über Heinrich Heine' in *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, lv (Neue Folge Band xliii) (1931), 311-20. Both these articles raise significant points with regard to Heine's importance particularly for George Eliot's creative work, but neither is of sufficient length to explore the whole subject of George Eliot's interest in Heine in detail.

A study of Victorian interest in Heine is of use in expanding the picture of nineteenth-century British attitudes towards German literature in general. A consideration of Heine's fortunes in Britain at that time, particularly through the vital medium of the periodical press, has its place in Heine studies. Light is shed, moreover, on aspects of the work of two major English writers, George Eliot and Matthew Arnold, and also on aspects of the importance of some secondary figures on the Victorian literary scene, Lucie Duff Gordon, Richard Monckton Milnes, Julian Fane and Robert Lytton. This thesis attempts to fulfil these functions.

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My thanks are due to the staffs of the Bodleian Library, the Taylorian Institute for Modern Languages, the English Faculty Library and St Hilda's College Library in the University of Oxford. I am also pleased to acknowledge the assistance of the staffs of the University libraries of Bristol, Liverpool and Manchester and of the British Library Document Supply Centre. In particular, the staff of Bristol City Library were at one stage most generous in affording me access to their splendid archives of Victorian periodicals, and they also proved most helpful in tracking down copies of articles in periodicals not held by their library. I have benefited greatly from the scholarship and encouragement of my supervisors, Dr Nicholas Shrimpton of Lady Margaret Hall and Professor Jim Reed of Queen's College, Oxford. Mr Paul Turner of Linacre College, Oxford, was also most helpful during my first year of research, and I have for many years profited by the kind interest of the Fellows of my own college, St Hilda's. I am grateful to the International Union of Crystallography for the use of their document preparation facilities. Warmest thanks are due to my niece, Claire Greenslade, for her prompt and careful assistance in checking references, and to Gabriele Zagel-Millmore for assistance with the translations. My greatest debt, however, is to my husband, for far more reasons than I could ever put into words.

Bibliographical Note

In accordance with common practice, all references in this thesis to the works of Heinrich Heine are to the *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by Ernst Elster, (Leipzig and Vienna, 1887-90), since this remains to date the accepted scholarly edition. Similarly, all references to the works of George Eliot are to Blackwood's Cabinet Edition, since this, too, is the edition most commonly cited in academic theses, and it has the merit of having been produced by the publisher who was so closely involved in George Eliot's creative work. In general, references to the poetical works of Matthew Arnold are to *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, edited by Kenneth Allott, (London, 1965), since this was the most authoritative edition available throughout most of the period of composition of this thesis. In the discussion of Arnold's 'Switzerland' poems in chapter 4, however, reference is made to *The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold*, edited by C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, (Oxford, 1950) and their companion volume *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold. A Commentary* (London, 1940), since Tinker and Lowry treat these poems as a distinct group. With regard to Arnold's prose works, most references are to the definitive *Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, edited by R. H. Super, (Ann Arbor, 1960-77), since, again, this is the accepted scholarly edition. Occasionally, however, the volume *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism: First Series*, edited by Sister Thomas Marion Hoctor, S. S. J., (Chicago and London, 1968) is cited, since the textual notes were found to be particularly useful. In the discussion of the textual history of Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' in chapter 3 reference is made, where appropriate, to the versions which appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, viii (1863), 233-49, and in the first and third collected editions of *Essays in Criticism*, dated 1865 and 1875 respectively, since changes to the essay were made between these versions, and the third edition of *Essays in Criticism* is the last which Arnold personally supervised during his lifetime.

List of Abbreviations and Short Titles

The following abbreviations and short titles have been used throughout:

H.H.S.W. — *Heinrich Heines Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Ernst Elster, (Leipzig and Vienna, 1890), 7 vols.

C.P.W. — *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R. H. Super, (Ann Arbor, 1960-77), 12 vols.

As stated above, all references to the works of George Eliot are to Blackwood's Cabinet Edition of 1879, but for convenience these appear in the footnotes under the titles of individual works.

Shortened titles of other works cited have also been used, but as these tend to be referred to repeatedly within only a relatively small number of pages or to be referred to infrequently but throughout the thesis, my policy has been to supply full details on the first occasion on which any such work is cited within a chapter, adopting a consistent short title thereafter.

Chapter 1
Introduction: Nineteenth-Century Growth of Interest in German Literature, Especially Heine

Both George Eliot and Matthew Arnold knew the German language and read works of German literature - including those of Heine - and these facts influenced the writings of both authors. Arnold began to learn German in the early 1830's,[1] whilst George Eliot began her studies in 1840,[2] and in 1865, in her essay 'A Word for the Germans', she wrote:

> And no one who has an acquaintance worth mentioning with the productions of the German mind in any one department, is unaware that the peculiarities of that mind, its characteristic qualities, have been the source of pre-eminently important contributions to the sum of our mental wealth... Accordingly no one in this day really studies any subject without having recourse to German books, or else wishing he knew their language that he might have recourse to them; and the footnotes of every good French or English book that appears, whether in scholarship, history, or natural science, are filled with references to German authors... In fact, if anyone in the present day can be called cultivated who dispenses with a knowledge of German, it is because the two other greatest literatures of the world are now impregnated with the results of German labour and German genius.[3]

Indeed, in her portrait of Mr Casaubon in *Middlemarch*, George Eliot clearly exemplifies this belief in the importance of German to nineteenth-century scholarship, when Will Ladislaw, in conversation with Dorothea in Rome, comments:

> ...that the Germans have taken the lead in historical inquiries, and they laugh at results which are got by groping about in the woods with a pocket-compass while they have made good roads. When I was with Mr Casaubon I knew that he deafened himself in that direction: it was almost against his will that he read a Latin treatise written by a German. I was very sorry.[4]

[1] See James Simpson, *Matthew Arnold and Goethe* (London, 1979), p. 13.

[2] See Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 24-5.

[3] George Eliot, 'A Word for the Germans', to be found in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Thomas Pinney, (London, 1963), pp. 389-90.

[4] See chapter 21 of *Middlemarch*. i. 318.

That German had not long been accorded such importance by British intellectuals, however, is indicated by a comment made by Leslie Stephen in his *Studies of a Biographer*, in which he wrote: 'It would, I imagine, be difficult to find a single direct reference to a German book in the whole English literature of the eighteenth century.'[5] This is clearly something of an exaggeration, but the comment serves to emphasise the point that between the end of the eighteenth century and the time George Eliot was writing a veritable revolution had taken place in British attitudes towards the thought and writings of Germany. General histories of that movement are available,[6] and it is not my purpose to add to them at length here. Nonetheless, a very brief summary of that movement will be of use in providing the proper context for a discussion of the German interests - and the interest in Heine, in particular - of George Eliot, Matthew Arnold and a number of lesser figures on the Victorian literary scene.

The political situation in Europe was certainly one factor which disposed the British to look favourably on Germany during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The French Revolution shocked the Britain of this period, and this, with the Napoleonic Wars which followed, had the effect of sealing off Britain's traditional major source of intellectual supply in France and thus of encouraging 'the eagerness to discover and tap new ones',[7] notably in Germany. Other important factors, pointed out by F. W. Stokoe, include the growing importance of Prussia during the eighteenth century and the use by Britain of German auxiliaries during the American War of Independence.[8] The dominance of the House of Hanover on the British throne during the eighteenth century ensured a large measure of German influence on the British court, and the marriage of Victoria and Albert continued this well into the nineteenth century.

Happily, this favourable political climate came about just when German literature was enjoying a golden age. Goethe and Schiller were at the height of their powers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and both came to be read and admired in Britain. Following the success of Richardson's sentimental novels *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, published in 1741 and 1748 respectively, Goethe's novel *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers*, which first

[5] Leslie Stephen, *Studies of a Biographer* (London, 1810), ii. 42. Quoted in F. W. Stokoe, *German Influence in the English Romantic Period 1788-1818* (Cambridge, 1926) p. 19.

[6] See, for example: Stokoe, *German Influence in the English Romantic Period 1788-1818* and Rosemary Ashton, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860* (Cambridge, 1980).

[7] Stokoe, *German Influence*, p. 19.

[8] See Stokoe, *German Influence*, p. 19.

appeared in Germany in 1774, enjoyed an enormous vogue in Britain, despite the moral objections raised against it as tending to condone suicide. Schiller, too, was known and read in Britain at this time, and Coleridge was one of his strong admirers, although F. W. Stokoe points out that the first public discussion of Schiller's works probably occurred in Henry Mackenzie's lecture, 'An Account of the German Theatre', which was delivered to the Royal Society of Edinburgh on 21 April 1788.[9] Fleetingly more popular in Britain than either Goethe or Schiller, however, was the author August von Kotzebue, - now little read, - translations of whose highly sensational works enjoyed great popularity on the British stage during the 1790's and the early years of the nineteenth century, as the attempt to present *Lovers' Vows* in *Mansfield Park* indicates.[10]

Around the turn of the century the progress of German culture in Britain suffered a temporary set-back, when a reaction set in against precisely such authors as Kotzebue and Schiller because of a view that their works tended to personal immorality and political subversion, following the supposed philosophies of the French Revolution. Coleridge's translation of *Wallenstein*, which appeared in 1799-1800, was received badly as a result of this, since, as Rosemary Ashton points out: 'The combination of Schiller and Coleridge, both known as "Jacobins", was not one to be encouraged in 1800.'[11] By 1813, however, Anglo-German cultural relations were again improving. The recent alliance with Prussia had begun to turn the tide of British feeling generally in favour of the Germans again, and this provided an auspicious setting for the publication in Britain in that year of Madame de Stäel's celebrated work *De l'Allemagne*, with its highly romanticised picture of Germany as 'the country of metaphysicians and dreamers'.[12]

This fairy-tale vision of Germany gripped the British imagination, and the book enjoyed great success. Its importance, however, lies not solely in the fact that it helped substantially to revive British enthusiasm for German culture, but also, as James Simpson points out, in the fact that it '... marks the end of an era, for before 1813 the French had an important role as intermediaries in introducing works of German literature into England. After 1813 this was less the case.'[13]

[9] See Stokoe, *German Influence*, pp. 28-32.

[10] *Lovers' Vows* was the title given by Mrs Inchbald to her adaptation of Kotzebue's *Das Kind der Liebe*, which was first performed in England in 1798.

[11] Ashton, *The German Idea*, p. 9.

[12] The expression comes from part 3:5 of Golo Mann, *The History of Germany Since 1789*, published in translation and reprinted by Pelican Books (London, 1985), p. 130.

[13] Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, pp. 6-7.

Indeed, when Mackenzie gave his lecture on the German theatre, mentioned above, he knew the plays he discussed only in French translation, whereas by 1830 Thomas Carlyle could write:

> ...meanwhile, clearly enough a rapidly growing favour for German literature comes to light; which favour too is the more hopeful as it now grounds itself on better knowledge, on direct study and judgement. Our knowledge is better, if only because more general. Within the last ten years, independent readers of German have multiplied perhaps a hundredfold; so that this new acquirement is almost expected as a natural item in liberal education. Hence, in a great number of minds, some immediate personal insight into the deeper significance of German Intellect and Art; - everywhere, at least a feeling that it has some such significance.[14]

Carlyle is certainly one of the giants in the reception of German literature in Britain. Goethe was overwhelmingly the major focus of his interest, and his translations of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* were published in 1824 and 1827 respectively. He also wrote a number of periodical articles on Goethe and German literature in general, and these were later included in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* of 1839. Carlyle certainly influenced Matthew Arnold's view of German literature, despite the changes which took place in Arnold's attitude towards Carlyle over his lifetime.[15] Indeed, in his 'Emerson' essay, written in November 1882, Arnold referred directly to the influence which Carlyle's translations of *Wilhelm Meister* had on him in his younger days, when he wrote: 'To this day, - such is the force of youthful associations, - I read the Wilhelm Meister with more pleasure in Carlyle's translation than in the original.'[16]

Carlyle's passion for German literature did not spring up in isolation, however, since not only was the political climate right, but he, in turn, also had the advantage of knowing others whose interest in the subject pre-dated his own. One important contact was Henry Crabb Robinson, a Norwich man, who had spent the years 1800-1805 in Germany, partly as a student at Jena, and who had actually met Goethe, Schiller, Kotzebue, Madame de Stäel and a host of other

[14] See Thomas Carlyle, 'Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry', in *The Works of Thomas Carlyle: Centenary Edition* (London, 1899), xxvii. 335-6.

[15] For further information on this subject see Kathleen Tillotson, 'Matthew Arnold and Carlyle', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xlii (1956), 133-53.

[16] See Matthew Arnold, 'Emerson', in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R. H. Super, (Ann Arbor 1960-77), x. 166-7.

notable figures on the German cultural scene at that time.[17] 'Throughout his long life', we are told, 'Crabb Robinson made it his business to act as an intermediary between the two countries, (Britain and Germany) and especially to spread knowledge of the supremacy in literature and in aesthetic teaching of Goethe, and in philosophy of Kant and his followers.'[18] This self-appointed task Robinson carried out chiefly through personal contact. He 'was in close touch with Coleridge until his death in 1834'[19], and a number of Robinson's books, in particular some works by Schlegel, were heavily annotated by Coleridge. With regard to Carlyle, Robinson's biographer says: 'Even Carlyle turned naturally to Crabb Robinson for help in determining what German novels he should translate, and abode faithfully by the advice he received.'[20] Matthew Arnold was known to Crabb Robinson from an early age,[21] and in the unfinished last entry in his diary Robinson wrote of Arnold's essay 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time': 'He thinks of Germany as he ought and of Goethe with high admiration. On this point I can possibly give him assistance, which he will gladly -.'[22] Robinson also 'knew and liked'[23] Heine's English friend and admirer, Richard Monckton Milnes. Moreover, Robinson was himself something of a protégé of his fellow Norwich man, William Taylor, author of the influential *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, which was published in three volumes between 1828 and 1830. It was Taylor who encouraged Robinson's German travels, as he also encouraged the German interests of another member of his Norwich circle, Sarah Austin, author of the noted work *Characteristics of Goethe* and mother of Heine's well-known English friend, Lucie Duff Gordon.[24]

Thus, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the political climate was right for a burgeoning of British interest in German culture, and men such as William Taylor and Henry Crabb Robinson paved the way for the

[17] For details of Henry Crabb Robinson's sojourn in Germany see chapter 2 of Edith J. Morley, *The Life and Times of Henry Crabb Robinson* (London, 1935), pp. 11-38.

[18] Morley, *Life of Crabb Robinson*, p. 11.

[19] Morley, *Life of Crabb Robinson*, p. 75.

[20] Morley, *Life of Crabb Robinson*, p. 12.

[21] For details of the Arnold family's acquaintance with Crabb Robinson see Morley, *Life of Crabb Robinson*, pp. 151 and 178.

[22] Morley, *Life of Crabb Robinson*, p. 151.

[23] Morley, *Life of Crabb Robinson*, p. 151.

[24] For details of William Taylor's connections with Crabb Robinson and Sarah Austin see Morley, *Life of Crabb Robinson*, pp. 2, 8 and 39; also Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, p. 5. For details of Heine's friendship with Lucie Duff Gordon, see pp. 126-35 of chapter 5 below.

development of this interest by such great figures as Coleridge, Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, amongst others. The works of Goethe and Schiller became increasingly well-known, and the works of Kotzebue and Madame de Stäel's *De l'Allemagne* were also familiar to the British reading and theatre-going public. In the midst of all this general interest, however, the publication in 1828 of Heine's *Reisebilder* was scarcely noticed, save for a brief review in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* by J. G. Cochrane, which began:

> Both prose and verse of this author are lively and entertaining, nor does it seem improbable that he may one day make a considerable figure in the world; for, although these volumes have apparently been written with the utmost carelessness and nonchalance, yet passages occur here and there, which prove that Mr. Heine is perfectly able to adopt a higher tone, when he thinks proper to use the requisite exertion. This is particularly indicated by his poetry. As the matter now stands, Mr. Heine has (very unintentionally, perhaps,) given such offence to many people, by his facetious levity of style, and satirical illustrations of character, that his book has been actually proscribed in the Austrian and Prussian states![25]

The uncertain tone of this opening paragraph suggests nothing so much as a reviewer totally baffled by the unfamiliar nature of Heine's ever-ready wit and utterly at a loss as to what to make of it. It is cautiously favourable, - despite the prosy comment on the 'higher tone', - and the incredulous tone of the last sentence, especially the charitable interpolation in brackets, shows clearly that Heine's background and character were every bit as unfamiliar in Britain at that time as his works [even though 1828 was the year of his first and only visit to England]. Cochrane goes on then to quote at length from Heine's 'fantastic remarks' [26] about Göttingen, and he concludes his short notice of the *Reisebilder* by explaining that these remarks are followed by Heine's *Die Harzreise*, in which, he says approvingly, there are to be found 'excellent descriptions, varied by humorous sketches of character, from the society which he happened to encounter on his route.'[27]

By 1835, however, a reviewer for the *Quarterly* was able to write with far more confidence of Heine as having 'speedily gained for himself the reputation of being

[25] J. G. Cochrane, '*Reise-bilder*. Von H. Heine.', *Foreign Quarterly Review*, ii (February, 1828), 370.

[26] Cochrane, '*Reise-bilder*.', p. 371.

[27] Cochrane, '*Reise-bilder*.', p. 371.

one of the cleverest, if not wittiest, writers of his day.'[28] The reviewer bases this assessment on Heine's early poetry and also on his *Reisebilder* and *Zur Geschichte der Neueren Schönen Literatur in Deutschland*, and it is with parts one and two of this latter prose work, published in Paris and Leipzig in 1833, that the review is primarily concerned. The (earlier) *Reisebilder* are, indeed, spoken of somewhat dismissively here as 'a mere collection of thoughts, fancies, images, and descriptions, picked up or suggested during journeys to well-known places of resort - acute, lively, and graphic, but wild, wandering, and desultory.'[29] By contrast, the work under discussion in this review is described as 'lively and entertaining',[30] although the reviewer ends by saying: 'We are sorry to add that, though Heine's vein in this book is far less irreverent than in his *Reisebilder*, we have been obliged to *mutilate* some of the passages which seemed to us deserving of quotation.'[31] Moral comments of this sort were to be repeated again and again throughout the ensuing decade or so, and indeed the taint of scurrility never entirely left Heine's reputation in Victorian Britain, not even when his final collapse in May 1848 ushered in a wave of increasingly maudlin sympathy, culminating in the flurry of tributes, re-assessments and re-appraisals which followed hard upon his death on 17 February 1856.[32] Earlier in the *Quarterly*'s review of February 1835 the author comments that 'at starting [Heine] wantonly provoked a whole host of detractors by his impertinences - and, by his hardly concealed contempt for existing creeds and establishments, he has often managed to reduce even his most ardent admirers to the condition of apologists.' [33] At this stage, however, the reviewer is still concerned to give Heine the benefit of the doubt, and he goes on to comment: 'Yet we believe him to be possessed of many noble and generous qualities (as, indeed, what man of true genius is not?) - we are told that he is now eagerly striving to work himself pure - and nourish a strong hope that he will come round, ere long, to a due sense of the evil of his ways.'[34] Thus, the general picture of Heine which emerges from this review is of a writer of wayward brilliance, as is clearly suggested by the opening couple of sentences:

[28] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', *Quarterly Review*, lv (February 1835), 216.

[29] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 216.

[30] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 229.

[31] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 229.

[32] For details of these see chapter 6 below.

[33] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 216.

[34] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 216.

> It has frequently been made a question, whether the Germans have any well-founded pretensions to wit; and it seemed till lately pretty generally agreed that the maintenance of the national honour in this respect had devolved exclusively on Jean Paul, whose sallies came flashing through his mysticism, like lightning through clouds. Within the last five years, however, a new star has appeared in the literary hemisphere of Germany, - malign in its influence, wavering in its orbit, and unsteady in its light, but sparkling all over with a brilliancy that soon occasioned all eyes and glasses to be turned upon it.[35]

These sentences are interesting not only because they introduce the notion of Heine as a somewhat Byronic figure, but also because of the references to German wit and to Heine as, by implication, one of its prime exponents, a topic which continued to surface in British articles on Heine, reaching its climax in George Eliot's masterly essay of January 1856, which was actually entitled 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine'[36]. Other points of interest thrown up by this review include a reference to Madame de Stäel as being generally regarded, in both France and Britain, as still the 'principal authority on all matters connected with the belles-lettres and philosophy of Germany', although the reviewer does go on to say: 'Yet it is clear to demonstration, that mighty changes have been effected since she wrote; and it would be by no means difficult to prove that she had at best but a superficial acquaintance with the subjects about which she discourses so pleasantly.'[37] The opinions of William Taylor of Norwich are accorded respect, when the reviewer rejects Heine's dismissal of Kotzebue 'as a mere writer of witty farces', and goes on to say: 'Mr. W. Taylor, of Norwich, calls him "the greatest dramatic genius that Europe has evolved since Shakespeare," and, understood with particular reference to stage-effect, this praise is not so much exaggerated as may be thought.'[38] Coleridge's translation of Wallenstein is praised here as 'splendid',[39] and the importance of Sarah Austin's book *Characteristics of Goethe* is indicated by a lengthy quotation from it in a footnote concerned with the necessity of having a king to rule on 'the literary throne of Germany'.[40] Heine's great friend Varnhagen von Ense is also mentioned

[35] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', pp. 215-16.

[36] George Eliot, 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, lxv (January 1856), 1-33. Reprinted in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Thomas Pinney, (London, 1963), pp. 216-54.

[37] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 216.

[38] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 221.

[39] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 226.

[40] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 226. In a later article the author praises Sarah Austin as a 'clear and beautiful translator' and expresses a wish that she would translate widely from A. W. Schlegel's *Critical Miscellanies* and from Herder. (See Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', *Quarterly Review*, lx (December 1835), 28.)

favourably as 'an admirable critic, who deserves to be better known in this country than he is.'[41]

In December 1835 the *Quarterly* published a lengthy sequel to this review, in which the author considered the first two volumes of Heine's *De l'Allemagne*, published in Paris earlier that year, which were in part an elaboration of the work considered in the first review. The view of Heine expressed here is much the same in substance as in the earlier review, but the expression has by now grown considerably more extreme, so that, whilst the author freely attributes to Heine 'talents which no one refuses to admire, and attainments which it would be worse than idle to disparage',[42] he also speaks of the 'unparalleled virulence', 'personal vituperation' and 'reckless malice' which, in his view, Heine employs to attack Christianity and the monarchy, institutions which the reviewer thankfully regards as 'the two great obstacles to a radical revolution in Germany (as elsewhere)'.[43] Thus, he goes on to accuse Heine of having 'accordingly transplanted himself to Paris, and there associated himself in an intimate league, offensive and defensive, with the most violent section of the Jacobin Propagandists - whose plans embrace the entire extirpation of the Christian faith in each and all of its modifications, and the total abolition of monarchy and aristocracy in Europe'.[44] Of such alarming stuff was the early Victorian legend of Heine made. Despite this, however, the reviewer is concerned to give to Heine credit where he thinks it is due. Thus, we are told that 'Heine's view of Luther himself contains some features of truth which we never saw brought out with greater effect',[45] whilst his chapter on Frederick the Great is described as 'particularly amusing'.[46] Heine is taken severely to task for 'the special spleen with which he regards the European success of the Messrs. Schlegel, and their disciple, Madame de Stäel, in their efforts to counteract the principle of the French Revolution by re-awakening a taste for the religious and social characteristics of the Middle Ages.'[47] On the other hand, he is praised for having

[41] Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', p. 229.

[42] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 2.

[43] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 2.

[44] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 2.

[45] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 8.

[46] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 14.

[47] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 3.

'justly and happily defended Racine against the disparaging views of Schlegel'[48] and for expressing in general 'some literary views which really deserve attention'.[49] Once again, however, the review ends on a note more of sorrow than of anger, with the author expressing 'our deep regret for the mad misapplication of Mr. Heine's varied and brilliant talents' and going on to add 'our fervent hope, that, like so many of his predecessors in this "*insana sapientia*", this "initiator" also may live to be "an apostate"'.[50]

Fraser's Magazine for December 1842 brought with it a fairly short article by W. H. Hurlbut - from his series *Reminiscences of Men and Things* - which gave not a review of Heine's works but a general portrait of the man himself, written by one who had met and spoken with him. Rather an undue portion of this piece is given over to digressions on the Polish minister Morawski and the British statesman Lord Brougham, though it is primarily Heine's own comments on the latter which are quoted. Nevertheless, the picture which emerges from the article is of interest not least because it is so markedly different from those which had previously appeared in the British periodical press. Hurlbut's article is extremely favourable to Heine, describing him as a 'kind, good-hearted man to the afflicted, the sorrowing, or the unfortunate'[51] and as 'a real literary Hercules'[52] - to quote but two of the author's fulsome compliments to his subject. In this article Heine is presented very much as the victim, persecuted by 'kings...philosophers ...statesmen...and the Romish Church',[53] and the worst things that Hurlbut can find to say against Heine are that 'his aversions are at once multitudinous and bitter',[54] and that:

> He is sceptical *au fond*, and doubts everything which is not capable of demonstration. The attachment of the English to their church, to their national altar, to the faith of their forefathers, he is unable to comprehend; and therefore he submits it to ridicule. This is the *côté faible* of his character.[55]

[48] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 28.

[49] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 28.

[50] Anon., 'Heine *on Germany*', p. 34.

[51] W. H. Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', *Fraser's Magazine*, xxvi (December 1842), 736.

[52] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.736.

[53] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.733.

[54] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.735.

[55] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.736.

Much of this article strikes a modern reader as simplistic. The paragraph just quoted is, to some extent, an example of that, as are the author's comments on Heine's putative political belief 'that republics are the perfection of human governments',[56] and his comments that Heine

> ...is not angry at his position in society, for, although he is an exile, he loves Paris '*à la folie*'. He has but little of the phlegm of the Germans, and sympathises much more with the French.[57]

During the 1830's and '40's Heine's social and political views were certainly expressed much more vehemently than during his later years of illness, but he was never, at heart, egalitarian, whereas he was always essentially a German. Hurlbut begins his articles with the words: 'There is not in all Germany a name more generally known than that of Heine',[58] but he ends by suggesting that Heine is still less well-known than he deserves in Britain, when he says: '...one third of Europe thinks him unrivalled. Reader, have you ever heard of him before? perhaps not. Then more's the pity.'[59]

More astute with regard to Heine's political attitudes was the author of a brief review of his *Neue Gedichte*, who, in the *Dublin University Magazine* of September 1845, wrote:

> Heine is, we were about to say, a thorough democrat, but democracy comprehends at least the party of the people, and Heine, we really believe, dangles at the skirts of no party. ... It is not so much by hatred of oppression as by a certain instinct of opposition that Heine seems animated. ... Heine's hostility to established institutions has its birth rather in the imagination than in the feelings; and there is every probability that if the revolution which he is labouring to accomplish were actually to explode, he himself, like Marmontel and Mirabeau under similar circumstances, would be among the first to deplore the event.[60]

As in some of the earlier reviews, however, the author here is torn between admiration for Heine's abilities as a writer and condemnation of his moral and social views. Heine is praised for his 'infinite humour',[61] and, in a passage which

[56] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.735.

[57] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.735.

[58] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.733.

[59] Hurlbut, 'Henri Heiné', p.736.

[60] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', *Dublin University Magazine*, xxvi (September 1845), xxvi. 283. (The whole article occupies pp. 283-97; the portion devoted to Heine runs from pp. 283-7.)

[61] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

foreshadows the comments of George Eliot in her essay 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine', the reviewer describe Heine's prose as 'racy and sparkling - equalling Wieland's in all but logical induction, and far surpassing Goethe's in force, rapidity of thought, and a peculiar clearness of style, which almost deserves the epithet of transparent.'[62] Moreover, we are also told that 'the better impulses' are not 'wholly absent from the spirit of [Heine's] songs.'[63] Set against this, however, the reviewer describes Heine's *Neue Gedichte* as 'the same old packages of poison from his literary upas-tree'[64] and claims that 'anything more darkly diabolical than the general tone of Heine's "Gedichte" it would be a labour of no slight difficulty to extract from even the worst samples of morality bequeathed to us by Machiavelli or Voltaire.'[65] The comparison with Voltaire was one which was frequently repeated in subsequent nineteenth-century British periodical articles on Heine, although not always with the pejorative imputations made here. Again, as in the earlier articles, the author here claims to regard Heine as 'more an object of compassion than condemnation'[66] because 'the curse of the sneerer is on Heine ... he has almost ceased to struggle for the attainment of a healthy condition of mind.'[67] Explanations of Heine's satire in terms of a diseased mind also became common over the course of the nineteenth century, and the reviewer also found an echo in many other articles, when he wrote: 'none, perhaps, can deeplier lament the melancholy misdirection of his glorious faculties than those who the strongest repudiate the moral and social principles he advocates.'[68]

In 1847 a rumour circulated in Britain that Heine had died. This prompted the *Athenaeum* to produce a grossly premature obituary in which was repeated the now-familiar pattern of strong praise for Heine's talents, coupled with extreme condemnation of his morals and his 'appetite for raillery and satire'.[69] The opening sentence of the obituary describes Heine as one of Germany's 'men of genius',[70] and the writer praises the 'grace, tenderness, and artless ease'[71] of his

[62] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

[63] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

[64] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

[65] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

[66] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

[67] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

[68] Anon., 'The Later German Poets', p. 283.

[69] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, No. 1049 (4 December 1847), 1247.

[70] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

[71] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

poems and *Reisebilder*, by which, we are told, 'the name of Heine will live'.[72] Interestingly, the author of this obituary speaks of 'the legion of translators'[73] who have already made Heine's works known in Britain. This clearly contrasts with W. H. Hurlbut's apparent assumption, in an article published just five years earlier, that few of his readers were likely to have heard of Heine.[74] The author of the *Athenaeum*'s obituary lists among Heine's writings '"Sketches of German Literature of the Nineteenth Century" undertaken for this journal [*Ath.* No. 329], but the tone and temper of which precluded the possibility of their appearing in an English periodical.'[75] This is interesting both on account of the suggestion of a connection between Heine and the *Athenaeum* and also because of the moral stance which is adopted. Further on in the obituary the author mentions Heine's connection with European liberalism[76] but comments that Heine was unable 'to distinguish the apostle of liberty from the apologist of licence'.[77] Written in 1847 this comment seems, if not accurate, at least more pardonable than would have been the case at a later date, as also does the picture of Heine as 'flinging himself into the chaos of French society' and seemingly 'sarcastically and triumphantly to rejoice in his expatriation'.[78] This view was shared by W. H. Hurlbut in an earlier article.[79] The obituary in the *Athenaeum* ends on a very melancholy note, when the author writes:

> For many years the wit of Heine was the delight and ornament of certain Parisian circles. Latterly, however, he dropped out of sight of his companions, - who made no extraordinary efforts to recover him. He became remarkable for personal neglect. His gaiety of spirit seemed to die out, - and the flame being gone, nothing but distasteful dregs in the socket remained. We fear that his last hours were very desolate.[80]

The ghoulishness in this passage is also typical of much that was to come.

[72] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

[73] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

[74] For discussion of Hurlbut's article see pp. 10-11 above.

[75] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

[76] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

[77] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

[78] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

[79] For discussion of Hurlbut's article see pp. 10-11 above.

[80] Anon., 'Our Weekly Gossip', p. 1247.

The illness which eventually proved fatal for Heine had been developing for some years before his final collapse in April 1848 confined him permanently to his home. The news from Europe in that year was, of course, dominated by revolutions, and it was not until 1851 that the British periodical press mentioned Heine's 'bed of suffering',[81] lurid details of which would soon become commonplace in mid- and late-Victorian articles on him. *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* carried a pair of articles on 'Heine, His Works and Times' in the numbers for October and November 1851, in the last paragraph of which the author wrote:

> Of Heine, the gay, the reckless and impetuous, nothing remains but hearing, speech, and the faculty of thinking. His power of sight is gone; his limbs and spine are strung to iron rigidity by paralysis; and thus, pale and still, his long lids dropping over eyes which might see were it not for those heavy curtains, he has lain in his little study in the Paris suburb Poissonière, while the Revolutions of 1848 shook the world.[82]

This pathetic picture of Heine is not allowed to stand without its moral comment, however, and the author continues:

> There, pale and still, he remains to this day, dead to the pleasures, the passions and the errors of life, and surveying, let us hope with a humbled and chastened heart, the feuds, the triumphs and the follies of his former years, waiting for the hour in which Death shall complete his work, and join the name of Henry Heine to the list of illustrious departed, whose fame is secure because they can do nothing to impair it.[83]

Clearly the author of these articles anticipated no works of literature from Heine's sick bed, and certainly nothing of the stature of *Romanzero* or the *Letzte Gedichte*, as, indeed, is made clear in the preceding paragraph, when he dismisses in lukewarm manner both *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* and *Atta Troll*, going on to comment that in the wake of these:

> ...it became apparent that the reviver of the German Volkslied, and the exterminator of the Romantic school, had long ago reached the climax of his fame and power, and that nothing short of an extraordinary event could re-establish him in the favour of the public.[84]

81 Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, xviii N.S. (November 1851),683. (The whole of this article, which is the sequel to an article carried in *Tait's* by the same author in the previous month, occupies pp. 679-83.)

82 Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.683.

83 Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.683.

84 Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.683.

Heine's illness was, the author claims, precisely such an event, but, despite his seeming to suggest non-literary reasons for the recent upswing which he mentions in Heine's popularity, this author also expresses genuine admiration for Heine's 'great mastership in lyrical poetry',[85] although, like most of the earlier reviewers and many still to come, his praise of Heine the artist is always counterbalanced by moralistic censure of Heine the man. Thus, he writes:

> Ours is no hero worship, and while we have fully and fairly paid Heine the tribute of admiration which we conceive to be due to his wonderful talents, we have thought it our duty to mention those traits of his character and those events of his private and public life which are least calculated to entitle him to command respect or admiration.[86]

Chief among the episodes which blemished Heine's name in the author's eyes was the publication of his pamphlet on Börne, which is described as 'a most inconsiderate and indeed disgraceful step, one which will always be numbered among the darkest spots on [Heine's] literary career.'[87] Heine is also taken to task for his attacks on Platen, which are described as 'disgusting and filthy innuendoes on a man the purity of whose life and the amiability of whose character sufficed to ward off the disgrace of such attacks.'[88] Along with many other writers of periodical articles on Heine, however, the author of these two pieces seeks, if not to absolve Heine of all blame for his failings, at least to find for them extenuating circumstances in his early life. In later articles the frustrated youthful passion for his cousin Amalie was blamed, but the author here picks out Heine's Jewish ancestry as an important factor which soured his character, since he describes Heine as 'Bred up in the Protestant faith ... but painfully sensitive of his descent from the hated Hebrew race', and as 'anxious to assert his Christianity and to conceal a parentage which exposed him to contempt and scorn.'[89] There is more than a touch of nineteenth-century British anti-Semitism in the author's comments on this subject.[90] The defeat of the young Heine's hero Napoleon is another factor, blamed here for the 'warping' of Heine's character,

[85] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.683.

[86] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.683.

[87] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.682.

[88] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.680.

[89] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, xviii N.S. (October 1851), 619. (The whole of this article, the first of two by the same author carried in *Tait's* in successive months, occupies pp. 618-22.)

[90] An example of this is to be found in the following comment on Heine's mother,who was Jewish but who was often thought to be Christian: 'How such a woman found her way into the smoky kitchen and the dingy back-parlour of a Düsseldorf Jew seems almost a mystery.' - Anon.,'Heine, His Works and Times', p. 619.

since, after dwelling at some length on Heine's hero-worship of Napoleon and on the facts of the Emperor's downfall, the author comments:

> Heine's mind was originally soft, patient, forbearing, and open to feelings of tenderness and admiration. The conflicting passions of this disastrous period changed his character. We lay great stress on the circumstance, for though it cannot justify, it will serve to explain and partly to excuse many of the errors of his later years.[91]

Finally the author adds to the list blame of the Universities of Berlin, Bonn and Göttingen, of which he says: 'Each of these places made [Heine] more moody and discontented.'[92] After discussing the universities the author goes on to mention Heine's European travels and pictures him 'listening to village songs and legends. ...the true fountains of his inspiration.'[93] To a modern ear this sounds simplistic, especially when taken in conjunction with the author's earlier comment that: 'Heine's language is essentially that of the people.'[94] Both notions contain an element of truth, but at no time was Heine a writer of genuine ballads, any more than Wordsworth was. On the subject of Heine's political writings the author comments that: 'His tactics, doctrines, and, indeed, his very style are obsolete', but he goes on to add, somewhat patronisingly: 'but this, we take it, is by no means a condemnation of a man who has done good service in his day.'[95] By contrast, we are told that Heine's 'reputation as a poet has already stood some severe trials, and his very detractors are at length resigned to admiration.'[96]

The position of Heine in relation to both Goethe and his contemporaries and to the German Romantics is a question which exercises the writer in *Tait's*, and his conclusion is, not unreasonably, that: 'Heine, indeed, is a cross between the old and the new phase of German literature.'[97] In an article entitled 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1 April 1852 and was subsequently translated into English for *Sharpe's London Magazine*,[98] Saint-René Taillandier goes further than this and claims:

[91] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.620.

[92] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.620.

[93] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.621.

[94] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.618.

[95] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.618.

[96] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.618.

[97] Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', p.681.

[98] Anon.(trans.), 'The Life and Writings of Heinrich Heine', *Sharpe's London Magazine*, i N.S. (May and June 1852), 291-9 and 362-9.

> Le *Livre des Chants* et les *Reisebilder* sont dans la poésie et dans la prose le commencement d'une époque toute nouvelle pour les lettres allemands. Ces deux ouvrages marchent de front et se complètent l'un l'autre; on ne saurait les séparer.[99]

Taillandier's article was of importance in Britain not least because it was read by Matthew Arnold, who refers to it in his own influential essay 'Heinrich Heine'.[100] The picture which Taillandier paints here is overwhelmingly enthusiastic and sympathetic towards Heine, and its appearance in translation in *Sharpe's* may well have contributed towards the more general rehabilitation of Heine's reputation in Britain during the 1850's. Taillandier describes Heine as having: 'une imagination ailée, une intelligence poétiquement railleuse; un de ces esprits subtils et hardis',[101] and words such as 'étincelan', 'fantasque' and 'joyeux' are used in abundance to describe Heine's literary talents.[102] Moreover, Heine the man is praised for his fortitude in the face of suffering and for his general character - 'ces larges et sympathiques dispositions de son esprit qui ont nourri sa gaieté.'[103] Taillandier admits that Heine has his faults, which he characterises as 'des cruautés que nous lui reprocherons',[104] but he still defends him valiantly, saying: 'malgré les fautes même si regrettables de l'écrivain, croyez qu'il y aura souvent bien du don quichottisme dans ses folles incartades.'[105] Unlike many British writers, Taillandier does not dwell in detail on Heine's faults - save to condemn *Schnabelewopski*[106] - nor does he particularly reproach him for his sallies against Christianity, preferring instead to take the wider view that Heine 'a des sympathies qu'il tâche en vain de dissimuler; il sent admirablement la génie particulier de chaque époque historique. L'antiquité et le moyen-âge, les Juifs, les Grecs, les chrétiens, il les aime, il les raille tous avec une verve égale.'[107] Even Heine's irony is said to have 'un caractère

99 Saint-René Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xiv. Nouvelle Période (1 April 1852). 12.

100 See Matthew Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 119.

101 Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 6.

102 See, for example, Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', pp. 7 and 11.

103 Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 10.

104 Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 10.

105 Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 10.

106 Of *Schnabelewopski* Taillandier writes: 'au nom de la morale comme au nom de la poésie, c'est un devoir de condamner sans réserve ces inventions cyniques' - Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 21.

107 Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 10.

sympathique',[108] and Taillandier clearly implies that this is a central feature of Heine's uniqueness as a writer, since he sums this up by saying:

> Ce qui est propre à M. Henri Heine, ce qui marque cette initiation d'un caractère vraiment original, c'est l'union de la grace enfantine avec les pensées hardies. Il parle comme parlent les vieilles légendes populaires au moment même où il secoue l'arbre de la science du bien et du mal et en fait goûter le fruit amer à l'innocente Allemagne.[109]

In assessing Heine's position in the canon of German literature Taillandier foreshadows Matthew Arnold by declaring that: 'M. Henri Heine est le premier poète de son pays depuis la mort de Goethe.'[110] He also quotes the passage with which Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' begins: ' ... vous placerez un glaive sur ma tombe, oui, un glaive! car j'ai toujours été un bon soldat dans la guerre de délivrance du genre humain.'[111] Moreover, Taillandier's comment: '... je comprends que le fond de sa poésie n'est proprement ni l'enthousiasme idéaliste ni l'enivrement de la beauté matérielle, mais l'*humour*, - l'humour!'[112] heralds the major discussion of wit and humour which appeared four years later in George Eliot's essay: 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine.'[113] Indeed, at a number of points the tone and the language of George Eliot's essay have much in common with the piece by Taillandier, as is shown for example, by comparing Taillandier's comment: '...en vain la souffrance, une souffrance affreuse, impitoyable, a-t-elle appesanti ses mains de plomb sur la fantaisie ailée: la fantaisie triomphe et s'envole'[114] with George Eliot's description of Heine as 'a humorist, who touches leaden folly with the magic wand of his fancy, and transmutes it into the fine gold of art.'[115] A comparison of Heine's lyric poetry with that of Goethe is also common

[108] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 15.

[109] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 17.

[110] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 34.

[111] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 7. Arnold's version of this passage appears in his essay 'Heinrich Heine' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 107.. Heine's original words can be found in the section on 'Die Reise von München nach Genua' in Part 3, chapter xxxi of his *Reisebilder*, for which see *Heinrich Heines Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Prof. Dr Ernst Elster, (Leipzig und Wien, 1887-90), iii. 281.

[112] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 8.

[113] See George Eliot, 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, lxv (January 1856), 1-33. Reprinted in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Thomas Pinney, (London, 1963), pp. 216-54.

[114] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 8.

[115] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 248-9.

to both essays.[116]

Fraser's Magazine, which had carried its first article on Heine in December 1842,[117] returned to a discussion of him in January 1854, in an article entitled 'Young Germany', in which an attitude of sneering at Heine the man is amply mixed with glowing praise of Heine the poet. With reference to *Romanzero* and *Die Götter im Exil* the author comments: 'His constant flashing satire, exquisite lyric faculty, wonderful humour, and subtle genius are revived with tenfold vigour, and glow with unquenchable brilliancy.'[118] He goes on to add:

> Heine is a true poet, and might have been a great one, if he had cared to be a better man. But his spirit was not to the measure of his power, and we see him, consequently, flinging huge hands about him, like a rebellious Titan, heaving mountains, destroying much, but building up nothing high, solid, and enduring.[119]

Continuing the negative tone, the author also confesses himself 'puzzled' about Heine's celebrated 'return to God', as described in the 'Nachwort zum Romanzero', and arrogantly dismisses it as 'little better than a Young German compromise with some very obfuscated glimmer of higher things seen at the last gasp.'[120] Clearly, not all British periodical writers had yet been won over entirely to Heine's defence by the mid-1850's.

The year 1854 saw the publication in Germany of Heine's *Geständnisse* and *Lutezia* in three volumes entitled *Vermischte Schriften*. Shortly thereafter, in January 1855, the *Westminster Review* carried an enthusiastic review of this publication, dealing primarily with the *Geständnisse*, in which Heine is described as 'the last of the great German poets'[121], whilst the volume of *Geständnisse*, we are colourfully told, 'stands alone amid the ephemeral appearances of the day, as a casket by Benvenuto Cellini might be imagined to do amid the tasteless profusion of heavy furniture and ill-assorted nicknacks, which cumber the drawing-rooms of a prosperous and unaesthetic *bourgeois*.'[122] Heine's appeal is

[116] See Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 16 and Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 248-9.

[117] For discussion of this article see pp. 10-11 above.

[118] Anon., 'Young Germany', *Fraser's Magazine*, xlix. (January 1854), 86.

[119] Anon., 'Young Germany', p. 86.

[120] Anon., 'Young Germany', p. 88. Heine's words on the subject can be found in his 'Nachwort zum Romanzero' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 485-7.

[121] Anon., 'Belles Lettres', *Westminster Review*, vii N.S. (January 1855), 275. (The portion of this article which deals with Heine occupies pp. 275-8.)

[122] Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 275.

regarded here as universal, since the reviewer claims that 'these latest touches of his pen will excite the admiration of every reader of French and German, wherever in the habitable globe these languages are studied.'[123] As became so common in later articles, the author here paints a vivid and highly sympathetic picture of Heine's sufferings, imagining him 'with a pale countenance and eyes half-closed with pain', laying 'a head weary with a long life-battle on the pillow of sickness, in the Rue d'Amsterdam, where it has now settled for the last five years.'[124] Mingled with pity, however, is the reviewer's strong admiration for the way in which 'the Titan though o'erthrown is unconquered still, and the old love, laughter, hate, and scorn, are sublimed by suffering in the poet's heart, to such a degree, that we shudder while we gaze, awe-struck, on this victory of man over man's most terrible foes, sickness and pain.'[125] Turning specifically to the *Geständnisse* themselves, the reviewer comments admiringly: 'That Heine, tried by such a fearful visitation, has been able to produce such prose and verse as this first volume contains, is one of the greatest literary marvels on record.'[126] His praise is not wholly undiscriminating, however, since he comments on 'the close atmosphere of the sick-room' and on 'the peevishness of a sick man',[127] which he finds in the volume, and on the subject of Heine's 'return to God' he comments:

> In spite of his loud protestations of the new birth of the religious sentiment within him, we are unable to discover any very vital change in Heine, either as thinker or poet, and we doubt whether his manner of treating religious subjects will be edifying to the orthodox of any Christian Church.[128]

Moreover, the moralising tone of the latter part of this sentence is reinforced in the reviewer's final comment on the *Geständnisse*, to the effect that 'notwithstanding the brilliancy and humour which distinguishes this, as everything else of Heine, the efforts to be dazzling and witty are too conspicuous, and force him too often to violate both propriety and sincerity.'[129] Before ending the review altogether, the author inserts a brief paragraph on *Lutezia*, volumes two and three of Heine's *Vermischte Schriften*, which are described as 'brilliant,

[123]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 275.

[124]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 275.

[125]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 275.

[126]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 276.

[127]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 276.

[128]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 276.

[129]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 277.

picturesque, and witty; true daguerrotypes of political, scientific, artistic, and social life in the Parisian capital in the noon-day of Louis Philippe's reign.' These, concludes the reviewer, 'give evidence of much political wisdom and foresight in this chief lyric poet of Germany - the nation of lyric poets.'[130]

Overall, then, the picture of Heine which seems to have emerged most strongly in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century is one of a brilliant writer of sublime lyric poetry and devilishly witty satire but also one frequently guilty of extreme lapses into bad taste and whose moral and political views were at best suspect and at worst downright subversive. Extenuating circumstances were sometimes found for him in his early life, and, as news of his protracted illness spread, the moralising comments were often tempered with sympathy for his sufferings and with admiration both for his fortitude and for the brilliance of the works, especially *Romanzero*, which he produced from his sick-bed. It was against this background that the major essays on Heine by George Eliot and Matthew Arnold were produced.

[130]Anon., 'Belles Lettres', p. 278.

Chapter 2
George Eliot and Heine

George Eliot's position as one of the leading sponsors of German thought and culture in nineteenth-century England is assured. Her notebooks, journals and letters abound with references and quotations taken from German authors, she wrote a large number of essays and reviews on German topics,[1] and her wide interest in German literature and scholarship imbues virtually all her novels and short stories. Furthermore, it should be remembered that George Eliot herself first attracted the attention of the intellectual world of the mid-nineteenth century through the publication of her translations from the German of Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu*, which appeared on 15 June 1846, and of Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, in July 1854. Gordon S. Haight has summed up the importance of the former with the comment that: 'Few books of the nineteenth century have had a profounder influence on religious thought in England.'[2]

The intellectual development of the young George Eliot, then known as Mary Ann Evans, was initially encouraged and assisted by her father, since, as Haight points out:

> Robert Evans, a self-educated man, who spelled all his life like Mr Tulliver 'on an impromptu phonetic system', was naturally proud of his daughter's achievements and gave her every means to continue them. He let her buy whatever books she wanted, and arranged to have Joseph Brezzi, the language teacher at Coventry, come once a week to give her lessons in Italian and (beginning in March 1840) in German.[3]

A matter of only months later Mary Ann's interest in German had grown so great that on 1 October 1840 she wrote to her friend Maria Lewis: 'There seems a greater affinity between German and my mind than Italian, though less new to me, possesses.'[4] Like Coleridge and Carlyle, George Eliot began her study of

[1] For a list of those articles known definitely to have been written by George Eliot see *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Thomas Pinney, (London, 1963), pp. 452-5.

[2] Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (Oxford, 1978), p. 59.

[3] Haight, *Biography*, pp. 24-5.

[4] *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight, (London, 1954-6), i. 69.

German literature with Schiller,[5] and in that same month, October 1840, she read his *Maria Stuart*.[6] The Brays and Hennells, friends of Mary Ann from their first meeting in November 1841, all read German, and in December 1842 Mary Ann was studying Schiller's *Wallenstein* with Cara Bray.[7] Also in the latter part of 1842 Mary Ann was, at the request of Charles Bray, 'engaged in a translation of a part of Spinoza's works',[8] some of which Bray used in his autobiography,[9] although, as Haight comments, 'she did not go far with Spinoza at that time.'[10] More significantly, however, it was through this group of friends that Mary Ann undertook the project of translating Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu*, which Charles Hennell had agreed to arrange on behalf of Joseph Parkes, the Radical politician, who, in turn, had promised to furnish a large part of the cost of the work's publication. When approached, both Charles's sister, Sara Hennell, and his wife, Rufa, declared themselves unable to complete the task, and the project was offered to Mary Ann, who accepted and laboured at it for two years between 1844 and its publication, under the title *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*, on 15 June 1846.[11] It was also around this time, in October 1844, that Mary Ann began, herself, to give German lessons to Mary Sibree (later Mrs John Cash), the nineteen-year-old daughter of the Independent minister at Coventry. Again they began with Schiller, reading *Don Carlos* and *Wallenstein* in 1844, and the lessons continued for nearly two years.[12] From her first lessons in German in 1840, then, the study of German works occupied Mary Ann a good deal.

Early in 1849 Mary Ann was again occupied with Spinoza, translating his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* for Charles Bray, who wanted to have it published, and after the death of her father, Robert Evans, on 30 May that year, the Brays took her on the first of her many visits to Europe, as a result of which she spent eight months (August 1849 to March 1850) alone in Geneva, where she made the acquaintance of her life-long friends the painter François D'Albert Durade, his

[5] *G. E. Letters*, i. 38 and 43.

[6] *G. E. Letters*, i. 69.

[7] *G. E. Letters*, i. 153.

[8] *G. E. Letters*, i. 158.

[9] Mary Ann Evans' translation of some sentences from Part I of Spinoza's *Ethics* appear on p. 18 of Charles Bray's autobiography. See Haight, *Biography*, p. 52.

[10] Haight, *Biography*, p. 52.

[11] For a detailed account of this see Haight, *Biography*, pp. 52-4 and 57-9.

[12] For further details see Haight, *Biography*, p. 55.

wife and their two boys.[13] Back in England, Marian (as she now signed herself) moved, in January 1851, to lodgings in 142, Strand, London, the home of John Chapman, publisher of her translation of Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* and, from October 1851, proprietor of the *Westminster Review*, to which George Eliot contributed a great deal more than simply the articles which she is known definitely to have written.[14] From 1853-4, in addition to the editorial work which she had undertaken for the *Westminster Review*, Marian was also busy with the task of translating Ludwig Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christenthums* for Chapman's Quarterly Series.[15] It was Chapman, moreover, who introduced Marian, on 6 October 1851, to George Henry Lewes.[16]

Lewes probably reached the peak of his fame as a writer in November 1855 with the publication of his *Life and Works of Goethe*, which George Eliot herself reviewed in the *Leader*.[17] George Eliot was actively involved in his research for the work during their stay in Germany in the winter of 1854-5, and she also furnished him with translations of a number of passages from Goethe's works.[18] Indeed, Lewes seems to have been directly responsible in large measure for the wide knowledge of Goethe's life and works which makes itself felt again and again in George Eliot's own writings, since as Rosemary Ashton says:

> George Eliot had read some Goethe before she met Lewes in 1851, but probably her first thorough acquaintance with his works came in 1854, when she and Lewes set off for Weimar to begin life together and collect materials for the *Life of Goethe*. The journals she kept in Weimar and Berlin leave us in no doubt how closely she was connected with the final version of Lewes's work. Her comments are always brief, but make it clear that she read most of Goethe's works during that time, translated extracts for the *Life*, and proof-read the work, all at the same time as she translated Spinoza's *Ethics*.[19]

Important as Goethe undoubtedly was to George Eliot,[20] however, Ashton goes on

[13] For a full account of this period see Haight, *Biography*, pp. 68-78.

[14] For details of the period of George Eliot's residence at the home of John Chapman see Haight, *Biography*, pp. 80-134.

[15] For details of this work and of George Eliot's response to it see Haight, *Biography*, pp. 137-43.

[16] See Haight, *Biography*, p. 127.

[17] George Eliot, 'Life of Goethe', *Leader*, vi (3 November 1855), 1058-61.

[18] Haight, *Biography*, pp. 172-3.

[19] Rosemary Ashton, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 166.

[20] For a detailed analysis of George Eliot's response to Goethe see Ashton, *The German Idea*, pp. 166-73.

to say that 'A German writer from whom George Eliot quoted in her novels almost as often as she did from Goethe, is Heine',[21] and the first clear references to her reading Heine also date from her stay in Weimar and Berlin with Lewes during the winter of 1854-5. In her journal for 11 November 1854, for example, she notes: 'I read Heine's poems',[22] and later in the same journal she writes:

> They were very happy months we spent at Berlin, in spite of the bitter cold which came on in January and lasted almost till we left. How we used to rejoice in the idea of our warm room and coffee as we battled our way from dinner against the wind and snow! Then came the delightful long evening, in which we read Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine, and Macaulay, with German *Pfefferkuchen* and *Semmels* at the end to complete the *noctes cenaeque deûm*.[23]

The wide extent of George Eliot's reading of Heine is apparent in her published works, and apart from Heine's poems, one of his works which she certainly read during this same winter in Weimar and Berlin was the *Geständnisse*, published in the three volumes of *Vermischte Schriften* of October 1854, since she remarks on it in her journal, saying that she was 'immensely amused with the wit of it in the first fifty pages, but afterwards it burns low, and the want of principle and purpose make it wearisome.'[24] Amongst the many acquaintances made by George Eliot during that stay in Berlin was the friend of Lewes's student days, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, of whom she wrote warmly in her journal:

> Varnhagen was a real treasure to G., for his library supplied all the deficiencies of the public one, where to ask for books was generally like 'sinking buckets into empty wells.' He is a man of real culture, kindliness and polish (Germanly speaking); and he has besides that thorough liberalism, social, religious, and political, which sets the mind at ease in conversation, and delivers it from the fear of running against some prejudice, or coming suddenly on the sunk fence of some miserable limitation.[25]

With Varnhagen George Eliot and Lewes discussed Carlyle, Goethe and Kleist,[26] and Haight further states that they 'often discussed Heine' with him, as well.[27]

[21] Ashton, *The German Idea*, p. 166. Dr Ashton also notes that 'Her [i.e. George Eliot's] "Commonplace Notebook" in the Eliot Collection [at Yale] is full of quotations from several sources, including Goethe and Heine. Daniel Deronda has several references to Heine.' - See Notes to Chapter 4, note 105, of Ashton, *The German Idea*, pp. 225-6.

[22] George Eliot, 'Recollections of Berlin', *Journal 1854-61*, M. S. Eliot Collection (Yale), quoted in Ashton, *The German Idea*, p. 166.

[23] Eliot, 'Recollections of Berlin', quoted in J. W. Cross, *George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals* (Edinburgh and London, 1885), i. 370.

[24] Eliot, 'Recollections of Berlin', quoted in Cross, *Life*, i. 375.

[25] Eliot, 'Recollections of Berlin', quoted in Cross, *Life*, i. 351.

[26] Eliot, 'Recollections of Berlin', quoted in Cross, *Life*, i. 351-2.

[27] Haight, *Biography*, p. 193.

Varnhagen had long been a friend of the German poet, and in 1826 Heine had dedicated his first collection of lyric poems, 'die Heimkehr', to Varnhagen's wife, the celebrated Friederike Rahel. Indeed, as Sol Liptzin points out: 'Varnhagen had remained in touch with Heine throughout the latter's quarter of a century in exile and George Eliot could have found no source of information more sympathetic to the much maligned poet.'[28]

During her writing career it was George Eliot's practice to keep notebooks containing quotations from, and references to, authors whose works she was reading either in relation to her research for a particular novel, or in general. In a notebook for the years 1854-79[29] - a period which spans most of her writing career and her entire career as a novelist - no fewer than six quotations are recorded from the works of Heine, and, although the dates of individual entries are not given, these quotations all occur early in the notebook, which would obviously seem to suggest that they were entered during George Eliot's initial bout of enthusiasm for Heine during and just after her spell in Germany with Lewes. This was the period during which she wrote all four of her essays specifically devoted to Heine, and, predictably enough, all the quotations from Heine which appear in the early part of this notebook are taken from works from which George Eliot also quoted in her four Heine essays. The first such quotation from Heine - entry number fourteen in the notebook - is taken from the poem 'Es treibt mich hin, es treibt mich her!', which is the second of the 'Lieder' in the section of Heine's *Buch der Lieder* entitled 'Junge Leiden', and it is the third and final stanza of this poem which George Eliot transcribed into her notebook:

> Tobende Eile mich treibend erfasst!
> Aber wohl niemals liebten die Horen; -
> Heimlich im grausamen Bunde verschworen
> Spotten sie tückisch der Liebenden Hast.[30]

In her essay 'Heine's Book of Songs' George Eliot spoke of having read the *Buch der Lieder* '*seriatim*, again and again',[31] and she certainly referred to, and quoted from, these poems frequently in her essays on Heine. Indeed, this small group of nine 'Lieder' from the 'Junge Leiden' section of the *Buch der Lieder*

28 Sol Liptzin, *The English Legend of Heinrich Heine* (New York, 1954), pp. 59-60.

29 The original is in Yale, but it has been published as *George Eliot: A Writer's Notebook (1854-1879) and Uncollected Writings*, ed. Joseph Wiesenfarth, (Virginia, 1981).

30 See *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 8 and 145. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 30.

31 George Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', *Saturday Review*, i (26 April 1856), 523. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 268.

impressed her a good deal, since in the essay 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine' she chose another of these poems - the quatrain beginning: 'Anfangs wollt' ich fast verzagen'[32] - as an example of Heine's lyric genius working at its best to produce 'pure feeling breathed in pure music'.[33]

Entry number seventeen in George Eliot's notebook for 1854-79 is her second quotation from Heine, which is taken from the preface to his *Geständnisse* and runs: 'Charkteristisch [sic] ist es, dass unsern deutschen Schelmen immer eine gewisse Sentimentalität anklebt. Sie sind keine kalten Verstandesspitzbuben, sondern Schufte von Gefühl.'[34] In her journal George Eliot records that she read the *Geständnisse* on 20-21 December 1854,[35] and it is certainly one of the principal texts to which she refers in her major essay 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine'. Moreover, it also provides the epigraph to chapter sixty-three of *Daniel Deronda*, which suggests that the work held a significance for her throughout her writing career.

Three of George Eliot's six quotations from Heine in her notebook of 1854-79 are taken from his work *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, of which she said, in 'German Wit', that it was 'among the most interesting of his prose works'.[36] The first of these three quotations - entry number twenty in the notebook - is taken from a passage in Book I of Heine's work in which he is discussing Martin Luther: 'Die Feinheit des Erasmus und die Milde des Melancthon [sic] hätten uns nimmer so weit gebracht wie manchmal die göttliche Brutalität des Bruder Martin.'[37] Heine saw the Reformation as a vital step towards intellectual freedom, and his praise of Luther is heartfelt, as is shown even more clearly by the lines preceding those transcribed by George Eliot:

> Ruhm dem Luther! Ewiger Ruhm dem teuren Manne, dem wir die Rettung unserer edelsten Güter verdanken, und von dessen Wohltaten wir noch heute leben! Es ziemt uns wenig, über die Beschränktheit seiner Ansichten zu klagen. Der Zwerg, der auf den Schultern des Riesen steht, kann freilich weiter schauen als dieser selbst, besonders wenn er eine Brille aufgesetzt; aber zu der erhöhten Anschauung fehlt das hohe Gefühl, das

[32] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 33.

[33] George Eliot, 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 238.

[34] *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 9 and 146. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, vi. 18.

[35] *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 146.

[36] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 238.

[37] *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 10 and 147. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 191.

> Riesenherz, das wir uns nicht aneignen können. Es ziemt uns noch weniger, über seine Fehler ein herbes Urteil zu fällen; diese Fehler haben uns mehr genutzt als die Tugenden von tausend andern.[38]

Heine's apologia for Luther at this point is, itself, similar to George Eliot's own refusal, in 'German Wit', to 'dwell lengthily on [Heine's] failings' or to 'hold the candle up to dusty, vermin-haunted corners', since, as she goes on to say: 'it is not for pigmies at their ease to criticize the writhings of the Titan chained to the rock.'[39] By way of contrast, the subject of George Eliot's next quotation from Heine - entry number twenty-one in the notebook - is Spinoza, an author with whom she, like Heine, was very much in sympathy and part of whose works she herself translated. The lines concerning Spinoza which George Eliot quotes in the notebook are from a famous passage in Book II of *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, which she transcribed as follows:

> Constatirt ist es, dass der Lebenswandel des Spinoza frei von allem Tadel war, und rein und makellos wie das Leben seines göttlichen Vetters, Jesu Christi. Auch wie dieser litt er für seine Lehre, wie dieser trug er die Dornenkrone. Ueberall, wo ein grosser Geist seinen Gedanken ausspricht, ist Golgotha ... . Er wurde feyerlich ausgestossen aus der Gemeinschaft Israels und unwürdig erklärt hinfüro den Namen Jude zu tragen. Seine christlichen Feinde waren grossmüthig genug, ihm diesen Namen zu lassen.[40]

This quotation from Heine is directly related to the essay 'German Wit', since in the essay George Eliot gives the sentence 'Wherever a great soul utters its thoughts, there is Golgotha' as an example of Heine's 'finely-chiselled sayings which stamp themselves on the memory, and become familiar by quotation.'[41] Joseph Wiesenfarth, indeed, goes so far as to suggest that:

> The meaning and construction of this 'Wherever...there' sentence of Heine's was so thoroughly stamped on George Eliot's memory that she reproduced them three months later in a 'finely-chiselled' sentence of her own: 'Wherever the strength of a man's intellect, or moral sense, or affection brings him into opposition with the rules which society sanctioned, *there* is renewed the conflict between Antigone and Creon.'[42]

[38] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 191.

[39] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 224 and 245.

[40] *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 10 and 147. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 215-16.

[41] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 251.

[42] *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 147.

The meaning and construction of George Eliot's sentence are clearly much the same as those of Heine's sentence. Nevertheless, the construction is by no means uncommon, and there are obvious differences of terminology between the two sentences, so that any claim to direct influence by Heine must be regarded as tenuous. Heine's highly sympathetic treatment of Spinoza would certainly have appealed in general to George Eliot's own concern for tolerance and compassion, however, just as it also appealed to Matthew Arnold, who wrote in his essay 'Spinoza and the Bible': 'But of Spinoza Heine said: "His life was a copy of the life of his divine kinsman, Jesus Christ."'[43]

The third quotation from Heine's *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* to appear in George Eliot's notebook for 1854-79 - entry number twenty-three - is taken from Book III of Heine's work and concerns the pantheism in Goethe's Lieder:

> Am reinsten und lieblichsten beurkundet sich dieser Goethesche Pantheismus in seinen kleinen Liedern. Die Lehre des Spinoza hat sich aus der mathematischen Hülle entpuppt und umflattert uns als Goethesches Lied. Daher die Wuth unserer Orthodoxen und Pietisten gegen das Goethesche Lied. Mit ihren frommen Bärentatzen tappen sie nach diesem Schmetterling der ihnen beständig entflattert. Das ist so zart aetherisch, so duftig beflügelt ... . Diese Goetheschen Lieder haben einen neckischen Zauber, der unbeschreibbar. Die harmonischen Verse umschlingen dein Herz wie eine zärtliche Geliebte; das Wort umarmt dich während der Gedanke dich küsst.[44]

In 'German Wit' George Eliot touches briefly on Heine's own attitude towards pantheism, claiming that it was 'an animating faith' to him during the mid-1830's, when the second volume of his *Salon* was written.[45] Furthermore, the delicate language and images of butterflies and of love which Heine used to evoke the special qualities of Goethe's Lieder in this extract are similar in tone to George Eliot's own evocations of the Lieder of both Goethe and Heine in her first two Heine essays, as when she speaks of 'the sparkling, dimpling surface of Goethe's song',[46] and describes Heine's songs as being 'like birds that not only

43 See Arnold's essay 'Spinoza and the Bible' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 182.

44 *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 10-11 and 148. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 274.

45 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 243.

46 George Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', *Leader*, vi (1 September 1855), 843. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

enchant us with their delicious notes, but nestle against us with their soft breasts, and make us feel the agitated beating of their hearts.'[47]

In between the second and third quotations from *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* which appear in the notebook, an entry occurs - entry number twenty-two - from Heine's work *Die Romantische Schule*:

> Die Sterne des Himmels erscheinen uns aber vielleicht deshalb so schön und rein, weil wir weit von ihnen entfernt stehen & ihr Privatleben nicht kennen. Es giebt gewiss dort oben ebenfalls manche Sterne, welche lügen und betteln; Sterne, welche heucheln; Sterne, welche gezwungen sind, alle möglichen Schlechtigkeiten zu begehen; Sterne, welche sich einander küssen und verrathen; Sterne, welche ihren Feinden und, was noch schmerzlicher ist, sogar ihren Freunden schmeicheln, eben so gut wie wir hier unten. Jene Cometen, welche man dort oben manchmal *wie Mänaden des Himmels, mit aufgelöstem Strahlenhaar*, umherschweifen sieht, das sind vielleicht liederliche Sterne, die am Ende sich reuig und devot in einen obscuren Winkel des Firmaments verkriechen und die Sonne hassen.[48]

In 'German Wit' George Eliot describes *Die Romantische Schule* as 'a delightful introduction to that phase of German literature known as the Romantic school.'[49] The passage which she transcribed into her notebook follows Heine's comment: 'Ach! wie betrübsam ist es, ... wenn man überhaupt die Sterne unserer Literatur in der Nähe betrachtet',[50] and this theme of things and people being not always what they seem is certainly a common literary theme and one which George Eliot treated on a number of occasions in her novels.[51] In general, however, although this notebook contains materials used in all of George Eliot's novels and in some of her essays and reviews as well, the quotations which she made in it from Heine do not seem to form part of her research for any specific project. Not surprisingly they are taken from works which George Eliot later cited in her essays on Heine, but none of these quotations is itself reproduced in those essays, so that they indicate general background reading, rather than specific research. By way of contrast with this, in another notebook, dated 1875-7 or, possibly, later, George Eliot made the following entry: '"Judüa erschien mir immer ein Stück Occident,

[47] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 248-9.

[48] *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 10 and 147. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, v. 297.

[49] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 238.

[50] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, v. 297.

[51] Bulstrode in *Middlemarch*, Tito Melema in *Romola*, Eppie in *Silas Marner*, Esther Lyon in *Felix Holt* and the eponymous hero of *Daniel Deronda* are clear examples of this.

das sich mitten in den Orient verloren." Heine, *Bekenntnisse.*'[52] The quotation occurs early in the notebook and would seem to have some bearing, as does much of the material in this notebook, on her study of Judaism for *Daniel Deronda.* In the novel George Eliot is, of course, dealing with the specific culture of Jews living in the west, and the hero, Deronda, has had the background and education of an English gentleman. George Eliot's purpose in *Daniel Deronda* is certainly not to show that the two cultures are the same, and, indeed, in Mordecai we are shown the figure of a man who seems like a piece of the *east* lost in the *west.* Nevertheless, in Deronda we see the two cultures assimilated at their highest, and he, himself, becomes a part of western Judaism. Taken all together, these quotations from Heine suggest that George Eliot had a strong interest in, and enthusiasm for, the works of Heine during the mid-1850's, and that that enthusiasm did not then cease when she turned from journalism as her major source of income to establish her career as a novelist. Furthermore, George Eliot again mentioned her reading of Heine in the mid-1850's, when:

> ...in June 1855 she told Charles Bray that her reading aloud in the evenings with Lewes consisted at that time of Boswell's Johnson, followed by 'the dreary dryness of Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences', and 'winding up with Heine's wit and imagination' in the *Reisebilder (Travel Pictures).*[53]

Between September 1855 and August 1856 George Eliot had published no fewer than four essays on Heine,[54] and the wide extent of her reading of his works, which the essays display, together with the language she chose, shows clearly the interest - fascination even - which he held for her at this period.

[52] The original notebook is in the Pforzheimer Library, but it has been published in *Some George Eliot Notebooks: An Edition of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library's George Eliot Holograph Notebooks. M.S.S. 707, 708, 709, 710,711*, ed. William Baker, (Salzburg, 1976). This quotation may be found in vol. i, M.S. 707, p. 118.

[53] Eliot, 'Recollections of Berlin', *Journal 1854-61*, M. S. Eliot Collection (Yale), 27 December 1854. Also letter of 17 June 1855 in *G. E. Letters*,ii. 203. The *Journal* for 13 June 1855 also lists Heine's *Reisebilder.* My quotation is taken from Ashton, *The German Idea*, p. 174.

[54] The essays are:

a. 'Heine's Poems', *Leader*, vi (1 September 1855), 843-4. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 256-9.

b. 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, lxv (January 1856), 1-33. Reprinted in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 216-54.

c. 'Heine's Book of Songs', *Saturday Review*, i (26 April 1856), 523-4. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 268-71.

d. 'Recollections of Heine', *Leader*, xxiii (August 1856), 811-12.

For a list of editions of George Eliot's periodical contributions see Appendix C, 'Editions of George Eliot's Essays and Reviews', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 460-61.

In the preface to the third edition of his great *Index to Periodical Literature* William Frederick Poole wrote in 1882:

> Periodical Literature was never so rich as during the past thirty years. The best writers and the great statesmen of the world, where they formerly wrote a book or pamphlet, now contribute an article to a leading review or magazine, and it is read before the month is ended in every country in Europe, in America, in India, Australia and New Zealand. Every question in literature, religion, politics, social science, political economy, and in many other lines of human progress, finds its latest and freshest interpretation in the current periodicals. No one can thoroughly investigate any of these questions without knowing what the periodicals have said and are saying concerning them.[55]

It is, of course, well known that many of those works which are now regarded as classics of Victorian literature first appeared in serial form in the periodicals, and many of the essays and reviews which also first saw publication in the journals are of importance both as works of criticism in their own right and, in retrospect, for the light which they throw on authors better known in other spheres of authorship - as George Eliot is, today, better known as a novelist. George Eliot's journalism was vital to her as her basic source of income during the 1850's (Pinney claims that her contributions to the *Westminster Review* accounted for more than half her income during the years 1854-7)[56], but it is a mistake to dismiss the essays on Heine - and, in particular, the second essay, 'German Wit' - merely as 'bread-and-butter reviewing', in Rosemary Ashton's phrase.[57] Indeed, had George Eliot herself regarded the essay 'German Wit' in that light, it seems unlikely that she would have included it amongst the essays which she selected and revised for the volume *Essays and Leaves from a Note-Book*, the only edition of her periodical writings which George Eliot herself authorised.[58]

George Eliot's first essay on Heine, the essay 'Heine's Poems', which first appeared in the *Leader* of 1 September 1855, is a review of Charles G. Leland's translation of Heine's *Reisebilder*,[59] and, although short, it 'anticipates' in a number of ways 'her magisterial essay "German Wit: Heinrich Heine", which appeared in the *Westminster* in January 1856', as Wiesenfarth suggests.[60] George Eliot begins the earlier review in a bright, lively style:

55 William Frederick Poole, *An Index to Periodical Literature* (Boston, 1882), p. iv.

56 See the Introduction to *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p.2.

57 Ashton, *The German Idea*, p. 174.

58 George Eliot, *Essays and Leaves from a Note-Book* (Edinburgh and London, 1884).

59 Heinrich Heine, *Pictures of Travel*, trans. Charles G. Leland, (London, 1855).

60 *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

> Nature one day resolved to make a witty German. But as this supreme paradox was not to be resolved all at once, it happened that in the ardour of a great purpose she mistook Hebrew blood for German, and while she was busy adding the wit, allowed the best moral qualities of the German to slip out of her hands. So, instead of the witty Teuton she intended, she would have produced merely a Voltairian Jew speaking the German language, if she had not, perceiving her mistake before it was too late, superadded, as some compensation for the want of *morale*, a passionate heart blending its emotions with the most delicate and imaginative sensibility to the beauties of earth and sky, and a supreme lyrical genius, which could weave the wit, and the passion, and the imagination into songs light and lovely as the rainbows on the spray of the summer torrent.[61]

The language, tone and content of this opening paragraph are clearly echoed in the later essay, perhaps most notably of all at the point at which, having completed a lengthy preliminary discussion of the distinction between wit and humour, George Eliot turns to her specific subject, Heine himself, and speaks of him as:

> ...a German born with the present century, who, to Teutonic imagination, sensibility, and humour, adds an amount of *esprit* that would make him brilliant among the most brilliant of Frenchmen. True, this unique German wit is half a Hebrew; but he and his ancestors spent their youth in German air, and were reared on *Wurst* and *Sauerkraut*, so that he is as much a German as a pheasant is an English bird, or a potato an Irish vegetable. But whatever else he may be, Heine is one of the most remarkable men of this age: no echo, but a real voice, and therefore, like all genuine things in this world, worth studying; a surpassing lyric poet, who has uttered our feelings for us in delicious song; a humorist, who touches leaden folly with the magic wand of his fancy, and transmutes it into the fine gold of art - who sheds his sunny smile on human tears, and makes them a beauteous rainbow on the cloudy background of life...[62]

In both essays Voltaire is adduced as an example of a writer whose witty prose is akin to that of Heine. Thus, in 'Heine's Poems', Heine is described as 'a writer who is master of a German prose as light and subtle and needle-pointed as Voltaire's French',[63] whilst in the later essay, 'German Wit', Voltaire is described as 'the intensest example of pure wit', and his narratives are, at least in some instances, 'sparkling and antithetic, so pregnant with suggestion and satire, that we are

[61] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

[62] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p.223.

[63] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

obliged to call them witty.'[64] Indeed, in her article 'George Eliots Beziehungen zu Deutschland' Sibilla Pfeiffer complained that:

> Wenn George Eliot diese Eleganz und Geschmeidigkeit des Heineschen Stils der üblichen deutschen Schwerfälligkeit gegenüberstellt, so hebt sie damit bei ihm ein nicht deutsches, sondern französisches Element heraus. In diesem Aufspüren und Bewundern des Französischen sogar im deutschen Dichter zeigt sich das typisch Englische in George Eliot. Den Engländern - mit Ausnahme Carlyles - war die französische Kultur 'die Kultur', war das Französische daher Vorbild.[65]

The second part of this claim is certainly not accurate, since by the 1850's Carlyle was by no means the only major proponent of German culture in Britain, and George Eliot's writings display, if anything, a greater interest in things German than in things French. Moreover, the point of George Eliot's comments on Heine's witty style is surely not so much that he merely apes French writers, but that he exploits the *German* language to the full and exposes a facet of it which had hitherto lain virtually undiscovered.

Furthermore, there is, in both essays, a comparison made between Heine and Goethe, since in the first essay George Eliot speaks of Heine as possessing 'a poetical style as crystalline, as graceful, and as musical as that of Goethe's best lyrics', but she then goes on to argue that Heine is, nevertheless:

> ...utterly destitute of the profound wisdom and the depth of love and reverence which roll like a deep river under the sparkling, dimpling surface of Goethe's song. Indeed, we know nothing more likely to impress a reader with the grander elements of Goethe's mind than a comparison of his lyrics with Heine's, for the very reason that Heine quite equals Goethe in all the charms of *mere song*, and has one quality mingling itself with his lyrical power which Goethe has not - namely, wit; or rather, to express it more specifically, French *esprit*.[66]

Similarly, in the later essay she says:

> The distinctive charm of Heine's lyrics may best be seen by comparing them with Goethe's. Both have the same masterly, finished simplicity and rhythmic grace; but there is more thought mingled with Goethe's feeling - his lyrical genius is a vessel that draws more water than Heine's, and, though it seems to glide along with equal ease, we have a sense of greater weight and force accompanying the grace of its movement.[67]

[64] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p.220.

[65] Sibilla Pfeiffer, 'George Eliots Beziehungen zu Deutschland', *Anglistische Forschungen*, lx (1925), 211-12.

[66] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

[67] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p.248.

Equally, in both essays George Eliot comments on Heine's 'lack of moral conviction',[68] as a result of which she claims:

> ...that Heine's magnificent powers have often served only to give electric force to the expression of debased feeling, so that his works are no Phidian statue of gold, and ivory, and gems, but have not a little brass, and iron, and miry clay mingled with the precious metal.[69]

In neither essay does George Eliot seek to 'hold the candle up to dusty, vermin-haunted corners'[70] in Heine's life, but her wide tolerance is certainly much more readily apparent in the second essay than in its predecessor, and a memorable example of it occurs when, in concluding that section of her essay devoted to a sketch of Heine's *life*, she writes:

> For the rest, why should we demand of Heine that he should be a hero, a patriot, a solemn prophet, any more than we should demand of a gazelle that it should draw well in harness? Nature has not made him of her sterner stuff - not of iron and adamant, but of pollen of flowers, the juice of the grape, and Puck's mischievous brain, plenteously mixing also the dews of kindly affection and the gold-dust of noble thoughts.[71]

This sense of a wider tolerance towards Heine which makes itself felt in George Eliot's second essay is certainly attributable in part simply to the fact that the essay 'German Wit' is on a much larger scale than the earlier review 'Heine's Poems'. Nevertheless, it would seem also to indicate a considerable maturing of her view of the German poet over and above her rather terse comment in the earlier essay on his lack of 'moral conviction'.[72] Having commented on the characteristic quality of 'French *esprit*'[73] in Heine's poems, George Eliot goes on to remark:

> For, alien as this quality might seem to passionate love-songs and thrilling legendary pictures, such as form the majority of Heine's poems, it is, nevertheless, almost everywhere present, giving your rising tears the accompaniment of a laugh, and, before you have lost the cold shudder at his spectral visions, appealing irresistibly to your sense of fun.[74]

[68] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

[69] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 224.

[70] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 224.

[71] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 247.

[72] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

[73] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

[74] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 256-7.

In a very similar vein George Eliot speaks of Heine, in the later essay, as throwing 'a cold shudder over us by a mysterious legend, a ghost story, or a still more ghastly rendering of hard reality',[75] and she continues:

> ...he can charm us by a quiet idyl, shake us with laughter at his overflowing fun, or give us a piquant sense of surprise by the ingenuity of his transitions from the lofty to the ludicrous. This last power is not, indeed, essentially poetical; but only a poet can use it with the same success as Heine, for only a poet can poise our emotion and expectation at such a height as to give effect to the sudden fall.[76]

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the seed is sown in the earlier review of that celebrated discussion of the distinction between wit and humour which occupies a number of pages at the beginning of the later essay, 'German Wit', since in the earlier review George Eliot takes issue with the translator of Heine's *Reisebilder*, Leland, whose work she is, in fact, reviewing, and says:

> We cannot agree with his very clever American translator that *Humour* is Heine's grand characteristic. He certainly has humour - perhaps even enough to set up an inferior genius as a humorist - but we think it will be found that his greatest effects in prose, and most of the contrasts that startle us in his poetry, arise from a Mephistophelean wit, a *verneinender Geist*, rather than from humour which affirms all that is genuinely human instead of denying it, and is, in fact, an exuberant sympathy acting in company with a sense of the ludicrous, while wit is the critical intellect acting in company with that same sense. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there are many passages of Sterne-like humour in Heine, and herein he is least akin to the French, and most nearly allied to the broader and deeper German nature, which atones for the want of *esprit* by something which *esprit* will never supersede - loving earnestness.[77]

A consideration of the distinction between wit and humour runs throughout the later essay, 'German Wit', but in this later essay she goes into the issue much more deeply than in the earlier review and concludes that 'Mephistophelean' wit and 'broad-faced, rollicking humour' are complementary and form 'a happy conjunction'.[78] In a passage very similar to that from 'Heine's Poems', just quoted above, George Eliot goes on to speak of Heine's humour, saying:

> The most poetic and specifically humorous of Heine's prose writings are the 'Reisebilder'. The comparison with Sterne is inevitable here; but Heine does not suffer

[75] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 248.

[76] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 248.

[77] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 257.

[78] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 220.

> from it, for if he falls below Sterne in raciness of humour, he is far above him in poetic sensibility and in reach and variety of thought. Heine's humour is never persistent, it never flows on long in easy gaiety and drollery; where it is not swelled by the tide of poetic feeling, it is continually dashing down the precipice of a witticism. It is not broad and unctuous; it is aërial and sprite-like, a momentary resting-place between his poetry and his wit. In the 'Reisebilder' he runs through the whole gamut of his powers, and gives us every hue of thought from the wildly droll and fantastic to the sombre and the terrible.[79]

It is clear, therefore, that in writing the longer, more famous essay, 'German Wit', George Eliot drew substantially upon ideas and expressions first used in her earlier review of Leland's translation. In his brief introduction to the reprinted version of the review 'Heine's Poems' Wiesenfarth claims that 'in this review for the *Leader* [George Eliot's] style has an epigrammatic point to it that eludes her discussion of wit and humour in the longer essay.'[80] Whilst it is, however, a fact that the earlier review is shorter than 'German Wit' and contains in condensed form a number of ideas which are taken up anew and treated with greater thoroughness in the later essay, there cannot seriously be any question of the earlier review's being at all superior to the later work. 'Heine's Poems' is terse rather than 'epigrammatic' and has about it a sense of immature ideas and expressions which only really come to fruition in the longer essay, 'German Wit'. Stanton L. Wormley has described 'German Wit' as 'one of the finest and most incisive bits of critical writing produced during the century',[81] but its form and content might well have appeared less polished, less 'magisterial',[82] if George Eliot had not written the review 'Heine's Poems' beforehand as an unintentional, but nonetheless useful, 'trial run' for the later, enduring and highly influential piece of mid-nineteenth-century Heine criticism.

In his book *The English Legend of Heinrich Heine* Sol Liptzin cites George Eliot and Matthew Arnold as 'the chief creators of the mid-Victorian Heine-legend' and goes on to say that:

> George Eliot's apotheosis of Heine in 1856 ushered in the mid-Victorian era of Heine-worship in England and America. Her essay appeared not alone in the *Westminster Review*. It was reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine*, in *Litell's Living Age*, and in later editions of her works. It had wide circulation and enduring influence.[83]

79 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 251.

80 *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

81 Stanton L. Wormley, *Heine in England* (Chapel Hill, 1943), p. 110.

82 Wiesenfarth's word in *Writer's Notebook*, p. 256.

83 Liptzin, *English Legend*, p. 64.

In similar vein Wormley claims that: '"German Wit: Heinrich Heine" probably did more than any other single work in introducing to English-speaking peoples the genius that was Heine.'[84] George Eliot's essays on Heine were, of course, by no means the first on him to be printed in the British journals. On the contrary, he had continued to attract attention from as early as February 1828, when Cochrane's review of his *Reisebilder* was published in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*.[85] Inevitably, many essays and reviews tread the same ground and make the same comparisons between, for example, Heine and Goethe, Heine and Sterne, Heine and Byron, Heine and the French satirists, so that it would be futile - not to say, impossible - to try to trace all the articles on Heine which George Eliot would have read before she began to write about him, herself. Nevertheless, in a short article in *Notes and Queries*,[86] Valentine Cunningham draws attention to one article on Heine which George Eliot certainly read and which, he claims, had a direct influence on her great essay, 'German Wit'.

The essay in question is 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist' by Julian Fane, which appeared in the first number of the new journal, the *Saturday Review*, on 3 November 1855.[87] Dr Cunningham's contention is that George Eliot's essay 'German Wit' resembles Fane's essay closely at two distinct points, namely, in her consideration of the 'standing accusation against [Heine] in some quarters of wanting political principle, of wishing to denationalize himself, and of indulging in insults against his native country'[88] and in her comparison of Heine with Wordsworth.[89] These points of similarity are 'not insignificant', according to Dr Cunningham, since he claims that they show 'German Wit' to be 'less pioneering than following in the train' of Fane's article.[90] Although George Eliot certainly read Fane's article[91] and may well have taken up these particular ideas from it,

[84] Wormley, *Heine in England*, p. 113.

[85] J. G. Cochrane,'*Reise-bilder*. Von H. Heine.' *Foreign Quarterly Review* ii (February 1828), 370-71. For further details of this article see p. 6 of chapter 1 above.

[86] Valentine Cunningham, 'George Eliot, Julian Fane and Heine', *N. & Q.*, n.s. xviii (July 1971), 252-4.

[87] Julian Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', *Saturday Review*, i (3 November 1855), 13-14.

[88] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 245.

[89] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 247-8.

[90] Cunningham, 'George Eliot, Julian Fane and Heine', p. 252.

[91] She wrote to Sara Hennell, on 19 February 1856: '... have you seen any numbers of the Saturday Review, a new journal on which "all the talents" are engaged?...' See *G. E. Letters*, ii. 227.

in the context of the major themes of her essay as a whole they do not amount to a very great deal, especially since a comparison of 'German Wit' with her own earlier article 'Heine's Poems' shows that the most important of George Eliot's ideas on Heine had already begun to evolve in her mind more than two months before Fane's article was published.[92] Moreover, if similarities are to be sought between George Eliot's essay and any of the various other essays on Heine written around that time, a more fertile source of comparison would seem to be Leland's Preface to his own translation of Heine's *Reisebilder*. Leland's Preface includes a number of points similar to points made by George Eliot, and George Eliot certainly read his work, since she reviewed the translation in 'Heine's Poems' and made reference in her review to Leland's Preface.[93]

Leland had a very high estimation of Heine's importance not only for German literature but for culture generally, since he wrote that: 'No modern German writer has exerted an influence comparable to that of Heine',[94] and went on to assert: 'Heine is distinctly a writer of whom no person of true culture can afford to be ignorant - "not to know him argues one's self unknown," beyond all reasonable question.'[95] Just as George Eliot's 'German Wit' opens with a discussion of wit and humour, so also does Leland discuss the nature of humour and the particular qualities he finds in Heine's humour. Leland then goes on from this general consideration of humour to comment that: '... we find in [Heine's] works some of the most sorrowful plaints ever uttered by suffering poet, but contrasted with the most uproarious hilarity. ... No one like him understands how to build up a little edifice of the tenderest and most refined sentiment for the mere pleasure of knocking it down with a last line.'[96] In similar vein George Eliot says:

> [Heine's] song has a wide compass of notes: he can take us to the shores of the Northern Sea and thrill us by the sombre sublimity of his pictures and dream fancies; he can draw forth our tears by the voice he gives to our own sorrows, or to the sorrows of 'Poor Peter'; he can throw a cold shudder over us by a mysterious legend, a ghost story, or a still more ghastly rendering of hard reality; he can charm us by a quiet idyl, shake us with laughter at his ever-flowing fun, or give us a piquant sensation of surprise by the ingenuity of his transitions from the lofty to the ludicrous. This last power is not, indeed, essentially

[92] See earlier discussion of this on pp. 32-37 of this chapter.

[93] See the quotation on p. 36 above and also note 77.

[94] See the Translator's Preface to *Pictures of Travel* in *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, trans. Charles Godfrey Leland (Hans Breitmann), (London, 1891-1905), ii. p. v.

[95] *Works of Heine*, trans. Leland, ii. p. xvi.

[96] *Works of Heine*, trans. Leland, ii. pp. x-xi.

> poetical, but only a poet can use it with the same success as Heine, for only a poet can poise our emotion and expectation at such a height as to give effect to the sudden fall.[97]

On the subject of 'Heine's defects'[98] Leland is as candid as George Eliot, but neither writer seeks to exaggerate these with the kind of prudish horror to be found in the other nineteenth-century British articles on Heine. Leland comments: 'But to know [Heine's] work as a whole, it is not necessary that *nothing* should be omitted',[99] and he goes on to say:

> There is yet another point which may well be borne in mind by all who read Heine for the first time, because he is one who says many things which will be remembered, and who often exercises a great influence on the young. He combined with genius and many good and humane qualities many demerits, weaknesses, and inconsistencies.[100]

Stronger in tone, but essentially similar in content are George Eliot's words:

> The audacity of [Heine's] occasional coarseness and personality is unparalleled in contemporary literature, and has hardly been exceeded by the licence of former days. Hence, before his volumes are put within the reach of immature minds, there is need of a friendly penknife to exercise a strict censorship. Yet, when all coarseness, all scurrility, all Mephistophelean contempt for the reverent feelings of other men, is removed, there will be a plenteous remainder of exquisite poetry, of wit, humour, and just thought.[101]

In general, Leland's Preface is, as might be expected, written less imaginatively than George Eliot's 'German Wit', but at one point he uses notably striking imagery, when he speaks of the 'piquant drolleries' which, he says, Heine uses 'to illustrate great and even serious truths', and adds: 'They are the glints of light on diamonds, the beeswings in wine, which give impressive beauty to the whole.'[102] The language here has obvious points of similarity with George Eliot's description of Heine, quoted above, as having been made 'of pollen of flowers, the juice of the grape, and Puck's mischievous brain, ... the dews of kindly affection and the gold-dust of noble thoughts.'[103] Moreover, a further point of similarity

97 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 248.

98 *Works of Heine*, trans. Leland, ii. p. ix.

99 *Works of Heine*, trans. Leland, ii. p. xii.

100 *Works of Heine*, trans. Leland, ii. p. xviii.

101 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 224.

102 *Works of Heine*, trans. Leland, ii. p. xvi.

103 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 247. These words are also quoted on p. 35 of this chapter.

between Leland's Preface and George Eliot's essay is to be found in a comparison between Leland's description of Heine as 'really in the fullest sense of the word a *genius*, and not a clever imitator of genius,'[104] and George Eliot's comment: 'But whatever else he may be, Heine is one of the most remarkable men of this age: no echo, but a real voice, and therefore, like all genuine things in this world, worth studying.'[105]

Thus it is hard to see how George Eliot can be described as 'following in the train' of Julian Fane, especially in view of the fact that she had already begun work on 'German Wit' by the time Fane's essay was published.[106] Indeed it might, perhaps, be argued just as plausibly that Fane's essay 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist' was, itself, influenced by George Eliot's own earlier article 'Heine's Poems', since there are a number of similarities between the two essays, perhaps the most notable of which is to be found when Fane discusses 'the fiendish element of sarcasm' in Heine, which, he says, 'was counteracted by this great human attribute of humour'.[107] Surely the real point here, however, is that by the mid-1850's articles on Heine were by no means uncommon in the British journals, but had, in fact, been appearing for the better part of thirty years and spanned virtually the whole of his writing career. Out of all this mass of journalistic attention to Heine in the British press of the nineteenth century only two articles are acknowledged in the present day as great works of criticism in their own right, and they are George Eliot's 'German Wit' and Matthew Arnold's 'Heinrich Heine', the latter of which appeared in 1863.[108] In the case of both these essays more or less plausible arguments can be made for direct influence from one

[104] *Works of Heine*, trans. Leland, ii. p. xvii.

[105] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 223.

[106] The train of events is as follows:
a. 1 September 1855 - George Eliot's review 'Heine's Poems' is published in the *Leader*, vi, 343-4.
b. 15 October 1855 - George Eliot wrote to Charles Bray, referring to her next essay on Heine ('German Wit'), when she said that she was 'dreadfully busy again, for I am going to write an article for the W. R. again...'. See *G. E. Letters*, ii. 222.
c. 3 November 1855 - Julian Fane's essay 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist' is published in the *Saturday Review*, i, 13-14.
d. 29 November 1855 - George Eliot wrote to Sara Hennell, saying: 'I have just finished a long article on Heine for the W. R. which none of you will like.' See *G. E. Letters*, ii. 222.

[107] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', 13.

[108] This essay first appeared in print in the *Cornhill Magazine*, viii (August 1863), 233-49. It is reprinted in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 107-32.

source or another,[109] but whilst such arguments can throw interesting sidelights on these great authors, it is perhaps even more important to remember that both George Eliot and Matthew Arnold had eclectic minds and read voraciously a wide range of material out of which each emerged with an essay on Heine which has survived through to the present day as, in George Eliot's own words, quoted above, 'no echo, but a real voice, and therefore, like all genuine things in this world, worth studying.'[110] Pinney is not really correct, therefore, in referring to George Eliot's essay 'German Wit' as 'one of the earliest discussions of Heine in England',[111] but he comes nearer the mark when he claims that:

> ...the essay on Heine is remarkable as one of the first recognitions in England of his greatness, and for the way in which George Eliot, unlike many Victorian critics, avoids letting her reservations about the artist's personal life influence her admiration for his art.[112]

Liptzin makes a similar point when he says that: 'George Eliot was the first English writer of eminence to appraise Heine as a lyric genius equalled by none save Goethe',[113], whilst Wormley goes so far as to claim that:

> Written in admirable style and revealing remarkable critical acumen, 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine' probably did more than any other single work in introducing to the English-speaking peoples the genius that was Heine.[114]

Rosemary Ashton considers that this comment claims too much for George Eliot's essay, but whilst she is quite correct in stating that 'there had been several interesting articles on Heine' before 'German Wit',[115] Wormley's comment holds good in as much as George Eliot's essay is weightier and more comprehensive than any previous essay on Heine to appear in a British periodical, including

[109] Just as Dr Cunningham finds points of close similarity between George Eliot's 'German Wit' and Fane's 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', so it is apparent that Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' owes something to Saint-René Taillandier's article 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xiv (1 April 1852), 5-36. Indeed, it might well be argued further that Arnold's essay could, itself, be indebted to George Eliot's 'German Wit'.

[110] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 223. This quotation also appears on p. 41 of this chapter.

[111] See Pinney's Introduction to 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 216.

[112] See Pinney's Introduction to his edition of *Essays of George Eliot*, p. 2.

[113] Liptzin, *English Legend*, p. 62.

[114] Wormley, *Heine in England*, p. 113.

[115] See note 108 to chapter 4 of Ashton, *The German Idea*, p. 226.

Fane's, and, unlike most of the others, it really does concentrate on giving a positive critical account of Heine's *literary* activities. It is in this sense that 'German Wit' can be considered, in Haight's words, a 'pioneer account',[116] but perhaps more interesting is his later comment, which focuses attention on George Eliot's achievements as a translator, since he points out that: 'Throughout the article there are long quotations from Heine which provided the earliest English version of some of his writings. Here again Marian's achievement as a tactful translator from the German has not been adequately recognised.'[117] Throughout the essay 'German Wit' George Eliot quotes from Heine's poems in German but provides English translations of her prose quotations, many of which are of considerable length, and she explains her procedure in a footnote to the essay, saying: 'It is not fair to the English reader to indulge in German quotations, but in our opinion poetical translations are usually worse than valueless.'[118] By the mid-1850's English translations of Heine's works had certainly begun to appear in Britain and America,[119] and George Eliot goes on to 'mention that Mr. Stores Smith has published a modest little book, containing "Selections from the Poetry of Heinrich Heine"',[120] and that 'a meritorious (American) translation of Heine's complete works, by Charles Leland,[121] is now appearing in shilling numbers.'[122] Leland's translation of Heine's *Reisebilder*[123] was, of course, the subject of George Eliot's first essay on Heine, 'Heine's Poems', so that she was clearly acquainted with at least some part of his versions of Heine. Nevertheless, the translator of Strauss and Feuerbach certainly had no need of recourse to other people's translations of German authors.

With the essay 'German Wit' George Eliot had 'said her piece' about Heine to the full. After his death she wrote two more brief articles on him for British

[116] Haight, *Biography*, p. 193.

[117] Haight, *Biography*, pp. 193-4.

[118] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 250.

[119] See Armin Arnold, *Heine in England and America. A Bibliographical Check-List* (London, 1959), pp. 17-33.

[120] John Stores Smith ('John Ackerlos'), *Selections from the Poetry of Heinrich Heine* (London, 1854).

[121] Leland translated volumes one to eight of the twelve volumes in *The Works of Heine* (London, 1892-1905).

[122] Both references are to Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 250.

[123] Charles G. Leland, *Heine's Pictures of Travel* (London, 1855).

periodicals,[124] but, even though both contain felicitous phrases about Heine, neither adds substantially to the appraisal of his genius given in 'German Wit'. Indeed, perhaps the most interesting point to be gleaned from the essay 'Heine's Book of Songs', in which George Eliot reviewed John E. Wallis's translation of the entire *Buch der Lieder*,[125] is simply that she speaks of having read these poems by Heine '*seriatim*, again and again'.[126] In two other essays also George Eliot makes brief reference to Heine, and, indeed, her earliest published reference to him occurs in her essay 'Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar', which was published in *Fraser's Magazine* in July 1855, and in which she says that Wagner 'was led to choose the story of the *Fliegender Holländer* - familiar to English ears as the "Flying Dutchman" - by happening to read Heine's beautiful version of the legend ...', and she repeats this by saying: 'It is Heine's version of the legend which Wagner has expanded into a beautiful drama.'[127] Clearly George Eliot read and thought a good deal about Heine during the couple of years which elapsed between her stay in Germany with Lewes in the winter of 1854-5 and the publication of her fourth and final essay on him in the *Leader* of 23 August 1856. After this she wrote nothing more specifically devoted to him, but she certainly did not forget him, and nine years later, in the essay 'A Word for the Germans', we find her turning to Heine as support for her opinion, when she says 'that when a German author is a blockhead, he is, as HEINE says, *kein oberflächlicher Narr* - no superficial blockhead: his sentences and his book do not come to an end so soon as if he were an Englishman or a Frenchman. He has a great deal more straw to chop, and he chops it slowly.'[128] In a letter to Frederic Harrison of 31 January 1866, moreover, she quotes Heine on the subject of illness, when she writes:

> Today we have resolute rain, for the first time since we came down. You don't know what it is to be a sickly wretch, dependent on these skiey influences. But Heine says illness 'spiritualises the members'. It had need do some good in return for one's misery.[129]

[124] These were, of course, the essays 'Heine's Book of Songs', *Saturday Review*, i (26 April 1856), 523-4, reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 268-71; and 'Recollections of Heine', *Leader*, xxiii (23 August 1856), 811-12.

[125] *Heinrich Heine's Book of Songs*, trans. John E. Wallis, (London, 1856).

[126] Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 268.

[127] George Eliot, 'Liszt, Wagner and Weimar', *Fraser's Magazine*, lii (July 1855), 48-62. Reprinted in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 96-122. The quotations appear on p. 105.

[128] George Eliot, 'A Word for the Germans', *Pall Mall Gazette*, i (7 March 1865), 201. Reprinted in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 390.

[129] Cross, *Life*, ii. 423.

Such passing references are, of course, slight and of no great significance in themselves, but they do serve to suggest that George Eliot had a general consciousness of Heine's writings always in the back of her mind.

During the period surrounding the writing of *Middlemarch* (roughly 1868-71) Heine figured not insignificantly in George Eliot's reading. According to Lewes's diary she read the *Reisebilder* in December 1869 and January 1870 and *Romanzero* in March 1870, whilst Lewes, himself, read Heine's *Salon* in January 1870 and followed this with *Die Götter im Exil* and the *Geständnisse* in February of that year.[130] Again, during this period, quotations from and references to Heine appear in George Eliot's own notebooks which she kept specifically for her research on *Middlemarch*, and it was around this period of 1869-70 that she made the entry: 'Heine in health meets Heine sick[,] thrashes him for his presumption in claiming to be the real Heine, and awakes covered in bruises.'[131] This apparently cryptic entry in fact demonstrates a very perceptive understanding by George Eliot of the extent of Heine's self-knowledge. When he speaks of the sickness of Romantic poets, he knows that he is, himself, the most profoundly sick of them all,[132] and at the end of the Cologne Cathedral section of *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* his attack on ancient religious superstition - in the form of the destruction by his familiar spirit of the figures of the Three Wise Men - turns out to be an onslaught on himself, since he ends the section with the stanzas:

> Er nahte sich, und mit dem Beil
> Zerschmetterte er die armen
> Skelette des Aberglaubens, er schlug
> Sie nieder ohn' Erbarmen.
>
> Es dröhnte der Hiebe Widerhall
> Aus allen Gewölben, entsetzlich! -
> Blutströme schossen aus meiner Brust,
> Und ich erwachte plötzlich.[133]

[130] Lewes' *Diary* is at Yale, but this information is quoted from it in *George Eliot's 'Middlemarch' Notebooks: A Transcription*, ed. John Clark Pratt and Victor A. Neufeldt, (Los Angeles and London, 1979), p. 125.

[131] *George Eliot's 'Middlemarch' Notebooks*, ed. Pratt and Neufeldt, p. 37.

[132] In his *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* Heine wrote: 'Denn ach! ich gehöre ja selber zu dieser kranken alten Welt, und mit Recht sagt der Dichter: wenn man auch seiner Krücken spottet, so kann man darum doch nicht besser gehen. Ich bin der krankste von Euch allen und um so bedauernswürdiger, da ich weiss was Gesundheit ist! - *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 249.

[133] Last two stanzas of Kaput VII of *Deutschland*. See *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 448.

It is not unlikely that George Eliot had this very passage in mind when she made her notebook entry, but at all events it is clear that she had a deep, sympathetic understanding of Heine's self-perception and recognised that he always represents in himself what he criticises.[134] Certainly, all the works by Heine which George Eliot quotes in the so-called Folger Notebook[135] are later works from 'Heine sick', from *Romanzero* and from the *Poetische Nachlese* which followed it. Indeed, in his diary George Henry Lewes noted that George Eliot was reading 'Heine, Romanzero' on 30 March and 1 April 1870,[136] and it must have been at this time that she made the entries from the early part of Heine's long poem 'Jehuda ben Halevy' which appear on page 150 of the original Folger Notebook:

> Heine, Romanzero, Rabbi Jehuda ben Halevy
>
> Und die Zeit leckt meine Wunde,
> Wie der Hund die Schwären Hiob's.
>
> Dank dir, Hund, fur deinen Speichel -
> Doch das kann nur kühlend lindern -
> Heilen kann mich nur der Tod.

and

> Und des Knaben edles Herze
> Ward ergriffen von der wilden,
> Abenteuerlichen Süsse,
> Von der wundersamen Schmerzlust
>
> Und den fabelhaften Schauern
> Jener seligen Geheimwelt,
> Jener grossen Offenbarung[,]
> Die wir nennen Poesie.
>
> Auch die Kunst der Poesie,
> Heiteres Wissen, holdes Können,
> Welches wir die Dichtkunst heissen[,]
> That sich auf dem Sinn des Knaben.[137]

[134] I am indebted to Professor T. J. Reed, of Queen's College, Oxford, for his kind help in elucidating George Eliot's notebook entry at this point.

[135] Pratt and Neufeldt edit two notebooks which take the names of the library collections to which they belong. Hence, the 'Folger Notebook', which contains quotations from Heine, and the 'Berg Notebook'.

[136] Quoted in *Notebooks*, ed. Pratt and Neufeldt, p. 160.

[137] *Notebooks*, ed. Pratt and Neufeldt, pp. 79-80 and 160. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 442 and 443.

All manner of speculation is possible as to the bearing which these lines might have on the development of *Middlemarch*. A number of major characters - notably Bulstrode, Lydgate and Casaubon - suffer major reversals during the course of the novel, reversals from which none of them is ultimately able to recover in the way in which, say, Dorothea or Fred Vincey or even Mr Fairbrother recovers, so that any one of them could say with Heine's figure of the downtrodden Jew: 'Heilen kann mich nur der Tod.' A novelist of George Eliot's stature would not actually need a poem to sensitise her to this human possibility, but her reading of Heine's poem may well have helped to clarify for her ideas about character and plot which were taking shape as the writing of *Middlemarch* progressed. Equally, the exuberant enthusiasm of the young Jehuda ben Halevy for the art of poetry might reasonably be identified with the young Lydgate's passion for medical research, or, perhaps, with Dorothea's early ardent desire to serve Casaubon in what she then regards as his great work. However, despite their appearing in a notebook concerned principally with research for *Middlemarch*, the possible applications of these quotations from Heine to the Jewish part of *Daniel Deronda* are, perhaps, more easily apparent and more tempting, especially in view of the fact that George Eliot used part of the preceding poem from *Romanzero*, 'Prinzessin Sabbat', as the epigraph to chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*.[138] In these lines Heine speaks of the Jewish nation as having been transformed by witchcraft into a dog, in a picture of oppression and humiliation similar to that given by the lines quoted above from 'Jehuda ben Halevy', in which the despised figure of the Jew has to be grateful that time comes to lick his sores, as dogs licked those of Job and also - and Heine surely had this, too, in mind - those of Lazarus (in Christ's parable of Dives and Lazarus). The tone of pathos and despair in these lines is certainly well understood by George Eliot, and it is echoed not only, perhaps, in the fates of such characters as Bulstrode, Lydgate and Casaubon in *Middlemarch*, but also in a number of striking passages in *Daniel Deronda*, in which George Eliot describes sympathetically the ghetto life of many Jews in late-nineteenth-century British and European society.[139] Despite this, however, a large part of *Daniel Deronda* is concerned not with the seamier side of life for British and European Jews in the late nineteenth century, but with a recognition of the value of the ancient glories of the Jewish tradition which have been handed down the

[138] See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda* in the Cabinet Edition of *The Works of George Eliot* (Edinburgh and London, 1879), p. 178.

[139] See, for example, the passage in which Deronda visits the Jewish quarter of Hamburg - chapter 5 of Bk IV; also, the description of the Jewish quarter of London just prior to Deronda's first meeting with Mordecai - chapter 6 of Bk IV.

ages, untarnished in spite of savage oppression, and so, in her epigraph to chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, George Eliot continues by selecting lines from Heine's 'Prinzessin Sabbat' which describe the beautiful transformation which takes place at dusk on the sabbath when 'der Hund / Wird auf's neu ein menschlich Wesen.'[140] In *Daniel Deronda* we see Deronda coming to an ever deepening love of the Jewish culture even before he learns of his own place in it; Mordecai, of course, has lived with and for this passion all his life and greatly encourages it in Deronda. Thus, George Eliot's second quotation from Heine's 'Jehuda ben Halevy' would seem to have an entirely plausible connection not only, perhaps, with such characters as Dorothea and Lydgate in *Middlemarch*, but also with the development of her major character in *Daniel Deronda*. None of this is to suggest, of course, that George Eliot had *Daniel Deronda* in mind when she transcribed these quotations from Heine's *Romanzero* into her *Middlemarch* notebooks, but they do seem to have a bearing on the later novel, so that it seems likely that she was harking back to Heine, consciously or unconsciously, in considering some of the Jewish aspects of *Daniel Deronda*.

On page 151 of the Folger Notebook George Eliot refers to the poem 'Der Dichter Firdusi' from Book I of Heine's *Romanzero*, saying: 'It is with celebrity as with the price of the Shah=Nameh: Firdusi looked for gold thomans, and found them silver.'[141] The theme of disappointed hopes certainly bears a general reference to the lives of several of the major characters in *Middlemarch*, but in addition to that the reference to Heine is linked to a quotation from his poem 'Lobgesänge auf König Ludwig' which appears on the same page of the Folger Notebook: 'In Naturalien-Sammlungen fehlt / Oft unter den Fischen, der Walfisch'.[142] A major theme running through Heine's works is the debunking of traditional heroic idealism,[143] and, similarly, a major concern of George Eliot's works, especially *Middlemarch*, is to show that heroism in the modern world of the nineteenth century is different from the heroism of a Saint Theresa or an Antigone because 'the medium in which their ardent deeds took shape is forever gone', and now, as George Eliot concludes in the final sentence of *Middlemarch*: 'the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that

[140] See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, ii. 178. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 433.

[141] *Notebooks*, ed. Pratt and Neufeldt, pp. 80 and 160. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 364-9.

[142] *Notebooks*, ed. Pratt and Neufeldt, pp. 80 and 160. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 170.

[143] Heine's *Reisebilder* and the poems of his 'Die Nordsee' and 'Verschiedene' furnish many examples of this theme.

things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.'[144] Perhaps in this context the quotations from Heine's 'Jehuda ben Halevy', mentioned earlier, also have a more apparent general bearing on *Middlemarch*, since they are concerned with the poet's first awareness of the glories of his poetic vocation and of his great heritage, as he first learns to read the ancient Jewish scriptures in the golden age of Spanish Jewry, and also with the pathos and despair which Jews have experienced with the passing of time. None of this is to suggest that Heine's works were primarily responsible for inspiring the consideration of heroism and greatness which runs through *Middlemarch*, especially since this theme is clearly present in just about all George Eliot's works from *Scenes of Clerical Life* onwards. Nevertheless, some of the works of Heine certainly formed a part of her background reading for *Middlemarch*, and the quotations which she made from *Romanzero* and the *Poetische Nachlese* do seem to indicate that she consulted him with this theme in mind. A connected theme of importance to Heine which is prominent in George Eliot's fiction is that of the conflict between the ancient pagan world of devotion to sensuous ideal beauty and the modern Christian world of austere devotion to duty with its attendant theme of the renunciation of self. No external evidence is available to prove that Heine's writings on this theme had directly influenced George Eliot's thoughts on the issue, but she had certainly read his major prose work *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* - perhaps the work in which Heine states his apprehension of this theme most explicitly, although it runs throughout his works - before she began her career as a novelist. Thus, she had, at least, read Heine's exposition of the subject by the time she came to treat of the struggles of Maggie Tulliver, of Romola and of Dorothea.

But apart from these considerations of major ways in which George Eliot's ideas may be seen to have affinity with those of Heine, there are lesser points at which his work 'penetrated memorably into her sensibility and left its mark on her fiction.'[145] In his Introduction to the reprinted version of George Eliot's essay 'Heine's Poems' Wiesenfarth quite plausibly suggests a connection between the twenty-eighth poem of Heine's cycle 'Die Heimkehr', which George Eliot gives in Leland's translation in the essay 'Heine's Poems',[146] and the point in chapter four of *Adam Bede* at which:

[144] See 'Finale', *Middlemarch*, iii. 465.

[145] Wiesenfarth's comment in his Introduction to 'Heine's Poems' in *Writer's Notebook*, p. 256.

[146] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems',*Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 257. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 108-9.

> ...a smart rap, as if with a willow wand, was given at the house door and Gyp, instead of barking, as might have been expected, gave a loud howl ... [Adam] could not help a little shudder, as he remembered how often his mother had told him of just such a sound coming as a sign when some one was dying.[147]

The next morning, when Adam and Seth find their father's dead body in the brook, George Eliot comments:

> This was what the omen meant, then! And the grey-haired father, of whom he had thought with a sort of hardness a few hours ago, as certain to live to be a thorn in his side, was perhaps even then struggling with that watery death![148]

In Heine's poem the mother is sitting at home with her rebellious children when:

> Sie hören pochen ans Fenster
> Und sehn eine winkende Hand;
> Der tote Vater steht draussen
> Im schwarzen Pred'gergewand.[149]

The precise circumstances of the two cases are, of course, different in a number of respects and a connection between them would not seem especially likely, were it not for the fact that George Eliot did single out this particular poem for use in the essay 'Heine's Poems', which, after all, was written only two years before she began *Adam Bede*, whilst in the intervening years she had written no fewer than three more essays on Heine, so that her attention to his works at this period was considerable. The second poem from Heine's 'Die Heimkehr'[150] is also cited by Wiesenfarth as an example of Heine's influence on George Eliot's fiction.[151] This most famous of all Heine's poems tells the tale of the beautiful Lorelei maiden who sits on a rock in the middle of the Rhine, resplendent in her jewellery and combing her golden hair, as she lures sailors to their deaths by her song. Wiesenfarth sees the Lorelei maiden as the model for Bertha Grant in the story 'The Lifted Veil', in which Latimer recalls that:

> ...the lady on the left of my father was not more than twenty, a tall, slim, willowy figure, with luxuriant blond hair, arranged in cunning braids and folds that looked almost too

147 See chapter 4 of *Adam Bede*, i. 69-70.

148 See chapter 4 of *Adam Bede*, i. 74.

149 Eliot, 'Heine's Poems',*Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 257. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 108-9.

150 Heine's 'Die Lorelei' may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 95-6.

151 See Wiesenfarth's Introduction to 'Heine's Poems' in *Writer's Notebook*, p. 256.

> massive for the slight figure and the small-featured, thin-lipped face they crowned. But the face had not a girlish expression: the features were sharp, the pale grey eyes at once acute, restless, and sarcastic. They were fixed on me in half-smiling curiosity, and I felt a painful sensation as if a sharp wind were cutting me. The pale-green dress, and the green leaves that seemed to form a border about her pale blond hair, made me think of a Water-Nixie, - for my mind was full of German lyrics, and this pale, fatal-eyed woman, with the green weeds, looked like a birth from some sedgy stream, the daughter of an aged river.[152]

This point was, in fact, raised well before Wiesenfarth's study, when, in 1925, the German scholar Sibilla Pfeiffer wrote:

> Auf Heines oder auf Goethes Lyrik geht die Anspielung auf die deutschen lyrischen Gedichte, die die Lieblingslektüre des Helden in 'The Lifted Veil' sind. Mir scheint hier besonders die Heinesche Lyrik in Betracht zu kommen. Es wird nämlich die Heldin mit einer Wassernixe verglichen wegen ihres 'blassgrünen Kleides und der grünen Blätter, die als Kranz auf ihrem blonden Haar lagen', ein Vergleich, der noch verstärkt wird durch das Moment, dass 'this pale, fatal-eyed woman with the green weeds looked like a birth from some cold sedgy stream, the daughter of an aged river', meiner Meinung nach mit Heines Lieblingsthemen und der Art ihrer Behandlung korrespondiert, doch ist dieser Schluss nicht als zwingend anzusehen.[153]

Written early in 1859, shortly after the publication of *Adam Bede* on 1 February of that year, 'The Lifted Veil' may well owe to Heine the conception of the character of Bertha Grant, especially in view of the overt references to the 'Water-Nixie' figure, to 'German lyrics' and to 'the daughter of an aged river' in the passage quoted above. This connection becomes more interesting, however, if Bertha is viewed as, in Haight's words, 'a beautiful but evil blonde, the earliest version of the sylph-like, water-nixie female, whose serpentine traits George Eliot traced more subtly in Rosamond Vincy and Gwendolen Harleth.'[154] And evidence for this train of connection is there in the novels. Both Rosamond and Gwendolen are described as sylphs,[155] and the plaited coils of hair figure prominently in descriptions of both, as also in the early descriptions of Esther Lyon in *Felix Holt*.[156] Moreover, Rosamond is said to have 'a waternixie's

[152] See chapter 1 of *The Lifted Veil*, p. 291.

[153] Sibilla Pfeiffer, 'George Eliots Beziehungen zu Deutschland', *Anglistische Forschungen*, lx (1925), 209.

[154] Haight, *Biography*, p. 296.

[155] See, for example, chapter 3 of *Middlemarch*, iii. 90, and chapter 1 of *Daniel Deronda*, i. 7.

[156] See, for example, chapter 58 of *Middlemarch*, iii. 78. Also, chapter 2 of *Daniel Deronda*, i. 17. Also, chapter 5 of *Felix Holt*, i. 99.

soul'[157], and a clear comparison between her and the Lorelei maiden of Heine's poem would seem to be made when, in chapter 58 of *Middlemarch*, George Eliot writes:

> Those words of Lydgate's were like a sad milestone marking how far he had travelled from his old dreamland, in which Rosamond Vincy appeared to be that perfect piece of womanhood who would reverence her husband's mind after the fashion of an accomplished mermaid, using her comb and looking-glass and singing her song for the relaxation of the adored wisdom alone.[158]

Rosamond certainly sings her song, but it is not for her husband's benefit. Similarly, in the opening chapter of *Daniel Deronda*, Gwendolen Harleth is described as a 'Nereid in sea-green robes and silver ornaments, with a pale sea-green feather fastened in silver falling backwards over her green hat and light-brown hair', and the quality of temptress in her appearance is further emphasised by the ensuing comments made by her observers that: '...she has got herself up as a sort of serpent now, all green and silver, and winds her neck about a little more than usual... . Woman was tempted by a serpent: why not man?'[159] Indeed, the ambivalent element in Gwendolen's fascination is made apparent in the very opening paragraph of the novel:

> Was she beautiful or not beautiful? and what was the secret of form or expression which gave the dynamic quality to her glance? Was the good or the evil genius dominant in those beams? Probably the evil; else why was the effect that of unrest rather than of undisturbed charm? Why was the wish to look again felt as coercion and not as a longing in which the whole being consents?[160]

Thus, it can be plausibly argued that Heine's Lorelei maiden had a hand in the shaping not only of the relatively obscure character of Bertha Grant in George Eliot's story 'The Lifted Veil', but also in that of the infinitely more complex and more important characters of Rosamond Vincy and Gwendolen Harleth in the major novels, *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda*.

The most direct use of Heine in George Eliot's fiction occurs, however, in the three quotations taken by her from his works for use as headings to chapters 34, 62 and 63 of *Daniel Deronda* and the reference to one of his poems in chapter 22 of the same novel. It is in chapter 22 that Klesmer is forced to declare his love for the

157 See chapter 64 of *Middlemarch*, iii. 177.

158 See chapter 58 of *Middlemarch*, iii. 76.

159 See chapter 1 of *Daniel Deronda*, i. 11.

160 See chapter 1 of *Daniel Deronda*, i. 3.

heiress Catherine Arrowpoint, and we are told that he plays 'with the delicacy of an echo in the far distance a melody which he had set to Heine's "Ich hab' dich geliebet und liebe dich noch."'[161] The reference here is to a brief verse in Heine's 'Lyrisches Intermezzo', which runs:

> Ich hab' dich geliebet und liebe dich noch!
> Und fiele die Welt zusammen,
> Aus ihren Trümmern stiegen doch
> Hervor meiner Liebe Flammen.[162]

George Eliot's choice of this verse is not merely a piece of internal decoration but is highly appropriate to the substance of the chapter. Klesmer and Catherine confess that they have loved each other for some time, and they agree to marry, despite the inevitable opposition which they know they will encounter from Catherine's family and friends, who will certainly regard the marriage as 'a *mésalliance*'[163] for her.

Excluding the ninety-six epigraphs which George Eliot wrote herself, only Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Chaucer and Dante actually provided more epigraphs for her novels than did Heine, and only Shakespeare and Wordsworth provided significantly more.[164] It is surely no coincidence, however, that all three epigraphs from Heine occur in her 'Jewish novel', *Daniel Deronda*, in chapters devoted to the 'Jewish part' of the novel, and there would seem, therefore, to be considerable validity in the comment made by the German critic Lotte Simon-Baumann that:

> Mehr als ein Jahrzehnt nach der Gestaltung dieses Lebensbildes [i.e. George Eliot's essay 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine'] schuf die Dichterin mit viel Innigkeit ihren *Daniel Deronda*, das Schicksal jenes zartempfindenden und verstandesscharfen Jünglings. Viel Wahrscheinlichkeit hat die Annahme, dass das Studium Heines George Eliots Auffassung vom Juden als psychologischem Typ entscheidend bestimmt habe, einen tiefen Eindruck ihr gewährte in die Synthese von Gefühlsglut und kühlem, kritischem Betrachtungsvermögen.[165]

[161] See chapter 22 of *Daniel Deronda*, i. 366.

[162] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 82.

[163] See chapter 22 of *Daniel Deronda*, i. 367.

[164] See Appendices 1 and 2 to David Leon Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, xxv (1970), 147-51.

[165] Lotte Simon-Baumann, 'George Eliot über Heinrich Heine', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, lv (Neue Folge Band xliii) (1931), 319.

This is not to argue, of course, that George Eliot first conceived the 'Jewish part' in *Daniel Deronda* through her reading of Heine, nor does it seek to deny the immense importance of much of the other reading directly on the subject of Judaism which formed part of her research for the novel.[166] What it does mean, however, is that Heine's inimitable ability to bring alive in his writings the essence of the Jewish character and ethos gave her an important insight into the way of life of the Jewish people which no amount of factual reading could rival. In this way George Eliot's knowledge of, and affinity with, Heine played an important part in the writing of *Daniel Deronda*, and her use of epigraphs from his works certainly bears this out.

The first epigraph from Heine which George Eliot uses in *Daniel Deronda* is the epigraph to chapter 34, which is taken from stanzas four and six of Heine's poem 'Prinzessin Sabbat', the first poem of Book Three of *Romanzero*, the book entitled 'Hebräische Melodien'. It runs:

> 'Er ist geheissen
> Israel. Ihn hat verwandelt
> Hexenspruch in einen Hund.
> .....
> Aber jeden Freitag Abend,
> In der Dämmrungstunde, plötzlich
> Weicht der Zauber, und der Hund
> Wird aufs Neu' ein menschlich Wesen."[167]

The relevance of these lines to the chapter is readily apparent, since this is the chapter in which Deronda eats the Sabbath meal with the Cohens and Mordecai on the pretext of pawning a diamond ring, and George Eliot drives home the point of her chapter heading, when she writes:

> As the four pairs of black eyes all glistened a welcome at Deronda, he was almost ashamed of the supercilious dislike these happy-looking creatures had raised in him by daylight. Nothing could be more cordial than the greeting he received, and both mother and grandmother seemed to gather more dignity from being seen on the private hearth, showing hospitality ... . Cohen kept on his own hat, and took no notice of the visitor, but stood still while the two children went up to him and clasped his knees: then he laid his hands on each in turn and uttered his Hebrew benediction; whereupon the wife who had lately taken baby from the cradle brought it up to her husband and held it under his

166 For a summary of George Eliot's research for *Daniel Deronda* see Haight, *Biography*, pp. 469-74. Also of interest on this general subject is Ruth Levitt, *George Eliot: the Jewish Connection* (Jerusalem, 1975).

167 See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, ii. 178. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 433.

> outstretched hands, to be blessed in its sleep. For the moment Deronda thought that this pawnbroker proud of his vocation was not utterly prosaic.[168]

'For the moment' the pawnbroker and his family assume a dignity which Deronda would not hitherto have believed possible, and, caught up in the atmosphere of the Sabbath ritual, he feels 'almost ashamed' of his earlier attitude. The prayers over, however, Cohen instantly reverts to 'his former self'[169], but the application to the chapter of the lines from Heine's 'Prinzessin Sabbat' does not end there, because Cohen and his family are not the only characters to experience this sort of Sabbath transformation in Deronda's eyes. Mordecai, too, is uplifted out of the sphere of his impoverished condition and the banality of his everyday work as a mender of watches and jewellery for the pawnbroker and assumes a spirituality which has a profoundly moving effect upon Deronda:

> [Cohen], Mordecai, and Jacob put on their hats, and Cohen opened a thanksgiving, which was carried on by responses, till Mordecai delivered himself alone at some length, in a solemn chanting tone, with his chin slightly uplifted and his thin hands clasped easily before him. Not only in his accent and tone, but in his freedom from the self-consciousness which has reference to other's approbation, there could hardly have been a stronger contrast to the Jew at the other end of the table. It was an unaccountable conjunction - the presence among these common, prosperous, shopkeeping types, of a man who, in an emaciated threadbare condition, imposed a certain awe on Deronda, and an embarrassment at not meeting his expectations.[170]

But perhaps there is also a sense in which Deronda, himself, in this chapter, 'Wird aufs Neu' ein menschlich Wesen', since he loses his initial attitude of 'supercilious dislike' towards the Cohen family and attains, by the end of the chapter, a feeling of amused liking towards Cohen's 'mixture of kindliness and the desire to justify it in the light of a calculation,'[171] whilst towards the ever 'more enigmatically striking'[172] character of Mordecai he feels 'a certain awe'. In the light of later revelations about Deronda's own Jewish background it becomes possible to regard him, too, as the 'Israel' whose humanity is enhanced by the ancient beauty and dignity of the Sabbath rites. In using these lines from 'Prinzessin Sabbat' George Eliot omits the intervening stanza, stanza five of Heine's poem, which runs:

168 See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, ii. 179 and 180-81.

169 See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, ii. 181.

170 See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, ii. 187.

171 See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, ii. 188.

172 See chapter 34 of *Daniel Deronda*, ii. 188.

> Hund mit hündischen Gedanken,
> Kötert er die ganze Woche
> Durch des Lebens Kot und Kehricht,
> Gassenbuben zum Gespötte.[173]

In his essay 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph' David Leon Higdon discusses the similar case of Blake's poem 'The Pebble and the Clod', from which George Eliot took the first and last stanzas as the epigraph to chapter 25 of *Middlemarch*:

> Love seeketh not itself to please,
> Nor for itself hath any care,
> But for another gives its ease,
> And builds a heaven in hell's despair.
> .....
> Love seeketh only self to please,
> To bind another to its delight,
> Joys in another's loss of ease,
> And builds a hell in heaven's despite.[174]

The omission of the middle stanza here, Higdon argues, 'allowed her to achieve a much sharper contrast between the types of love Blake presented',[175] and the same is surely true of her use of the lines from Heine's 'Prinzessin Sabbat', in which the omission of the vivid, but discursive, fifth stanza ensures that the word 'Hund' and the ideas of magic in the words 'Hexenspruch' and 'Zauber' are picked up and juxtaposed more deliberately and with greater sharpness than would have been the case had the fifth stanza been allowed to remain. Thus, the scheme of the ensuing chapter is laid out in diagrammatic form in the epigraph itself, so that, as Higdon says:

> The epigraph structures the chapter much as a caption interprets the picture it titles, or an emblem dominates the verse appended to it. ...The epigraph presents the abstraction developed by the chapter; the 'picture' follows the 'diagram'.[176]

It is interesting also to note that Matthew Arnold, too, used this part of Prinzessin Sabbat' in his essay 'Heinrich Heine' of 1863, in which he referred to the poem as an example of Heine's showing 'his own people ... by a more serious side'.[177]

[173] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 433.

[174] See chapter 25 of *Middlemarch*, i. 385.

[175] Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 140.

[176] Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 136 and 139.

[177] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 128-9.

The second epigraph in *Daniel Deronda* which George Eliot took from Heine occurs a good deal later in the novel than the first, at the head of chapter 62. It is the prefatory poem to Book Two of Heine's *Romanzero*, the book entitled 'Lamentationen', and it runs:

> 'Das Glück ist eine leichte Dirne,
> Und weilt nicht gern am selben Ort;
> Sie streicht das Haar dir von der Stirne
> Und küsst dich rasch und flattert fort.
>
> Frau Unglück hat im Gegentheile
> Dich liebefest ans Herz gedrückt;
> Sie sagt, sie habe keine Eile,
> Setzt sich zu dir ans Bett und strickt.'[178]

George Eliot quotes this short poem in its entirety, having no occasion to omit any part of it, since the direct contrast she needs is already inherent in the structure of Heine's poem as it stands. Immediately, in the very opening paragraph of the chapter, the human reality of which Heine's poem represented the allegorical abstraction is made clear to us in the situation of Mirah:

> Something which Mirah had lately been watching for as the fulfilment of a threat, seemed now the continued visit of that familiar sorrow which had lately come back, bringing abundant luggage.[179]

Sorrow, we know, has been the frequent companion of Mirah's young life. When we first meet her, she is about to commit suicide by drowning herself, and thereafter we learn of her unhappy upbringing, forcibly separated from the mother and brother whom she loved, and dragged around Europe, where she was made to sing in order to support her increasingly feckless and renegade father. Since then 'Das Glück' has smiled upon Mirah, assuming the shape of Daniel Deronda, who has not only saved her from suicide but has also been the means of reuniting her with her brother, Ezra, whom Deronda first knew as Mordecai, the poor relation of the Cohen family. Now, however, it seems to Mirah that her luck has taken flight once again, to be replaced by the macabre figure of Heine's 'Frau Unglück'. Lately Mirah has come to believe that her own growing love for Deronda is threatened by a mutual bond of feeling between him and Gwendolen, and even when, in the course of the next chapter, she learns that Deronda has 'no

178 See chapter 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 292. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 390.

179 See chapter 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 292.

such fetters upon him as she had been allowing herself to believe in', we are told that:

> ...notwithstanding this plainly reasonable inference, uneasiness still clung about Mirah's heart. Deronda was not to blame, but he had an importance for Mrs Grandcourt which must give her some hold on him. And the thought of any close confidence between them stirred the little biting snake that had long lain curled and harmless in Mirah's gentle bosom.[180]

In the current chapter, chapter 62, Mirah comes face to face, once again, with her errant father - a not altogether unexpected encounter, as the opening paragraph implies. Once again, however, the epigraph from Heine's poetry has several implications for the chapter which follows it, and on another, if more superficial, level Lapidoth, too, regards himself as the victim of cruel misfortune, since not only has Mirah abandoned him in the first place, but she now proves to be, in his words, 'a hard and fast young lady ... keeping promises not to help your father with a pound or two when you are getting money to dress yourself in silk,'[181] and, as he further argues, sunk in his self-pity:

> Talents like mine are no use in this country. When a man's getting out at elbows nobody will believe in him. I couldn't get any decent employ with my appearance. I've been obliged to go pretty low for a shilling already.[182]

As in chapter 34, however, it is, once again, Mordecai who takes the wider view and raises the theme of good and bad fortune to the level of an issue affecting not only themselves but the whole Jewish race, when, having heard Mirah's story, he says:

> 'Seest thou, ... our lot is the lot of Israel. The grief and the glory are mingled as the smoke and the flame. It is because we children have inherited the good that we feel the evil. These things are wedded for us, as our father was wedded to our mother.'[183]

Heine's poem, written when the poet was already on his 'mattress grave',[184] has a deliberate tone of bitter facetiousness which was obviously influenced by Heine's own situation. On one level Mirah will, of course, outstrip her early misfortunes

180 See chapter 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 320-21.

181 See chapter 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 300.

182 See chapter 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 297.

183 See chapter 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 303.

184 The famous description of Heine's plight given by the poet himself in his 'Nachwort zum Romanzero' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 483.

and attain happiness with Deronda - despite suffering the further human loss of her brother, Mordecai, - whilst her father is not really the victim of fate at all, except in his own mind, but rather of his own weakness of character. For the Jewish people, however, the struggle with 'the grief and the glory' will continue, and hence Mordecai's stirring declaration builds us up and prepares us appropriately for the climactic chapter of revelation which follows next.

Again, in his essay 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph' Higdon states that: 'chapters entailing recognitions, confrontations and reversals almost without exception bear epigraphs from authors other than George Eliot.'[185] Perhaps this has something to do with the enhanced possibility of obtaining the more severe detached effect of a commentator on the events of the novel from an author who, unlike George Eliot herself, cannot be intensely bound up with them. At all events, this has certainly been true of her use of epigraphs from Heine's poetry in chapters 34 and 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, and it is surely not insignificant that she should again use lines from Heine as the epigraph to the chapter immediately following that in which Mirah re-encounters her father, for whose epigraph she had used the short poem 'Das Glück ist eine leichte Dirne'. For chapter 63 George Eliot chose as her epigraph lines from Heine's *Geständnisse*, which run:

> Moses, trotz seiner Befeindung der Kunst, dennoch selber ein grosser Künstler war und den wahren Künstlergeist besass. Nur war dieser Künstlergeist bei ihm, wie bei seinen ägyptischen Landsleuten, nur auf das Colossale und Unverwüstliche gerichtet. Aber nicht wie die Aegypter formirte er seine Kunstwerke aus Backstein und Granit, sondern er baute Menschenpyramiden, er meisselte Menschen-Obelisken, er nahm einen armen Hirtenstamm und Schuf daraus ein Volk, das ebenfalls den Jahrhunderten trotzen sollte ... er Schuf Israel.[186]

There is no lapse of time between the events of chapters 62 and 63, and it is in the second of these chapters that Deronda, now returned to England with the knowledge of his Jewish ancestry (told to him by his mother) and bearing the testimony to it in a chest of family documents given to him by Joseph Kalonymos, comes to break the news to Mordecai and Mirah. Here the epigraph from Heine is used to 'cite the "spirit" which the chapter develops as flesh', in Higdon's

[185] Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 128.

[186] See chapter 63 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 305. Heine's original may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, vi. 55. George Eliot's omission of the beginning of Heine's sentence throws the German word order into confusion, but she did nothing to adjust this. Likewise, her repeated use of the upper-case 'S' for the word 'Schuf' is, strictly speaking, incorrect, but this would appear to have been done deliberately in order to emphasise the importance here of the idea of creativity.

words,[187] and it is Mordecai who provides our first real pointer to the significance of Heine's words for the chapter, when, in a long speech to Deronda, he says:

> For all things are bound together in that Omnipresence which is the place and habitation of the world, and events are as a glass wherethrough our eyes see some of the pathways. And if it seems that the erring and unloving wills of men have helped to prepare you, as Moses was prepared, to serve your people the better, that depends on another order than the law which must guide our footsteps. For the evil will of man makes not a people's good except by stirring the righteous wills of man; and beneath all the clouds with which our thought encompasses the Eternal, this is clear - that a people can be blessed only by having counsellors and a multitude whose will moves in obedience to the laws of justice and love. For see, now, it was your loving will that made a chief pathway, and resisted the effect of evil; for, by performing the duties of brotherhood to my sister, and seeking out her brother in the flesh, your soul has been prepared to receive with gladness this message of the Eternal: 'Behold the multitude of your brethren.'[188]

The reference in Mordecai's speech to 'that Omnipresence which is the place and habitation of the world' links this speech verbally to the ending of the previous chapter, in which George Eliot writes:

> 'The Omnipresent,' said a Rabbi, 'is occupied in making marriages.' The levity of the saying lies in the ear of him who hears it; for by marriages the speaker meant all the wondrous combinations of the universe whose issue makes our good and evil.[189]

Moreover, the passages are further connected in that the 'good and evil' of the end of chapter 62, the 'Glück' and 'Unglück' of Heine's poem, are now explained by Mordecai, the teacher, as 'the evil will of man' and 'the righteous will of man', and in view of the thematic links between them - despite the obvious differences of external action - it is appropriate that both chapters should be further linked, and summed up, by the unifying factor of their having epigraphs from the same author, Heine. In this great speech in chapter 63 Mordecai refers to Deronda as having been prepared 'as Moses was prepared, to serve your people the better'. Here there is an obvious linking of Deronda's future role in the Jewish community with that of Moses who 'created Israel', and Deronda accepts gladly the task ahead of him, saying:

> '...Since I began to read and know, I have always longed for some ideal task, in which I might feel myself the heart and brain of a multitude - some social captainship, which

187 Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 140.

188 See chapter 63 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 313-14.

189 See chapter 62 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 304.

> would come to me as a duty, and not be striven for as a personal prize. You have raised the image of such a task for me - to bind our race together in spite of heresy. You have said to me - "Our religion united us before it divided us - it made us a people before it made Rabbanites and Karaites." I mean to try what can be done with that union - I mean to work in your spirit. Failure will not be ignoble, but it would be ignoble for me not to try.'[190]

In the magnificent spirit of Moses, Deronda is also to be a creative artist, who will work on a grand, indestructible scale, to build up anew the Jewish race. But on a more immediate level, Deronda is also to work in the spirit of Mordecai himself: both are viewed as direct spiritual descendants of Moses, the artist, who built 'human pyramids', and who, Heine says, 'created Israel'. Once again, in using another writer's words as an epigraph, George Eliot chose to omit part of the passage from which they come. In this case, Heine builds up his description of the Jewish people, describing them as: 'ein grosses, ewiges, heiliges Volk, ein Volk Gottes, das allen andern Völkern als Muster, ja der ganzen Menschheit als Prototyp dienen konnte', before reaching the climax of his passage in the words: 'er schuf Israel'.[191] In her chapter, however, George Eliot is not concerned to digress onto the topic of the glories of the creation, the Jewish race, but to enhance the stature of the creative artist himself, a role which Mordecai has assumed all his life, whilst Deronda is even now about to begin it. Thus, George Eliot omits those words of Heine's passage which extol the Jewish race, the cre*ation*, and in doing so achieves a sharper delineation of the task of the cre*ator*, in the person of Moses, Mordecai or Deronda, which is precisely to her purpose. Furthermore, we are also told that Deronda is not only a Jew, but comes 'of a strain that has ardently maintained the fellowship of our race - a line of Spanish Jews that has borne many students and men of practical power.'[192] Thus, he is presented to us as a man peculiarly fitted by his ancestry to try 'to bind our race together in spite of heresy.'[193] It is, moreover, noteworthy that the hero of Heine's 'Jehuda ben Halevy' also belongs to 'a line of Spanish Jews' of 'the golden age of Spanish Jewry' which held a strong fascination for Heine.[194] In discussing the

190 See chapter 63 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 315.

191 *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, vi. 55.

192 See chapter 63 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 312.

193 See chapter 63 of *Daniel Deronda*, iii. 315.

194 Cf. the comments of Heine's biographer, Jeffrey L. Sammons, in part vi, chapter v, of his book *Heinrich Heine: A Modern Biography* (Princeton and Manchester, 1979), p. 312.

artistic purposes and effects of George Eliot's use of epigraphs in general, Higdon says that:

> Four major tendencies - structural allusion, abstraction, ironic refraction, and metaphoric evaluation - may be delineated. She also uses epigraphs to describe characters, to present a character's unconscious thoughts, and to argue for realistic presentation, but these epigraphs are few in number.[195]

All of these 'tendencies' are present, to a greater or lesser degree, in her use of epigraphs from Heine in *Daniel Deronda*, but it does not seem particularly helpful to compartmentalise them in this rather rigid way, especially since, as Higdon himself concludes, the epigraphs taken as a whole display 'no definite pattern'.[196] An understanding of the ways in which individual epigraphs function in George Eliot's novels is important, however, for they are not 'merely a decorative use of her reading',[197] and she, herself, would seem to have regarded them 'as an essential part of the structure of her novels',[198] since she took the trouble not only to select epigraphs from other authors' works, but to compose ninety-six of them for her novels herself. Furthermore, on 12 November 1873 she wrote to John Blackwood:

> Unless my readers are more moved towards the ends I seek by my works as wholes than by an assemblage of extracts, my writings are a mistake ... and if I have ever allowed myself in dissertation or in dialogue anything which is not part of the *structure* of my books, I have there sinned against my own laws.[199]

Thus, a study of the three epigraphs which George Eliot took from Heine for use in *Daniel Deronda* is a valid contribution not only to the understanding of her interest in Heine but to the structure and meaning of parts of the novel in its own right.

In addition to these connections between Heine and George Eliot the essayist and novelist, a link has also been suggested between Heine's drama *Almansor* and George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy*. In 'German Wit' George Eliot says of *Almansor* that 'The tragic collision lies in the conflict between natural affection and the deadly hatred of religion and of race - in the sacrifice of youthful lovers to

195 Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 134.

196 Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 128.

197 Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 129.

198 Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 133.

199 *G. E. Letters*, v. 458-9. Quoted in Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 133.

the strife between Moor and Spaniard, Moslem and Christian.'[200] Sibilla Pfeiffer quotes this comment and remarks:

> Es ist auffallend, dass ein ganz ähnliches Problem in ihrem lyrisch-epischen Drama 'The Spanish Gypsy' behandelt wird. Da sie es kaum zwei Jahre nach ihrem Aufsatz über Heine begann, so ist eine gewisse, wenn auch nicht beabsichtigte Beeinflussung nicht von der Hand zu weisen.[201]

No details are adduced, however, in support of this claim, and it seems to be more of a general impression, rather than a considered scholarly comment. In fact, George Eliot did not begin work on *The Spanish Gypsy* until the summer of 1864, following a visit to Italy in May of that year, in the course of which an *Annunciation* by Titian provided her with the inspiration. The unfamiliar setting and the medium of blank verse occasioned much difficulty with the work, and it was not finally completed until 29 April 1868, after a visit to Spain early in the previous year had revived George Eliot's interest in it.[202] If the basic theme of a young woman's choice between love and the duty of her hereditary lot was suggested by Titian, however, it is still perfectly possible that George Eliot's chosen setting for her theme - 'that moment in Spanish history when the struggle with the Moors was attaining its climax, and when there was the gypsy race present under such conditions as would enable me to get my heroine and the hereditary claim on her among the gypsies'[203] - could have been suggested by Heine, whose own deep interest in the conflicts between Spanish Christians, Moors and Jews is apparent not only in *Almansor* but throughout his works. Heine's tragedy is by no means such a complex affair as George Eliot's much longer work, especially since Heine's drama revolves around a straight conflict between Moors and Christians, without the further complications brought about in *The Spanish Gypsy* by George Eliot's inclusion of a Jewish point of view, in the person of Sephardo, and of the Zincali under Zarca as another distinct racial group. Moreover, Heine's *Almansor*, however little success it has achieved on the stage, is essentially written as a drama, whereas *The Spanish Gypsy* is basically an epic poem and thus affords the author greater opportunities for overt description and for revealing her characters' thoughts through internal monologues, such as Don Silva engages in on the third day following his oath to

200 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 229.

201 Pfeiffer, 'George Eliots Beziehungen zu Deutschland', 210.

202 For details of the composition of *The Spanish Gypsy* see Haight, *Biography*, pp. 376-404.

203 Cross, *Life*, iii. 42-3. Quoted in Haight, *Biography*, p. 376.

Zarca.[204] Heine makes some use of the chorus to achieve this.[205] Both works are interspersed with song lyrics. The differences between these two works are of sufficient magnitude to make it clear that George Eliot's poem is by no means an imitation of Heine's *Almansor*, but on the other hand, the medieval Spanish setting is obviously common to both works, as is the basic situation of young love destroyed by racial conflict. Moreover, some similarities are revealed in points of detail, as, for example, in the upbringing of Zuleima and Fedalma, both of whom chanced to be raised in the home of their eventual suitor. In both cases, moreover, the suitor declares himself willing to break with his old faith and adopt that of his beloved for love's own sake, and in *The Spanish Gypsy* this actually leads Don Silva to take the oath of allegiance to Zarca and the Zincali.[206] Both Almansor and Don Silva in their disappointment also express aversion to Catholicism and the work of the Inquisition, although from the different starting points of a Moor and a Spanish Catholic knight respectively.[207] Three specific verbal points recall Heine - although not *Almansor* - in particular. The first of these is Sephardo's reference to 'our poet Jehuda', the Hebrew poet Jehuda ben Halevy, to whom Heine devoted the second poem of the third book of *Romanzero*, a poem from which George Eliot would later inscribe quotations into her Notebook.[208] Possibly more significant, however, is the minstrel Juan's description of himself, later in the text, as: 'a thing of rhythm and redondillas - / The momentary rainbow on the spray / Made by the thundering torrent of men's lives',[209] since these words recall George Eliot's description of Heine himself in 'German Wit' as one ' - who sheds his sunny smile on human tears, and makes them a beauteous rainbow on the cloudy background of life.'[210] These words, in turn, recall her own earlier description of Heine, in the essay 'Heine's Poems', as one who possessed 'a

[204] See Book IV of *The Spanish Gypsy*, pp. 310-17.

[205] See, for example, the use of the chorus immediately before Almansor's woodland scene with Hassan in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 289-92.

[206] In *Almansor* this occurs during the first scene between Almansor and Zuleima, for which see *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 287. Also see Book III of *The Spanish Gypsy*, pp. 297-303.

[207] See, for example, Almansor's first scene with Zuleima in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 284-5. Also see Book II of *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 193.

[208] See Book II of *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 210. Heine's poem 'Jehuda ben Halevy' can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 437-64. For discussion of George Eliot's quotations from 'Jehuda ben Halevy' in her Notebook see pp. 46-8 of this chapter.

[209] See Book III of *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 257.

[210] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 223.

supreme lyrical genius, which could weave the wit, and the passion, and the imagination into songs light and lovely as the rainbows on the spray of the summer torrent.'[211] Clearly the image of the rainbow struck George Eliot as particularly appropriate to Heine, so that she might well have had him in mind when she gave to Juan the words quoted above. Furthermore, when Don Silva takes Fedalma by surprise at the gypsy encampment, she says:

> And if it all were said, 'twould end in this,
> That I still loved you when I fled away,
> 'Tis no more wisdom than the little birds
> Make known by their soft twitter when they feel
> Each other's heart beat.[212]

Similarly, in 'German Wit' George Eliot says that Heine's songs 'are like birds that not only enchant us with their delicious notes, but nestle against us with their soft breasts, and make us feel the agitated beating of their hearts.'[213] None of these few verbal points is of any great significance in itself, but, taken together, they reinforce the general impression that Heine's influence played some - if not a direct or particularly conscious - part in the composition of *The Spanish Gypsy*.

Two years before her death George Eliot again referred to Heine in a letter to Mrs Burne-Jones of 23 March 1878, saying:

> As to my enjoyment of the 'Two Grenadiers', it would have been impossible, but for the complete reduction of it to symbolism in my own mind, and my belief that it really touches nobody now as enthusiasm for the execrable Napoleon I. But I feel that the devotion of the common soldier to his leader (the sign for him of hard duty) is the type of all higher devotedness, and is full of promise to other and better generations.[214]

Sibilla Pfeiffer makes reference to this comment by George Eliot on 'Die Grenadiere', claiming that: 'Als eines der besten Gedichte betrachtet sie mit dem Instinkt des Genies "Die Grenadiere".'[215] Surely, however, this optimistic view

[211] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

[212] See Book III of *The Spanish Gypsy*, p. 282.

[213] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 248-9.

[214] Cross, *Life*, iii. 327. George Eliot had, of course, read this poem, along with the rest of Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, long before this date, and in 'German Wit' she singles it out as a poem which 'proves that even in its earliest efforts his genius showed a strongly specific character'. See 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 228.

[215] Pfeiffer, 'George Eliots Beziehungen zu Deutschland', 210.

suggests a misinterpretation of the tone of George Eliot's own comment on the poem in the letter to Mrs Burne-Jones, quoted above, even though in her essay 'German Wit' George Eliot says that the poem 'proves that even in its earliest efforts his genius showed a strongly specific character'.[216] However, even though George Eliot's letter to Mrs Burne-Jones is scarcely brimming over with enthusiasm for this early poem from Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, it does serve to show that she still read and discussed Heine to the end of her life.

'What light, we must ask, is thrown on *Middlemarch* by the remote, extrinsic and sometimes bizarre information in the margins of George Eliot's creative mind?'[217] The scholar W. J. Harvey posed the question in relation to *Middlemarch*, but it is a vitally important question to bear in mind if literary research - and, perhaps, especially research into sources and influences - is not to degenerate into mere pedantry. From the point of view of George Eliot studies the question of the importance to her and her art of her reading of Heine is certainly only a relatively minor issue, but, then, she is supremely an artist concerned with detail, and, as she herself wrote: 'every stroke of the artist's pencil has a purpose bearing on the conception which he retains in his mind's eye'.[218] In the same way, Heine's importance to George Eliot was a small but significant part of the development of her life and art, and a study of her interest in him adds to our understanding of the way in which she used her great intellectual culture in her work. As S. S. Prawer points out, however, in his book *Comparative Literary Studies: An Introduction*, 'studies of "effect" or "influence" must go together' with '"reception" studies',[219] and a study of the importance of Heine to George Eliot also tells us much about his literary fortunes and the state of his reputation in England during the latter half of the nineteenth century and about George Eliot's role, along with Matthew Arnold, in particular, in promoting serious critical study of Heine's works. In those studies in which George Eliot's interest in Heine has already been discussed, the suggestion has been made that she felt a close affinity with the German poet largely because, as Sol Liptzin puts it:

[216] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 228.

[217] W. J. Harvey posed this question in his essay on *Middlemarch*, entitled 'The Intellectual Background of the Novel: Casaubon and Lydgate', published in *'Middlemarch': Critical Approaches to the Novel*, ed. Barbara Hardy, (London, 1967), p. 27.

[218] George Eliot, 'Poetry and Prose from the Notebook of an Eccentric', *Coventry Herald and Observer*, (15 January 1847), p. 2b. Reprinted in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 18.

[219] S. S. Prawer, *Comparative Literary Studies: An Introduction* (London, 1973), p. 38.

> Heine's immorality, condemned by all righteous critics, could not damage his reputation with her, for she herself had just been the victim of general opprobrium, which had forced her and her companion, George Henry Lewes, to flee to Germany.[220]

This opinion is, however, quite untenable in the face of all the contrary evidence, which suggests that George Eliot, indeed, cared passionately about issues affecting the morality of relationships between men and women. Professor Haight points this out on numerous occasions in his biography of George Eliot, and her strength of feeling on the subject is made abundantly clear in a letter to Cara Bray on 4 September 1855, in which she writes:

> Assuredly if there be any one subject on which I feel no levity it is that of marriage and the relation of the sexes - if there is any one action or relation of my life which is and always has been profoundly serious, it is my relation to Mr. Lewes. ...Light and easily broken ties are what I neither desire theoretically nor could live for practically. Women who are satisfied with such ties do *not* act as I have done - they obtain what they desire and are still invited to dinner.[221]

The image of Lewes's wife Agnes must have been in George Eliot's mind when considering this topic. Moreover, in the essay 'German Wit' George Eliot quite unequivocally takes Heine to task for his 'baser nature',[222] when she writes:

> It is true, alas! that there is a heavy weight in the other scale - that Heine's magnificent powers have often served only to give electric force to the expression of debased feeling, so that his works are no Phidian statue of gold, and ivory, and gems, but have not a little brass, and iron, and miry clay mingled with the precious metal. The audacity of his occasional coarseness and personality is unparalleled in contemporary literature, and has hardly been exceeded by the licence of former days. Hence, before his volumes are put within the reach of immature minds, there is need of a friendly penknife to exercise a strict censorship.[223]

Thus, whilst it is true that George Eliot had, in her own words, learned 'to be reverent to all good in others and perpetually mindful of my own need of tolerance',[224] she held no revolutionary views of the relations between the sexes and did not positively seek to challenge conventional social opinion on the subject.

220 Liptzin, *English Legend*, p. 60.

221 *G. E. Letters*, ii. 213-14.

222 So called by Wormley, *Heine in England*, p. 111.

223 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 223-4.

224 See letter of George Eliot to Charles Bray in *G. E. Letters*, ii. 199.

A number of studies have been made of George Eliot's relations to such diverse writers as Sir Walter Scott, Theodor Storm, Gustave Flaubert, Alexandre Dumas, Gottfried Keller and George Hegel,[225] and the number and variety of these studies only go to demonstrate, if anything, that, in Leslie Stephen's words, 'no novelist of mark ever possessed a wider intellectual culture'[226] than George Eliot. Different authors, of course, meant different things to her, and her affinity with Heine is well summed up by Lotte Simon-Baumann:

> Jedenfalls - die stärksten künstlerischen Kräfte George Eliots wurzeln in der Welt des kleinen Alltags, aus der sie stammte, das Schildern des beengtesten Lebens, abseits vom grossen Geschehen, gelingt ihr am besten. Ihre grosse Gabe, die Menschen zu lieben und zu ihnen zu gelangen über schwierigste Hindernisse hinweg, hat sie jenem Manne nahegebracht, an dem der klügelnde Verstand scheitern muss. Sie bekennt, dass der Widerhall, den Heine bei ihr gefunden habe, über das Intellektuelle weit hinausgehe. Nicht das Begreifen und die Anregung eines feingeschliffenen Geistes ist ihr der letzte Reiz; sie verliert sich nicht in dem Wohlgefühl selbstzufriedenen Genusses, unbekümmert um die seelische Not des anderen. Eben dieser, der leidende Mensch ist es, den sie selbst aus den stärksten Tönen geistiger Lebensüberwindung heraushört, zu dem sie hindrängt.[227]

Many essays had been written in England about Heine before George Eliot's essay 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine' of January 1856, but in spite of this, it is not excessive to claim that: 'Ihn in seiner vollen Gegensätzlichkeit gefunden zu haben, ist jener Frau gelungen: England hat sein erstes *grosses* [my emphasis] Heinebildnis empfangen als Tat eines scharfen und liebedurchdrungenen Geistes.'[228]

[225] See, for example, the following studies:
a. A.C.J., *Notes on the Influence of Sir Walter Scott on George Eliot* (Edinburgh, 1923).
b. A. E. Lusky, 'George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* and Storm's *Immensee*', *Modern Language Journal*, x (1926), 431-3.
c. Barbara Smalley, *George Eliot and Flaubert* (Ohio, 1974).
*d.*Mrs Harold Sandwith, 'Maggie Tulliver and La Dame aux Camélias', *Nineteenth Century*, ixc (1922), 782-90.
e. Alan Penham Casson, '*The Mill on the Floss* and Keller's *Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe*', *Modern Language Notes*, lxxv (1960), 20-22.
f. Darell Mansell Jr, 'A Note on Hegel and George Eliot', *Victorian Newsletter*, xxvii (1965), 12-15.

[226] Leslie Stephen, *George Eliot* (London, 1902), p. 197. Quoted in Higdon, 'George Eliot and the Art of the Epigraph', 128.

[227] Simon-Baumann, 'George Eliot über Heinrich Heine', 320.

[228] Simon-Baumann, 'George Eliot über Heinrich Heine', 320.

Chapter 3

Matthew Arnold and Heine: Prose

In Matthew Arnold's reading of German authors only his relation to Goethe has been investigated in depth.[1] Arnold himself acknowledged Goethe, along with Wordsworth, Sainte-Beuve and Newman, as one of the major formative influences on his life,[2] but despite this he wrote that the German language 'almost breaks my heart, because I cannot get to read it like French, though I work at it with fury.'[3] Much the same state of affairs clearly persisted, since towards the end of his life Arnold wrote from Berlin to Lady de Rothschild on 14 November 1885: '...it is twenty years since I was in Germany, and my German is shocking.'[4] He also wrote in a similar vein from Dresden to his sister Fan on 4 December of that year, saying: 'I am learning a good deal here, and am at last making some progress in speaking German ... I go every night to the theatre - hours from seven to nine and a half - to the great improvement of my German.'[5]

Arnold learned German from at least the age of nine, when he and his brother Thomas were being prepared for Winchester by their tutor, Mr Herbert Hill. This is indicated by an entry in Mrs Arnold's domestic journal for 18 October 1835, in which she recalls an incident of 1832 and writes: 'The infant of 1822 [i.e. Matthew] has just come to tell me how pleasantly and easily he has been reading German with Mr Hill.'[6] The initial stimulus to learning German seems definitely to have come from Matthew Arnold's father, who himself learned the language in

[1] See, for example: Helen C. White, 'Matthew Arnold and Goethe', *P.M.L.A.*, xxxvi (1921), 436-53; J. B. Orrick, *Matthew Arnold and Goethe* (London, 1928); James Simpson, *Matthew Arnold and Goethe* (London, 1979).

[2] See *Unpublished Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Arnold Whitridge, (London, 1923), pp. 65-6.

[3] Quoted by Mrs Arnold in an unpublished letter of 17 July 1848 to her son Thomas in New Zealand. The comment appears in Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, p. 13.

[4] *Letters of Matthew Arnold 1848-1888*, ed. G. W. E. Russell, (London, 1895), ii. 293.

[5] *Letters of Arnold*, ed. Russell, ii. 305.

[6] Mrs Arnold's domestic journal has not been published, but the quotation can be found in Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, p. 13. Simpson adds here a few timely words of caution as to the folly of reading too much into a piece of boasting by a nine-year-old child.

1824, in order to read Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, which Julius Hare had recommended to him as pertinent to his, Dr Arnold's, own research interests. This work was, according to Dr Arnold's biographer, A. P. Stanley, 'the first German book [Dr Arnold] ever read', and in his reading of it 'a new intellectual world dawned upon him, not only in the subject to which it related, but in the disclosure to him of the depth and research of German literature, which from that moment he learned more and more to appreciate, and as far as his own preoccupations would allow him, to emulate.'[7] Dr Arnold met Niebuhr in 1830, and the German scholar certainly exercised a profound influence on his view of Roman history, to the point that Stanley quotes Dr Arnold's 'determination "never to differ from him without a full consciousness of the probability that further inquiry might prove him to be right"'.[8] Despite this 'sentiment of something like personal veneration'[9] which Dr Arnold is said to have felt for Niebuhr from the beginning, Stanley regards the visit to Rome in 1827 as the crucial element in strengthening his attitude towards Niebuhr, Germany and Roman history, since this visit 'gave him a living interest in Rome which he had before wanted and which he never lost',[10] and since it was then that he formed his lifelong friendship with Chevalier Bunsen, Niebuhr's successor as minister at the papal court. Indeed, in writing of his 1827 visit to Rome in a letter to Augustus Hare, written at Laleham on 7 March 1828, Dr Arnold seems at a loss for words to describe his delight in the whole venture, but even though he describes himself as having been 'completely overpowered with admiration and delight at the matchless beauty and solemnity of Rome', he reserves yet higher praise for Bunsen, since he goes on to say:

> But I think my greatest delight after all was in the society of Bunsen, the Prussian minister at Rome... He reminded me continually of you more than of any other man I know, and chiefly by his entire and enthusiastic admiration of everything great and excellent and beautiful.'[11]

Indeed, if anything, Dr Arnold's admiration of Bunsen seemed to grow with the years, since, in a letter of 7 October 1833, he wrote of 'the all but idolatry with which I regard him. So beautifully good, so wise, so noble-minded'.[12] He named

7 A. P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London, 1887), i. 39-40.

8 Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 40.

9 Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 40.

10 Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 41.

11 Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 78.

12 Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 317.

his eighth child Frances Bunsen Trevenen Whately in honour of him, and, in a letter to Bunsen of 10 February 1835, he positively eulogised a collection of hymns which Bunsen had sent to him, taking the opportunity to compare the German and English languages, greatly to the detriment of the latter, by declaring 'how much our language is inferior to yours in flexibility and power, by having lost so much of its native character, and become such a jumble of French and Latin exotics with the original Saxon'.[13]

Although the reading of Niebuhr seems to have been Dr Arnold's primary reason for learning German, he was obviously conscious of benefiting from the exercise in more ways than that. In a letter of 30 September 1824, for instance, he refers for the first time to his 'now working at German in good earnest' with 'a master who comes down here to read to me once a week', and as well as reporting that he has 'read a good deal of Julius Hare's friend Niebuhr', he further speaks of 'some other very valuable German books with which I am becoming acquainted, all preparatory to my Roman History.'[14] In addition to German works of scholarship in the field of ancient history, Dr Arnold was clearly also acquainted with 'the really great school of German philology', to which he refers when recommending 'Schleusner's well-known Lexicons for the Septuagint and New Testament' to a correspondent intending to take orders.[15] Furthermore, he was obviously acquainted with the great advances and upheavals caused by German Biblical scholars in the first half of the nineteenth century, since he discusses the views of Schleiermacher on the authorship of the epistles to Timothy and Titus[16] and writes, in February 1835, of having 'lately got a periodical work on Divinity, published by some of the best German Divines, Theologische Studien und Kritiken'.[17] Moreover, Dr Arnold obviously had at least some acquaintance with German literature, since Stanley notes his reference to Goethe's *Faust* as 'a great work', even though he regarded the prologue in heaven as 'blasphemous'.[18] James Simpson suggests that Dr Arnold's acquaintance with German literature may have been stimulated by Henry Crabb Robinson, whom he met over dinner with Wordsworth at Fox How at Christmas 1835, when they discussed Goethe.[19]

[13] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 349.

[14] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 66.

[15] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 342.

[16] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 370-71.

[17] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 352.

[18] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, ii. 60.

[19] Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, pp. 14-15.

Thereafter, Crabb Robinson apparently read poems of Goethe with Jane Arnold on three occasions over the Christmas and New Year of 1838-9, and on one of these occasions Dr Arnold was present and 'took an interest',[20] which not only shows that he must have known something of Goethe as a lyric poet, but suggests also, as Simpson points out, the 'distinct possibility that, even before his departure to Oxford, Matthew had encountered at least some of Goethe's poetry ... at a time when ... Goethe's activity as a lyric poet was almost completely disregarded in England'.[21]

Apart from his learning German privately through his father's interest, however, Matthew Arnold would certainly have studied the language formally as a part of the syllabus in the three higher forms of Rugby School, where the study of modern languages (French and German) was one of Dr Arnold's numerous innovations, along with mathematics and modern history. Indeed, such was Dr Arnold's opinion of the value of the study of modern languages, especially German, that he wrote to a former pupil on 25 February 1835:

> I forget whether you learned any German here, but I think it would be well worth your while to learn it without loss of time. Every additional language gained, is like an additional power, none more so than German.[22]

In instituting the study of modern languages at Rugby, Dr Arnold acknowledged that it would not be possible to teach the boys to *speak* a foreign language fluently through the medium of school instruction, but he believed, in any case, that they would profit far more from learning the grammar thoroughly, since 'to most of our boys, to read [French] will be of far more use than to speak it; and if they learn it grammatically as a dead language, I am sure that whenever they have any occasion to speak it, as in going abroad for instance, they will be able to do it very rapidly'.[23] Certainly Dr Arnold regarded a reading knowledge of German as an indispensable part of a public-school education in the first half of the nineteenth century, and he defends his innovation in a letter of 1840 to the Earl of Denbigh, Chairman of the School's Trustees, when he writes:

> With regard to German, I can speak more confidently; and I am sure that we do facilitate a boy's after study of the language considerably, and enable him, with much less trouble, to

[20] Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, p. 15.

[21] Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, p. 15.

[22] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 352.

[23] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 120.

> read those many German books, which are essential to his classical studies at the University.[24]

Moreover, Dr Arnold not only introduced the study of the German *language* into Rugby School, but he also expressed the wish, in a letter to Mr Justice Coleridge of 23 September 1836, to 'get Dante and Goethe now and then in the room of some of the Greek tragedians and of Horace; or rather not in their room, but mixed up along with them'.[25] Thus, it seems likely that Dr Arnold's sympathetic attitude towards German studies had some influence not only on Matthew's learning the German language in the first place, both privately and at Rugby School, but also on his beginning to read German literature, even if this to all intents and purposes meant only Goethe.

But although it is clear that Dr Arnold knew something of German literature, there is no evidence to suggest that his knowledge was very great. Henry Crabb Robinson has already been mentioned as another possible influence on the young Matthew Arnold's reading of German literature, especially Goethe, but greater than either of these influences seems to have been 'the puissant voice of Carlyle, so sorely strained, over-used and misused since, but then [i.e. in the early 1840's, when Arnold was at Oxford] fresh, comparatively sound, and reaching our hearts with true, pathetic eloquence'.[26] Kathleen Tillotson has indeed suggested that Matthew Arnold 'probably began to read Carlyle before he went to Oxford; as a boy, indeed a young boy, if he really read the essay on Irving "in its first freshness" when Irving was "just dead" which was in 1835'.[27] Furthermore, Dr Arnold himself was an admirer of 'those inimitable living pictures with which Carlyle's History of the French Revolution abounds',[28] and in January 1840 he wrote to ask Carlyle to join with him in forming 'a Society, the object of which should be to collect information as to every point in the condition of the poor throughout the kingdom, and to call public attention to it by every possible means.'[29] Nothing seems to have come of the plan, but the association between the Arnold family and Carlyle must have continued, since on 19 May 1842, only a few weeks before his death, Dr Arnold wrote in a letter to the Rev. Dr Hawkins:

[24] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, i. 121.

[25] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, ii. 44.

[26] See Arnold's essay 'Emerson' of 1883 in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, x. 166.

[27] Kathleen Tillotson, 'Matthew Arnold and Carlyle', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xlii (1956), 138.

[28] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, ii. 104.

[29] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, ii. 159.

'Carlyle dined and slept here on Friday last, and on Saturday we went over with my wife and two of my boys to Naseby field, and explored the scene of the great battle very satisfactorily'.[30] As Kathleen Tillotson has pointed out, Matthew Arnold is unlikely to have been one of the two sons mentioned as having been present on that excursion, since it took place at a time when he would have been in Oxford for Trinity Term. Nevertheless, whether Matthew Arnold had any personal contact with Carlyle in the early 1840's or not, he would certainly have been amply acquainted with his writings, since:

> Arnold went up to Balliol in 1841, just at a time when the growth and spread of Carlyle's fame was at last manifest. Its force was the greater because belated; Carlyle had been writing for twenty years (and lecturing in London for four successive seasons); so that a beginner in 1841 would receive the full impact of *Sartor Resartus*, the *French Revolution*, the five volumes of *Miscellaneous Essays* (including the collected criticism of German and English literature, and those great fountains of nineteenth-century thinking, 'Signs of the Times' and 'Characteristics'); then, in 1840, came *Chartism* and *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, and in 1843, *Past and Present* ... in Oxford the impact of Carlyle was especially strong.[31]

Matthew Arnold himself has given us the necessary insight into the importance which the works of Carlyle had for his generation of Oxford undergraduates in the 'Emerson' essay quoted above, and, despite Arnold's cooling of feeling for Carlyle later in life, it is obvious that Carlyle continued to influence Arnold's writings, as is shown for instance by Arnold's adoption, in the essay 'Heinrich Heine' of 1863, of the Carlylean terms 'Philistine' and 'Philistinism',[32] which are to be found in *Sartor Resartus*,[33] and which are of immense importance in Arnold's social criticism.

The earliest meeting between Matthew Arnold and Carlyle for which documentary evidence exists seems to have taken place on 13 June 1848, since Arthur Hugh Clough's journal for that date records tersely: 'Carlyle with Mat.'[34] Kathleen Tillotson suggests, however, that: 'The winter of 1847-8 would seem a likely period for Arnold to meet Carlyle, for several reasons',[35] but unfortunately

[30] Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, ii. 267.

[31] Tillotson, 'Matthew Arnold and Carlyle', pp. 135-6.

[32] See, for example, Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 111-12.

[33] See, for example, Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* (London, 1896), p. 114. Although the word 'Philistine' had been used in English in its Biblical sense down the centuries, the *O.E.D.* accords to Carlyle the greatest part of the credit for establishing the figurative application.

[34] Quoted in Tillotson, 'Matthew Arnold and Carlyle', p. 138.

[35] Tillotson, 'Matthew Arnold and Carlyle', p. 138.

she does not elaborate on her reasons. In view of the fact that the Arnold family had certainly met Carlyle in 1842,[36] if not earlier, it is at least possible that Matthew Arnold should himself have met Carlyle before June 1848. The question is interesting because it is on 7 May 1848 that Matthew Arnold first mentions his reading Heine, when, in a letter to his mother, he writes:

> I have just finished a German book I brought with me here: a mixture of poems and travelling journal by Heinrich Heine, the most famous of the young German literary set. He has a good deal of power, though more trick; however, he has thoroughly disgusted me. The Byronism of a German, of a man trying to be gloomy, cynical, impassioned, *moqueur*, etc., all *à la fois*, with their honest bonhommistic language and total want of experience of the kind that Lord Byron, an English peer with access everywhere, possessed, is the most ridiculous thing in the world. Goethe wisely said the Germans could not have a national comedy because they had no social life; he meant the social life of highly civilised corrupt communities like Athens, Paris, or London; and for the same reason they cannot have a Byronic poetry. I see the French call this Heine a 'Voltaire au clair de lune,' which is very happy.[37]

It is interesting to speculate on whether, if Arnold had indeed met Carlyle before 13 June 1848, Carlyle may just possibly have influenced the young Arnold in the direction of the early antipathy towards Heine which he shows in this letter. Certainly Carlyle himself never became reconciled to the process of rehabilitation which the reputation of Heine underwent in England as the nineteenth century progressed. In 1865, when the first collected edition of *Essays in Criticism: First Series* had just been published, Carlyle raged at Matthew Arnold for his estimation of Heine, in the essay 'Heinrich Heine', as the German author on whom 'of all German authors who survived Goethe, incomparably the largest portion of Goethe's mantle fell',[38] and he reserved his choicest epithets for Heine, referring to him, for instance, as a 'filthy, fetid sausage of spoiled victuals'.[39] It is also possible that Arnold's initial dislike of Heine's work was prompted by echoes of some hostile early Victorian press reports concerning his moral and political views.[40] On the other hand, Arnold certainly had acquaintances who were highly favourable to Heine, amongst whom the Milnes and Lytton families stand

[36] See pp. 73-4 of this chapter and note 30 above.

[37] *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 9-10.

[38] See Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 108.

[39] Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff, *Out of the Past* (London, 1903), ii. 95.

[40] For discussion of these see pp. 6-14 of chapter 1 above.

out strongly.[41] Moreover, the late 1840's saw the beginnings of a more generally sympathetic attitude towards Heine in the British press, as news of his illness became more widespread.[42] At all events, Arnold's initial reaction to Heine was certainly not promising.

The work which prompted such dislike in Arnold in May 1848 was probably one of Heine's mixed *Salon* volumes, since this would fit most accurately his description of it as 'a mixture of poems and travelling journal.'[43] From that date Arnold is silent on the subject of Heine, until in September 1852 the entry 'Heine's Gedichte' appears twice on his list of works 'To be read' at Fox How and once again for December.[44] One possible factor which might have induced Arnold to return to Heine in 1852 was the appearance on 1 April of that year of the French critic Saint-René Taillandier's article 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits' in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, an organ which also published much of Heine's work in French.[45] In the essay 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time' Arnold refers to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* as 'having for its main function to understand and utter the best that is known and thought in the world.'[46] He had been an avid reader of this periodical at least since his days as a fellow of Oriel,[47]

[41] See *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 101; i. 196; i. 374; ii. 6-8.

[42] On this point see pp. 14-21 of chapter 1 above.

[43] This quotation also appears on p. 75 above.

[44] *The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. H. F. Lowry, K. Young and W. H. Dunn, (Oxford, 1952), pp. 551-2.

[45] See Saint-René Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xiv. Nouvelle Période (1 April 1852), 5-36. An anonymous English translation of this article, under the title 'The Life and Writings of Heinrich Heine', appeared subsequently in *Sharpe's London Magazine*, i N.S. (May and June 1852), 291-9 and 362-9. Arnold, however, is more likely to have read the article in the original French, since he certainly had sufficient fluency in the language and was a regular and enthusiastic reader of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, as is shown below. The works published by Heine in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* were:

a. 'Romancero - poésies inédites', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xii. Nouvelle Période (15 October 1851), 337-55.
b. 'La légende de Faust', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xiii. Nouvelle Période (1 January 1852).
c. 'Les Dieux en exil', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, ii. Deuxième Série, Nouvelle Période (1 April 1853),14-19.
d. 'Le Retour - poésie de jeunesse', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vii. Deuxième Série, Nouvelle Période (15 July 1854), 354-76.
e. 'Les Aveux d'un Poète', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vii. Deuxième Série, Nouvelle Période (15 September 1854), 538-58.
f. 'Nouveau Printemps', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, ix. Deuxième Série, Nouvelle Période (15 September 1855), 1296-1306.

[46] See Matthew Arnold, 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 270.

[47] See Park Honan, *Matthew Arnold: A Life* (London, 1981), p. 95.

and this article by Taillandier, strongly in Heine's favour, obviously made an impression on him, since he drew on it in both his essay 'Heinrich Heine'[48] and his poem 'Heine's Grave',[49] both of which were completed in 1863, more than a decade after Taillandier's article had been published. Thereafter, beginning in April 1853, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* published several other works by Heine,[50] including the controversial *Geständnisse*, which appeared under the French title *Les Aveux d'un Poète*.[51] Given the relative lack of fluency in German which Arnold acknowledged as compared to his French,[52] together with his expressed admiration for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, it seems entirely likely that it should have been through the medium of this French periodical that he gained the impetus to return to the reading of Heine in the early 1850's with a mind better disposed towards him. Heine next appears on Arnold's reading lists in August 1855, when he earmarked 'Henri Heine's Lutèce' for his reading,[53] and the next reference after that is for July 1858, when Arnold apparently intended to read 'Heine's Reisebilder. i.' while on circuit with his father-in-law, Judge Wightman.[54] No record remains of Arnold's reading for the year 1859, but between the summer of 1860 and the year 1863, in which Arnold published both his essay 'Heinrich Heine' and the poem 'Heine's Grave', Heine, naturally enough, appears with increasing frequency on Arnold's reading lists. Thus, the entry 'Heine's Reisebilder. i.' appears under the heading 'Books for Summer' in 1860,[55] whilst for his stay at Fox How in September 1861 Arnold simply made the general entry 'Heinrich Heine'.[56] A similarly broad reference to reading 'in Heine' appears for January 1862;[57] the next entry for that year reads 'Circuit -

[48] For discussion of this see pp. 17-18 of chapter 1 above and pp. 89-90 of this chapter below.

[49] For discussion of this see p. 120 of chapter 4 below.

[50] See note 45 above.

[51] The controversy over this publication centred on the appearance of a pirated version in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. For further discussion of this point see Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, pp. 320-21.

[52] See p. 69 of this chapter above.

[53] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 558.

[54] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 563.

[55] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 565.

[56] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 566.

[57] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 566.

Heine'.[58] For his visit to Barrow in March 1862 Arnold noted just 'Heine - vol. i.',[59] and in September, at Fox How, he planned to read 'Heine's Reisebilder - vol. 1. 2. 3.' and 'Heine's Romancero'.[60] For October of the same year he noted 'Heine's Germania & Chant de Lazare',[61] an entry which serves to strengthen further the impression that Arnold read a good deal of his Heine in French. Thereafter, before the publication of the essay 'Heinrich Heine' and the poem 'Heine's Grave' Arnold read 'Heine's Reisebilder. 3.'[62] in January 1863, along with *Le Retour*, *Les Aveux d'un Poète*, *Le Livre de Lazare* and *Nouveau Printemps*, all as published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.[63] In March of that year he read 'Heine's Romancero', 'Articles on & by Heine, in Revue des 2 Mondes' and also 'Heine's Reisebilder - Vol. iv.'[64], and for the month of June he mentions simply 'in Heine's Works'.[65] At the end of the notebook, meanwhile, Arnold records amongst his reading at the Athenaeum or the British Museum 'Heine's Allemagne & Later Publications', 'Heine's Romancero in Revue des 2 Mondes' and 'Heine's Romancero & Reisebilder'.[66]

The essay 'Heinrich Heine' began life as a lecture delivered by Arnold to an audience of Oxford students in June 1863, when Arnold was Professor of Poetry at Oxford. All the essays in the first (1865) edition of *Essays in Criticism: First Series*, with the exceptions only of those on Eugénie de Guérin, Spinoza, and Marcus Aurelius, began in the same way.[67] In a letter to his mother of 16 June 1863 Arnold wrote: 'I have been very busy indeed with my lecture on Heine, which much interested me',[68] and the lecture appears to have been a success with the students, since Arnold went on to write: '. . . there was, nevertheless, one thing which even a wooden Oxford audience gave way to - Heine's wit. I gave them about two pages of specimens of it, and they positively

[58] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 566.

[59] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 567.

[60] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 567.

[61] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 568.

[62] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 569.

[63] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 570.

[64] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 570.

[65] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 571.

[66] *Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 572.

[67] This point is confirmed by Sister Thomas Marion Hoctor, S.S.J., in her edition of *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism: First Series* (Chicago and London, 1968), p. 234.

[68] *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 194-5.

laughed aloud.'[69] It is clear, however, that Arnold always intended many of his lectures for publication, since in the same letter he wrote: '... I am obliged always to think, in composing my lectures, of the public who will read me, not of the dead bones who will hear me, or my spirit would fail'.[70] With regard to the lecture on Heine, Arnold went on: 'I have had two applications for the lecture from magazines, but I shall print it, if I can, in the *Cornhill*, because it both pays best and has much the largest circle of readers.'[71]

Subsequently the essay 'Heinrich Heine' did indeed appear in the *Cornhill Magazine* for August 1863, although, at the prompting of George Smith, Arnold authorised some alterations to the text of his original lecture before it appeared in print.[72] Later, when the first collected edition of *Essays in Criticism* was published in 1865, Arnold restored to the text of 'Heinrich Heine' an important passage on the paradox of culture leading to undesirable political states and philistinism leading to desirable ones, which runs:

> There is balm in Philistia as well as in Gilead. A chosen circle of children of the modern spirit, perfectly emancipated from prejudice and commonplace, regarding the ideal side of things in all its efforts for change, passionately despising half-measures and condescension to human folly and obstinacy, - with a bewildered, timid, torpid multitude behind, - conducts a country to the government of Herr von Bismarck. A nation regarding the practical side of things in its effort for change, attacking not what is irrational, but what is pressingly inconvenient, and attacking this as one body, 'moving altogether if it moves at all,' and treating children of light like the very harshest of stepmothers, comes to the prosperity and liberty of modern England. For all that, however, Philistia (let me say it again) is not the true promised land, as we English commonly imagine it to be; and our excessive neglect of the idea, and consequent inaptitude for it, threatens us, at a moment when the idea is beginning to exercise a real power in human society, with serious future inconvenience, and, in the meanwhile, cuts us off from the sympathy of other nations, which feel its power more than we do.[73]

In her edition of *Essays in Criticism: First Series*, Sister Hoctor comments that:

> In this passage Arnold again took the opportunity of arguing that no achievement is really valuable unless it can be related to a true idea. Whereas the 'prosperity and liberty of modern England' seems preferable to the 'government of Herr von Bismarck', the

[69] *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 195.

[70] *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 195.

[71] *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 195.

[72] On p. 234 of her edition of *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism: First Series*, Sister Hoctor refers to letters of 10 and 13 July 1863 written by Arnold to authorise these alterations.

[73] Matthew Arnold, *Essays in Criticism* (London and Cambridge, 1865), p. 161.

> modern Philistine has only proved himself more fortunate, not more intelligent, in these matters.[74]

Sister Hoctor does not appear to observe here any criticism by Arnold of the German *method* of procedure, whereas there does, in fact, seem to be a sting in his reference to the 'bewildered, timid, torpid multitude' of, presumably, ordinary German citizens, which suggests that his admiration for the German path of enlightened conduct was by no means unalloyed. Much as Arnold was at pains to stress the importance of the idea as the necessary guiding principle of an individual's, or of a nation's, conduct, he also emphasised his belief that adherence to that idea must be discriminating, not blind. There is sadness as well as cynicism in the restored passage, and it is clear that the subject struck a chord of deep, personal concern for Arnold, especially in the context of the educational writings which had occupied much of his time during the years leading up to the essay on Heine. Thus, it is entirely plausible that Arnold might have had the passage restored simply as a matter of conviction that it was right to do so both for its message to the nation and for a true representation of his views on 'Philistia'. There may, however, be some case for Sister Hoctor's more pragmatic view that: 'One can easily imagine Arnold, the "transcendentalist", defending himself against the charge of being unrealistic'[75] by restoring a passage of direct application to the European politics of his day.

In addition to restoring the passage on 'Philistia' Arnold also made some minor changes to the essay between its appearances in the *Cornhill* in 1863 and in the collected *Essays in Criticism* in 1865,[76] but the only other alteration of any

[74] *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism: First Series*, ed. Hoctor, p. 239.

[75] *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism: First Series*, ed. Hoctor, p. 239. Arnold described himself ironically as a 'transcendentalist' in his Preface to the 1865 edition of *Essays in Criticism* in response to attacks on him in the *Saturday Review*. In particular, the charge that Arnold was 'unrealistic' in his social philosophy and especially in his attitude towards his own people was laid to his door by Fitzjames Stephen, in an article entitled 'Mr Matthew Arnold and His Countrymen', which appeared in the *Saturday Review*, xviii (3 December 1864), 683-5. In this article Stephen wrote: 'Our English notion is, that the only test by which you can judge of the truth of a general principle is its application to facts. If it will not open the lock, it may be a very pretty key, but it is certainly not the true one. It is from facts only that principles can be got, and it is by facts only that their truth, when they are got at, can be tested.'

[76] These changes are: 1. The addition of a footnote on p. 164 of the 1865 edition to say that: 'A complete edition [of the works of Heine] has at last appeared in Germany.' The edition in question is a version of Heine's *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Adolf Strodtmann, (Hamburg, 1861-8), 21 Bände, to which a last volume of *Nachlese* was added in 1869. 2. The deletion from the 1865 edition of the words 'in the *Cornhill Magazine*' in the comment: 'fifty years hence a critic in the *Cornhill Magazine* will be demonstrating to our grandchildren how this phenomenon [i.e. the influence of 'the French spirit' on foreign literatures] has come to pass.' See p. 242 of the Cornhill version and p. 169 of the 1865 version.

substance was in the inclusion in the 1865 version of a translation of stanzas sixty-six to seventy-three of the 'Disputation' which, together with the poems 'Prinzessin Sabbat' and 'Jehuda ben Halevy', forms the third book of the second part of Heine's *Romanzero*, the book entitled 'Hebräische Melodien'. Given that Arnold has just translated from'Prinzessin Sabbat' and 'Jehuda ben Halevy' on the two pages of his essay immediatedly preceding the translation from the 'Disputation', it seems not unlikely that he included this passsage for the sake of completeness, especially since he regarded the three poems as, in order of their appearance within the book, increasingly strong examples of Heine's showing the 'serious side' of the Jewish people, by contrast with the 'comic side' exhibited in the story of Moses Lump.[77] In giving his translation from the 'Disputation', however, Arnold omits stanza seventy-two, which runs:

> Und er ist ein grosser Gott.
> David singt: Ermessen liesse
> Sich die Grösse nicht, die Erde
> Sei der Schemel seiner Füsse.[78]

There would seem to be no reason for this omission, unless Arnold considered that the stanza did not fit in with his overall comment on the poem that: 'In the strain of the Jew all the fierceness of the old Hebrew genius, all its rigid defiant Monotheism, appear.'[79] The same objection did not, however, deter him from including the apparently equally innocuous stanza sixty-nine:

> Unser Gott, der ist lebendig
> Und in seiner Himmelshalle
> Existiert er drauf los
> Durch die Ewigkeiten alle.[80]

Arnold translates this as: 'Our God, he is alive, and in his hall of heaven he goes on existing away, throughout all the eternities.'[81] There is no particular evidence of 'fierceness' here, either.

Second and third editions of *Essays in Criticism: First Series* were published in 1869 and 1875, but apart from very slight alterations the text of 'Heinrich Heine'

[77] See p. 180 of the 1865 edition of *Essays in Criticism*.The story of Moses Lump can be found in Heine's original in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iii. 328.

[78] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 473.

[79] See p. 183 of the 1865 edition of *Essays in Criticism*.

[80] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 472.

[81] See p. 183 of the 1865 edition of *Essays in Criticism*.

remained the same as in the first collected edition of 1865.[82] After 1875 Arnold revised the text no further,[83] so that both Sister Hoctor, in her edition of *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism: First Series*, mentioned above, and R. H. Super, in his definitive edition of Arnold's *Complete Prose Works*, regard the third edition as authoritative and base their texts of 'Heinrich Heine' on it accordingly.

In a letter to Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff, M.P., written on 14 May 1863, prior to his Oxford lecture on Heine, Arnold declined the offer of further information on Heine and wrote: 'My object is not so much to give a literary history of Heine's works, as to mark his place in modern European letters, and the special tendency and significance of what he did.'[84] This comment is reinforced in the essay itself, when Arnold excuses himself from giving 'a detailed account of [Heine's] life, or a description of his separate works' on the grounds that this is not his aim. Rather, he says: 'I wish to mark Heine's place in modern European literature, the scope of his activity, and his value.'[85] Thus, Arnold's declared aim was, from the outset, wider than that of most, if not all, other nineteenth-century British essayists who treated Heine, even including George Eliot. Whether he was as successful in his sphere of Heine criticism as she was in hers is a different matter, but the essay 'Heinrich Heine' certainly gives every indication that Arnold bore this aim in mind throughout its composition and that he at least made valiant attempts to live up to it. So far as 'Heine's place in modern European literature' is concerned, Arnold's most telling comment is made at the very beginning of the essay, when he roundly declares his estimation of Heine as the one on whom 'of all German authors who survived Goethe, incomparably the largest portion of Goethe's mantle fell.'[86] Harking back to the quotation with which he had begun the essay, Arnold then explains his comment by saying:

> Heine is noteworthy, because he is the most important German successor and continuator of Goethe in Goethe's most important line of activity. And which of Goethe's

[82] These alterations are: 1. On p. 205 of the 1875 version Arnold made a break for a new paragraph after the sentence: '*He enlargeth a nation*, says Job, *and straiteneth it again*.' 2. The sentence which on p. 171 of the 1865 version reads: 'Heine's literary good fortune was *greater than* that of Byron and Shelley' is changed on pp. 206-207 of the 1875 version to read 'Heine's literary good fortune was *superior to* that of Byron and Shelley.' (My italics.)

[83] For comment on this see *Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism: First Series*, ed. Hoctor, p. 227.

[84] *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 193.

[85] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 117.

[86] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 108.

> lines of activity is this? - His line of activity as 'a soldier in the war of liberation of humanity.'[87]

For Heine, this notion of 'liberation' certainly had a strong political dimension, whereas Goethe had nothing political in mind when he spoke of himself as having been 'to the Germans in general, and to the young German poets in particular, ... their *liberator*.'[88] And Arnold was aware of this distinction, since he quite clearly indicates a difference between Goethe's process of liberation through individual human beings and Heine's 'counsel ... for open war' against 'the old order of things'.[89] Arnold himself was no political revolutionary, of course, and only in the sphere of education did he wish to see political activity invoked.[90] Heine, on the other hand, prophesied a German revolution which would make the French Revolution 'nur wie eine harmlose Idylle erscheinen',[91] and in his *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* he makes out a case for an ordered progression of events in Germany, from the Reformation of Luther to the growth of German philosophy and eventually to political action in the shape of precisely such a revolution. He then seeks to persuade the German 'Republikaner' that this German revolution will be no less effective for having been preceded by the philosophy of Kant, Fichte and the nature philosophers, but that, on the contrary: 'Durch diese Doktrinen haben sich revolutionäre Kräfte entwickelt, die nur des Tages harren, wo sie hervorbrechen und die Welt mit Entsetzen und Bewunderung erfüllen können.'[92] In the highly equivocal penultimate paragraph of his essay Arnold returns to this theme and says of Heine:

> He is not an adequate interpreter of the modern world. He is only a brilliant soldier in the Liberation War of humanity. But, such as he is, he is (and posterity too, I am quite sure, will say this), in the European poetry of that quarter of a century which follows the death of Goethe, incomparably the most important figure.[93]

87 Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 108.

88 Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 109. Goethe's original words can be found in his 'Noch ein Wort für junge Dichter' in *Goethes Sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1833), xlv. 426.

89 Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 111.

90 This is made particularly clear in his essay 'A French Eton'. See *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, ii. 262-325.

91 See *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 294.

92 *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 293.

93 Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 132.

Comparisons between Heine and Goethe were by no means uncommon in nineteenth-century British essays on Heine, and well before the appearance of Arnold's essay George Eliot had described Heine as 'an artist in prose literature, who has shown even more completely than Goethe the possibilities of German prose', going on to claim that: 'The distinctive charm of [Heine's] lyrics may best be seen by comparing them with Goethe's. Both have the same masterly, finished simplicity and rhythmic grace...'.[94] The difference between the carefully analytical literary comments from George Eliot's 'German Wit' and the historical, hyperbolic comments of Matthew Arnold itself makes clear the difference between the aims - both equally valid - of these two major essays on Heine. In some respects Arnold's essay comes across as neither so polished nor, in point of detail, so scholarly a performance as George Eliot's, but whereas her article is, quite simply, the best of its kind from the nineteenth century, the nature and scope of Arnold's essay, as indicated in his letter to Grant-Duff and within the essay itself, set it aside as unique.

Although Arnold does seem to have been aware of the political nature of Heine's strivings 'in the Liberation War of humanity', he points out that:

> His direct political action was null, and this is neither to be wondered at nor regretted; direct political action is not the true function of literature, and Heine was a born man of letters.[95]

The important word here is 'direct', since, earlier in the essay, the context clearly implies that Arnold regarded as a sort of 'political action' that which he describes as Heine's 'life and death battle with Philistinism'.[96] In her essay 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold' the biographer of Heine, Elsie M. Butler, wrote of Arnold's essay:

> Whenever possible (and it often was possible) Arnold swerved away from the subject in hand to deal in lofty abstractions on such themes as the trend of ideas in Europe or the true inwardness of the term *Philistinism*, leaving Heine to languish in the wings, only summoning him forward now and again to applaud him for his liberalism, for his warfare against the Philistines or for his application of modern ideas to literature and to life.[97]

[94] George Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 223 and 248 respectively.

[95] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 118.

[96] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 111.

[97] Elsie M. Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', *German Life and Letters*, ix (1956), 159.

This, however, is unfair and inaccurate. Certainly Arnold does discuss in general the notions of philistinism and the importance of modern ideas, but only because these ideas are central to his estimation of Heine's 'value', and the link is always made clear, as when, for example, Arnold's long discussion of British philistinism gives way to a translation of Heine's comments on 'the poor German Hodge' and, in turn, to his tale of the Emperor Charles V and the fool Conrad von der Rosen.[98] Similarly, Arnold's discussion of the relative 'failure' of Byron and Shelley, as compared to Shakespeare and Spenser or to Goethe and Heine, although long and apparently digressive, leads in fact to a major summing up of what Arnold perceives as Heine's great achievement, since he writes:

> Heine's literary good fortune was superior to that of Byron and Shelley. His theatre of operations was Germany, whose Philistinism does not consist in her want of ideas, or in her inaccessibility to ideas, for she teems with them and loves them, but, as I have said, in her feeble and hesitating application of modern ideas to life. Heine's intense modernism, his absolute freedom, his utter rejection of stock classicism and stock romanticism, his bringing all things under the point of view of the nineteenth century, were understood and laid to heart by Germany, through virtue of her immense, tolerant intellectualism, much as there was in all Heine said to affront and wound Germany. The wit and ardent modern spirit of France Heine joined to the culture, the sentiment, the thought of Germany. This is what makes him so remarkable; his wonderful clearness, lightness, and freedom, united with such power of feeling, and width of range.[99]

Thus, what appear to be mere digressions onto Arnold's favourite themes are, in fact, a part of the method he adopts for demonstrating his perception of Heine's 'value'. In this they serve much the same function as the discussion of wit and humour which forms the basis of George Eliot's depiction of Heine in 'German Wit'.[100] This ability to fuse the modern spirit of France with the intellectual and emotional depth of Germany Arnold regarded as Heine's great strength not only in the sphere of social and political thought but also - although these spheres are by no means mutually exclusive - in literature. Indeed, Arnold saw a clear progression in these matters, since he wrote: 'After 1831, [Heine's] hopes of soon upsetting the German Governments had died away, and his propagandism took another, a more truly literary, character. It took the character of an intrepid application of the modern spirit to literature.'[101] Following on from this, Arnold

[98] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 115-17. Heine's original words may be found in Book 2 of *Ludwig Börne. Eine Denkschrift* in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, and in the 'Schlusswort' to Heine's 'Englische Fragmente' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster.

[99] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 122.

[100] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 217-23.

[101] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 119.

then makes some shrewd comments on the subject of Heine and the German Romantics, remarking:

> So the mystic and romantic school of Germany lost itself in the Middle Ages, was overpowered by their influence, came to ruin by its vain dreams of renewing them. Heine, with a far profounder sense of the mystic and romantic charm of the Middle Age than Görres, or Brentano, or Arnim, Heine the chief romantic poet of Germany, is yet also much more than a romantic poet; he is a great modern poet, he is not conquered by the Middle Age, he has a talisman by which he can feel, - along with but above the power of the fascinating Middle Age itself, - the power of modern ideas.[102]

Whether this is fair to Görres, Brentano, or Arnim is another matter, but the comments on Heine are telling enough.

The mixture of 'French modernism and clearness' with 'German sentiment and fulness' is also praised by Arnold as the 'great characteristic'[103] of Heine's poetry, and he has words of high praise for the 'exquisite lightness and ease', the 'inborn fulness, pathos, and old-world charm' which he finds in Heine's use of German ballad-form.[104] Moreover, just as George Eliot had earlier declared that: 'Rhythm and rhyme are no fetters to Heine - they are rather the wings on the sandals of God, that help him to float through ether with all the more buoyancy',[105] so Arnold - if in somewhat less exuberant vein than George Eliot - also described Heine as 'a man of genius, who finds in verse his freest and most perfect expression, whose voyage over the deep of poetry destiny makes smooth!'[106] George Eliot gives this as the reason why Heine's 'poems are so difficult to be translated - or rather, so utterly untranslatable by any one who is only a versifier and not a poet',[107] and in 'German Wit' she confines herself to giving translations only from Heine's prose writings, commenting that '... in our opinion, poetical translations are usually worse than valueless.'[108] Arnold, however, does give prose translations from a number of Heine's poems, and in so doing he again incurs the wrath of Butler, who describes all Arnold's translations from both Heine's poetry and his prose, as 'so poor as to discourage intending students.'[109] This, however, takes little account of Arnold's own comment,

[102] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 119.

[103] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124.

[104] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124.

[105] George Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 268.

[106] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 123.

[107] Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 268.

[108] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 250.

[109] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 160.

immediately following the remarks on Heine's 'great characteristic', quoted above, that: 'To feel it [i.e. this 'characteristic' blend of French and German attributes in Heine's poetry] one must read him; he gives it in his form as well as in his contents, and by translation I can only reproduce it so far as his contents give it.'[110] By contrast with her damning comment on Arnold's translations, Butler praises George Eliot's quotations as 'apt and well translated',[111] ignoring both the fact that George Eliot does not even attempt to translate Heine's poetry and the fact that the translator of Strauss, Feuerbach and Spinoza had vastly more experience of translating from German in the first place than had Arnold. German never came as easily to Arnold as French did, just as Italian came not so easily to George Eliot as did German.[112] Nevertheless, even if Arnold's translations lack much, there is at least some validity in his own defence of them, namely that: 'even the contents of many of [Heine's] poems' can give 'a certain sense' of Heine's 'great characteristic'.[113]

Arnold may well have read 'German Wit', since he certainly read the *Westminster Review* at various stages, and similarities between Arnold's essay and 'German Wit' do exist. Both authors praise the intellectual breadth and depth of Germany, - 'that vast mine of ideas',[114] in Arnold's phrase, whilst George Eliot wrote of Germany: 'She has fought the hardest fight for freedom of thought, has produced the grandest inventions, has made magnificent contributions to science, has given us some of the divinest poetry, and quite the divinest music, in the world.'[115] Furthermore, both concentrate to some degree on Heine as the champion of liberty, 'a lover of freedom', as George Eliot calls him, 'who has spoken wise and brave words on behalf of his fellow-men',[116] and, in Arnold's endorsement of Heine's own self-assessment, 'a brilliant, a most effective soldier in the Liberation-War of humanity.'[117] Even while focusing on this aspect of Heine, however, both George Eliot and Arnold draw attention to his refusal to identify himself with the liberals as a body for reasons which George Eliot states as follows:

[110] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124.

[111] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 157.

[112] Concerning Arnold's facility with languages, see p. 69 of this chapter; for George Eliot's see p. 22 of chapter 2 above.

[113] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124.

[114] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 119.

[115] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 222-3.

[116] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 223.

[117] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 107.

> Heine has too keen a perception of practical absurdities and damaging exaggerations ever to become a thorough-going partisan; and with a love of freedom, a faith in the ultimate triumph of democratic principles, of which we see no just reason to doubt the genuineness and consistency, he has been unable to satisfy more zealous and one-sided liberals by giving his adhesion to their views and measures, or by adopting a denunciatory tone against those in the opposite ranks.[118]

Arnold, in similar vein, writes:

> The enthusiast for the idea, for reason, values reason, the idea, in and for themselves; he values them, irrespective of the practical conveniences which their triumph may obtain for him; and the man who regards the possession of these practical conveniences as something sufficient in itself, something which compensates for the absence or surrender of the idea, of reason, is in his eyes a Philistine. This is why Heine so often, and so mercilessly, attacks the liberals; much as he hates conservatism he hates Philistinism even more, and whoever attacks conservatism itself ignobly, not as a child of light, not in the name of the idea, is a Philistine.[119]

On the debit side of Heine's character both Arnold and George Eliot refer to his lack of morality. Of the two, Arnold, predictably, makes more of this, when at the end of his essay he writes: 'He died, and has left a blemished name; with his crying faults, - his intemperate susceptibility, his unscrupulousness in passion, his inconceivable attacks on his enemies, his still more inconceivable attacks on his friends, his want of generosity, his sensuality, his incessant mocking, - how could it be otherwise?'[120] George Eliot is more tolerant towards Heine, but even so she writes: 'The audacity of his occasional coarseness and personality is unparalleled in contemporary literature, and has hardly been exceeded by the licence of former days.'[121] However, just as George Eliot refuses to 'hold the candle up to dusty, vermin-haunted corners' of Heine's life,[122] so too Arnold declares that on the 'negative side ... of a man of great genius' he has 'no pleasure in dwelling.'[123] Both Arnold and George Eliot seem to feel some need to justify Heine as a man as well as justifying Heine as a writer, but neither allows considerations of Heine's personality to obfuscate unduly the view of his work,

[118] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 238-9.

[119] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 113.

[120] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 131.

[121] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 224.

[122] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 224.

[123] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 132.

and both were obviously enchanted by the 'lightness' and 'charm' of Heine's poetry, especially in the *Buch der Lieder*.[124] The similarities between George Eliot's 'German Wit' and Arnold's 'Heinrich Heine' are not verbal similarities and do not noticeably suggest an immediate, direct influence of the former on the latter. It is interesting to note that such similarities do exist between the essays of these two great writers, who must be considered the greatest and most significant of all the Victorian periodical writers who discussed Heine. Nonetheless, the two essays were written with very different aims, and this is reflected in their different achievements. George Eliot's 'German Wit' gives a detailed, scholarly analysis of Heine's life and works, whereas Arnold attempts to give at once a historical and a prophetic evaluation of Heine's ultimate importance in terms not only of his literary output but also of his social and cultural thought and activity. Thus, the differences between these two essays are more important than their similarities, so that it is in two largely different ways that Arnold and George Eliot can be considered, in Liptzin's phrase, 'the chief creators of the mid-Victorian Heine-legend.'[125]

With Arnold's essay, as with George Eliot's, there would be little point in trying to trace every possible strand of influence, but one critic to whom Arnold himself drew attention in the essay 'Heinrich Heine' was the French critic Saint-René Taillandier, mentioned above, of whom Arnold wrote: 'A French critic of Heine thinks he has said enough in saying that Heine proclaimed in German countries, with beat of drum, the ideas of 1789, and that at the cheerful noise of his drum the ghosts of the Middle Age took to flight. But this is rather too French an account of the matter.'[126] This is clearly a direct reference to Taillandier's words:

> Lui aussi, comme le tambour Legrand, il a battu la charge dans les contrées allemandes. Au bruit de ce joyeux tambour, les principes de 1789 ont pénétré dans les lettres, les revenans du moyen-âge ont pris la fuite, et l'image de l'empereur, insultée chaque jour par tant de rancunes furieuses, s'est relevée dans les imaginations tudesques comme le rude initiateur des temps nouveaux.[127]

[124] See the comments in Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 248 and Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124.

[125] Sol Liptzin, *The English Legend of Heinrich Heine* (New York, 1954), p. 58.

[126] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 119.

[127] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 19.

Furthermore, as Kenneth Allott has pointed out, Arnold's image of Heine on his death bed, 'composing with undiminished fire to the last,'[128] probably owes something to Taillandier's picture of him 'triomphant de la douleur par la poésie et dictant les strophes étincelants du *Romancero*.'[129] Details from this section of Taillandier's article seem also to have been incorporated into the poem 'Heine's Grave'.[130]

Arnold's essay has its faults. He was wrong in saying that Heine was born in Hamburg,[131] just as George Eliot made errors of fact in giving Heine's date of birth as 12 December 1799 and in describing him as only 'half a Hebrew'.[132] Moreover, Arnold also committed the 'entertaining howler',[133] repeated in 'Heine's Grave', of applying to Heine Goethe's words that the poet Count von Platen 'was deficient in *love*'.[134] In Arnold's defence, however, Kenneth Allott has pointed out that Arnold owned the 1837 edition of Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*, in which the poet is not identified by name.[135] Furthermore, in an anonymous review of Eckermann, published in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for October 1836, the reviewer prefaces a translation of the relevant extract with his own comment:

> We follow up our last extract, by a passage more particularly devoted to Shakespeare, but in which Byron is again brought upon the carpet, and in connection with him an anonymous individual marked with three stars, whom it does not require much divination to superscribe - HEINE.[136]

Thus, this mistake certainly did not originate with Arnold but had, in fact, been promulgated in Britain almost thirty years before the publication of either his essay or his poem. It was not, then, attributable to 'a careless reading of Eckermann'[137] on Arnold's part, but simply to inadequate information at the

[128] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 117.

[129] Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', p. 8.

[130] For discussion of this see p. 120 of chapter 4 below.

[131] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 111.

[132] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 225 and 227.

[133] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 163.

[134] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 132. See also ll. 97-100 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Kenneth Allott, (London, 1965), p. 473.

[135] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, (London, 1965), p. 473.

[136] Anon., '"Gespräche mit Göthe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens." 1823-1832. Von Johann Peter Eckermann', *Foreign Quarterly Review*, xviii (October 1836), 16.

[137] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 163.

time at which he was writing on Heine. More serious charges to be laid at Arnold's door include his failure to give particularly choice quotations and the fact that he 'passed the satirical poetry by in silence.'[138] Perhaps the most serious problem with the essay, however, is the inclusion of the unbalanced final paragraph, which seems by the awkwardness of its expression to go against the grain of much that has preceded it. Much of the paragraph is devoted to a rather odd assessment of Byron, whom Arnold describes, 'except for his genius', as 'an ordinary nineteenth-century English gentleman, with little culture and with no ideas.'[139] Turning then to Heine, Arnold gloomily concludes:

> Heine had all the culture of Germany; in his head fermented all the ideas of modern Europe. And what have we got from Heine? A half-result, for want of moral balance, and of nobleness of soul and character.[140]

Without this final paragraph, however, the essay seems much more cohesive, and it is not true to say that '... the essay as a whole ... blows now hot now cold about the poet and is altogether an awkward and embarrassed performance.'[141]

The essay which follows 'Heinrich Heine' in *Essays in Criticism* is the essay 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', which appeared in 1864, a year after the essay on Heine, and which contains Arnold's most extensive direct reference to Heine apart from that. In 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment' Arnold discusses the pros and cons of the pagan 'religion of pleasure' and the medieval Christian 'religion of sorrow',[142] the former of which he characterises by its adherence to 'the rule of the senses and understanding', whilst he sees the latter as characterised by 'the rule of the heart and imagination'.[143] The role of Heine in this discussion is made clear when Arnold writes:

> But the grand reaction against the rule of the heart and imagination, the strong return towards the rule of the senses and understanding, is in the eighteenth century. And this reaction has had no more brilliant champion than a man of the nineteenth, of whom I have already spoken; a man who could feel not only the pleasurableness but the poetry of the life of the senses (and the life of the senses has its deep poetry); a man who, in his very last poem, divided the whole world into 'barbarians and Greeks,' - Heinrich Heine. No

[138] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 160.

[139] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 132.

[140] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 132.

[141] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 159.

[142] Matthew Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 229.

[143] Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 226.

> man has reproached the Monte Alverno extreme in sentiment, the Christian extreme, the heart and imagination subjugating the senses and understanding, more bitterly than Heine; no man has extolled the Pompeii extreme, the pagan extreme, more rapturously.144

In support of this point Arnold gives a celebrated passage from Heine's *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, which runs:

> All through the Middle Age these sufferings, this fever, this over-tension lasted; and we moderns still feel in all our limbs the pain and weakness from them. Even those of us who are cured have still to live with a hospital-atmosphere all around us, and find ourselves as wretched in it as a strong man among the sick. Some day or other, when humanity shall have got quite well again, when the body and soul shall have made their peace together, the factitious quarrel which Christianity has cooked up between them will appear something hardly comprehensible. The fairer and happier generations, offspring of unfettered unions, that will rise up and bloom in the atmosphere of a religion of pleasure, will smile sadly when they think of their poor ancestors, whose life was passed in melancholy abstinence from the joys of this beautiful earth, and who faded away into spectres, from the mortal compression which they put upon the warm and glowing emotions of sense. Yes, with assurance I say it, our descendants will be fairer and happier than we are; for I am a believer in progress, and I hold God to be a kind being who has intended man to be happy.145

In deliberate, direct contrast to this, however, Arnold then goes on to give a passage from Heine's *Geständnisse* to show the attitude of the poet after years of suffering:

> The great pot stands smoking before me, but I have no spoon to help myself. What does it profit me that my health is drunk at banquets out of gold cups and in most exquisite wines, if I myself, while these ovations are going on, lonely and cut off from the pleasures of the world, can only just wet my lips with barley-water? What good does it do me that all the roses of Shiraz open their leaves and burn for me with passionate tenderness? Alas! Shiraz is some two thousand leagues from the Rue d'Amsterdam, where in the solitude of my sick chamber all the perfume I smell is that of hot towels. Alas! The mockery of God is heavy upon me! The great author of the universe, the Aristophanes of Heaven, has

144 Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 226-7. In the third stanza from the end of 'Für die Mouche' Heine wrote:

O, dieser Streit wird enden nimmermehr,
Stets wird die Wahrheit hadern mit dem Schönen,
Stets wird geschieden sein der Menschheit Heer
In zwei Parteien: Barbaren und Hellenen.

See *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 49.

145 Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 227. Heine's original can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 169-70.

> determined to make the petty earthly author, the so-called Aristophanes of Germany, feel in his heart's core what pitiful needle-pricks his cleverest sarcasms have been, compared with the thunderbolts which his divine humour can launch against feeble mortals!... [146]

There follows a passage about the 'leprosy-stricken clerk of the Limburg Chronicle', who 'sate moping in the dismal deserts of his misery, whilst all Germany, gay and tuneful, was praising his songs',[147] a passage which Heine converts into an allegory of his own position. Arnold's point in setting up these apparently contrasting passages is to demonstrate the inadequacy of the 'religion of pleasure' by showing that: 'in the new, real, immense, post-pagan world, - in the barbarian world, - the shock of accident is unceasing, the serenity of existence is perpetually troubled, not even a Greek like Heine can get across the mortal stage without bitter calamity.'[148] Ultimately, however, this leads not to the conclusion that the opposing force, the 'religion of sorrow', is preferable, but to a typical piece of Arnoldian synthesis, when Arnold writes:

> The poetry of later paganism lived by the senses and understanding; the poetry of mediaeval Christianity lived by the heart and imagination. But the main element of the modern spirit's life is neither the senses and understanding, nor the heart and imagination; it is the imaginative reason.[149]

The century 530-430 B.C., the century of Simonides, Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles, is cited as the time 'in which poetry made ... the noblest, the most successful effort she has ever made as the priestess of the imaginative reason, of the element by which the modern spirit, if it would live right, has chiefly to live.'[150]

The subject of paganism and Christianity, - or 'sensualism' and 'spiritualism', or 'Hellenism' and 'Hebraism', - was, of course, one which occupied Arnold a good deal and which reached its high point in his writings with the publication of *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869, in which Arnold writes that: '... Heinrich Heine, and other writers of his sort, give us the spectacle ... of Hebraism brought in just as a foil and contrast to Hellenism, and to make the superiority of Hellenism more

[146] Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 228. Heine's original can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, vi. 72-3.

[147] Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 229. Heine's original can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, vi. 73-4.

[148] Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 228.

[149] Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 230.

[150] Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 230.

manifest.'[151] Clearly here Arnold is continuing the attitude which he took towards Heine in 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', and this in turn follows his comments on Heine's 'Jewish element' in the essay 'Heinrich Heine'. Shortly before the end of this essay Arnold wrote:

> No account of Heine is complete which does not notice the Jewish element in him. His race he treated with the same freedom with which he treated everything else, but he derived a great force from it, and no one knew this better than he himself. He has excellently pointed out how in the sixteenth century there was a double renascence, - a Hellenic renascence and a Hebrew renascence, - and how both have been great powers ever since. He himself had in him both the spirit of Greece and the spirit of Judaea; both these spirits reach the infinite, which is the true goal of all poetry and all art, - the Greek spirit by beauty, the Hebrew spirit by sublimity. By his perfection of literary form, by his love of clearness, by his love of beauty, Heine is Greek; by his intensity, by his untamableness, by his 'longing which cannot be uttered,' he is Hebrew.[152]

In his book *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold* Joseph Carroll comments that this passage 'is the closest Arnold ever comes to admitting that his own dichotomy of Hebraism and Hellenism derives from Heine.'[153] Carroll then goes on to produce an elaborate hypothesis of Heine as 'the primary formative influence on Arnold's cultural theory',[154] whilst claiming at the same time that: 'Arnold is ultimately unwilling to attribute to Heine the significance warranted by Heine's influence on Arnold himself.'[155] In support of this claim Carroll cites a process of narrowing of Heine's views on Hebraism and Hellenism which, he argues, amounts to 'intentional misrepresentation'[156] on Arnold's part, and for this process Carroll offers a psychological explanation to the effect that: 'Heine's imaginative license', with regard to the Christian God, 'frightens Arnold, and he responds to the threat of Heine's vision by distorting and then dismissing it.'[157] Certainly Carroll is right to point out the inaccuracy of depicting Heine 'as an advocate of a one-sided paganism',[158] but whether this calls for the reduction

[151] Matthew Arnold, 'Culture and Anarchy', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, v. 164.

[152] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 127-8. Heine's exposition of the 'double renascence' is given in its fullest in the works *Der Doktor Faustus*, *Die Romantische Schule* and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland.*

[153] Joseph Carroll, *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold* (California, 1982), p. 241.

[154] Carroll, *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold*, p. 233.

[155] Carroll, *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold*, p. 232.

[156] Carroll, *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold*, p. 251.

[157] Carroll, *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold*, p. 252.

[158] Carroll, *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold*, p. 232.

theory, with its attendant probing into Arnold's psyche, is a matter more open to doubt. It is true that in the essay 'Heinrich Heine' Arnold allows to Heine 'both the spirit of Greece and the spirit of Judaea',[159] whilst in 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment' and *Culture and Anarchy* he refers to Heine only as 'a Greek',[160] but in the passage on 'the Jewish element' in Heine, quoted above, the terms 'Greek' and 'Hebrew' do not appear to have the depth of meaning which Arnold attaches to them in the later works. Indeed, the apparently awkward conclusion to 'Heinrich Heine', although not couched in terms of Hebraism and Hellenism, may be rather more the forerunner of Arnold's later comments on Heine's Hellenism than the earlier passage on Heine's 'Jewish element', since Arnold's conclusion in the essay 'Heinrich Heine' is, in words already quoted: 'Heine had all the culture of Germany; in his head fermented all the ideas of modern Europe. And what have we got from Heine? A half-result, for want of moral balance, and of nobleness of soul and character.'[161] Thus, if the terms 'Greek' and 'Hebrew' in the passage on Heine's 'Jewish element' are taken to mean something less weighty than in the later works, and nothing so completely orientated towards religion, then it follows that Arnold did not necessarily narrow his views on Heine in relation to Hebraism and Hellenism when he wrote 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment' and *Culture and Anarchy* but simply continued a line of thought begun in the closing paragraph of 'Heinrich Heine'. In this context it is interesting to note an entry in Arnold's notebooks for 1863, which runs:

> HEINE ON THE BIBLE SOCIETY
>
> Les propagateurs de la Bible fondent le règne du pur sentiment religieux, de l'amour du prochain, de la vrai moralité enfin, qui ne peut être enseignée par des formules scolastico-dogmatiques, mais seulement par des images et des exemples, tels qu'il s'en trouve dans ce saint et beau livre d'éducation écrit pour des enfants de tout age, et que nous appelons la Bible.[162]

This quotation from Heine's *De l'Allemagne* immediately precedes a number of entries on St Francis of Assisi, so that it may reasonably be linked to them and, thus, to the essay 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment'. Despite his ironic ambiguity Heine's admiration for Luther's Bible was profound, and Arnold's

159 Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 127-8.

160 Arnold, 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 228. Arnold, 'Culture and Anarchy', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, v. 164.

161 Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 132.

162 *The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, p. 19.

choice of this quotation at least shows some awareness of that part of Heine which was not purely 'Greek'.

Carroll is certainly not the only critic to have suggested Heine as the source of Arnold's ideas on Hebraism and Hellenism. Indeed, in the notes to his edition of *Culture and Anarchy* Super states flatly: 'Arnold took the contrast between "Hebraism" and "Hellenism," as he drew the term "Philistine," from Heine.'[163] No evidence is adduced concerning the word 'Philistine', but even though it is clear from Arnold's essay on Heine that he had read and sympathised with Heine on the subject of Philistinism, it should also be borne in mind that, despite Arnold's declaration: 'Philistinism! - we have not the expression in English' and his subsequent comments on Carlyle's efforts to express the concept,[164] in fact Carlyle himself had used the term more than thirty years before Arnold's essay on Heine. *Sartor Resartus* appeared in 1831, and in the chapter on love Carlyle says that Teufelsdröckh interrupts 'one "Philistine", who even now, to the general weariness, was dominantly pouring forth Philistinism (Philistrositäten).'[165] Thus, although Arnold might have drawn the term immediately from Heine during the period of composition of his Heine essay, it could well have been present in his general reading background long before that. In support of his assertion that 'Arnold took the contrast between "Hebraism" and "Hellenism" ... from Heine'[166] Super states that Arnold had read Heine's *Ludwig Börne. Eine Denkschrift* and then quotes from it the following passage:

> ...beide Ausdrücke ['jüdisch' und 'christlich'] für mich synonym sind und von mir nicht gebraucht werden, um einen Glauben, sondern um ein Naturell zu bezeichnen. 'Juden' und 'Christen' sind für mich ganz sinnverwandte Worte, im Gegensatz zu 'Hellenen', mit welchem Namen ich ebenfalls kein bestimmtes Volk, sondern eine sowohl angeborene als angebildete Geistesrichtung und Anschauungsweise bezeichne. In dieser Beziehung möchte ich sagen: alle Menschen sind entweder Juden oder Hellenen, Menschen mit asketischen, bildfeindlichen vergeistungssüchtigen Trieben oder Menschen von lebensheiterem, entfaltungsstolzem und realistischem Wesen.[167]

[163] See 'Critical and Explanatory Notes' to 'Culture and Anarchy', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, v. 435.

[164] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 111-12.

[165] See Book II, chapter v of Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (London, 1896), p. 114.

[166] See note 163 above.

[167] See 'Critical and Explanatory Notes' to 'Culture and Anarchy', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, v. 435-6. Heine's original can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, vii. 24.

Certainly Arnold and Heine had much in common on the subject of Hebraism and Hellenism, but in this context one passage is obviously not sufficient to prove that Arnold's whole theory of these contrasting forces came directly from Heine.

The critic who has addressed this subject in the greatest depth is the German scholar Ilse-Maria Tesdorpf. In her book *Die Auseinandersetzung Matthew Arnolds mit Heinrich Heine, des Kritikers mit dem Kritiker* Tesdorpf argues that Arnold based not only his cultural philosophy but also his philosophy of history on Heine's use of the terms 'Spiritualismus' and 'Sensualismus', 'Juden' and 'Hellenen'. These terms do not, she argues, correspond directly to Arnold's terms 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism', but she goes on to contend that it was precisely from Arnold's misunderstanding of Heine's use of these terms that he derived his own, positively distinct philosophies of culture and of history. Tesdorpf 's perception of the differences between Arnold's and Heine's usage of these terms is summed up when she writes:

> Während Arnold unter 'Hellenism' eine Kraft des Intellekts, eine Fähigkeit, die Dinge um ihrer selbst willen zu sehen, versteht, sieht Heine in 'Hellenen' sinnenfreudige, künstlerische Menschen. Während Arnold mit 'Hebraism' eine sittliche Haltung, die sich im Handeln äussert, meint, sieht Heine in 'Juden' asketische, kunstfeindliche Menschen. Bei Arnold läuft der Gegensatz auf den von Moral und Intellekt, von Handeln und Denken, hinaus, bei Heine wird dagegen sittliche und geistige Anschauungsweise nicht getrennt, sondern gemeinsam für die Geisteshaltung der 'Juden' in Anspruch genommen und in Antithese zu dem künstlerischen Naturell der 'Hellenen' gesetzt. Bei Arnold sind es Begriffe zur Bezeichnung zweier abstrakte Kräfte im Menschen, bei Heine dagegen Namen zur Charakterisierung konkret fassbarer Erscheinungsbilder zweier Menschentypen.[168]

The fact that both Arnold and Heine viewed history as a series of epochs alternating between Hebraism and Hellenism and that they agreed as to which epochs corresponded to which terms, is adduced as evidence that Arnold based his philosophy on Heine. Moreover, Tesdorpf argues that in 'Heinrich Heine' Arnold uses the terms 'Hebrew' and 'Hellenic' to correspond directly to Heine's terms 'Spiritualismus' and 'Sensualismus', whilst in 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment' he actually uses the words 'spiritualism' and 'sensualism' in the context of his reference to Heine and in the way in which Heine himself uses them, whereas these words are not found elsewhere, when Arnold is expressing his own original ideas. Finally, Tesdorpf finds in *Culture and Anarchy* two points of strong similarity between Arnold and Heine which she regards as conclusive

[168] Ilse-Maria Tesdorpf, *Die Auseinandersetzung Matthew Arnolds mit Heinrich Heine, des Kritikers mit dem Kritiker* (Frankfurt, 1971), p. 140.

proof that Arnold drew his cultural and historical philosophies directly from Heine's notions of 'Spiritualismus' and 'Sensualismus', of 'Juden' and 'Hellenen'. Tesdorpf's first point is that Arnold regarded puritanism as an expression of Hebraism, and this, she asserts, corresponds to Heine's viewpoint, expressed in the *Geständnisse*, that both Scottish Presbyterianism and the Reformation in England were manifestations of Hebraism. For her second point Tesdorpf asserts that just as Heine regarded the German Reformation under Luther as 'den Durchbruch der Denkfreiheit in Deutschland'[169] and thus as the opposite of 'Spiritualismus', so Arnold regarded this kind of 'freie[s] kritische[s] Denken'[170] as a manifestation of what he understood by Hellenism. At base, however, Tesdorpf's argument seems to rest too heavily on a narrow interpretation of the meanings for Arnold and Heine of the terms 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism', 'spiritualism' and 'sensualism' and on a belief that they were always consistent in their use of them. Her study shows that Arnold and Heine had much in common on the subject of Hebraism and Hellenism, but she ignores other possible sources available to Arnold on a subject which was of widespread interest amongst Victorian thinkers and writers generally. Thus, Tesdorpf claims too much when she writes:

> Arnold hat sich Heine vor allem zugewendet, da er sich von ihm mehr als von irgendeinem anderen Autor als Kritiker unterstützt fühlte. Seine Beschäftigung mit Heine hat ihn Heines Bedeutung auf diesem Gebiet erkennen lassen, und vor allem hat sie seine eigenen Arbeiten befruchtet. Es heisst sogar, Arnold habe seine kritischen Begriffe 'Philistinism', 'Hellenism' und 'Hebraism' von Heine entlehnt.[171]

She comes nearer the mark, however, when she claims: 'In seiner Tendenz, durch seine Kritik England zu reformieren, fühlt Arnold sich durch Heine bestätigt und bestärkt.'[172]

The prose works of Arnold and Heine have much in common not only on the subjects of Philistinism and of Hebraism and Hellenism, but also on the connected subjects of the 'Zeitgeist' and the weakness of the Romantic movement. In a letter to his sister, Mrs Forster, of 6 August 1858, Arnold wrote:

> It is only in the best poetical epochs (such as the Elizabethan) that you can descend into yourself and produce the best of your thought and feeling naturally, and without an

[169] Tesdorpf, *Die Auseinandersetzung Matthew Arnolds mit Heinrich Heine*, p. 167.

[170] Tesdorpf, *Die Auseinandersetzung Matthew Arnolds mit Heinrich Heine*, p. 167.

[171] Tesdorpf, *Die Auseinandersetzung Matthew Arnolds mit Heinrich Heine*, p. 8.

[172] Tesdorpf, *Die Auseinandersetzung Matthew Arnolds mit Heinrich Heine*, p. 9.

> overwhelming and in some degree morbid effort; for then all the people around you are more or less doing the same thing. It is natural, it is the bent of the time to do it; its being the bent of the time indeed, is what makes the time a *poetical* one.[173]

These outstanding epochs in the cultural life of a nation cannot be repeated in later years, however, without bringing disastrous consequences in their wake, and both Arnold and Heine argue that this is precisely the fatal flaw in European Romanticism. In *Die Romantische Schule* Heine sums up the Romantic Movement in Germany as merely a revival of the poetry of the Middle Ages. Heine does not criticise medieval culture in itself, since he sees it as having arisen naturally out of medieval Catholicism, which, in turn, arose as a reaction against the excesses of the pagan world in its decline. Nevertheless, medieval culture has, Heine argues, no natural place in the modern world, and a return to the simplicities of medieval poetry as the model for modern literature must result in failure by producing literature which is not merely simple but downright childish, because the world has changed since the Middle Ages, and the forms of medieval literature must appear anachronistic in the hands of modern writers. Arnold sees the Romantics in England as having made essentially the same mistake in modelling their style on that of the Elizabethans, and for this reason their works will, he claims, remain 'minor currents', since 'they do not belong to that which is the main current of the literature of modern epochs, they do not apply modern ideas to life.'[174] Arnold had certainly read the major theoretical works *Die Romantische Schule* and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, in which Heine expands much of his thought on Hebraism and Hellenism, and he was clearly conscious of a common interest with Heine in this subject, since he referred explicitly to Heine's views - or, at least, to his perception of Heine's views - in the essays 'Heinrich Heine' and 'Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment' and in *Culture and Anarchy*. In none of these works, however, does Arnold's explicit invocation of Heine in relation to Hebraism and Hellenism amount to a very great deal, especially since illustrative quotation from Heine, as opposed to Arnold's own comment, accounts for the greater part of the reference in both the shorter essays. Thus, without espousing the theory that Arnold deliberately refused to acknowledge a debt to Heine in this matter - a theory which relies on a less than wholly convincing reading of Arnold's state of mind - or placing undue emphasis on a narrow interpretation of the terms 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism', 'spiritualism' and 'sensualism', it is hard to see how

[173] *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 63.

[174] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 122.

Heine can be regarded as the fount of Arnold's thought on Hebraism and Hellenism, much less as 'the primary formative influence on Arnold's cultural theory'.[175] Clearly Heine formed part of the background to Arnold's thought on this subject, as also on the connected subject of the Zeitgeist and the Romantic Movement, and Arnold referred to him directly again in the essay 'Spinoza and the Bible',[176] but equally, as Richard Jenkyns has pointed out in his book *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*: 'A sense of the close alliance between Christianity and the study of the classics, strangely but eloquently blended with an awareness of tension between them, runs right through the nineteenth century.'[177] Thus, rather more direct evidence would be needed in order to make a case for Heine as the primary source of Arnold's views on Hebraism and Hellenism, let alone as the origin of his cultural and historical theories in their entirety.

[175] See note 154 above.

[176] In the penultimate paragraph of 'Spinoza and the Bible' Arnold wrote:

> Heine, the man (in spite of his faults) of truest genius that Germany has produced since Goethe, - a man with faults, as I have said, immense faults, the greatest of them being that he could reverence so little, - reverenced Spinoza. Hegel's influence ran off him like water: 'I have seen Hegel,' he cries, 'seated with his doleful air of a hatching hen upon his unhappy eggs, and I have heard his dismal clucking. - How easily one can cheat oneself into thinking that one understands everything, when one has learned only how to construct dialectical formulas!' But of Spinoza, Heine said: 'His life was a copy of the life of his divine kinsman, Jesus Christ.'

See *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 181-2.

[177] Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1984), p. 72.

Chapter 4

Matthew Arnold and Heine: Poetry

In a letter to Clough, postmarked 9 March 1861, Arnold wrote:

> Tell Tennyson he is the last person on whom I should have dreamed of inflicting a volume of poems - but I have great pleasure in sending him anything of mine that he really wants to see. You need not add that I care for his productions less and less and am convinced both Alfred de Musset and Henri Heine are far more profitable studies, if we are to study contemporaries at all.[1]

At first sight the question of common ground between Arnold and Heine as poets seems ludicrous because the overall impressions created by the style, tone and, to a large extent, content of the two poets' work are so very different, and on the whole this attitude seems to have prevailed amongst critics, since the subject has received little attention. Nonetheless, Arnold did devote a poem directly to Heine, and in view of his comment in the letter to Clough quoted above, it seems worthwhile to investigate the possibility that Heine influenced Arnold's poetry other than by merely providing the subject matter for the poem 'Heine's Grave'.

The critic of Arnold who has given the greatest attention to this subject - although it is by no means the major thread of his work - is the American critic G. Robert Stange in his book *Matthew Arnold: the Poet as Humanist*.[2] With regard to the importance of Heine to Arnold one of Stange's major contentions is that Heine's poem-cycles entitled 'Die Nordsee' are sufficiently close in form to Arnold's 'Switzerland' to be considered as source material for the later work. Also in connection with Arnold's 'Switzerland', Stange further suggests that the various female figures incorporated into the poem-series 'Verschiedene' from Heine's *Neue Gedichte* serve a purpose broadly similar to that which, he suggests, the figure of 'Marguerite' served for Arnold. He regards the historical reality of 'Marguerite' as being of very little importance to a serious interpretation of the

[1] *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry, (London and New York, 1932), p. 154.

[2] G. Robert Stange, *Matthew Arnold: the Poet as Humanist* (Princeton, 1967).

'Switzerland' poems and sees her very much as Arnold's attempt to express an 'idea' of love, rather than as a traumatic area of the poet's personal history. In addition to this, Stange further expresses a belief that Arnold was influenced by Heine's use of free rhythms in his poetry, a view which had been expressed earlier, in 1943, by Stanton L. Wormley in his book *Heine in England*.[3]

The publishing history of Arnold's poem-series 'Switzerland' is long and complex. Seven poems eventually made up the 1877 series, which was the last version to be reorganised by Arnold himself, and, of these, six were composed between September 1849 and early 1850, the exception being the last poem in the 1877 series, 'The Terrace at Berne', which was eventually composed in 1863, some fourteen years after Arnold's parting from 'Marguerite'. Four of the poems ('The Lake' ('Meeting'), 'Parting', 'Absence', 'To Marguerite, In Returning a Volume of the Letters of Ortis' ('To Marguerite - Continued')) were first published in October 1852 in the volume *Empedocles on Etna and Other Poems*, but the idea of a distinct series of poems under the heading 'Switzerland' did not emerge until the volume *Poems. A New Edition* of November 1853, which was accompanied by the famous 'Preface'.[4] Between then and 1877 Arnold revised the order and contents of the series at least four times, in 1854, 1857, 1869 and 1877, although the four poems published in 1852 always remained in it somewhere, and he always adhered to the idea of 'Switzerland' as an identifiable poem-series from 1853 onwards.[5] As has already been remarked, Arnold seems to have read a volume of Heine's *Salon* in May 1848,[6] and reference to Heine in Arnold's reading lists occurs for the month of September 1852, when he planned to read 'Heine's Gedichte'.[7] Thus, even if there is no external evidence to suggest that Heine influenced the composition of the individual poems which eventually became the final version of 'Switzerland', the external evidence at least does not preclude the possibility of Arnold's having discovered, in his projected reading of Heine's poems in September 1852, a *form* which he decided, from the version of 1853 onwards, would be suitable for his purposes in the 'Switzerland' poems. Stange gives to this form the German term 'Liederzyklus'.[8] By the time of the later

[3] Stanton L. Wormley, *Heine in England* (Chapel Hill, 1943), p. 248.

[4] See *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. K. Allott (London, 1965), pp. 589-607.

[5] See C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold. A Commentary* (London, 1940), pp. 151-2.

[6] See pp. 75-6 of chapter 3 above.

[7] See p. 76 of chapter 3 above.

[8] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 222.

revisions of the series in 1869 and 1877 Arnold was, of course, familiar with a good deal of Heine's poetry, so that an influence is always possible. Clearly the question of the structure of the 'Switzerland' series continued to exercise Arnold's mind at various stages for almost twenty-five years between 1853 and 1877, but the external evidence for its having been influenced by Heine's practice in 'Die Nordsee' and elsewhere is inconclusive, and it is, therefore, on the internal evidence of the poem-series themselves that any decision must be based.

It is clearly impossible to discuss the form of a poet's work without discussing its content, and, in the case of Arnold's 'Switzerland', this must involve a consideration of the figure of 'Marguerite' and why Arnold was writing about her. Comments on 'Marguerite' in the century since Arnold's death have ranged from the Arnold family's oft-repeated denial of her existence and assertion that she was merely a figure of the poet's imagination to Park Honan's conviction that she is 'beyond any doubt' to be identified as Mary Claude of Rothay Bank, Ambleside.[9] The fact that Arnold was involved in a love-affair of some kind at Thun in September 1848 and 1849 would seem, as Tinker and Lowry point out,[10] to be conclusively proven by letters which he wrote to Arthur Hugh Clough at those times. In the first of these, dated 29 September 1848, he writes: 'Tomorrow I repass the Gemmi and get to Thun: linger one day at the Hôtel Bellevue for the sake of the blue eyes of one of its inmates: and then proceed by slow stages down the Rhine to Cologne, thence to Amiens and Boulogne and England',[11] and in the second, dated 23 September 1849, he quotes lines which were later to be incorporated in to the poem 'Parting', which is addressed to 'Marguerite', and speaks of his struggle to 'master' himself, saying:

> I can go thro: the imaginary process of mastering myself and see the whole affair as it would then stand, but at the critical point I am too apt to hoist up the mainsail to the wind, and let her drive ... I am here in a curious and not altogether comfortable state: however tomorrow I carry my aching head to the mountains and to my cousin, the Bhunlis Alp.
>
> Fast, fast by my window
> The rushing winds go
> Towards the ice-cumber'd gorges,
> The vast fields of snow.
> There the torrents drive upward
> Their rock strangled hum,
> And the avalanche thunders

9 Park Honan, *Matthew Arnold: A Life* (London, 1981), pp. 144-67.

10 Tinker and Lowry, *Poetry of Matthew Arnold. A Commentary*, pp. 153-4.

11 *Letters to Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry, p. 91.

> The hoarse torrent dumb.
> I come, O ye mountains -
> Ye torrents, I come.[12]

Beyond the general interest of biography it has been stressed often enough by critics that the personal identity of 'Marguerite' is unimportant to a critical evaluation of the poems that refer to her. Whilst it is true, however, that the sort of detective work which has led to Park Honan's conclusions about 'Marguerite' is of greater interest for its own sake than for its bearing on the 'Marguerite' poems, the *fact* that Arnold was involved in some kind of love-relationship with a very real woman during his 1848 and 1849 visits to Thun is important for its bearing on the 'Marguerite' poems, and the note of personal involvement to be heard in the poems themselves is very real.

It is, however, precisely in the matter of personal involvement in the poetry that the chief difference lies between Arnold's 'Switzerland' on the one hand, and, on the other, Heine's 'Die Nordsee'. Stange's basic contention is that Arnold's poetry is dominated by four fundamental 'ideas', which Stange identifies as: the idea of poetry, the idea of love, the idea of nature and the idea of the self. Certainly it is true to say that, in general, Arnold's poetry is a poetry of ideas and intellectual argument, but it is also true to say that these ideas were not remotely detached from his everyday life but were matters of deep personal concern to him. The 'cosmic despair' of an Empedocles, passion and the agonies of deciding to abandon its powerful attractions, were feelings which Arnold certainly knew 'on his own pulses',[13] and the fact that he tried to cope with these feelings by invoking a philosophy of renunciation does not in any way invalidate the feelings themselves. Even so, the 'Switzerland' poems must surely be the supreme examples of poems in which the impulse for the poetry springs primarily from the poet's own deep feelings, so that Arnold does not set out consciously to work out an idea of love but feels compelled to write, in spite of himself, in order both to give vent to powerful feelings of passion and pain, and to try to control these, and thus to lessen the pain, by means of reasoned discourse about them. Thus, there are still, it is true, ideas and trains of intellectual argument to be followed in these poems, but the poems themselves demonstrate that the original impulse which inspired them came from the feeling of turmoil within Arnold. Thus, in the poem 'Absence', for example, the wider philosophical theme of the need to 'forget because we must / And not because we will' seems to be imposed on the poem in a

[12] *Letters to Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry, p. 110.

[13] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 248.

desperate attempt by Arnold to retrieve some peace of mind after the 'Once-long'd-for storms of love!' which he addresses, saying: 'If with the light ye cannot be, / I bear that ye remove'. (Here the word 'bear' is the important word because it suggests the enormous effort it costs the poet to renounce love.) In spite of his best efforts, however, the poem ends with the failure of the 'idea' as Arnold's elaborate self-defence mechanisms for reasoning away his love ultimately give way to the naked appeal: 'While yet the night is chill, / Upon time's barren, stormy flow, / Stay with me, Marguerite, still!'[14] From not one of the 'Switzerland' poems can it be said that deep, personal feeling is absent, a feeling of anguished indecision on the part of the lover who can find no peace in his passion and yet craves both passion and peace of mind together. In the poem 'Parting', then, Arnold expresses a frenzied longing to escape to the mountains, where he can be safe from a passion which overwhelms him and tempts him, and which he both fears and desires at the same time. Addressing the 'storm-winds of Autumn', he says:

> Ye are bound for the mountains!
> Ah! with you let me go
> Where your cold, distant barrier,
> The vast range of snow,
> Through the loose clouds lifts dimly
> Its white peaks in air -
> How deep is their stillness!
> Ah, would I were there![15]

Here, as is frequently the case elsewhere in the 'Switzerland' poems, a sense of urgency is conveyed by the exclamatory style, although here it is emphasized further by the rushing rhythm, with its underlying dactylic pulse, which contrasts obviously and deliberately with the slow, relaxed iambic pentameter of the sections in which 'Marguerite's' 'sweet voice' and 'arch smile' break in to tempt him from his resolve to flee.[16] The frequent use of questions and exclamations creates a similar impression of urgent despair in the fifth poem of the 1877 series, 'To Marguerite - Continued', with its emphatic beginning:

> YES! in the sea of life enisled,
> With echoing straits between us thrown,
> Dotting the shoreless watery wild,
> We mortal millions live *alone*.[17]

[14] *The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed.C.B. Tinker and H.F. Lowry, (Oxford, 1950), p.183.

[15] *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, pp. 174-5.

[16] *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, pp. 175-6.

[17] *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, p. 182.

In this case the rest of the poem is used to explore and elaborate the image of being 'in the sea of life enisled' with which the opening line confronts us. Again, as in all these 'Switzerland' poems, there is a marked movement between the particular and the general, as Arnold attempts to reconcile himself to his own private grief by placing it in the universal context of the 'mortal millions' with whom he belongs and even of the very continents themselves, divided, as they are, by 'The unplumb'd, salt, estranging sea'.[18] The general conclusions which Arnold draws around his personal experiences do not detract from the vividness of those personal experiences in the 'Switzerland' poems, but rather they throw them into relief and balance them. This dimension of universality is important if the strong element of personal feeling in the poems is not to degenerate into a catalogue of highly individual woes, just as the sense of personal involvement on the part of the poet is important in achieving a vivid impression of both immediacy and of depth in the poems.

Furthermore, even in the quieter, more sombre poems of the series, notably in 'A Farewell', there are, if not notes of stormy passion, notes, at least, of a sadness deep and poignant concerning the poet's lost love. In 'A Farewell', for example, the poet speaks of his frequent longings for 'trenchant force, / And will like a dividing spear', but he follows this in the next stanza by the wistful suggestion that true love is yet to be prized above all these, despite all his own philosophical attempts to convince himself otherwise:

> But in the world I learnt, what there
> Thou too wilt surely one day prove,
> That will, that energy, though rare,
> Are yet far, far less rare than love.[19]

In the remainder of the poem Arnold then sets up himself and 'Marguerite' as souls born 'to be gentle, tranquil, true,' but who are yet denied the opportunity to express their true natures by the 'wild earth of hate and fear' which engulfs them, so that they have to take refuge and find what consolation they can in the prospect of an eternity in which 'nothing can impair / The gentleness, the thirst for peace -' which 'a raving world/Would never let us satiate here'.[20] There is nothing original in poetry about the idea of two lovers setting themselves against the overwhelming, opposed forces of a cruel world, but although this situation is not uncommon in literature, and although the only consolation that can be offered to

[18] *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, p. 182.

[19] *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, p. 178.

[20] *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, pp. 179-80.

the lovers is the same ultimate consolation as can be offered to all the countless pairs of such lovers throughout literature and history, the sense that a personal grief is being worked out in the poem remains constant. Not least the sheer intricacies of Arnold's twisting lines of comment and argument create the impression that here the poet is using his poetry as a means of working out a personal dilemma, as, for example, when he says:

> I too have felt the load I bore
> In a too strong emotion's sway;
> I too have wish'd, no woman more,
> This starting, feverish heart away.[21]

Also, despite his attempts to be philosophical about his grief, there are points in the 'Switzerland' poems at which Arnold cannot prevent a note of querulous self-pity and self-righteousness from creeping in, as at the beginning of the fourth poem 'Isolation. To Marguerite', in which he writes:

> We were apart; yet, day by day,
> I bade my heart more constant be.
> I bade it keep the world away,
> And grow a home for only thee;
> Nor fear'd but thy love likewise grew,
> Like mine, each day, more tried, more true.
>
> The fault was grave! I might have known,
> What far too soon, alas! I learn'd -
> The heart can bind itself alone,
> And faith may oft be unreturn'd.
> Self-sway'd our feelings ebb and swell -
> Thou lovs't no more; - Farewell! Farewell![22]

Here the poet is clearly blaming the failure of their love on 'Marguerite' and her lack of constancy, and, although he comes back to this theme, there are actually any number of suggestions made in the 'Switzerland' poems as to why their love did not last: 'Marguerite' is unfaithful, the poet does not know his own mind, 'Marguerite' has had other lovers in the past, fate is against them, the world is against them. This lack of consistency in attributing the failure of their love to any one cause can in itself be seen as evidence that the 'Switzerland' poems had their origin in a very real human dilemma, made up of many closely-linked

21 *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, p. 178.

22 *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, p. 180.

threads, and not merely in an 'idea of love', as Stange believes. Of course, it is true, as Stange goes on to say, that: 'in this set of poems the first sign of love brings with it a premonition of parting, and the lover yearns less for the fulfillment of his passion than for peace and freedom from the bonds of feeling',[23] but it is also a biographical fact that Arnold actually wrote the 'Switzerland' poems (with the exception of 'The Terrace at Berne') between September 1849 and early 1850, at or after the time of his second visit to Thun and his second, and final, parting from 'Marguerite', when he knew from experience that his love-affair had failed, and when 'peace and freedom' not just from 'the bonds of feeling' but from the trauma of grief and pain would naturally seem eminently desirable to him. It is not uncommon for a person who feels emotionally wounded to reject emotional involvement completely, and this is the human core of all Arnold's philosophical attempts, in the 'Switzerland' poems, to convince himself of the 'truth' that 'Thou hast been, shalt be, art, alone'.[24]

What then, if anything, do Arnold's 'Switzerland' poems have in common with works by Heine such as 'Die Nordsee' and 'Verschiedene'? Stange, in dealing with the influence which, he suggests, Heine had on Arnold's 'Switzerland', concentrates primarily on 'Die Nordsee', which, he says, 'though different from "Switzerland" in subject and tone, shows some suggestive parallels of form'.[25] If subject and tone are different, however, it would seem reasonable to assume that the form would reflect these, so that, whereas Heine's 'Die Nordsee' is highly structured and stylized because the poet has a definite idea to convey for which 'a carefully wrought artificial structure'[26] is appropriate, Arnold's 'Switzerland' poems are far more loosely connected, as befits a series of poems which progresses as the poet works through a personal emotional dilemma from which he then draws what he considers to be general applications and universal truths. Fundamentally, there is no real, biographical woman behind 'Die Nordsee', as there is behind Arnold's 'Switzerland' poems. Wormley, writing in 1943, suggested that: 'Heine covers up every trace of the immediate cause of his feeling through a merciless and pitiless self-inflicted satire and calumny; yet we feel that the root nonetheless lies in unrequited love - the love for Amalie'.[27] If this is true,

[23] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, pp. 247-8.

[24] See stanza five of 'Isolation. To Marguerite' in *Poetical Works of Arnold*, ed. Tinker and Lowry, p. 181.

[25] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 222.

[26] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 232.

[27] Wormley, *Heine in England*, p. 4.

then Heine has covered his tracks even more thoroughly than is generally supposed, and certainly Sammons gives the theory no credence, since he says:

> The story of the great unrequited love of Heine for his cousins is almost entirely a creation of literary historians, working on the same principle by which touching stories were constructed for barely visible courtly love poets of the Middle Ages. His lack of cooperation in the effort made it the more piquant. If ever a poet was more silent about the primordial love experience of his life than Heine it would be hard to think who he was ... Nowhere in Heine's poetry and fiction, excepting his relatively unimportant verses on his mother and his wife, is there a recognizable female person. The female figures are functional and thematic in a fictionalized drama of the self.[28]

Sammons does point out that Heine 'left us with a lattice of hints making it clear that *something* happened',[29] but he suggests that the extent of his disappointment in his love for Amalie has been given undue prominence by critics seeking to place a biographical interpretation on Heine's poetry, whilst insufficient attention has been paid to Amalie's position as a wealthy heiress. The frustration of Heine's designs on Amalie has, Sammons suggests, at least as much to do with the loss of her money as with the loss of her person.[30]

Thus, the poems about love in 'Die Nordsee' are not poems born of recent personal experience with a particular woman, and they do not convey a sense of surprise and hurt at the poet's discovery of the frailty of human love, but rather, they start from the premise that all love must be fickle and go on to explore the theme of disillusionment and lost idealism not as aspects of the poet's own experience, but as the condition of nineteenth-century society at large, so that it is not true to say that Heine's '*Weltschmerz* ... remains ever egoistic'.[31] It is then entirely appropriate that the form of the poems of Heine's 'Die Nordsee' should differ in significant respects from the form of Arnold's 'Switzerland', as is indeed the case, even bearing in mind the fact that Arnold rearranged the 'Switzerland' series quite substantially on at least four occasions (in 1853, 1857, 1869 and 1877),[32] and that the final version is considerably more structured and holds together more tightly than any of its predecessors.

[28] Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Heinrich Heine: A Modern Biography* (Princeton and Manchester, 1979), pp. 43 and 46.

[29] Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 43.

[30] Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 43.

[31] Wormley, *Heine in England*, p. 4.

[32] Tinker and Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold. A Commentary*, pp. 151-2.

Heine himself divided the poems of 'Die Nordsee' into two 'cycles', and the designation is appropriate to the intricately-wrought, highly artificial structure he created. We are under no illusion in the poems of 'Die Nordsee' about the identity of the speaker: clearly the 'ich' of these lyrics may, or may not, voice the poet's own sentiments in the poems, but even when he does voice them, he does so at a considerable remove, so that Heine can preserve his own innermost self behind a veil of ambiguity which obscures him to the world outside. In 'Switzerland' Arnold is not able to do this - however much he may, or may not, have tried to do it by 'casting about'[33] for a form - since the individual poems were written when he was in such an emotionally raw state of turmoil about his love that the revelation of his intimate self is inevitable. Thus, it is hard to agree with Stange when he says that Heine's lyrics in 'Die Nordsee': 'are all spoken by a single figure, a young man whose character and surroundings are realized (or unrealized) to about the same degree as Arnold's protagonist.'[34] It is true, of course, that the majority of the poems of 'Die Nordsee' do contain seascapes drawn from Heine's own experience of closeness to the sea when he spent holidays on the island of Norderney in 1825, 1826 and 1827, and it is also true that there are points in the two cycles at which, on one level, the poet seems to go out of his way to indicate that the poems do refer to himself, as, for example, when, in the poem 'Poseidon', which is the fifth poem in the first cycle, the sea-god actually refers to the protagonist as 'Poetlein'. Ironically enough, however, this is also one of the ever-recurring points in the 'Nordsee' cycle at which through ridicule, as in the use of the diminutive 'Poetlein', Heine deflects our attention from his real self precisely when it seems to us that the climax of the poem has been reached and that we must now be made aware of the poet's point if ever it is going to be made, whereas, in fact, the poem here falls short of a true dramatic climax and descends into the bathos of the sea-god's mocking reassurance that the 'Poetlein' will not be harmed by him, and of the gross images of the concluding stanza:

> Also rief Poseidon
> Und tauchte zurück ins Meer;
> Und über den groben Seemannswitz
> Lachten unter dem Wasser
> Amphitrite, das plumpe Fischweib,
> Und die dummen Töchter des Nereus.[35]

[33] Stange's expression in *Poet as Humanist*, p. 224.

[34] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 222.

[35] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 169.

This debunking of heroic idealism is, of course, itself the point of the poem. The futility of idealism, - in love, in religion, in all aspects of life itself, - is, perhaps, the dominant theme of 'Die Nordsee', and the gods of the ancient world are again used as a symbol of the decay of such idealism in a much weightier poem, 'Die Götter Griechenlands', which is the sixth poem of the second cycle. Here Heine presents us with a whole parade of the ancient gods fallen from their former splendour, and yet, whilst he can say:

> Ich hab euch niemals geliebt, ihr Götter!
> Denn widerwärtig sind mir die Griechen,
> Und gar die Römer sind mir verhasst,[36]

he goes on to express an even greater antipathy towards the completely unheroic gods of the modern age:

> Doch heil'ges Erbarmen und schauriges Mitleid
> Durchströmt mein Herz,
> Wenn ich euch jetzt da droben schaue,
> Verlassene Götter,
> Tote, nachtwandelnde Schatten,
> Nebelschwache, wie der Wind verscheucht -
> Und wenn ich bedenke, wie feig und windig
> Die Götter sind, die euch besiegten,
> Die neuen, herrschenden, tristen Götter,
> Die schadenfrohen im Schafspelz der Demut -
> Oh, da fasst mich ein düsterer Groll,
> Und brechen möcht ich die neuen Tempel,
> Und kämpfen für euch, ihr alten Götter,
> Für euch und eu'r gutes ambrosisches Recht.[37]

Here we surely come as close as ever, in the poems of 'Die Nordsee', to an identification of the speaker with the 'ich' of the lyric verse, and yet even here the main emphasis lies not on the speaker's feelings for their own sake, but on the sad plight of a whole world in which the heroic gods of old have lost their stature whilst nothing comparable has emerged to replace them. Again, the poet himself views the drama at a remove, and, although he agrees to fight 'Mit der Partei der besiegten Götter',[38] he is not at the centre of the action, since that place is reserved for the gods themselves and for the ultimate victors, 'Die ewigen

[36] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 188-9.

[37] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 189.

[38] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 189.

Sterne'.[39] And the mention of the stars at the end of this poem links it quite subtly with the next poem, 'Fragen', in which the protagonist, 'ein Jüngling-Mann', who may be partly the poet, but who is certainly archetypal of the human condition, asks the elements in general, and nobody in particular, to solve for him 'das Rätsel des Lebens'. The riddle is fundamentally that of the whole meaning of life:

> ...was bedeutet der Mensch?
> Woher ist er kommen? Wo geht er hin?
> Wer wohnt dort oben auf goldenen Sternen?[40]

but, as in the previous poem, the elements in general, and the stars in particular, are coldly indifferent to the human dilemma. Thus, as the previous poem has ended with the lines:

> Hochaufrauschte das Meer,
> Und siegreich traten hervor am Himmel
> Die ewigen Sterne.[41]

so the poem 'Fragen' ends with a similar picture of the unfeeling relentlessness of the elements towards man, in the lines:

> Es murmeln die Wogen ihr ew'ges Gemurmel,
> Es weht der Wind, es fliehen die Wolken,
> Es blinken die Sterne, gleichgültig und kalt,
> Und ein Narr wartet auf Antwort.[42]

This is just one example amongst many of the ways in which Heine weaves the poems of 'Die Nordsee' into tightly linked cycle structures. The most obvious of the devices which he uses to this effect, however, is, of course, the great sea image itself, which is present in all but two of the twenty-two poems which make up the two 'Nordsee' cycles. Significantly the two exceptions to this are the first poem of cycle one, 'Krönung', and the last poem of cycle two, 'Epilog', and these poems are themselves linked, presumably with the conscious suggestion of having turned a full circle, by the situation of the adorning of a girl, particularly with crowns, since in 'Krönung' the poet plays on the image of the girl as a queen and says:

[39] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 189.

[40] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 190.

[41] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 189.

[42] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 190.

> Von der Sonne droben
> Reiss ich das strahlend rote Gold,
> Und webe draus ein Diadem
> Für dein geweihtes Haupt'.[43]

In 'Epilog' he addresses the poppies and cornflowers of the field, saying:

> Aber die ländliche Jungfrau,
> Die Kränzewinderin,
> Verehrt euch und pflückt euch,
> Und schmückt mit euch die schönen Locken.[44]

The poems of Heine's 'Die Nordsee' have, then, a definite overall cycle structure, and the individual poems are closely connected to one another within their cycles by means of the linking images and ideas which Heine weaves in and out in a constant pattern. In this deliberate tightness of structure Heine's cycles differ considerably from the very much more loosely connected poems of Arnold's 'Switzerland'.

One of the ways in which both Stange and Wormley agree that Heine certainly influenced Arnold's poetry, however, concerns Heine's use of so-called 'free rhythms'. Wormley, for instance, says:

> In one respect only does Arnold show clearly the influence of Heine - in his assimilation of that poet's use of *freier Rhythmus*. Arnold undoubtedly followed Heine in his use of the broken-line and short-verse form, although there is by no means even a suggestion of slavish imitation. In such pieces as 'Rugby Chapel' and 'Heine's Grave' the influence is fairly unmistakable. In other poems the adaptation is not well marked, and it is merely a fair guess to say that Arnold approaches Heine's *freier Rhythmus* and short-verse form in such poems as 'Consolation', 'A Question', 'The Voice', 'The Strayed Reveller', 'Philomela', and 'Dover Beach'.
>
> In a few of Arnold's lighter lyrics, the English poet impresses us at times with a vague sort of Heinesque quality. This is seen particularly in the lilt and grace and the surprising close of 'Meeting' from the 'Switzerland' group, in the reverie motif of 'Longing' from 'Faded Leaves', in the crystalline lyricism of 'Despondency' and 'Requiescat', and in the abrupt close of 'Pis-Aller'.[45]

Stange, however, only claims for certain that: 'the broken lines and short verses of Heine's "Freier Rhythmus"' influenced Arnold in the poems 'The Strayed

[43] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 163.

[44] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 194.

[45] Wormley, *Heine in England*, p. 248.

Reveller' and 'Philomela'.[46] A note of caution about the use of the term 'free rhythms' in connection with Heine's poetry is sounded, however, by S. S. Prawer in his study of Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, in which he queries the term 'free verse' and goes on to comment that: 'Andreas Heusler noted thirty years ago, in his *Deutsche Versgeschichte*, how illusory the freedom of this verse really is, how strongly it is still dominated by the very folk-song stanza-pattern Heine had thought to escape.'[47] Arnold certainly found delight in the rhythms and verse-forms of Heine's poetry, as is shown by the comment in his essay 'Heinrich Heine' that:

> The magic of Heine's poetical form is incomparable; he chiefly uses a form of old German popular poetry, a ballad-form which has more rapidity and grace than any ballad-form of ours; he employs this form with the most exquisite lightness and ease, and yet it has at the same time the inborn fulness, pathos, and old-world charm of all true forms of popular poetry.[48]

It is interesting to note that Arnold immediately associates Heine here with the ballad form, and that, as an example of rhythm 'in which one's soul can take pleasure', he quotes the very regular lines: 'Siehst sehr sterbeblässlich aus, / Doch getrost! du bist zu Haus'.[49] Apart from this comment in the essay 'Heinrich Heine' Arnold never mentions Heine's use of rhythms, and he certainly makes no reference to his use of 'free rhythms' in particular. This, of itself, does not necessarily prove, of course, that Arnold could not have been unconsciously influenced by the less regular rhythms, lines and stanza-patterns of 'Die Nordsee', but this point is difficult, if not impossible, to prove either way. After all, Heine was not the first poet to use broken lines and short-verse-forms; Goethe's 'Grosse Hymnen', to quote but one glaring example, must be, rhythmically, amongst the freest, least regular bodies of poetry ever composed, and Arnold certainly knew his Goethe rather better than he knew his Heine. It does not, of course, follow that Arnold's free-verse poetry was necessarily modelled on Goethe any more than it was necessarily modelled on Heine, and indeed Simpson, in his book *Matthew Arnold and Goethe*, has concluded that: 'It is obviously possible ... that Arnold knew Goethe's "free-verse" poems and was

[46] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 79.

[47] S. S. Prawer, *Heine's 'Buch der Lieder'* (London, 1960), p. 53.

[48] Matthew Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124.

[49] Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124. The lines quoted from Heine are taken from the poem 'Sterbende', which is the fourth poem of Book II of *Romanzero*, the book entitled 'Lamentationen'. It can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 417.

consciously imitating them, but it is equally obvious that considerations of external "form" alone are unhelpful.'[50] The same could equally well be said in relation to Arnold's knowledge of Heine.

With regard to the similarity of purpose which Stange finds between Arnold's 'Marguerite' and the female figure of Heine's 'Verschiedene', it is very difficult to see how the latter can be regarded as 'another of the instigating motifs of "Switzerland"'.[51] 'Verschiedene' is, as Prawer says, 'an attempt to deal frankly with love of a kind that had hitherto escaped German poets: the kind of casual affair which dwellers in large cities know and which foreigners associate in particular with Paris.'[52] Each of the cycles takes the name of a different woman, and there seems to operate a kind of spiralling effect downwards from the wholesome idea of sexual liberation expressed in poem seven of the first cycle, 'Seraphine', in which the poet proclaims the Saint-Simonist doctrine of the rehabilitation of the senses:

> Vernichtet ist das Zweierlei,
> Das uns so lang betöret;
> Die dumme Leiberquälerei
> Hat endlich aufgehöret[53]

right through to the gross sensuality of the poems of the cycle 'Yolante und Marie', in the second of which, for example, the poet poses a question as to whether he should 'fall in love' with the mother or the daughter and concludes by likening himself to an ass in his indecision over two stacks of food:

> Es gleicht mein Herz dem grauen Freunde,
> Der zwischen zwei Gebündel Heu
> Nachsinnlich grübelt, welch' von beiden
> Das allerbeste Futter sei.[54]

This cynical/realistic portrayal of a type of 'love'-affair which the poet observes in the society around him (Heine wrote these poems during the 1830's in Paris) bears no relation to Arnold's portrayal of 'Marguerite' in the poems of 'Switzerland'. 'The final impact' of Heine's 'Verschiedene' is, as Sammons says,

[50] James Simpson, *Matthew Arnold and Goethe* (London, 1979), p. 58.

[51] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 222.

[52] S. S. Prawer, *Heine - The Tragic Satirist* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 26.

[53] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 228.

[54] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 241.

'one of ungratifying impermanence and the ultimate futility of these flimsy encounters'.[55] The poet of 'Switzerland' never set out to depict love as he saw it in his society but tried, in his poetry, to work through a personal experience which had caused him great pain. He tried also in some of that poetry to draw out aspects of women and of the world that seemed to be of universal significance, and later in life he tightened up the structure of the series in order to give it greater artistic cohesion, and perhaps even, to some extent, to cover his personal tracks in accordance with the ideal of classical objectivity which he developed after the experience which led to the 'Switzerland' poems. Nevertheless, the impulse which led Arnold to write 'Switzerland', with its fairly full portrayal of 'Marguerite' and their encounters, is poles apart from that which prompted Heine to write the sets of poems about faceless women and 'love'-affairs of a Parisian 'type' which constitute 'Verschiedene', and the effects of 'Switzerland' and 'Verschiedene' are correspondingly vastly different. The nature of Arnold's experiences with 'Marguerite' is important to the 'Switzerland' poems because it dictated the way in which he wrote the poems, and the character of the individual poems which Arnold wrote in 1849 ultimately placed constraints on the form of the whole poem-series. 'Switzerland' is, as Lionel Trilling says, 'the attempt of a man to tell the truth about an important experience',[56] and thus Arnold could not have shaped it into 'an exercise in conventionalized literary form'[57] in the manner of a German 'Liederzyklus', even if he had wanted to. Arnold's story may be 'a tangle of contradictions', but, as Trilling goes on to point out, 'these very contradictions attest to the actuality of the affair and certainly the whole point of the story lies in them'.[58] By contrast, Heine's cycles have, in Simpson's words, 'a clear and consistent underlying narrative framework'.[59] The structures of 'Die Nordsee' and 'Verschiedene' are tighter and more consciously artistic than is that of 'Switzerland' because they always were quite deliberate artistic creations in the poet's own mind and were not prompted by any one, specific, deeply personal and disturbing experience - such as the 'Marguerite' affair was for Arnold - which the poet had to work out through his poetry. In his earlier poetry in particular, Heine is adept at placing barriers between the reader and the poet's own innermost self, and certainly in the poems of 'Die Nordsee' we are conscious of these barriers

[55] Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 200.

[56] Lionel Trilling, *Matthew Arnold* (London, 1939), p. 122.

[57] Stange, *Poet as Humanist*, p. 224.

[58] Trilling, *Matthew Arnold*, p. 122.

[59] Simpson, *Arnold and Goethe*, p. 144.

coming between us and the poet, so that Heine's own deepest feelings remain hidden behind a veil of ambiguity which he reinforces by aiming a constant barrage of mockery at the 'ich' of his poems.

If, then, the poems of Arnold's 'Switzerland' series seem not to have been influenced by Heine, the question remains: what of the rest of Arnold's poetry? On the whole, the same general objection applies, simply that the tone and atmosphere of the main body of Arnold's poetry are manifestly different from those of Heine. Arnold's earnestness has little in common either with the playfulness of much of Heine's earlier poetry or with the bitter ironies and terrible starkness of his later works. An exception has been suggested, however, in Arnold's poem 'The Neckan', which Allott quite definitely says 'shows the influence of Heine'.[60] The poem appeared in the 1853 edition of Arnold's poems alongside 'The Forsaken Merman', with which it clearly has much in common, and in support of his contention that Heine influenced 'The Neckan' Allott cites Arnold's intended reading of 'Heine's Gedichte', in September 1852, as indicated on his reading lists. As internal evidence for Heine's influence on the poem Allott points out that Arnold makes his Neckan 'melancholic throughout - probably because of his wish to capture what he calls in his essay on Heine ... "Heine's sweetest note ... his plaintive note, his note of melancholy."'[61] Moreover, Allott then points out Arnold's 'admiration for Heine's poetic form', which he demonstrates by quoting from the essay on Heine the words: 'The magic of Heine's poetic form is incomparable; he chiefly uses a form of old German popular poetry, a ballad-form which has more rapidity and grace than any of ours.'[62] Finally, Allott supports his point by saying that 'The Neckan': '... is a song about a song in Heine's manner.'[63] Certainly the regular rhyme and rhythm of Arnold's four-line stanzas, with their lyrical descriptive touches, and the ballad narrative about a fabled sea-creature's quest for love, happiness and salvation, have much in common generally with the poems of Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, and, from the point of view of subject matter, especially with such poems as 'Seegespenst' from the first cycle of 'Die Nordsee', in which the protagonist has to be physically restrained by the ship's captain from throwing himself into the water after the spectre of a lost love whom he sees sitting sadly in a town under

[60] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 281.

[61] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 282. Arnold's words can be found in his essay 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 131.

[62] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 282. Arnold's words can be found in his essay 'Heinrich Heine', *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 124.

[63] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 282.

the sea.[64] The most obvious way in which 'The Neckan' might be regarded as influenced by Heine's poetry, however, occurs in Arnold's incorporation of the 'Tannhäuser' incident, in which the 'cassocked priest' tells the apparently irredeemable Neckan: 'Sooner shall this my staff bear leaves, / Than thou shalt Heaven behold.'[65] Not until the 1869 edition of Arnold's poems was stanza fourteen added, in which we are told:

> But lo, the staff, it budded!
> It greened, it branched, it waved.
> ' - O ruth of God,' the priest cried out,
> 'This lost sea-creature saved!'[66]

In order then to retain the original (Heine-inspired?) 'melancholy ending', Arnold also added, as Allott points out, the reflective stanza sixteen, which says of the Neckan:

> He wept: 'The Earth hath kindness,
> The sea, the starry poles;
> Earth, sea, and sky, and God above -
> But, ah, not human souls!'[67]

Heine's version of the 'Tannhäuser' legend appears both in the 'Verschiedene' section of his *Neue Gedichte*[68] and in the *Elementargeister*, at the end of the third volume of his *Salon*,[69] where it follows a version which Heine gives from the 'medieval' work *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.[70] Only in the *Wunderhorn* version, however, does the motif of the flowering staff appear.[71] Thus, by the time he came to write 'The Neckan' Arnold might well have been acquainted with Heine's 'Tannhäuser' from either of these sources, since he appears to have read a volume of Heine's *Salon* in May 1848[72] and to have at least planned to read more generally 'Heine's Gedichte' in September

64 *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 175-7.

65 *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 283.

66 *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 284.

67 *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 284.

68 *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 245-52.

69 *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 433-8.

70 *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 429-32.

71 *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 431.

72 See pp. 75-6 of chapter 3 above.

1852.[73] Allott does not mention this, but Tinker and Lowry suggest it as one of several possible sources for 'The Neckan' in their *Commentary* on Arnold's poems, in which they suggest that Arnold: '... doubtless read or reread Heine's version of the Tannhäuser story in "*Les Dieux en Exil*", when in the spring of 1863 he was combing the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for material for a lecture on Heine.' They go on to add, however: 'But it was not necessary for him to go to German literature for the myth of the budding staff, ...'.[74] This, of course, is true, since - not least amongst the available sources - Wagner's *Tannhäuser* was produced in 1845, and Richard Monckton Milnes' cycle 'Venus and the Christian Knight' was published in 1840 and again in 1844,[75] well before Allott's suggested date of September 1852 for the composition of 'The Neckan'. Thus, the inclusion of the 'Tannhäuser' incident proves nothing one way or the other with regard to Heine's influence on Arnold's poem, but if Heine's writings on Tannhäuser did influence Arnold, then it was probably through the medium of the *Elementargeister* in volume three of Heine's *Salon*, since the *Wunderhorn* version given here contains the motif of the staff, and this motif was already present in stanza thirteen of the version of 'The Neckan' published in 1853, even though the following stanza, which describes the miracle of the staff's bursting with flower, with its consequent indications of the Neckan's redemption, was not published until 1869. Given that Heine did write about Tannhäuser, however, in works which Arnold seems to have read at an early stage, and given also that 'The Neckan' comes closer than any other of Arnold's poems to the tone and character of Heine's poems, with their 'incomparable'[76] poetic form, it does seem likely that Heine exerted some influence - however slight - on Arnold's poetry here, probably in the first flush of his new-found enthusiasm for Heine, fuelled by Saint-René Taillandier's article on him in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1 April 1852.[77]

On 14 September 1858 Arnold paid a visit to Heine's grave in the Cemetery of Montmartre in Paris, a visit which, as Kenneth Allott has pointed out, may have been prompted by his reading of the first volume of Heine's *Reisebilder*, 'Die Harzreise', in July of the same year. This volume is, as Allott says, 'a principal

[73] See p.76 of chapter 3 above.

[74] Tinker and Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold. A Commentary*. p. 128.

[75] Richard Monckton Milnes, *Poetry for the People and Other Poems* (London, 1840), pp. 122-60; *Poems Legendary and Historical* (London, 1844), pp. 18-49.

[76] See note 62 above.

[77] Saint-René Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xiv. Nouvelle Période (1 April 1852), 5-36. For further reference to this article see pp. 16-19 of chapter 1, pp. 89-90 of chapter 3 and p. 120 of this chapter.

source of the elegy'.[78] Thereafter, Heine appears frequently on Arnold's reading lists up to 1863, the year of his Oxford lecture on Heine and of the completion of his poem 'Heine's Grave'.[79] The first mention of the poem in Arnold's reading lists occurs in an undeleted entry for January 1862, which reads: 'finish "Heine's Grave"'.[80] Clearly, then, Arnold had been at work on the poem for some time before that date, and the poem itself makes it clear that his visit to 'Trim Montmartre' had provided the initial inspiration for it.[81] Allott suggests that the poem was probably begun either straightaway in September 1858 or in 1860, when the entry 'Heine's Reisebilder. i.' again appears in Arnold's reading lists.[82] That the poem was not completed in January 1862 is shown by subsequent entries on Arnold's reading lists for April and September of that year,[83] which indicate his intention to work on it then, whilst the deletion of the entry 'finish Heine's Grave' for April 1863[84] suggests that it was completed then.

The picture of Heine which Arnold develops in 'Heine's Grave' is basically that of the mocking satirist, 'brilliant and bold',[85] but ultimately not wholly successful. The poem begins with a description of the scene which Arnold encountered at Montmartre, with its:

> ...smooth,
> Swarded alleys, the limes
> Touched with yellow by hot
> Summer, but under them still,
> In September's bright afternoon,
> Shadow and verdure, and cool.[86]

This is then contrasted with a picture of the suffering Heine, 'Half blind, palsied, in pain,'[87] which, as Allott points out, owes much to Taillandier's article in the

[78] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 469.

[79] See pp. 77-8 of chapter 3 above.

[80] *The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. H. F. Lowry, K. Young and W. H. Dunn, (Oxford, 1952), p. 566.

[81] See ll. 1-12 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 470.

[82] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 469.

[83] *The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, (Oxford, 1952), pp. 567-8.

[84] *The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Lowry, Young and Dunn, (Oxford, 1952), p. 570.

[85] See l. 122 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 474.

[86] See ll. 3-8 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 470.

[87] See l. 13 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 470.

Revue des Deux Mondes for 1 April 1852, on which Arnold also drew for such details in his essay 'Heinrich Heine'.[88] In the poem Arnold praises Heine's courage 'Not to have yielded to pain',[89] and he expresses at some length his agreement with Heine's 'sharp / Upbraidings' of British philistinism.[90] Nonetheless, Heine belongs, in Arnold's estimation, not with 'a sweet / Tender Virgil', 'a high / Austere Dante' or 'Shakespeare! loveliest of souls, / Peerless in radiance, in joy',[91] but instead, Heine is ranged in the company of nameless 'Bitter spirits',[92] since, making the same mistake as in his essay, Arnold writes:

> But was it thou - I think
> Surely it was! - that bard
> Unnamed, who, Goethe said,
> *Had every other gift, but wanted love;*[93]

'Love', Arnold declares, 'is the fountain of charm', and 'Charm is the glory which makes / Song of the poet divine'.[94] 'Charm' is, in Arnold's view, both the means by which the poet makes his message acceptable to the world and the means by which the poet helps the world to forget its woes for a time. It is not enough, for Arnold, that Heine should have possessed 'the lightnings of wit' and 'the thunder of scorn', since 'These to the world, too, are given'.[95] The fact that, in his view, Heine lacked 'charm' means for Arnold that Heine's message will go unheeded, a message which Arnold sums up in the lines: '*Hollow and dull are the great, / And artists envious, and the mob profane.*'[96] It is to the frustrations of his being ultimately incapable of conveying this message to the world that Arnold attributes the 'secret unrest' which, he says, 'Tortured' Heine[97] and rendered him fit company only for 'Bitter spirits'. Arnold moves then to a discussion of:

[88] *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 470.

[89] See ll. 23-8 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 471.

[90] See ll. 70-96 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, pp. 472-3.

[91] See ll. 55-66 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 472.

[92] See ll. 46-7 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 471.

[93] See ll. 97-100 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 473.

[94] See ll. 103-105 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 473.

[95] See ll. 108-110 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 474.

[96] See ll. 113-14 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 474.

[97] See ll. 121-2 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 474.

- how oft
Heine's spirit outworn
Longed itself out of the din,
Back to the tranquil, the cool
Far German home of his youth![98]

In what is possibly the most engaging part of the poem he then harks back to the time of Heine's 'Harzreise', as an example of the time of serene happiness which, he supposes, Heine must have known in Germany in his youth. Even this section, however, ends on a sombre note for Heine, since Arnold compares his 'Harzreise' with that of Goethe and decides that the difference between the two was that Goethe:

...came
To the frozen Hartz, with his soul
Passionate, eager - his youth
All in ferment! - but he
Destined to work and to live
Left it, and thou, alas!
Only to laugh and to die.[99]

As a last word on Heine, however, this comment strikes Arnold as unduly negative, and he ultimately refuses to leave the subject of Heine on a note of 'pity' or of 'half censure', preferring instead to find something of a note of 'awe' with which to conclude his comments.[100] This note is struck for Arnold in the lines:

The Spirit of the world,
Beholding the absurdity of men -
Their vaunts, their feats - let a sardonic smile,
For one short moment, wander o'er his lips.
That smile was Heine! - for its earthly hour
The strange guest sparkled; now 'tis passed away.[101]

Not only for Arnold, but for a number of commentators who followed in his wake, these lines summed up the otherwise elusive brilliance of Heine.[102] For Elsie Butler these lines mean that: 'One of the great love-poets of the world had been

[98] See ll. 147-51 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 475.

[99] See ll. 192-8 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 477.

[100] See ll. 202-203 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 477.

[101] See ll. 206-211 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 478.

[102] See pp. 192, 193 and 198 of chapter 6 below.

relegated by one of England's foremost critics to the status of an ephemeral and sardonic smile on the lips of the spirit of the world.'[103] The word 'relegated' is certainly unfair to Arnold's intention here, and in fact it does not do justice to his effect either, since the lines concerning the 'sardonic smile' have an enigmatic character which raises the reader's impression of Heine at this point well above that given by the downbeat of the earlier lines comparing him with Goethe. Professor Butler goes on to add: 'This is a striking epigrammatic statement of one of the innumerable facets of Heine's kaleidoscopic character; but it leaves far too much out of account; just as the insistence on *Harzreise* to the exclusion of everything else leaves Heine's poetical achievements in the dark.'[104] Certainly Arnold's poem does focus strongly on one aspect of Heine, but it is this which gives the poem its unity, and whilst it is legitimate to argue with Arnold's singling out of the 'sardonic' aspect as the major aspect of Heine, it is unfair to chide him precisely for having focused his poem on one aspect and for not turning it into a discussion of Heine in general. Arnold's argument with regard to Heine's lack of love and consequent lack of 'charm' is the weakest part of the poem, since not only does this not ring true of Heine, but it is also, as it stands without the amplifications of the 1853 Preface,[105] a somewhat dubious comment on the nature of poetry itself. At the end of his poem Arnold expresses his hope that the 'Spirit of the world' has not a life 'Bitter and strange' like Heine's, but rather 'the rapture of peace' in store for him.[106] This, however, does not mean that, in Carroll's words: 'The purpose of Arnold's poem is to dissociate himself from the minions of hell, the "bitter spirits" to whom he consigns Heine's ghost at the beginning of the poem.'[107] The quest for 'the rapture of peace' had imbued much of Arnold's poetry from at least the time of composition of the 'Switzerland' poems, and the purpose of 'Heine's Grave' was to sum up the dominant aspect of Heine, as Arnold perceived it, and to pay tribute to him with 'awe'[108] and in the compressed but resonant form of poetry.

Arnold's poetry in general has little in common with that of Heine, save in the case of 'The Neckan', in which some direct influence of Heine seems likely.

[103] Elsie M. Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', *German Life and Letters*, ix (1956), 164.

[104] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 164.

[105] This can be found in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 591, ll. 39-41.

[106] See ll. 206, 223 and 229 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, pp. 478-9.

[107] Joseph Carroll, *The Cultural Theory of Matthew Arnold* (California, 1982), p. 254.

[108] See ll. 203-205 of 'Heine's Grave' in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, p. 477.

The case for Heine's having influenced Arnold's 'Switzerland' poems is tenuous in the extreme. The poem 'Heine's Grave' influenced the attitudes of a number of later critics towards Heine and thus had a reasonably substantial part in the reception of Heine in Britain.[109] It is not, in Professor Butler's words, a 'strange and rather dreadful poem'[110] but is, rather, a stimulating attempt by Arnold to express what he perceived to be the most significant aspect of Heine's complex personality in a poem which also demonstrated admiration for his battles against pain and against philistinism - Heine's major achievement, in Arnold's view.

[109] See note 102 above.

[110] Butler, 'Heine in England and Matthew Arnold', p. 162.

Chapter 5
The Wider Response to Heine: Lucie Duff Gordon, Richard Monckton Milnes, Julian Fane and Robert Lytton

Neither George Eliot nor Matthew Arnold actually met Heine, although their reactions to him are of far greater and much longer-lasting importance than are the reactions of those of their contemporaries who also wrote about Heine, some of whom did meet him. Despite his celebrated dislike of England and the English Heine certainly had English friends. 'Aber schickt keinen Poeten nach London!' he wrote in 1828,[1] but in a conversation of September 1855 he confessed to Lady Lucie Duff Gordon:

> Ja, mein Gott, ich weiss doch gar nicht was ich gegen die Engländer hatte, dass ich immer so boshaft gegen sie war, es war aber wahrlich nur Muthwillen, eigentlich hasste ich sie nie, und ich habe sie auch nie gekannt. Ich war einmal in England vor langen Jahren, kannte aber Niemand, und fand London recht traurig und die Leute auf der Strasse kamen mir unausstehlich vor. Aber England hat sich schön gerächt, sie schickte mir ganz vorzügliche Freunde - dich, und Milnes - der gute Milnes, und noch mehrere.[2]

Who the 'noch mehrere' were has to remain largely the subject of conjecture, but it seems reasonable to assume that, since Heine himself singled them out, Lucie Duff Gordon and Richard Monckton Milnes were preeminent amongst his English friends, and each was in some way ultimately responsible for promoting knowledge of Heine's life and works in England.

Lucie Duff Gordon began to learn German very early in her life when, in 1826, as a child of five, she accompanied her parents, John and Sarah Austin, to Bonn, where her father, recently appointed Professor of Civil Law at the new London University, wished to study Roman Law with Niebuhr and Schlegel. Lucie's mother was, herself, no mean scholar of German. She produced an annotated translation of Falk's *Characteristics of Goethe*, and received, in a letter of 18 July 1833, the accolade of being told by Carlyle: '...I hear the fine silver music of Goethe sound through *your* voice, through your heart; you can *actually translate*

[1] See 'Englische Fragmente' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iii. 438.

[2] From a letter by Lady Lucie Duff Gordon to Richard Monckton Milnes, First Baron Houghton, published after her death by Lord Houghton in his monograph entitled 'The Last Days of Heinrich Heine' in *Monographs Personal and Social* (London, 1873), p. 329.

Goethe, which (quietly, I reckon) is what hardly three people in England can.'[3] Writing from Bonn to her friend Harriet Grote on 26 January 1828, Sarah Austin said of her daughter:

> Our dear child is a great joy to us. She grows wonderfully, and is the happiest thing in the world. Her German is very pretty - she interprets for her father with great joy and *naïveté*. God forbid that I should bring up a daughter here! but at her present age I am most glad to have her here and to send her to a school where she learns, *well*, writing, *arithmetic*, sewing, knitting, geography, and, as a matter of course, German.[4]

Back in London, in 1829 Mrs Austin spoke of Lucie's keeping up her German 'reading, writing and speaking it constantly', and in the same letter to her sister, Mrs Reeve (whose son was to become editor of the *Edinburgh Review*), she continued:

> I hope Henry is learning German. I am more and more convinced that *en fait de langage* it is the most important acquisition an Englishman can make. The characteristics of German literature are dispassionateness of inquiry and reality of knowledge, and these are singularly valuable to the native of a country where everything is impatiently pushed forward to answer the ends of immediate gain.[5]

With such encouragement on the part of her mother it is scarcely surprising that Lucie 'spoke German perfectly'[6] by the time she was twelve years old, and it was at that time, in August 1833, that she first met Heine.

The story of her early acquaintance with Heine was recorded by Lucie Duff Gordon herself many years later, when she wrote to Lord Houghton (formerly Richard Monckton Milnes), saying:

> My husband tells me that you wish to have my recollections of poor Heine when I last saw him. I had known him above twenty years ago as a child of eleven or twelve at Boulogne, where I sat next to him at a *table d'hôte*. He was then a fat, short man - shortsighted, and with a sensual mouth. He heard me speak German to my mother, and soon began to talk to me, and then said, 'When you go to England you can tell your friends that you have seen Heinrich Heine.' I replied, 'And who is Heinrich Heine?' He laughed heartily, and took no offence at my ignorance, and we used to lounge on the end of the pier together, where he told me stories in which fish, mermaids, watersprites, and a very funny old French fiddler

3 Janet Ross, *Three Generations of English Women* (London, 1893), p. 104.

4 Ross, *Three Generations of English Women*, p. 72.

5 Ross, *Three Generations of English Women*, pp. 78 and 79.

6 Janet Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine, by the Late Lady Duff Gordon (Lucie)', *Murray's Magazine*, ix (1891), 769.

> with a poodle, who was diligently taking three sea baths a day, were mixed up in the most fanciful manner, sometimes humorous, and very often pathetic, especially when the watersprites brought him German greetings from the 'Nord See'.
>
> He since told me that the poem -
>
> Wenn ich an deinem Hause
> Am Morgen vorüber geh,
> So freut's mich, du liebe Kleine,
> Wenn ich dich am Fenster seh, &c
>
> was meant for me and my 'braune Augen'.
>
> He was at Boulogne a month or two, and I saw him often then, and always remembered with great tenderness the poet who had told me the beautiful stories, and been so kind to me, and so sarcastic to everyone else.[7]

It has been somewhat pedantically pointed out that the poem 'Wenn ich an deinem Hause', from Heine's 'Die Heimkehr': 'erschien schon am 29-3-1824 im "Gesellschafter" und kann sich also unmöglich auf Lucie Austin beziehen.'[8] Although the logic of this comment is indisputable, it does seem unnecessarily heavy-handed, since the original fiction was perfectly harmless. Moreover, Lucie's 'magnificent hazel eyes'[9] obviously did make an impression on Heine, since at their second meeting, which probably took place in 1853,[10] he 'raised his

[7] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 324-5.

[8] *Begegnungen mit Heine. Berichte der Zeitgenossen*, ed. Michael Werner, (Hamburg, 1973), p. 553.

[9] Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770.

[10] The sources display some confusion as to the precise date of this second encounter, but a date some time in 1853 seems likely for the following reasons. Lucie Duff Gordon's letter on Heine to Lord Houghton was published by him without a date, but it must have been written in 1856, shortly after Heine's death, since in it Lady Duff Gordon refers to her *third and final* series of visits to Heine as having taken place 'Last September' (Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 327), and this certainly refers to the year 1855. (See Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770; also, Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Heinrich Heine: A Modern Biography* (Princeton and Manchester, 1979), p. 339.) In the same letter to Lord Houghton, moreover, Lady Duff Gordon says that her *second* encounter with Heine took place 'three years ago' (Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 325), so if the letter was written in 1856, the second encounter mentioned must have taken place in 1853. This is at variance with Janet Ross's assertion tha. the second meeting occurred in 1851, eighteen years after the first. (Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770.) Moreover, in her book *Three Generations of English Women* Janet Ross is vague about the date of this second encounter and prefaces her reproduction of Lady Duff Gordon's letter to Lord Houghton merely with the tantalisingly general comment: 'My mother often went to see Heinrich Heine'. (Ross, *Three Generations of English Women*, p. 472.) Lady Duff Gordon's own words in the letter to Lord Houghton make it clear that any idea of another visit's having taken place in 1851 cannot be entertained, since she says: 'I never saw him again till I went to Paris three years ago...' (Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 325), and this must refer to the visit of 1853, as explained above. Moreover, the circumstances of this visit, as described by Lady Duff Gordon, are virtually identical to those described by Janet Ross as pertaining to the visit which she places in 1851, so that the two accounts must refer to one and the same visit, which, as I have shown, must have taken place in 1853.

powerless eyelids with his thin white fingers and said, "Ja, die Lucie hat noch dieselben grosse [sic] Augen",'[11] For her part, and even though she had a wide circle of highly distinguished friends and acquaintances, Lucie Duff Gordon must also have attached considerable importance to her first meeting with Heine, since the story of that childhood encounter is told not only in her own letter to Lord Houghton[12] and in her daughter's introduction to her translations of Heine,[13] where it might be expected to feature, but also in the more general contexts of the memoir which Janet Ross wrote as an introduction to the published version of her mother's *Letters from Egypt*[14] and in Janet Ross's book *Three Generations of English Women*.[15] Furthermore, the story is repeated (from Lord Houghton's *Monographs*) in an anonymous article entitled 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine' which appeared in the *London Quarterly Review* for July 1882,[16] which shows the persistent charm of the story.

The second encounter between Lucie Duff Gordon and Heine probably took place in 1853, as mentioned above, and in her letter to Lord Houghton she describes it as follows:

> I never saw him again till I went to Paris three years ago, when I heard that he was dying and very poor. I sent my name, and a message that if he chanced to remember the little girl to whom he told 'Märchen' years ago at Boulogne, I should like to see him. He sent for me directly, remembered every little incident, and all the people who were in the same inn; a ballad I had sung, which recounted the tragical fate of Ladye Alice taking only one spoonful of the gruel, 'With sugar and spices so rich,' while after her decease, 'The parson licked up the rest.' This diverted Heine extremely, and he asked after the parson who drank the gruel directly.
>
> I for my part could hardly speak to him, so shocked was I by his appearance. He lay on a pile of mattresses, his body wasted so that it seemed no bigger than a child under the sheet which covered him - the eyes closed, and the face altogether like the most painful and wasted 'Ecce Homo' ever painted by some old German painter.
>
> His voice was very weak and I was astonished at the animation with which he talked - evidently his mind had wholly survived his body. He raised his powerless eyelids with his thin white fingers, and exclaimed, 'Gott! die kleine Lucie ist gross geworden und hat einen

[11] Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770.

[12] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 324-5.

[13] Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', pp. 769-70.

[14] See Janet Ross's introductory memoir of her mother in Lucie Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt* (London, 1983), pp. 3-4.

[15] Ross, *Three Generations of English Women*, p.433.

[16] Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', *London Quarterly Review*, lviii (1882), 411.

> Mann; das ist eigen!' He then earnestly asked if I was happy and contented, and begged me to bring my husband to see him. He said again he hoped I was happy now, as I had always been such a merry child. I answered that I was no longer so merry as the 'kleine Lucie' had been, but very happy and contented, and he said, 'Das ist schön; es bekommt Einem gut eine Frau zu sehen, die kein wundes Herz herum trägt, um es von allerlei Männern ausbessern zu lassen, wie die Weiber hier zu Lande, die es am Ende nicht merken, dass was ihnen eigentlich fehlt ist gerade dass sie gar keine Herzen haben.' I took my husband to see him, and we bid him good-bye. He said that he hoped to see me again - ill as he was, he should not die yet.[17]

Clearly neither had forgotten the other in the twenty years or so that had passed since their first meeting, and the tone of this account, by one who was certainly a shrewd and thoughtful observer of her contemporaries, suggests a considerable eagerness on Heine's part for the renewal of their acquaintance, whilst a feeling of profound pity comes from Lucie Duff Gordon herself. This, indeed, rather than any premeditated design, seems to have been the motive behind her taking the initiative to visit Heine at all on this second occasion,[18] but, at all events, this re-establishment of their friendship obviously delighted him, and it paved the way for their more important final series of meetings in September 1855.

Upon her arrival in Paris in September 1855, Lucie Duff Gordon found that Heine was now living in the same street as she herself, in the Champs-Elysées. She wrote to him, to announce her arrival:

> ...and soon received a note painfully written in pencil by him as follows:-
>
> 'Hoch geehrte grossbritannische Göttin Lucie! - Ich liess durch den Bedienten zurückmelden, dass ich mit Ausnahme des letzten Mittwochs alle Tage und zu jeder beliebigen Stunde bereit sey, your Godship bey mir zu empfangen. Aber ich habe bis heute vergebens auf solcher himmlischen Erscheinung gewartet. Ne tardez plus de venir! Venez aujourd'hui, venez demain, venez souvent. Vous demeurez si près de moi, dem armen Schatten in den Elisäischen Feldern!
>
> 'Lassen Sie mich nicht zu lange warten. Anbey schicke ich Ihnen die 4 ersten Bände der französischen Ausgabe meiner unglückseligen Werke.
>
> 'Unterdessen verharre ich Ihre Göttlichkeit
>
> 'Unterthänigster und ergebenster Anbeter,
>
> 'HEINRICH HEINE.
>
> P.S. The parson drank the gruel water.'[19]

[17] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 325-7.

[18] Janet Ross writes: 'In 1851 [but see note 10 *re* this date] M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire lent his apartment in Paris to my parents, and they heard *by chance* [my emphasis] that Heine was living close by, in the Rue Amsterdam; that he was poor and very ill.' Ross 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770.

[19] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 327-8.

There is nothing of Heine's otherwise ready sarcasm in the extravagant language which he uses here towards Lucie Duff Gordon, only a great, genuine eagerness to see her again, and further evidence of their closeness is provided by the fact that he should again refer to their private joke over the ballad of Ladye Alice, Giles Collins and the parson who licked up the gruel. That Lucie Duff Gordon shared this eagerness to continue their friendship is shown when she comments that, in response to this note from Heine: 'I went immediately and climbed up five stories to a small room, where I found him still on the same pile of mattresses on which I had left him three years before.'[20] Moreover, it is evident throughout this letter to Houghton that Lucie felt both deep sympathy for Heine's sufferings and great admiration for the way in which he bore them. Of this initial visit of September 1855 Lucie wrote: '...more ill he could not look, for he looked dead already, and wasted to a shadow. When I kissed him, his beard felt like swandown or a baby's hair, so weak had it grown, and his face seemed to me to have gained a certain beauty from pain and suffering.'[21] Of her 1855 visits in general Lucie went on to write:

> On the whole, I never saw a man bear such horrible pain and misery in so perfectly unaffected a manner. He complained of his sufferings, and was pleased to see tears in my eyes, and then at once set to work to make me laugh heartily, which pleased him just as much. He neither paraded his anguish nor tried to conceal it or to put on any stoical airs; I also thought him far less sarcastic, more hearty, more indulgent, and altogether pleasanter than ever.[22]

For his part Heine obviously felt close to Lucie and saw in her a reminder of the happier past, since she continues:

> After a few weeks he begged me not to tell him when I was going, for that he could not bear to say. 'Lebewohl auf ewig,' or to hear it, and repeated that I had come as 'ein schöner gütiger Todesengel,' to bring him greetings from youth and from Germany, and to dispel all the 'bösen französischen Gedanken.' When he spoke German to me he called me 'Du,' and used the familiar expressions and turns of language which Germans use to a child; in French I was 'Madame' and 'vous.' It was evident that I recalled some happy time of life to his memory, and that it was a great relief to him to talk German and to consider me still as a child.[23]

[20] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 328.

[21] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 328.

[22] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 330.

[23] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 330-31.

Both Lucie Duff Gordon and Heine knew by this stage that the latter's death could not be long delayed, and they spoke of it with frankness, Heine telling Lucie on her first visit: "'gewiss sterb' ich bald.'"[24] This obviously lent some urgency to their intercourse, and during her two months stay in Paris Lucie saw Heine as often as 'two or three times a week,' when she 'found him always full of lively conversation and interest in everything.'[25] Amongst their topics of conversation during these visits were Heine's desire to 'effect a reconciliation with England';[26] their conflicting views on 'the French character';[27] and Heine's views on Germany, about which Lucie noted: '...while he laughed at Germany it was with "des larmes dans la voix."'[28] Politics also featured in their discussions, and here, we are told, Heine dwelt particularly on his 'disgust of mob-tyranny, past, present, and future' and also told 'a vast number of stories about people of all sorts, which', Lucie tantalisingly concludes, 'I should not choose to repeat.'[29] They also talked about religion, with Heine telling Lucie: "'Ich habe jetzt mit der ganzen Welt Frieden gemacht, und endlich auch mit dem lieben Gott, der schickt mir dich nun als schöner Todesengel.'"[30] Heine was, Lucie writes, 'much displeased at the reports that he had turned Catholic,' but she refuses to reveal anything of her impressions of Heine's true feelings about religious matters, since she thought that, 'what he said about his own belief and hope and trust would not be understood in England, nor ought I, I think, to betray the deeper feelings of a dying man.'[31] This comment certainly indicates a strong bond of feeling between the two, and in this it is reinforced by the highly emotional sentence with which Lucie Duff Gordon concluded her letter to Houghton: 'The impression [Heine] made on me was so deep that I had great difficulty to restrain my tears till I had left the room the last few times I saw him, and shall never forget the sad pale face and the eager manner of poor Heine.'[32]

The story of the relationship between Lucie Duff Gordon and Heine is certainly of interest in a general, human sense, on account of its charm and

[24] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 328.

[25] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 329.

[26] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 330.

[27] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 331.

[28] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 331.

[29] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 330.

[30] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 328.

[31] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 331-2.

[32] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 332.

pathos, but surely of more particular importance to the literary world were their discussions of Heine's works. As well as finding Heine 'full of lively conversation and interest in everything'[33] during their final series of meetings in Paris, Lucie Duff Gordon also found him full 'of his old undisguised vanity, pleased to receive bad translations of his works, and anxious beyond measure to be well translated into English.'[34] Significantly she continues:

> He offered me the copyright of all his works as a gift, and said he would give me carte-blanche to cut out all I thought necessary on my own account or that of the English public - and made out lists of how I had better arrange them, which he gave me.
>
> He sent me all his books, and was boyishly eager that I should set to work and read him some in English, especially a *prose* translation of his songs, which he pressed me to undertake with the greatest vehemence, against my opinion as to its practicability.[35]

Heine was every bit as concerned as any other artist about the presentation of his works to the public, so it is a clear indication of the esteem in which he held Lucie Duff Gordon that, when he knew he must die soon, he should have entrusted her with complete control over the fate of his life's works in the eyes of posterity and of the English-speaking world in particular. Despite her objections to the scheme, Lucie did translate part of Heine's *Almansor* into English[36] and read it to the dying poet, whereupon Heine apparently became even 'more anxious to obtain her promise to translate the rest.'[37] Although we cannot now know for certain, it seems unlikely that Lucie ever actually gave such a promise, and it is certain that she never completed the task. She must have translated a number of Heine's poems, however, since those published by her daughter in *Murray's Magazine*[38] are said to be only 'a selection of those she did', published on the advice of John Addington Symonds, 'who', says Janet Ross, '(no mean judge) thinks they are too good to be lost.'[39] She comments further that: 'Had my mother's health permitted she might perhaps, out of affection for Heine, have tried to translate more of his

[33] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 329.

[34] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 329.

[35] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 329-30.

[36] This was later published by Janet Ross in 'Some Translations of Heine', pp. 770-73.

[37] Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770.

[38] Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', pp. 769-76.

[39] Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770.

untranslatable poems',[40] again showing the strength of feeling between Lucie Duff Gordon and Heine.

Lucie Duff Gordon died in 1869, and never during her lifetime did she personally publish anything pertaining to her relationship with Heine. Nonetheless, the fact of her friendship with the poet was known at least to Houghton, - and it would be surprising if he were the only one - since he prefaces his reproduction of her letter to himself by saying that soon after Heine's death: 'I received a letter from a lady to whom I applied for information concerning him, and which seems to me so faithful and pathetic a picture of this great agony that I am grateful to be permitted by her representative to insert it here.'[41] Houghton's next comment, as well as being a graceful compliment to Lucie Duff Gordon, also goes some way towards explaining - not that this is entirely necessary - why her recollections of Heine were never published during her lifetime, since he says:

> I would not have done so [i.e. published Lucie's letter] were she still living, for, with all the talent of expression which has already made many of her personal experiences on matters of interest to others known in the world,[42] she would have been seriously annoyed at any public reference to the noble and delightful qualities which have left so deep an impression on all who knew her.[43]

Lucie Duff Gordon was an intelligent, cultured woman, and her appreciation of Heine as a poet is shown not least in the quality and perceptiveness of those of her translations of his poems which Janet Ross saw fit to publish. Her interest in Heine, however, beginning as it did, with a chance encounter in her childhood, always extended beyond the writings to the man himself, and it is entirely typical of the warm, generous nature of this remarkable woman that she should have sought him out in his sickness and done all in her power to alleviate his sufferings. Ultimately her concern for Heine as a suffering human being seems to have been greater than her interest in his poetry, but of course the two areas cannot be mutually exclusive. For Heine Lucie Duff Gordon was clearly one of the most important of his English friends - if not *the* most important - and nowhere is this more tellingly demonstrated than in his offer to her of the copyright of all his

[40] Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine', p. 770.

[41] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 323.

[42] Lucie Duff Gordon spent the winter of 1861-2 in South Africa, and her *Letters from the Cape* were published in London in 1864. In 1862 she moved to Egypt and published *Letters from Egypt* in London in 1865.

[43] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 323-4.

works. Lucie was not directly responsible for making Heine widely known in England, since she published nothing about him in her lifetime. Those of her translations of Heine's poems which Janet Ross published in 1891 did play their part, however, in keeping Heine before the gaze of the British literary public long after the poet's death. Of much greater significance for the reception of Heine in Victorian England, however, is the fact that she communicated her knowledge of Heine to Houghton, supplying him with an insight into Heine's last years which was of particular value to him because, as he wrote in his *Monographs*, he 'had no opportunity of visiting Heine' during the latter's 'years of misery'.[44] In a much more public way than that of Lucie Duff Gordon Houghton was significantly instrumental in interpreting and promoting Heine in Britain, and it is he who must provide the next link in the chain.

Indeed, although Houghton could not openly use and acknowledge Lucie Duff Gordon's letter on Heine during her lifetime, for reasons given above, he clearly draws heavily upon it in the account of Heine's last days which appears in the article 'Heinrich Heine', written by Milnes (he was not raised to the peerage until 1863) in 1856 for the July issue of the *Edinburgh Review*.[45] In this article Milnes writes:

> All that time he lay upon a pile of mattresses, racked by pain and exhausted by sleeplessness, till his body was reduced below all natural dimensions, and his long beard fell over the coverlid like swan's down or a baby's hair. The muscular debility was such that he had to raise the eyelid with his hand when he wished to see the face of any one about him: and thus in darkness, he thought, and listened, and dictated, preserving to the very last his clearness of intellect, his precision of diction, and his invincible humour. He bore his anguish in a perfectly unaffected manner, with no pretence of stoicism, and evidently pleased by tokens of sorrowful sympathy. He called himself 'the living Shade of the Champs Elysées,' and in his conversation exhibited a heartiness and indulgence towards others, almost foreign to his sarcastic nature, the identity of which, however, is prominent in his compositions to the last.[46]

This passage is essentially a condensed version of those parts of Lucie Duff Gordon's letter to Milnes which deal with her visits to Heine of 1853 and 1855,[47] and the comparison of Heine's beard with 'swan's down or a baby's hair' is clearly

[44] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 323.

[45] Richard Monckton Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', *Edinburgh Review*, civ (1856), 192-209.

[46] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 202-3.

[47] See Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 326-30.

lifted straight from Lucie's words: 'When I kissed him, his beard felt like swandown or a baby's hair,'[48] whilst the expression 'the living Shade of the Champs Elysées' is, as Milnes acknowledges, simply a translation of Heine's own reference to himself, when he wrote to Lucie: 'Vous demeurez si près de moi, dem armen Schatten in den Elisäischen Feldern!'[49] There is no suggestion that Milnes made improper or underhand use of the material about Heine supplied to him by Lucie Duff Gordon. On the contrary, he clearly believed it to be her wish that her letter, written in response to a direct request from Milnes for information about Heine, should not be attributed to her in public, and he acted in accordance with that wish. Moreover, in the later, revised version of Milnes' article, which appeared in his *Monographs* in 1873, Milnes was at pains to put the record straight by reproducing the whole of Lucie's letter.[50] What is of interest and significance, however, is the simple fact that the information given by Lucie Duff Gordon was already in circulation anonymously some thirteen years before the appearance of her full letter in Milnes' *Monographs*. Thus, Lucie Duff Gordon also contributed, however indirectly, to the mid-nineteenth-century apotheosis of Heine in Victorian England.

From his first trip abroad, when, at the age of eleven, he stayed in Dieppe with his tutor, Richard Monckton Milnes was an inveterate traveller and enjoyed a highly cosmopolitan outlook on life. This was, no doubt, promoted by the fact that in 1828, shortly after Richard's entry to Trinity College, Cambridge (which took place in October 1827), his family moved to live on the Continent - chiefly in Italy - for what proved to be a period of seven years. Economy was the motive behind this removal, since Richard's father, Robert Pemberton Milnes, had undertaken the repayment of his brother's debts, and it was not until the deaths, in 1835, of his second cousin, the Dowager Lady Galway, and of his mother, placed him in full possession of the family property that Robert Pemberton Milnes could afford to return to England with his family and take up the life of a country gentleman at the family seat of Fryston Hall in Yorkshire. Thus, the summer of 1829 saw Richard join his family in Paris and travel with them through Switzerland to Italy, where they settled for some years in Milan, and his biographer, T. Wemyss Reid, says that:

[48] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 328.

[49] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 327.

[50] See the comment with which Milnes prefaces his reproduction of Lucie Duff Gordon's letter in Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 323-4.

> ...from the first he seems to have had a warm attachment, not only for Italian life, but for the Italian character. His sympathetic temperament quickly enabled him to enter into the feelings of those around him, and the development of that cosmopolitanism of mind and temperament, which to the last was so striking a feature in his character, made rapid advances during these years of his early sojourn in Italy.[51]

Back in Cambridge, on 22 October of that year Richard wrote to his father:

> I will tell you what I mean to do for the month - Political Economy, Italian, German, speaking, and a little Metaphysics, lectures on Geology, which cost nothing, and the College of Astronomy on Newton ... As for Germany, a few months with men such as Niebuhr, who you must know has held high diplomatic situations, and Schlegel - you remember his 'Dramatic Literature' - must be of deep mental advantage.[52]

Richard's interest in Germany persisted, and his letters to his family during the early part of 1830 show him waging a persistent campaign to go there in the summer rather than to Paris, where his father wished him to go in order to improve his French pronunciation.[53] Richard had his way in this matter, and in the middle of June 1830 he left London for Bonn, where he was to stay for several months and where, as his biographer points out: '...as he took care to live entirely among Germans, he made good progress in his knowledge of the language; reading omnivorously among the standard authors, and, as usual, losing no opportunity of making the acquaintance of the celebrities of the place.'[54] These last few words were added rather casually by the biographer, but they indicate what was regarded by his contemporaries as *the* outstanding aspect of Milnes' character, namely, his passion for society. At Cambridge Richard Monckton Milnes was the friend of Tennyson, Hallam and Thackeray, to name but the most famous of a glittering generation of undergraduates there,[55] and he was a prominent member of both the Cambridge Apostles and the Cambridge Union Society, in which latter connection he was invited by Gladstone, in December

[51] T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes* (London, 1890), i. 69.

[52] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 71.

[53] See the letters given in Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 89-91.

[54] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 97.

[55] Amongst Milnes' contemporaries at Cambridge Reid lists: Dr Wordsworth, Whewell, Connop Thirlwall, Charles Buller, John Sterling, Richard Chenevix Trench, J. M. Kemble, J. W. Blakesley, Julius Hare, Sunderland, Stafford O'Brien. See Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 49-50.

1829, to defend, at the Oxford Union, the merits of Shelley over those of Byron.[56] During his first visit to Germany Richard met - amongst many others - Goethe's friend, the authoress Madame Schopenhauer[57] (he was later to lament greatly the fact that he had not, during his stay in Germany, taken the opportunity of visiting Goethe himself before the great man's death in 1832); the older Schlegel - August Wilhelm; and Niebuhr, a course of whose lectures in history Milnes was attending when the news broke in Bonn of the downfall of the restored Charles X in France and the subsequent renewal of revolution in that country. Concerning the July Revolution in Paris Milnes wrote to his father:

> If you think that the event came coldly to the bookish men you are wont to jeer at, you are much mistaken. Niebuhr interrupted his course, and gave a very eloquent lecture on it. Schlegel said he had expected it all; and the liberals looked mysterious and said they knew where it would extend to...[58]

Heine, of course, was still living in Germany in 1830 (he moved to Paris in May 1831), but, tempting though the speculation is, it is virtually impossible that he could have been one of 'the liberals' whom Milnes had in mind when writing this letter. For one thing, Heine was nowhere near Bonn in 1830 but divided the year between Hamburg, Wandsbek and his holiday island of Heligoland, in which last place he spent the crucial months of June to August. Moreover, if, despite Heine's assertions, the 'Briefe aus Helgoland', which he included in his book *Ludwig Börne. Eine Denkschrift*, were written not around the time of the July Revolution in 1830, but between 1839 and 1840, as Heine's biographer Jeffrey L. Sammons believes,[59] then, as Sammons comments, 'his documented reaction to the Revolution is surprisingly muted, especially when one considers that for much of his generation it was an epochal event, a kind of revolution of the Hegelian cosmos, at last setting history in motion again after a decade and a half of depressing stagnation and regression.'[60] Thus, if Heine was neither in Bonn nor writing anything of significance about the July Revolution at the time of its outbreak in 1830, it seems unlikely that Milnes would have had Heine in mind when writing

[56] For a full account of this episode see Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 77.

[57] See Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 98.

[58] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 100.

[59] See Jeffery L. Sammons, *Heinrich Heine: A Modern Biography* (Princeton and Manchester, 1979), pp. 153 and 237.

[60] Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 153. It is, of course, with Heine's *immediate* reaction to the July revolution that Sammons is concerned in this comment.

of the response to the revolution of 'the liberals' in the letter to his father quoted above. On the other hand, Heine had already achieved some considerable fame as a writer in Germany by the time of Milnes' visit there in the summer of 1830, so Milnes would surely have heard about the author of *Die Reisebilder*, *Das Buch der Lieder*, *Ideen:das Buch Le Grand* and others,[61] to say nothing of the part played by Heine in the Jungdeutschland movement. Indeed, it should also be remembered that Bonn had a particular association with Heine on account of his having begun his study of law there in 1819. Furthermore, in a letter written to Milnes' biographer, T. Wemyss Reid, on 4 November 1889, Aubrey de Vere recalls that Milnes was certainly reading Heine's works in the early 1830's, and, without himself putting a precise date on it, de Vere suggests strongly that Milnes was, in fact, reading Heine as early as the year 1830 itself, during that first summer visit to Bonn, since he speaks of Milnes' attendance at Niebuhr's lectures and then goes on to say:

> Milnes was at that time much devoted to German literature, and in sympathy with German philosophy - at least, so far as it stands opposed to that of Locke and his followers. He was ardent in his admiration for both the Schlegels, for Tieck, for Heine and Schiller, but, above all, for Goethe, whose many-sidedness delighted him, and whose minor poems he pronounced to be the perfection of art.[62]

Another notable English visitor to Niebuhr in Bonn in the summer of 1830 was Dr Arnold, who spent three hours talking to him on his way home to Rugby after a tour through France, Italy and Germany in July and August.[63] It was inevitable that such families as the Arnolds and the Milneses should have acquaintance in common, and in the winter of 1831-2, which Milnes spent in Rome, he came to know the family of the Chevalier Bunsen, with whom he and the Arnolds were to maintain lifelong friendships. At this time Milnes also made the acquaintance of Count von Platen, the German poet who had been the butt of some of Heine's most scathing ridicule in such works as the 'Reise von München nach Genua' and 'Die Bäder von Lucca', which had been published in December 1829.[64] Later, on 21 June 1832, Milnes wrote to his father from Rome, saying: 'I

[61] By the summer of 1830 Heine had already published the following works: *a.* 1822 - *Über Polen; b.* 1822 - *Briefe aus Berlin; c.* 1824 - *Die Harzreise; d.* 1824-5 - *Der Rabbi von Bacherach; e.* 1826 - *Ideen: das Buch Le Grand; f.* 1826 - *Die Nordsee; g.* 1827 - *Das Buch der Lieder; h.* 1828 - *Englische Fragmente; i.* 1828-30 - *Italienische Reisebilder: Italien.*

[62] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 116.

[63] See the letter sent to the Rev. G. Cornish from Rugby on 24 August 1830 in A. P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London, 1887), i. 275.

[64] For an account of Heine's dealings with Platen see Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, pp. 141-7.

have spent two happy days with Bunsen,'[65] and in the autumn of 1833, after a trip to Greece in a party which included 'two [unspecified] German literati',[66] Milnes, who was supposed to be making his way to England via Switzerland and the Rhine, broke off to visit Munich and the Salzkammergut, meeting, amongst other friends, Bunsen, who was travelling from Berlin to Rome. When his inheritance of the family property enabled Robert Pemberton Milnes to settle back in England in 1835, Richard began to turn his attentions more specifically in the direction of English public life and society, so that, as Reid remarks: 'Henceforth when he was on the Continent, he knew it rather as a traveller than as a sojourner.'[67] Reid goes on to comment that:

> His sojourn on the Continent left, however, its indelible traces upon his mind and character by stamping both with that catholicity of taste which distinguished him above most, if not indeed above all, his contemporaries. To life and society in England he brought a mind trained and informed by close association with some of the most eminent men in Europe, and which had been familiarised with modes of thought and schools of philosophy essentially foreign to our national ideas.[68]

Even when due allowance has been made for the adulatory tone which Reid, in common with many Victorian biographers,[69] felt obliged to adopt towards his subject (who had been, after all, his friend for twenty years)[70], this comment provides a convenient summary of those outstanding characteristics of cosmopolitanism, wide tolerance and avid sociability which remained with Milnes throughout his life and which rendered him so eminently suitable to play a part in pleading Heine's cause before the British public of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

At only one point in his biography of Milnes does Reid mention his subject's personal acquaintance with Heine, and this occurs when he is describing a visit to

[65] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 127.

[66] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 125.

[67] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 156.

[68] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 157.

[69] Examples would include Robert Lytton's *Julian Fane: a Memoir* (London, 1871); Lord Lytton's *The Life, Letters and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton* (London, 1883), 2 vols; A. P. Stanley's *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London, 1887), 2 vols; and J. W. Cross's *Life of George Eliot* (London, 1885), 3 vols.

[70] See the introduction to Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. xvi.

Paris made by Milnes between the end of 1839 and early 1840. Of this Reid writes:

> It was not only with statesmen and royalties that Milnes became familiar during this memorable visit to Paris. It was then that he first formed a personal acquaintance with the poet Heine, for whose genius he had so warm an admiration, and who, on his side, regarded the young Englishman with true affection.[71]

At this time Heine was busy writing his highly controversial work *Ludwig Börne. Eine Denkschrift*, which was published in August 1840, so it is, perhaps, scarcely surprising that no record remains from him of his new acquaintance with Milnes; while on Milnes' part, as Reid says, 'Of some of the most interesting of [Milnes' friendships] no record remains; whilst of others only a chance word here and there reminds us of the fact of their existence.'[72] This must surely be the familiar *cri de coeur* of all biographers. It is interesting, however, that Reid should go on to say:

> It was to Lady Duff Gordon that Milnes was indebted for his introduction to Heine. In what light Heine himself regarded the young Englishman was shown by a letter of his, written not long before his death, to Lady Duff Gordon.[73]

Reid then gives in English the passage quoted in German at the beginning of this chapter[74] which Lucie Duff Gordon herself ascribed not to a letter from Heine, but to her first conversation with him of September 1855.[75] With only the evidence now available it is impossible to know precisely in what way Lucie Duff Gordon 'introduced' Milnes to Heine. She was not in Paris in 1839-40 but in London, where she was preparing to marry Sir Alexander Duff Gordon and to translate Niebuhr's *Greek Legends*, which appeared under her mother's name; and Heine certainly was not in England. Moreover, in her letter to Milnes of 1856, which he used in his article on Heine in the *Edinburgh Review* and quoted in his *Monographs*, Lucie Duff Gordon stated explicitly that she had not seen Heine between August 1833, when, as a child of twelve, she first knew him at Boulogne,

[71] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 250.

[72] Introduction to Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. xi-xii.

[73] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 250.

[74] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 251. The translated passage in Reid's biography runs as follows:
'Yes he said, I do not know what possessed me to dislike the English, and to be so spiteful towards them, but it really was only petulance. I never hated them; indeed, I never knew them. I was only once in England, but knew no one, and found London very dreary, and the people in the streets odious. But England has revenged herself well; she has sent me most excellent friends - thyself and Milnes - that good Milnes - and others.'

[75] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 328-9.

and the renewal of their acquaintance in Paris in 1853,[76] by which time Heine had already spent some time confined to his 'mattress grave'.[77] It is also virtually impossible to interpret Reid as meaning that Lucie Duff Gordon 'introduced' Milnes to Heine's *works*, since, as has been shown, Milnes was already reading Heine in the early 1830's,[78] when Lucie Duff Gordon was still a young girl and before she had had her first encounter with Heine at Boulogne. Two possible interpretations of Reid's comments remain. The first of these is that Reid was simply confused into thinking that Lucie Duff Gordon introduced Milnes to Heine by the words with which Milnes prefaced his reproduction of her letter in his *Monographs*, where he wrote: 'During these years of misery I had no opportunity of visiting Heine, but soon after his death I received a letter from a lady to whom I applied for information concerning him...'.[79] These words seem clear enough, however, and the possibility of their causing confusion to a friend of twenty years standing is very slight. Thus, the second remaining possibility has to be regarded as the most likely, namely, that Lucie Duff Gordon was instrumental in bringing Milnes and Heine together by means of an introductory letter, evidence of which was presumably available to Reid at the time when he was writing his biography of Milnes. As early as 1836 Milnes was making a name for himself in London society, and by the end of the season that year he had, says Reid, 'secured a place of favour in the best social circles in London.'[80] In 1837 he secured a seat in the House of Commons and took rooms at 26, Pall Mall. Amongst 'the best social circles in London' of the time must surely have been that which frequented Lansdowne House, to which, according to Reid, Milnes' 'early friendship with Lord Lansdowne gave him constant admission.'[81] Lansdowne House, at that time, was known in particular for Whig politics and literary conversation, and Lucie Duff Gordon certainly became one of its habituées upon her parents' return to England from Malta (Lucie had been at school in Bromley during their two years absence), since it was there that she first met her husband, Sir Alexander Duff Gordon.[82] (It was also, of course, at Lansdowne House that Matthew Arnold first entered

[76] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 325.

[77] Heine's own celebrated expression. See his 'Nachwort zum "Romanzero" ' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 483.

[78] See p. 138 above, together with note 62.

[79] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 323.

[80] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 174.

[81] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 184.

[82] See Janet Ross's memoir of her mother, Lucie Duff Gordon, in the latter's *Letters from Egypt*, (London, 1983), pp. 4-5.

government service a few years later, in 1847.) Thus it is perfectly possible - indeed, likely - that Milnes and Lucie Duff Gordon first became acquainted at Lansdowne House and that there, knowing of his intention of visiting Paris in the winter of 1839-40, Lucie gave to Milnes a letter of introduction to her childhood friend, Heine.

In his *Monographs* Houghton himself refers to this visit to Paris of 1839-40 and says of Heine: 'I had made his acquaintance in 1840, when he was apparently in robust health and a brilliant member of the society of *Frondeurs* against the Government of King Louis-Philippe, of which the intellectual leader was George Sand, and the political the Abbé Lamennais.' Milnes continues:

> It was at this time that the latter was imprudently prosecuted for the tract 'De L'Esclavage moderne,' which would have been regarded with us as a very harmless diatribe, and sentenced to several months' imprisonment. I remember Heine expressing to the condemned politician the fear that the confinement might be injurious to his health, and the Abbé's reply, 'Mon enfant, il manque toujours quelque chose à la belle vie, qui ne finit pas sur le champ de bataille, sur l'échafaud, ou en prison.' Happy would it have been for the Poet if any such destiny had awaited him as attends the soldier or the martyr![83]

If Reid was correct in asserting that: 'It was to Lady Duff Gordon that Milnes was indebted for his introduction to Heine', then it might, perhaps, seem surprising that Milnes himself should not acknowledge the debt here, in his *Monographs*, in which he reproduced Lucie's letter fully for the first time. Set against that, however, is the fact that even here, four years after Lucie Duff Gordon's death, although the letter is reproduced, the name of its author is still concealed, - perhaps at the wishes of her family and in deference to her apparent wish in her lifetime to remain anonymous in the matter, - since the letter is attributed by Houghton simply to 'a lady'.[84]

If Milnes only saw Heine at one period in his life, namely, during this visit to Paris of 1839-40, then he must have made a very strong immediate impression on the German poet for Heine to speak of him to Lucie Duff Gordon fifteen years later as 'der gute Milnes' and to class him with her as one of his two greatest English friends.[85] Clearly there was more to the relationship than this. From his first making Heine's acquaintance in 1840 to the time of Heine's death

[83] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 312-13.

[84] Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 323-4.

[85] See the quotation from Heine's conversation with Lucie Duff Gordon of September 1855 given on p. 125 of this chapter. It is taken from Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 329.

on 17 February 1856 Milnes visited Paris on a number of occasions, so that he certainly had the 'opportunity of visiting Heine' during the latter's 'years of misery', even though, on his own clear admission, he seems not to have done so.[86] In the early part of 1843 Milnes returned to England from his visit to the Levant and Egypt via 'a few days and dinners at Paris',[87] and in November 1847 he was back there again. As soon as 'the flames of revolution appeared in Paris' in February 1848, 'Milnes set off to observe what was happening there for himself. ... equally at home in the salons of the Legitimists and the soirées of the Communists.' Reid continues:

> It added, of course, immensely to his interest in the movements in Paris that he was on terms of personal intimacy with most of the leading men in the France of that day, from the King downwards. His curiosity was insatiable, and was in no degree limited by his likes and dislikes. There, as in London, he was eager to learn something, by personal intercourse, of the characters of all the men who had made themselves prominent; and in this pursuit of knowledge he had no scruples as to the personal reputation of those whom he invited to his table, or with whom he entered into the most close and confidential discourse.[88]

This extract emphasises - should that be necessary - Milnes' indefatigable sociability even at a time of great turmoil in Paris. Again no individuals are singled out here, but the opportunity was certainly there for a renewal of Milnes' acquaintance with Heine at this time, and Milnes seems not the man to have missed it. Moreover, in writing his pamphlet *The Events of 1848* towards the close of that year Milnes took the unpopular step of defending the Liberals of Europe in terms which would have appealed to Heine at least in theory, if not in practice. In particular, Milnes was at pains to defend his old haunt of Lombardy against its Austrian oppressors (as he saw them), citing as a symbol of the liberty for which he hoped on their behalf that very battlefield of Marengo which was such a potent symbol of freedom for Heine also and which features prominently as such in the first part of his *Italienische Reisebilder*.[89] Amongst the many detractors of Milnes' pamphlet one who had perhaps the most cause to take exception to it was the exiled minister Guizot, who was living in London at the time of the

[86] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 323.

[87] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 291.

[88] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 404.

[89] See Richard Monckton Milnes, M.P., *The Events of 1848, especially in their Relationship to Great Britain: A Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne* (London, 1849). See also Heine's *Italienische Reisebilder*, part I: 'Die Reise von München nach Genua', especially Kapitel XXXI, in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iii. 280-81.

pamphlet's publication early in 1849, and who thereupon wrote to Milnes 'to express his regret that he could not agree with Milnes's optimistic view of the results of the year of Revolution, but saying that he did not like to quarrel with a friend, that he had received so much kindness from Milnes he could only regard him with affection still, in spite of all differences of opinion.'[90] Thus, Milnes was clearly on terms of friendship with the French politician who, along with Thiers, was responsible for arranging and continuing a French government pension for Heine from 1840 until the July revolution of 1848.[91]

During the spring of 1850 Milnes had a further opportunity of seeing Heine, when he went back to Paris, 'anxious to see for himself as much as possible of the results of the Revolution.'[92] Of this visit Reid goes on to say:

> The President, still guiltless of the *coup d'etat*, showed him much attention; and even went so far as to write to him confidentially on the subject of the relations of the two countries. But older friends of Milnes than Prince Napoleon exercised their influence upon him; and the result of his visit was to impress him strongly with the unsatisfactory prospects of the country under a ruler whose ambition, though carefully concealed, was apparently insatiable.[93]

Again, it is impossible to know who these 'older friends of Milnes' were.

On 30 July 1851 Milnes married the Honourable Annabel Crewe, younger daughter of the second Lord Crewe, and the couple embarked upon a three months honeymoon on the Continent. Thereafter Milnes remained in England until July 1855, when he visited Paris for the *Exposition*, and it is once more tempting to speculate upon a possible renewal of acquaintance between Milnes and the dying Heine, especially since the invalid state of the latter had been the subject of much discussion throughout Britain and Europe ever since his final collapse in May 1848.[94] This visit to Paris in July 1855 would have been Milnes' last opportunity of seeing Heine, who died on 17 February 1856, shortly before

[90] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 415.

[91] For details of this see Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, pp. 223-5.

[92] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 440.

[93] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 440-41.

[94] See, for example:
a. Anon., 'Heine, His Works and Times', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, xviii N.S. (October and November 1851), 618-22 and 679-83.
b. Saint-René Taillandier, 'Henri Heine, Sa Vie et Ses Écrits', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xiv. Nouvelle Période (1 April 1852), 5-36. (This article was reprinted in translation as 'The Life and Writings of Heinrich Heine', *Sharp's London Magazine*, i. N.S. (1852), 291-9 and 362-9.)

[*footnote continues on next page*

Milnes paid the city another brief visit. Thus, although Milnes himself only speaks of one spell of personal acquaintance with Heine, during his (Milnes') visits to Paris of 1839-40[95] and claims to have 'had no opportunity of visiting Heine' during Heine's 'years of misery',[96] it is clear that the opportunity to do so was certainly not lacking, since Milnes actually made a number of visits to Paris during the years of Heine's confinement to his 'mattress grave'.[97] Moreover, it is unlikely that Heine would have singled out 'der gute Milnes' along with Lucie Duff Gordon, in his conversation with the latter of September 1855, as a prime example of the 'ganz vorzügliche Freunde'[98] whom England had sent him, if their acquaintance had been limited solely to that spell in 1839-40. No external evidence remains to prove conclusively that further meetings did take place between the two men, but, as has been shown, the reasons for suggesting that this is likely are strong. One particular personal trait of Milnes remains to be considered as a possible source of contact between them and cause of Heine's apparently warm regard for Milnes, and that is Milnes' celebrated generosity towards friends - especially artists - in need. Writing to Reid on 4 November 1889, Aubrey de Vere said that Milnes 'never forgot an old friend, and was always anxious to be of practical help to those who stood in need of aid, or who were unjustly assailed',[99] whilst Reid himself commented that Milnes possessed:

> ...one of the kindest hearts that ever beat in human breast; a heart that in the secrecy of its own chamber knew no pleasure so great as that of alleviating the distress of others. Something was known during Milnes' own lifetime of the extent to which his 'hand and heart, both open and both free,' were at the service of men of genius in distress; but what is known is a mere fraction of that which could be told if the tale were to be made complete.[100]

Bearing in mind these words and the state of comparative penury in which Heine spent his last years, it seems reasonable to speculate that Milnes may have

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c. Anon., 'Young Germany', *Fraser's Magazine*, xlix. (January 1854), 81-8.
d. Anon., 'Contemporary Literature: Belles Lettres', *Westminster Review*, vii N.S. (January 1855), 275-8.
For discussion of these articles see pp. 14-21 of chapter 1 above.

95 Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 312-13.

96 Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 323.

97 See note 77 above.

98 Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 329.

99 Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 118.

100 Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 170.

assisted the dying poet financially, a state of affairs to which Milnes would have been understandably reluctant to make reference in speaking of his personal acquaintance with Heine in his *Monographs*. Indeed, it is then possible that Milnes used the statement 'During those years of misery I had no opportunity of visiting Heine'[101] merely to cover the tracks of his generosity towards the poet in other - especially financial? - ways. If this were the case, then it would surely serve to explain Heine's reference to Milnes as 'der gute Milnes'[102] in his conversation with Lucie Duff Gordon in September 1855, since financial matters did cause Heine anxiety throughout his life, and towards the end of his life he was particularly concerned to ensure as comfortable a situation as possible for Mathilde after his death.

All his life Milnes retained his interest in German affairs, and Heine continued to be important to him. His friendship with George von Bunsen was maintained throughout Milnes' life, and he made a number of trips to Germany, including several visits to the Bunsen family.[103] Early in January 1844 Milnes wrote to C. J. MacCarthy, 'I rather think of six weeks of Berlin this winter, to rub up my German and see whether the King is a humbug.'[104] In the event this visit was deferred until the end of the year, and on 14 October 1844 Milnes wrote again to C. J. MacCarthy, saying:

> If all goes well with my sister, [Lady Galway had just given birth to a son] I shall confront the cold of Berlin, and hope to see a good deal of Varnhagen, who promised me much intellectual hospitality. I have a notion I shall find the King what the Yorkshiremen call 'a little soft,' but very good. Bunsen is in higher favour with him than ever.[105]

Milnes eventually arrived in Berlin in December, and during the two months or so of his visit he appears to have spent a good deal of time with Varnhagen von Ense, that most faithful German friend of Heine. According to Walther Fischer, Milnes' conversations with Varnhagen were largely concerned with British and German politics and with Milnes' poetry.[106] Frustratingly, there is again no

[101] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 323.

[102] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 329.

[103] According to Reid, Milnes visited Germany on the following occasions: *a*. Summer, 1830 (see Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 97); *b*. Autumn, 1833 (see Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 153); *c*. Winter, 1844-5 (see Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 340-41); *d*. Summer, 1857 (see Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 19); *e*. Autumn, 1880 (see Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 395).

[104] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 317.

[105] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 340.

[106] See Walther Fischer, *Die persönlichen Beziehungen Richard Monckton Milnes' zu Deutschland* (Würzberg, 1918), pp. 24-6.

record of their having discussed Heine, but again it is hard to believe that they did not do so, especially since Milnes had personally made the acquaintance of Heine just four years earlier. Moreover, from 22 July to 16 October 1844 Heine had himself been in Germany, trying to reinstate himself in the good books of his wealthy but ailing uncle, Salomon Heine, in Hamburg,[107] and during Milnes' visit to Berlin, which lasted from mid-December 1844 to mid-February 1845, Varnhagen was in frequent contact with Heine (now returned to Paris), since the latter was attempting to persuade his friend to adopt various more-or-less reputable stratagems in order to obtain for Heine a greater share in the legacy of Salomon Heine, who died on 23 December 1844.[108] Meanwhile, in England Houghton's immense list of acquaintance included such connoisseurs of German literature as Henry Crabb Robinson[109] and Thomas Carlyle,[110] along with others such as George Eliot,[111] Matthew Arnold,[112] Julian Fane,[113] the

[107] For an account of this visit see Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 267.

[108] For an account of Heine's manoeuvrings with regard to Salomon Heine's will, see Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, pp. 278-85.

[109] Mentioned in Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 221.

[110] First mentioned by Reid as a correspondent of Milnes around May 1838. See Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 209.

[111] With regard to Milnes' friendship with George Eliot, Reid says that Milnes 'had been one of those who from the first had recognised the brilliant talents of the writer of "Scenes of Clerical Life;" and after her identity had been revealed, he was one of the chosen few who knew her intimately in private life.' (Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii, 376.) In somewhat cooler vein, however, Gordon S. Haight, writing some eighty years after Reid, said of the relationship: 'The most conspicuous lion-hunter of his day, Richard Monckton Milnes, who was about to be raised to the peerage as Baron Houghton, had known Lewes [i.e., of course, George Henry Lewes, the longstanding companion of George Eliot] for at least twenty years; he now in the mid-1860's began to invite him to his extraordinary parties in Upper Brook Street. ... At the Priory on 25 June 1864, just after the Congreves arrived, Lord Houghton came in unexpectedly "bringing Polly a copy of his poems. He sat with us at lunch." (G.H.L. Journal, 25 June 1864.) It was her first meeting with him. Lord Houghton asked whether Mrs Lewes had any fixed day for visitors and was soon appearing fairly often at the Sunday afternoons for which the Priory was becoming noted.' (Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot, A Biography* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 388-9.)

[112] On 3 August 1859 Arnold wrote to Milnes: 'I have desired the publisher to send you a copy of a pamphlet of mine on the Italian question, which embodies some of the French experiences I inflicted on you in Paris.' (*Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. G. W. E. Russell, (London, 1895), i. 101 and Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 40.) Moreover, it is interesting to note that in the letter to his mother in which he announces the success of his Oxford lecture on Heine, Arnold also writes: 'On Sunday night I dined with Monckton Milnes,' going on to mention a company which included George Henry Lewes. (See *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 194-6.)

[113] The families of Richard Monckton Milnes and Julian Fane had clearly enjoyed a lengthy acquaintance, since Reid quotes a letter from Paris, dated 23 April 1814, from Milnes' father, Robert Pemberton Milnes, to his wife, in which he speaks of having visited Julian Fane's

[*footnote continues on next page*

Lyttons [114] and Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff,[115] all of whom had, at one time or another, a particular interest in Heine.

Milnes' article 'Heinrich Heine' was published in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1856. Heine's death, on 17 February of that year, had, not surprisingly, provoked a spate of periodical articles about his life and works,[116] so it seems reasonable to assume that, in writing his, Milnes was jumping onto a popular bandwagon, as well as paying tribute to a friend. Of particular importance amongst the articles on Heine published in Britain in 1856 are the three produced then by George Eliot[117] of which the first, entitled 'German Wit: Heinrich Heine' and published, with considerable prescience, in January, shortly before Heine's death, is undoubtedly the most important, whilst the second and third, published in April and August, may, like Milnes' own article, be regarded at least partly as pieces of journalistic opportunism.[118] Although idiosyncratic in some respects, Milnes' essay does contain some internal evidence to suggest that he was familiar

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father, Lord Burghersh, 'who has been showing us about the town.' (Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 23.) Thereafter Julian Fane is mentioned many times in Reid's biography of Milnes, and it was Milnes who was primarily responsible for drawing the attention of the public to Fane's translations of some of Heine's poems, in his article 'Heinrich Heine' in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1856. For details of Fane's interest in Heine see pp. 171-9 of this chapter.

[114] For details of Robert Lytton's interest in Heine see pp. 179-81 of this chapter.

[115] Grant Duff clearly had some interest in Heine, since on 14 May 1863 Arnold wrote to him shortly before giving his Oxford lecture on Heine, saying: 'Many thanks both to you and your friend. I have no doubt there are many things in his edition of Heine which I have not read, but, as Napoleon said, "Il faut savoir se borner," I am even going, for the sake of a restricted *cadre*, to make my text the *Romancero* only, illustrating my remarks upon it by some quotations from the other works, but of these quotations I have more than I can use already. So with many thanks I will decline your offer. My object is not so much to give a literary history of Heine's works, as to mark his place in modern European letters, and the special tendency and significance of what he did.' (See *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Russell, i. 193.)

[116] See, for example:
a. Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Illustrated London News* (London, 8 March 1856), xxviii, 245.
b. Anon., 'German Literature: Heine's Death', *New Quarterly Review*, v (1856), 352.
c. George Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', *Saturday Review*, i (26 April 1856), 523-4. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 268-71.
d. George Eliot, 'Recollections of Heine', *Leader*, xxiii (August 1856), 811-12.

[117] These are:
a.'German Wit: Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, lxv (January 1856), 1-33. Reprinted in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp. 216-54.
b.'Heine's Book of Songs', *Saturday Review*, i (26 April 1856), 523-4. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 268-71.
c. 'Recollections of Heine', *Leader*, xxiii (August 1856), 811-12.

[118] For a fuller account of George Eliot's articles on Heine - including her earlier article 'Heine's Poems' in the *Leader*, vi (1 September 1855), 843-4 (reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 256-9) - see pp. 32-44 of chapter 2 above.

with George Eliot's major essay on Heine, 'German Wit', and with her much shorter review article, 'Heine's Book of Songs', which appeared on 26 April 1856. According to the heading of his article, Milnes took as his basic texts the *Vermischte Schriften von Heinrich Heine* which had been published in three volumes in Hamburg in 1854; Julian Fane's unpublished translations of *Poems by Heinrich Heine*, which had been privately printed and circulated in Vienna in 1854; and John E. Wallis's translation of *Heinrich Heine's Book of Songs*, which had been published in London in 1856. Moreover, as has already been shown, Milnes also drew on the reminiscences of Lucie Duff Gordon for an account of Heine's last years, although he could not, at this time, acknowledge this out of deference to her wish for privacy.[119] Wallis's translation of Heine's *Buch der Lieder* had been the subject of a fairly lukewarm review by George Eliot in the April article, in which she had written:

> [Mr Wallis] is clearly a very competent German scholar, and his rendering is generally a close one. With some exceptions he reproduces faithfully the meaning of the original; but, alas! he fails to reproduce their charm. The scent of the violet is gone; the living song has become mechanical verse; and very often the line-for-line rendering only makes the contrast more striking.[120]

Much more ponderously, and in almost perverse contrast to George Eliot, Milnes compared Wallis's translations with those of Julian Fane and wrote:

> Mr Julian Fane's good scholarship renders his translations the most agreeable to those who are acquainted with the originals, but his attempt to transfer to another language many of the most peculiar idioms and most vivacious turns of thought is frequently unsuccessful. Mr Wallis, less ambitious of accuracy, is happier in the general effect, and exhibits in a great degree that facility of diction which substitutes a fair alternative of analogous expression where an accurate version is difficult or impossible.[121]

Both Milnes and George Eliot agreed, however, on the qualities which made Heine's poems so difficult to translate, since George Eliot wrote:

> Here is the reason why his poems are so difficult to be translated - or rather, so utterly untranslatable by any one who is only a versifier and not a poet. Rhythm and rhyme are no fetters to Heine - they are rather the wings on the sandals of the God, that help him to float through ether with all the more buoyancy.[122]

[119] See pp. 126-35 of this chapter, esp. pp. 133-4.

[120] Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 269

[121] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 193.

[122] Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 268

Milnes, meanwhile, commented rather less eloquently that, 'The very lightness of these admirable lyrics makes it most difficult to reproduce them in another tongue.'[123] A further point on which Milnes' interpretation of Heine clearly differed from that of George Eliot lay in their opinions of Heine's long satire on German politics, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, which was published in 1844, the year of a visit by Milnes to Berlin.[124] In 'German Wit' George Eliot referred to this poem as 'Of Heine's humorous poetry ... the most charming specimen - charming, especially, because its wit and humour grow out of a rich loam of thought.'[125] By contrast, Milnes speaks of it as 'the one of his works where his humour runs over into the coarsest satire,' and he goes on somewhat pompously to claim that 'the malice can only be excused by the remembrance that he [i.e. Heine] too had been exposed to some of the evil influences of a servile condition.'[126] In common with George Eliot's first two essays on Heine ('Heine's Poems' and 'German Wit'), Milnes' essay opens with a discussion of humour, and both authors, at some stage, consider a comparison between the wit of Heine and that of Voltaire. In 'German Wit' George Eliot describes Voltaire as 'the intensest example of pure wit', going on to say that he 'fails in most of his fictions from his lack of humour.'[127] At the end of a lengthy general discourse on wit and humour George Eliot goes on to claim that in Heine wit and humour are united,[128] and she thus implicitly rejects any very close comparison between Heine and Voltaire. Similarly she more explicitly rejected it in her earlier essay 'Heine's Poems', in which, whilst conceding some similarities of style between the two writers,[129] she differentiated between them on the grounds that Heine lacked 'the distinct moral conviction which often inspired Voltaire',[130] and, whilst arguing that wit, rather than humour, was 'Heine's grand characteristic', she nonetheless allowed:

[123] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 193.

[124] For an account of this visit see pp. 146-7 of this chapter.

[125] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p.249.

[126] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 196-7.

[127] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p.220.

[128] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p.223, where George Eliot describes Heine as: 'a German born with the present century, who, to Teutonic imagination, sensibility, and humour, adds an amount of *esprit* that would make him brilliant among the most brilliant of Frenchmen.'

[129] In 'Heine's Poems' she wrote: 'Thus it came to pass that we have that wonderful human compound Heinrich Heine, a writer who is a master of a German prose as light and subtle and needle-pointed as Voltaire's French...' - in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

[130] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 256.

> ...that there are many passages of Sterne-like humour in Heine, and herein he is least akin to the French, and most nearly allied to the broader and deeper German nature, which atones for the want of *esprit* by something which *esprit* will never supersede - loving earnestness.[131]

Milnes, too, ultimately rejected the comparison between Voltaire and Heine, when he wrote:

> We have seen something among ourselves of this enduring sentiment of religious patriotism with interest and not without respect. In Heine it was the saving element of reverence which incurred the wrath of what he calls the 'High Church of German Infidelity' - of Bruno Bauer, of Daumer, and of Feuerbach - 'who did me too much and too little honour in entitling me their brother in the spirit - of Voltaire.' That he undoubtedly never was; the wit of thoughts preserved him from the tyranny of the wit of words. The humour which abounded within him flowed over the whole surface of nature, and left no place for arid ridicule and barren scorn; it fertilised all it touched with its inherent poetry...[132]

At two points the writings of Milnes and George Eliot are very obviously alike, since both quote in translation the same passages from Heine's works. The first of these instances occurs in 'German Wit' when, at the beginning of her account of Heine's life, George Eliot quotes from the account given in his *Reisebilder* of life in Düsseldorf under the Elector and of its end. George Eliot's quotation is lengthy, but it includes a section which runs as follows:

> Princes in that day were not the tormented race as they are now; the crown grew firmly on their heads, and at night they drew a nightcap over it, and slept peacefully, and peacefully slept the people at their feet; and when the people waked in the morning, they said - 'Good morning, father!' - and the princes answered - 'Good morning, dear children!' But it was suddenly quite otherwise; for when we awoke one morning at Düsseldorf , and were ready to say, - 'Good morning, father!' - lo! the father was gone away; and in the whole town there was nothing but dumb sorrow, everywhere a sort of funeral disposition...[133]

The same passage appears in Milnes' translation as:

> In those days, princes were not the persecuted wretches that they now are; their crowns grew firmly on their heads, and at night-time they drew their caps over them, and slept in peace, and their people slumbered calmly at their feet; and when they awoke in the morning, they said, Father! good morning, and he answered, Good morning, my dear

[131] Eliot, 'Heine's Poems', in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, p. 257.

[132] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 208.

[133] Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 226.

> children. But there came a sudden change over all this; for one morning when we awoke and wanted to say, Good morning, Father, the Father had trundled off, and mute sorrow reigned throughout the town.[134]

Likewise, in 'German Wit', George Eliot quotes, again in translation, the following passage from Heine's *Geständnisse*:

> I had visions: the clouds terrified me, and made all sorts of ugly faces at me. It often seemed to me as if the sun were a Prussian cockade; at night I dreamed of a hideous black eagle, which gnawed my liver; and I was very melancholy. Add to this, I had become acquainted with an old Berlin Justizrath, who had spent many years in the fortress of Spandau, and he related to me how unpleasant it is when one is obliged to wear irons in winter. For myself I thought it very unchristian that the irons were not warmed a trifle. If the irons were warmed a little for us they would not make so unpleasant an impression, and even chilly natures might bear them very well; it would be only proper consideration, too, if the fetters were perfumed with essence of roses and laurels, as is the case in this country (France). I asked my Justizrath whether he often got oysters to eat at Spandau? He said, No; Spandau was too far from the sea. Moreover, he said meat was very scarce there, and there was no kind of *volaille* except flies, which fell into one's soup. ... Now, as I really needed some recreation, and, as Spandau is too far from the sea for oysters to be got there, and the Spandau fly soup did not seem very appetizing to me, as, besides all this, the Prussian chains are very cold in winter, and could not be conducive to my health, I resolved to visit Paris.[135]

Milnes, in his essay, reports this passage, in condensed fashion, as follows:

> When questioned in France as to his nationality, he [i.e. Heine] used to call himself Prussien libéré, and he writes that he had been haunted with unpleasant visions, had seen himself in the attitude of Prometheus, and had fancied the sun turned into a Prussian cockade. A high legal functionary had also told him that Spandau was very cold in winter; that no oysters came there, so far from the sea; and that the inhabitants caught no game except the flies which fell into the soup; so on the last of May, 1831, he betook himself to the fatherland of Champagne and the Marseillaise.[136]

Despite these internal similarities, there is no external evidence to prove conclusively that Milnes knew George Eliot's essays on Heine, but, as they were published in prominent periodicals of the day (*The Leader*, *The Saturday Review* and *The Westminster Review*), it is, at least, probable that he had read them before writing his article for the *Edinburgh Review*. Milnes cannot be said to have

134 Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 195-6.

135 Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, pp.236-7.

136 Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 194.

plagiarised George Eliot's work, but the points of similarity between his essay and those which she had published before his appeared are sufficient to indicate the extent of the influence which her essays - especially 'German Wit' - exerted. Milnes' essay is certainly not of comparable stature to 'German Wit', neither being so perceptively original in its literary criticism, nor exerting so wide an influence upon successive English writing on Heine. Nonetheless, Milnes had the advantage, which George Eliot did not have, of having actually met Heine and of having been apparently regarded by him as a valued friend, and for this reason - if for no other - his *Edinburgh Review* article must be regarded as important to the story of Heine's reception in England and of his influence upon nineteenth-century English letters. Milnes' own personal knowledge of Heine was, of course, supported in this essay by that of Lucie Duff Gordon, and the personal note does come through, even despite Milnes' ponderous style of writing. Milnes' basic aim in his essay seems to be to give the reader an indication of Heine's beliefs and feelings on a variety of issues - such as Judaism and Christianity,[137] Hebraism and Hellenism,[138] Communism and the aristocracy[139] - rather than to give the more detached account of his life and works which George Eliot achieves in 'German Wit' and in her three other Heine essays.

Another significant English periodical essay on Heine which Milnes would certainly have known was that published in the *Saturday Review* for 3 November 1855 by his friend Julian Fane.[140] Although quite different from Milnes' essay in many respects, - and certainly much livelier than it in tone, - Fane's 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist' does have points in common with Milnes' essay which suggest that it may have had an influence upon it. Both Fane and Milnes discuss Heine's attitude towards the German political scene before, during and after the Napoleonic invasion in broadly similar terms, agreeing that, in Fane's words:

> The author of the Reisebilder denounced both the hopes which had elated and the disappointments which now depressed his countrymen. Their follies are the objects of his contemptuous satire...[141]

On the same topic Milnes wrote:

[137] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 208.

[138] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 201-2.

[139] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 197-200.

[140] Julian Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', *Saturday Review*, i (3 November 1855), 13-14.

[141] Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

> ...in later years he [i.e. Heine] directed his bitterest irony against the slaves who had been let loose in the peril of the storm to work the pumps, and draw the cables and risk their lives, but who, when the good ship floated safe once more, were turned back into the hold and chained nicely down again in political darkness.[142]

Milnes' view of Heine's *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* has already been discussed,[143] and it obviously concurred with that of Fane, who described Heine's poem in his essay as containing 'the boisterous humour of a schoolboy' and 'the coarse sarcasm of a sceptic who jeers not at the things of this world alone.'[144] Both writers agreed, however, that the authentic voice of Heine the poet remained constant and essentially unchanged throughout his life, since Fane wrote that *Romanzero* contained:

> ...specimens of all his styles, and illustrations of all his inconsistencies. It is compounded of ballads and songs, which, in delicacy of conception and execution, rival the happiest efforts of his youth; of poems which prove that the flight of time has neither refined the coarseness nor extracted the sting of his satire; and of some passages in prose which could have been written only by the fantastic author of the *Reisebilder* and the *Salon*.[145]

Similarly, Milnes later wrote that '...the voice that comes from the bed of long sickness and approaching death is the very same that trolled out those delightful melodies that every boy and woman in Germany knows by heart.'[146] Finally, Fane, too, considered the comparison between Heine and Voltaire and, like Milnes and George Eliot,[147] found it ultimately untenable, since, although he admitted that Heine had, at one time, 'scoffed with the temerity of Voltaire', he eventually concluded that:

> The fiendish element of sarcasm in the man was counteracted by his great human attribute of humour, and this in its turn was tempered by the gentle charities of a kindly imagination which saved its possessor from genuine misanthropy.[148]

As with George Eliot's writing on Heine, so too with Milnes', it would be futile and pointless to attempt to trace all the previous essays which might have had a

[142] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 196.

[143] See p. 150 of this chapter.

[144] Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

[145] Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

[146] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 194.

[147] See pp. 150-51 of this chapter.

[148] Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

bearing upon it.[149] With regard to Milnes' essay, the fact that three of George Eliot's essays - in particular, of course, 'German Wit' - had preceded it, is important because the similarities between his work and hers show something of the extent of the influence which her work exerted; and also because they throw into relief the fundamentally different aims and achievements of the two writers - George Eliot's work being largely of a biographical-critical nature in a scholarly, objective manner, whilst Milnes' essay dwells with more personal emphasis on the thoughts and feelings of his subject, since he believed that 'Heine's inner self' formed 'the most interesting portion' of his works.[150] The likelihood that Milnes had read Julian Fane's article on Heine before producing his own is of importance because, as will be shown, Fane's interest in Heine surpassed that of many, if not most, of his contemporaries, and Fane's own early death alone prevented him from completing his project of writing one of the earliest ever full-length biographies of Heine.[151] The similarities between Fane's essay and that of Milnes, although not extensive, do at least suggest that the two men held some common ideas about Heine. There can be no way of knowing which man was the originator of which ideas, since both had known each other since well before the publication of either essay, but it seems reasonable to suppose that Fane must have benefited from Milnes' personal knowledge of Heine, whilst Milnes had much to gain from Fane's thorough scholarship on his subject.

Milnes' essay must have been well received in 1856, since he reproduced it, with only a few significant changes, in his *Monographs Personal and Social* in 1873. This volume is described by Reid as 'a review of some of the more interesting friendships he had made during his long life', and he continues by saying that:

> ...it must always be of value because of the vivid light in which it places some men and women of whom the world will long be anxious to know. The publication achieved an immediate and instant success, and it afforded the world at large an opportunity of learning something of the extent and the varied character of the society in which the author had moved.[152]

Reid clearly indicates, therefore, that his friendship with Heine was rated highly by Milnes as one 'of the more interesting friendships he had made during his long

[149] See comment on pp. 38 and 41-2 of chapter 2.

[150] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 194.

[151] See p. 176 of this chapter.

[152] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 274.

life', and, indeed, the introduction of direct reference to his personal acquaintance with Heine forms one of the major changes which Milnes made to his *Edinburgh Review* article before incorporating it into his *Monographs*.[153] In addition to this Milnes added to his translations of poems two to ten from the 'Zum Lazarus' section of the second book of Heine's *Poetische Nachlese* the first and eleventh poems of the group, entitled 'Lass die heil'gen Parabolen' and 'Mich locken nicht die Himmelsauen' respectively, and also his translation of 'Für die Mouche', although there appears to be no particular significance to these additions.[154] Milnes also softened an earlier comment which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* article as: 'It is a painful admission, that we must not, and indeed cannot, judge these poems by a Christian standard',[155] and in the *Monographs* as: 'These poems, this temperament of mind, even this noble endurance, must not be judged by a Christian standard.'[156] The single most important change which Milnes made to his work on Heine for the *Monographs*, however, was the reproduction in full of Lucie Duff Gordon's letter to him concerning her friendship with Heine and her visits to him on his sickbed, only a small part of which had previously appeared, unacknowledged, in the *Edinburgh Review* article.[157] In the *Monographs*, Milnes states clearly that his information concerning Heine's last years comes from 'a lady to whom I applied for information concerning him' and declares himself 'grateful to be permitted by her representatives to insert it here.'[158] Lucie's letter, which is discussed in detail earlier in this

[153] The important passage occurs on pp. 312-13 of *Monographs* and is quoted on p. 142 of this chapter. In addition to this, Milnes made in the *Monographs* one more direct reference to his acquaintance with Heine in 1840 in a footnote on p. 298, when to his account of Heine's impressions of England he appends the following: 'He [Heine] said to me in 1840 "I must revisit England, if only to judge and understand you better."'

[154] The original group of translations appears on pp. 204-207 of the *Edinburgh Review* article and the enlarged group on pp. 316-23 and 332-36 of *Monographs*. Apart from the addition of three poems, the only differences between the two versions lie in the following corrections to the earlier version of Heine's poem five, 'Ich sah sie lachen, sah sie lächeln': Line 1, which in the *Edinburgh Review* article erroneously reads: '"I saw them sail, I heard them prattle",' becomes in *Monographs*: 'I saw them smile, I heard them prattle,-'; and lines13-14 change from: 'And must one tearful recollection / Beset me,' to 'And most one tearful recollection / Besets me,'. In addition, there is a change of spelling in the following poem, Heine's Poem VI, 'Du warst ein blondes Jungfräulein, so artig,' in which the word 'debonnaire' in line 2 of the *Edinburgh Review* version becomes 'debonair' in *Monographs*. Poems 1-11 of Heine's 'Zum Lazarus' poems can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 91-8. 'Für die Mouche' can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 45-9.

[155] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 208.

[156] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 337.

[157] See Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 202-3.

[158] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 323.

chapter,[159] occupies about a fifth of the entire work, and it is certainly responsible for making the piece infinitely more interesting and attractive than the *Edinburgh Review* article alone.

With the *Edinburgh Review* article and the piece in *Monographs* Milnes obviously thought he had 'said his piece' on Heine, but he clearly retained a high regard for the German poet throughout his life. In 1875, during a lecture tour of America, Milnes told an audience:

> Literature, in truth, has been to you a good and faithful emigrant, reproductive, not only of all intellectual growth, but of the sympathies - the largest sympathies - which bind together man to man. It has settled among you every classic writer of British origin; and from the Continent it has brought to you Goethe, Schiller, and Heinrich Heine.[160]

Here Milnes showed that he regarded Heine as a writer worthy to rank with the greatest authors of German literature - indeed, with the greatest in all of Europe. Moreover, in the 'Miscellaneous' section, which Reid reproduces from Milnes' Commonplace Books, Heine features as the only German author to be quoted directly, in the entry: 'When I think of the Cimetière Montmartre, I always see a pair of shoes or boots, pumps or slippers, at the foot of each tomb, ready for the sleepers; lying in the light, clean brushed by the hands of the angels, those boots of the great world-hotel." - *Heine*.'[161] Presumably the sheer joyous humour of Heine appealed to Milnes in this extract.

As a translator of Heine's poems Milnes had mixed fortunes. His translations from Heine's 'Zum Lazarus' poems[162] are, on the whole, his least successful efforts, since they capture little - if anything - of the terrible starkness of the originals.[163] This is particularly the case with reference to poem 1 of the 'Zum Lazarus' group from Heine's *Poetische Nachlese* in which it seems as though a fear of blasphemy holds Milnes back from giving Heine's full meaning, notably in verse three, which in Heine's original runs:

> Woran liegt die Schuld? Ist etwa
> Unser Herr nicht ganz allmächtig?

[159] See pp. 126-35 of this chapter.

[160] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 330.

[161] See the Appendix to Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 485.

[162] See Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 204-207 and *Monographs*, pp. 316-23.

[163] For Heine's originals see the second book of his 'Poetische Nachlese' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 91-8.

Oder treibt er selbst den Unfug?
Ach, das wäre niederträchtig.[164]

whilst Milnes' translation is:

Where the fault? By whom was sent
The evil no one can relieve?
Jehova not omnipotent!
Ah! that I never will believe.[165]

Walther Fischer sums this up well - if somewhat extravagantly - by saying:

> Diese gellenden Aufschreie aus des siechen Dichters Matratzengruft, da er mit Gott und allen Menschen zu hadern beginnt und sich kaum Mühe gibt, seine fürchterliche Todesangst hinter einem krampfhaften Zynismus zu verstecken, - diese Schmerzenskinder einer zerrissenen Dichterseele konnten in ihrer krassen Form dem grossen englischen Publikum nie und nimmer geboten werden. Der tief Empfindende wird nun freilich wünschen, dass unter solchen Umständen eine Übertragung überhaupt unterblieben wäre; andererseits ist aber auch Milnes' Standpunkt wenn nicht völlig zu billigen, so doch zu begreifen, der um ein paar anstössiger Stellen willen nicht darauf verzichten wollte, seinen Landsleuten diese so erschütternden Proben des Heineschen Sarkasmus nahe zu bringen.[166]

Elsewhere, with verses nine to fifteen of the first version of Heine's 'Die Libelle', with 'Enfant Perdu' and with 'Für die Mouche' Milnes is rather more successful,[167] and Fischer can surely claim with some justice that: 'Alle diese Gedichte sind sichtlich mit besonderer Liebe übersetzt und teilweise recht glücklich nachempfunden.'[168] Fischer goes on to single out Milnes' version of 'Für die Mouche' as the most important of his translations from Heine's poems, saying:

> Gewiss, den sanften Schimmer Heinescher Mondromantik, der in den Eingangsstrophen des Originals jene schattenhaften Ruinen mit seinem matten Glanze übergiesst, wird man in der Milnes'schen Übersetzung schwerlich entdecken können;

[164] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 92.

[165] Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 316.

[166] Fischer, *Milnes und Deutschland*, p. 15.

[167] For Milnes' translations of these poems see pp. 199-200 of 'Heinrich Heine' and 307, 308 and 332-6 of *Monographs*. Heine's originals may be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 149-50; i. 430; and ii. 45-9 respectively.

[168] Fischer, *Milnes und Deutschland*, p. 14.

> was aber an dem Gedichte überhaupt übersetzbar war, dem ist Milnes sicherlich gerecht geworden.[169]

On the whole this translation is quite successful, but the second half of Fischer's sentence does claim somewhat too much for it, especially since there are several points in the translation at which Milnes' touch is both excessively heavy and prudish. His version of verses six, nine, eleven and twenty-one all bear this out,[170] but surely the most glaring example occurs in verse twenty-two, in which Heine's:

> Du warst die Blume, du geliebtes Kind,
> An deinen Küssen musst ich dich erkennen.
> So zärtlich keine Blumenlippen sind,
> So feurig keine Blumentränen brennen![171]

becomes:

> What odorous ichor can thy tears excel?
> What sun-fed blooms can realise thy kisses?
> That passion-flower was all the world's as well,
> But thou art all mine own, thou bliss of blisses![172]

In his biography of Julian Fane, published in 1871, two years before Houghton's *Monographs*, Robert Lytton, in discussing Fane's translations of Heine, mentioned Houghton's review of them in the *Edinburgh Review* article and said in a footnote: 'It is much to be regretted that Lord Houghton's own translations are not more numerous. They are all of them excellent.'[173] This second sentence is, of course, much too sweeping in its praise of Milnes' translations from Heine, since, as has been shown above, by no means all of them merit such high praise. Nonetheless, the comment does show that Milnes' translations were known and valued at least within his wide circle of friends amongst the Victorian literati. (Milnes, of course, knew the Lyttons and Fane, and Reid makes several references to their acquaintance.)[174] Moreover, Robert Lytton accepts that, 'The first (unpublished) version of Fane's translations from Heine was no doubt more or less

169 Fischer, *Milnes und Deutschland*, p. 14.

170 Houghton, *Monographs*, pp. 333 and 335.

171 Book I of Heine's 'Poetische Nachlese' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, ii. 48.

172 Houghton, *Monographs*, p. 335.

173 Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir* (London, 1871), p. 103.

174 See, for example, Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 218; ii. 176; ii. 194; ii. 226; ii. 260.

disfigured by the Germanisms to which Lord Houghton objects',[175] thus implying that he, at least, regarded Milnes as a Heine critic worthy of attention.

As a poet in his own right Milnes is virtually forgotten nowadays, but in his day he published several volumes of poems which attracted a fair amount of attention.[176] Most of his poetry was written and published during the 1830's and 1840's, and at that time Walter Savage Landor even went so far as to claim that he regarded Milnes as 'the greatest poet now living in England'.[177] With Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning alive and writing at the time, this estimate strikes the modern reader as unbalanced, to say the least, but although Landor went further than the rest, he certainly was not alone in according Milnes a place of high esteem as a poet, as a number of friendly reviews, which appeared in periodicals throughout Milnes' lifetime, can testify.[178] Towards the end of his account of Milnes' life the highly partial Reid wrote optimistically:

> Few of Houghton's friends can doubt that something of his verse will live; that his shorter pieces, which, as one of the critics I have quoted says, have become hackneyed by their very popularity, will long linger in the memory; but there is nothing far-fetched in the fancy that a time will come when some of his more serious lines, instinct with a tenderness of heart and fancy which hardly appeared in the outward man in his later days, and impressed by a gravity of thought which most persons believed to be altogether foreign to his nature, will regain their hold upon the ear of the reading public, and will keep his name alive long after the memory of his brilliant life of social success has passed away, and only the recollection of his deeds of kindness survives among those who found in him a helper in their times of need.[179]

Whatever other gifts Reid might have had, that of prophecy was not one of them, since precisely the reverse of his expectations has actually happened, and Milnes is remembered today almost exclusively as a socialite. Despite these brave words, even Reid, whose biography was published in 1890, was forced to admit that:

> To the present generation the poetry of Lord Houghton is practically known only in connection with one or two brave pieces, of unimpeachable grace and melody, which have attained a popularity that is literally world-wide. His more important works, as well as many shorter poems that are in every way equal in merit to those that have secured a

[175] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane*, p. 102.

[176] For a complete list of Milnes' published poetry see Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 439-42.

[177] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, i. 183-4.

[178] See Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 442-50.

[179] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 454-5.

> lasting popularity, are but little known to the readers of to-day. ... Nowadays it may seem strange, almost unintelligible to the ordinary reader, that there was a time when Monckton Milnes was looked upon as the destined successor to the premiership in English poetry.[180]

Thus, in the fifty or so years since the bulk of Milnes' poetry had been produced, whatever popularity he had enjoyed as a young man in the 1830's and '40's had virtually evaporated, although he deserves better than the complete neglect into which he has now fallen.

A few of Milnes' poems clearly owe something directly to Heine. In his poem 'The Brownie', for instance, Milnes tells the tale of a servant girl who came to be helped in her work by 'A gentle household spirit, unchallenged and unpaid'.[181] All went well for a while, and the girl came to trust and rely upon the unseen spirit's assistance. Eventually, however, she was overcome with curiosity to see what the spirit looked like and wore down his 'grave denial', his 'warning and entreaty' until at last:

> He promised in her chamber he would attend her call,
> When from the small high window the full-moon light should fall.

Thereupon, we are told:

> Most proud and glad that evening she entered to behold
> How there her phantom Lover his presence would unfold;
> When, lo! in bloody pallor lay, on the moonlit floor,
> The Babe she bore and murdered some thirteen years before.[182]

Clearly this tale is virtually identical to that related in the first book of Heine's *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* in which he wrote:

> Eine Magd hatte jahrelang einen unsichtbaren Hausgeist bei sich am Herde sitzen, wo sie ihm ein eignes Stättchen eingeräumt, und wo sie sich die langen Winterabende hindurch mit ihm unterhielt. Nun bat einmal die Magd das Heinzchen, denn also hiess sie den Geist, er solle sich doch einmal sehen lassen, wie er von Natur gestaltet sei. Aber das Heinzlein weigerte sich dessen. Endlich aber willigte es ein und sagte, sie möchte in den Keller hinabgehen, dort solle sie ihn sehen. Da nimmt die Magd ein Licht, steigt hinab in den Keller, und dort, in einem offenem Fasse, sieht sie ein totes Kindlein in seinem Blute

[180] Reid, *Life of Milnes*, ii. 437-8.

[181] Lord Houghton, *Poetical Works* (London, 1876), ii. 293.

[182] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 294.

> schwimmen. Die Magd hatte aber vor vielen Jahren ein uneheliches Kind geboren und es heimlich ermordet und in ein Fass gesteckt.183

Ultimately this story goes back, as Walther Fischer points out, to Martin Luther,[184] but Milnes' source was clearly far more likely to have been Heine, even though it is an occasion on which he does not acknowledge any source.[185] In the prose introduction to his poem cycle 'The Goddess Venus in the Middle Ages', however, Milnes does acknowledge his indebtedness to Heine's 'Elementargeister',[186] although Fischer, at least, clearly thought little of Milnes' attempts in this vein, since he wrote:

> Neben dem leichten, graziösen Plauderton der Heineschen 'Elementargeister' im dritten Bande des 'Salons' nimmt sich Milnes' gelehrte Prosa=Einleitung zu seinem Gedicht=Zyklus 'The Goddess Venus in the Middle Ages', der auf jenes Vorbild zurückgeht, wesentlich schwerfälliger aus.[187]

In his cycle Milnes reverses Heine's order in the 'Elementargeister', since the first poem in Milnes' cycle, entitled 'Venus and the Christian Knight', owes much to Heine and tells the tale of a knight who has spent some years as paramour to the goddess Venus but who now wishes to escape from her because he fears that she might be 'A demon in disguise'.[188] Despite the goddess's persuasions to do otherwise, the knight leaves for Rome, where he implores Pope Urban to tell him how he might save his soul after serving Venus for so long. Somewhat smugly, the Pope tells the knight that he is asking for the impossible - '"I could the demon's self assoil / As well as pardon thee;"'[189] - and goes on to deliver what amounts to an ultimatum:

183 See Heine's 'Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 178-9.

184 Fischer, *Milnes und Deutschland*, p. 13.

185 Fischer writes: 'Noch eine poetische Anregung verdankt Milnes dem "Salon", den er aber in diesem Falle nicht als Quelle angibt. Nach dem Titel des Gedichtes, "The Brownie", - dem gewöhnlichen Ausdruck für einen guten Kobold im Norden Englands - würde man eher eine schottische oder nordenglische Sage dahinter vermuten als jene Legende, die sich schon in Luthers Tischreden findet und die von Heine im ersten Buche seines Aufsatzes "Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland" erwähnt wird.' Fischer, *Milnes und Deutschland*, p. 14.

186 See Richard Monckton Milnes, *Poetry for the People and Other Poems* (London, 1840), pp. 122-60; or *Poems Legendary and Historical* (London, 1844), pp. 18-49.

187 Fischer, *Milnes und Deutschland*, p. 12.

188 Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 296.

189 Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 297.

'For sooner shall this peelèd staff
Put out both leaf and bloom,
Than God shall strike thy sentence off
His dreadful book of doom!'[190]

In despair the knight departs, but fourteen days later, we are told:

The staff the Pope laid hand upon
Began to bud and blow:

Green leaves, and flowers of perfect white,
The very growth of heaven; -
Sure witness to that wretched Knight
Of all his sins forgiven![191]

Immediately messengers are sent out to bring the good tidings to the knight, but by now it is too late, since he has 'bent his hopeless way'[192] back to Venus:

And Venus shall her Knight retain,
Until God's judgment-day.[193]

The poem then concludes with an unfortunately heavy stanza, pointing out the moral as Milnes sees it:

Mysterious end of good remorse!
Strong lesson to beware,
Ye priests of mercy! how ye force
Poor sinners to despair.[194]

In the 'Elementargeister' Heine's treatment of the 'Tannhäuser' story occurs at the end, after a prose section in which he deals with the onslaught of Christianity upon the old pagan gods and culture of Greece and Rome, declaring of the legendary spirits of the Venus-Berg:

Diese sind keine Gespenster, denn, wie ich mehrmals angeführt, sie sind nicht tot; sie sind unerschaffene, unsterbliche Wesen, die nach dem Siege Christi sich zurückziehen

[190] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 297.

[191] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 298.

[192] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 298.

[193] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 298.

[194] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 298.

> mussten in die unterirdische Verborgenheit, wo sie, mit den übrigen Elementargeistern zusammenhausend, ihre dämonische Wirtschaft treiben.[195]

Two 'Tannhäuser' poems are given by Heine, the first being the medieval version which appears in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*[196] and the second, his own, longer parody of the first which, he claims, was written by 'someone else' and of which he claims to possess the only copy. As Heine himself admits, his version retains only the bare outline of the original story and otherwise differs from it in a number of respects. Not only is Heine's version quite clearly a parody, but it omits, most notably, the motif of the flowering staff which is of major importance in the original story as the symbol of Tannhäuser's capacity for redemption, and far from leaving Rome 'In Jammer und in Leiden',[197] as in the version in the *Wunderhorn*, Heine's Tannhäuser, we are told, hears from Pope Urban the unequivocal and unconditional pronouncement of eternal damnation upon him, and then:

> Der Ritter Tannhäuser er wandelt so rasch,
> Die Füsse die wurden ihm wunde,
> Er kam zurück in den Venusberg
> Wohl um die Mitternachtstunde.[198]

Thereupon, we hear that Venus cooks Tannhäuser's meal, and he relates to her the story of his travels, particularly in Germany, which gives Heine the opportunity to indulge in eleven stanzas of satire on the condition of his native land, which he claims to have heard snoring 'in sanfter Hut / Von sechsunddreissig Monarchen.'[199] In the prose introduction to his own poem Heine himself says: 'In seiner älteren Gestalt ist das Gedicht unstreitig viel schöner, einfacher und grossartiger.'[200] As has been shown, Milnes acknowledged his debt to Heine's 'Elementargeister' in the prose introduction to his poem cycle 'The Goddess Venus in the Middle Ages', so he obviously read both these versions of the Tannhäuser

[195] See Heine's 'Elementargeister' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 428.

[196] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 429.

[197] *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 431.

[198] Originally composed in 1836 and included in the volume Salon III, Heine's 'Der Tannhäuser. Eine Legende' was later included in the 'Verschiedene' section of his *Neue Gedichte*, published in September 1844. This can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 245-52. It also occurs in 'Elementargeister' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 433-8. The verse quoted occurs on pp. 249 and 436 of the respective volumes.

[199] 'Elementargeister'. *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 437.

[200] 'Elementargeister'. *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 433.

story there. Clearly, however, Milnes' poem 'Venus and the Christian Knight', with its high moral tone, was based upon the *Wunderhorn* version of the Tannhäuser story, as reproduced by Heine, rather than upon Heine's own irreverent parody. Apart from the unfortunately heavy final stanza, Milnes' poem is, at least, a competent treatment of his subject, and, since it was published first in 1840, in the volume by Milnes entitled *Poetry for the People and Other Poems* and again in 1844 in his *Poems Legendary and Historical*, it is tempting to speculate that Milnes' 'Venus and the Christian Knight' might well have been read by Matthew Arnold before he composed his poem 'The Neckan'[201] around September 1852. There are many differences between the two poems, and the Tannhäuser story was sufficiently widely known by the mid-nineteenth century that it would be unwise to press the obvious similarities too far, but nonetheless, the central Tannhäuser motif, showing the potential salvation of an apparently damned creature by the blooming of a prelate's staff, is common to both. The influence of Heine upon Arnold's poem - and also upon his 'Forsaken Merman' - is acknowledged by Professor Kenneth Allott in the introduction to 'The Neckan' in his 1965 edition of Arnold's complete poems,[202] but it is, at least, possible that Milnes' 'Venus and the Christian Knight' played some part in it as well.

Immediately following 'Venus and the Christian Knight' in Milnes' cycle comes a lengthy poem entitled 'The Northern Knight in Italy', which was also inspired by Heine's 'Elementargeister'. In the prose section of the second part of the 'Elementargeister' Heine describes the joyousness of the old pagan way of life and then continues:

> All diese Lust, all dieses frohe Gelächter ist längst verschollen, und in den Ruinen der alten Tempel wohnen nach der Meinung des Volkes noch immer die altgriechischen Gottheiten, aber sie haben durch den Sieg Christi all ihre Macht verloren, sie sind arge Teufel, die sich am Tage unter Eulen und Kröten in den dunkeln Trümmern ihrer ehemaligen Herrlichkeit versteckt halten, des Nachts aber in liebreizender Gestalt emporsteigen, um irgendeinen arglosen Wandrer oder verwegenen Gesellen zu betören und zu verlocken.
>
> Auf diesem Volksglauben beziehen sich nun die wunderbarsten Sagen, und neuere Poeten schöpften hier die Motive ihrer schönsten Dichtungen. Der Schauplatz ist gewöhnlich Italien und der Held derselben irgendein deutscher Ritter, der wegen seiner jungen Unerfahrenheit oder auch seiner schlanken Gestalt wegen von den schönen Unholden mit besonders lieblichen Listen umgarnt wird. Da geht er nun an schönen Herbsttagen mit seinen einsamen Träumen spazieren, denkt vielleicht an die heimischen

201 See *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Kenneth Allott, (London, 1965), pp. 281-4.

202 *Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Allott, pp. 281-4.

> Eichenwälder und an das blonde Mädchen, das er dort gelassen, der leichte Fant! Aber plötzlich steht er vor einer marmornen Bildsäule, bei deren Anblick er fast betroffen stehen bleibt. Es ist vielleicht die Göttin der Schönheit, und er steht ihr Angesicht zu Angesicht gegenüber, und das Herz des jungen Barbaren wird heimlich ergriffen von dem alten Zauber. Was ist das? So schlanke Glieder hat er noch nie gesehen, und in diesem Marmor ahndet er ein lebendigeres Leben, als er jemals in den roten Wangen und Lippen, in der ganzen Fleischlichkeit seiner Landsmänninnen gefunden hat. Diese weissen Augen sehen ihn so wollüstig an und doch zugleich so schauerlich schmerzvoll, dass seine Brust erfüllt wird von Liebe und Mitleid, Mitleid und Liebe. Er geht nun öfter spazieren unter den alten Ruinen, und die Landmannschaft ist verwundert, dass man ihn fast gar nicht mehr sieht bei Trinkgelagen und Waffenspielen. Es gehen kuriose Gerüchte über sein Treiben unter den Trümmern des Heidentums. Aber eines Morgens stürzt er mit bleichem verzerrten Antlitz in die Herberge, berichtet die Zehrung, schnürt seinen Ranzen und eilt zurück über die Alpen. Was ist ihm begegnet?[203]

The answer to this question is that on one particular occasion the knight has set out later than usual, towards sunset, to find the ancient ruins and, apparently losing his way, has found himself, instead, in a villa the lady of which bears a marked resemblance to his beloved statue of the ancient ruins. A night of feasting and passion ensues, but in a dream the knight is transported back to his German home, where he sees his aged grandmother praying for him. Then, still in his dream, he realises that all the splendours of the villa around him are turning to horrors, and even his amorous hostess herself has been transformed into a repulsive monster. Fearing for his life the knight seizes his sword and strikes off the head of his demon lover, only to awake the next morning at the site of the ancient ruins, where he finds his statue fallen from her pedestal, with her decapitated head lying at his feet.

This is virtually the identical story to that related by Milnes in his poem 'The Northern Knight in Italy'. Milnes' poem is longer and more descriptive than Heine's account of the story, but the essential differences between them are few and of little significance. One such point of difference is Milnes' use of the 'bird-like voice ... Divinely sweet and rapturously clear'[204] as the devilish agent which leads the knight first to the ruined temple and subsequently to the 'happy bower' wherein 'Venus was the theme and crown of all'[205] and where he met his demon lover. 'A bird', as Milnes ponderously points out in a footnote, 'is by no means an

[203] See Heine's 'Elementargeister' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 423-4.

[204] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 302.

[205] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 308.

uncommon actor in a drama of this kind',[206] but the agent does not appear in Heine. In Milnes' poem, moreover, we are told that, at one point, 'a spasm of very fear' gripped the knight, so that:

> Then almost ghastly seem'd the tinted sheen,
> Saltless and savourless those luscious meats,
> Till quick the Lady rose, with smile serene,
> As one who could command but still entreats,
> And filling a gold goblet, kissed the brim,
> And passed it bubbling from her lips to him.
>
> At once absorbing that nectareous draught,
> And the delicious radiance of those eyes,
> At doubt and terror-fit he inly laughed,
> And grasped her hand as 'twere a tourney's prize.[207]

In Heine's version much more - indeed, something rather different - is made of the lack of salt, since Heine writes:

> Mancherlei bei diesem Abendmahle mochte dem Ritter wohl befremdlich dünken. Als er um Salz bat, dessen auf dem Tische fehlte, zuckte ein fast hässlicher Unmut über das weisse Angesicht der schönen Frau, und erst nach wiederholtem Verlangen liess sie endlich mit sichtbarer Verdriesslichkeit von den Dienern das Salzfass herbeiholen. Diese stellten es mit zitternden Händen auf den Tisch und verschütteten schier die Hälfte des Inhalts. Doch der gute Wein, der wie Feuer in die Kehle des Ritters hinabglühte, beschwichtigte das geheime Grauen, das ihn manchmal anwandelte.[208]

Here Heine seems to use the salt as something hostile to the spirit world, so as to increase the supernatural thrill of his story. Unlike Heine, Milnes begins his account of the knight's dream not with thoughts of Germany, but with three verses which have no parallel in Heine's version of the story:

> At first he stood beside a public road,
> Hedged in by myrtle and embower'd by plane,
> While figures, vested in old Grecian mode,
> Drew through the pearly dawn a winding train,
> So strangely character'd he could not know
> Were it of triumph or funereal woe.

[206] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 302.

[207] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 311.

[208] See Heine's 'Elementargeister' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 425.

For crowns of bay enwreath'd each beauteous head,
Beauty of perfect maid and perfect man;
Slow-paced the milk-white oxen garlanded;
Torch-bearing children mingled as they ran
Gleaming amid the elder that uphold
Tripods and cups and plates of chasèd gold.

But then he marked the flowers were colourless,
Crisp-wither'd hung the honourable leaves,
And on the faces sat the high distress
Of those whom Self sustains when Fate bereaves:
So gazed he, wondering how that pomp would close,
When the dream changed, but not to his repose.[209]

In fact, these verses do seem to be derived from a passage in Heine's 'Elementargeister', but the passage occurs not in the story given above, but in the one which follows it, which tells of a knight whose enslavement to a heathen goddess is preventing the consummation of his marriage to a mortal. The knight consults a priest, named Palumnus, who is skilled in the arts of exorcism and who, at great personal risk, gives the knight a sheet of parchment with certain characters inscribed on it. The knight is then instructed to present the parchment to the heathen goddess at midnight at a certain crossroads in the Rome area, where he will also see 'allerlei wunderbare Erscheinungen'. We are then told:

> Dieser Vorschrift unterzog sich der Ritter; aber nicht ohne Herzklopfen stand er um Mitternacht am bezeichneten Kreuzwege, wo er den seltsamen Zug vorüberziehen sah. Es waren blasse Männer und Frauen, prächtig gekleidet in Festgewanden aus der Heidenzeit; einige trugen goldene Kronen, andere trugen Lorbeerkränze auf den Häuptern, die sie aber kummervoll senkten; auch allerlei silberne Gefässe, Trinkgeschirre und Gerätschaften, die zum alten Tempeldienste gehörten, wurden vorüberbetragen mit ängstlicher Eile; im Gewühle zeigten sich auch grosse Stiere mit vergoldeten Hörnern und behängt mit Blumenguirlanden.[210]

The passage obviously appealed to Milnes, since it reappeared, in a condensed prose form, in the *Edinburgh Review* article on Heine and in the monograph. Here Milnes has been discussing how 'such examples as Keats and Heine attest

[209] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 312-13.

[210] See Heine's 'Elementargeister' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 426-7. Milnes' verses also, of course, bear a general similarity to stanza four of Keats' 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'. (See John Keats, *The Complete Poems*, ed. John Barnard, (London, 1979), p. 345, in the series Penguin English Poets.)

the power of the appeal which Grecian genius made once and for ever to the sensuous imaginations of mankind.' He continues:

> But while the English poet yearned for that happy supernatural society with all the ardour of boyish passion, with Heine the feeling is rather that of a regretful tenderness, mourning over a delightful phase of human superstition, which he knows can never return, but which in his mind is ever contrasting itself with the gravity of the religion of sorrow and with piety divorced from pleasure. Like the entranced traveller of Italian story, he continually saw the exiled Olympians pass by him in divine distress, the milk-white oxen garlanded with withered leaves, and the children running with extinguished torches.[211]

Immediately following this in the *Edinburgh Review* article - although *not* in the monograph - Milnes reproduces the twenty-fourth stanza of his 'Northern Knight in Italy', presumably applying it here to Heine himself:

> And round him flowed through that intense sunshine
> Music, whose notes at once were words and tears;
> Paphos was mine, and Amathus was mine,
> Mine the Idalian groves of ancient years, -
> The happy heart of man was all mine own:
> Now I am homeless, and alone - alone![212]

Perhaps Milnes' verse stood a better chance of being recognised in 1856 than in 1873. Heine, in his account of the German knight besotted by pagan ruins, stops at the point at which the knight, having woken from his dream, decides to leave Italy immediately,[213] whereas Milnes goes so far as to imagine the knight safely back at home in Germany:

> Sitting, greyhair'd beneath an old oak tree,
> His dear true wife beside him, and a child,
> Youngest of many, dancing round his knees, -

and adopts the literary device of portraying himself as friend to the knight and faithful recorder of his 'strange and secret tale'.[214] Ultimately, however, this too goes back to Heine, but is rearranged by Milnes to form a good, moral ending to

[211] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 201-2.

[212] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 202. The original can be found in Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 305.

[213] See Heine's 'Elementargeister' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 424.

[214] Houghton, *Poetical Works*, ii. 317.

his poem, whereas Heine chooses to *begin* his account with a picture of the knight wandering, lost in dreams, on a fine day in autumn, who 'denkt vielleicht an die heimischen Eichenwälder [Milnes has 'the old Teuton forest' and 'an old oak tree'] und an das blonde Mädchen, das er dort gelassen.'[215] In both 'Venus and the Christian Knight' and 'The Northern Knight in Italy' Milnes clearly has a moral point to make concerning the conflict, as he perceives it, between beauty and duty,[216] desire and self-restraint, and in the *Edinburgh Review* article and the monograph he applies the Tannhäuser motif to Heine himself, saying:

> In his gay health and pleasant Parisian days the old gods haunted and enchanted him, like the legendary Tannhauser [sic] in the Venus-Mountain, while in his hours of depression, and above all in the miserable sufferings of his later life, the true religious feeling of his hereditary faith mastered, awed, and yet consoled him.[217]

Clearly this image of the northern knight enslaved by the charms of the goddess from the south, linked with the whole nineteenth-century debate on Hebraism and Hellenism, continued to hold a strong interest for Milnes, just as it had interested Heine and would, in the early 1860's, draw poetry from the pens of Milnes' friends, Robert Lytton and Julian Fane, both of whom were, to different extents, also scholars and admirers of Heine.[218]

Primarily 'der gute Milnes'[219] is of importance to the story of Heine and the Victorians because he knew Heine personally and because Heine himself appeared to hold Milnes in high regard. Moreover, through his *Edinburgh Review* article and his Heine monograph Milnes conveyed to English readers not only his own views on Heine and recollections of him but also the charming reminiscences of Lucie Duff Gordon which might otherwise never have seen the light of day. Some of Milnes' own poems clearly show the influence of Heine, as do some by George Eliot[220] and Matthew Arnold[221] also. As a translator of Heine Milnes achieved some limited success, but, despite Robert Lytton's assertions that

[215] See Heine's 'Elementargeister' in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, iv. 423. Milnes' expressions occur on pp. 316-17 of his *Poetical Works*, vol. ii.

[216] Walther Fischer makes this point. See *Milnes und Deutschland*, p. 13.

[217] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 201. Also, *Monographs*, p. 310.

[218] See pp. 171-81 of this chapter.

[219] Phrase used by Heine in conversation with Lucie Duff Gordon in September 1855. See p. 125 of this chapter and note 2 above.

[220] See especially 'The Spanish Gypsy' and pp. 62-5 of chapter 2 above.

[221] See especially 'The Neckan' and pp. 117-19 of chapter 4 above.

Milnes' translations were 'all of them excellent',[222] Milnes in fact translated Heine's poems neither so extensively nor so well as did the friend whose poems he brought to public attention in the *Edinburgh Review* article,[223] the diplomat Julian Fane.

Like Milnes himself, Julian Fane spent a good deal of his early life abroad and thus cultivated continental habits which helped to render him a particularly sympathetic interpreter of Heine in England. In 1841 Fane's father, Lord Burghersh, was appointed British Minister at the Court of Berlin, where Fane himself spent five years with his parents before returning to England, in 1846, to prepare for the entrance examination to Trinity College, Cambridge, where, again like Milnes, he was an active member of the Apostles. In the estimation of Fane's biographer, Robert Lytton, these five years spent in Berlin 'constituted one of the most important educational periods of his life',[224] since under Lord and Lady Burghersh 'the hotel of the British Legation at Berlin became a sort of continental Holland House',[225] where their son mixed regularly with such celebrities as Alexander von Humboldt, the sculptor Rauch, the musician Meyerbeer, Felix Mendelssohn and the painters Begas, Hensel and Magnus. Illustrious as these names are, however, Lytton goes on to say:

> But there is a name more conspicuous than any of those yet recorded which must now be mentioned in connection with the intellectual impressions at least indirectly referable to this period of his life, though its positive influence may probably date somewhat later.[226]

There follows a brief discussion of the fallow period in German literature during Goethe's last years. Then Lytton writes:

> But in 1825 the publication of the first volume of the 'Reisebilder' revolutionised the whole literature of Germany, and placed it henceforth under the brilliant popular dictatorship of Heinrich Heine.[227]

Clearly, then, Lytton regards Heine as a major interest in Fane's life from an early stage (Fane was only nineteen when he left Berlin in 1846), and this

[222] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, (London, 1871), p. 103. Also quoted above on p. 159 of this chapter.

[223] See Milnes' comments on Fane's translations in 'Heinrich Heine', p. 193. See also pp. 175-6 of this chapter.

[224] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 10.

[225] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 11.

[226] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, pp. 15-16.

[227] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, pp. 16-17.

impression is reinforced by the fact that Lytton dwells at some length on the subject of Fane's interest in Heine even at such an early stage in his biography. A brief biographical sketch of Heine's life up to the late 1820's is given by Lytton (whose own interest in Heine was considerable)[228] and he continues:

> Throughout Germany, therefore, the disturbing, almost bewildering, influence of Heine was in all its freshest and fullest activity about the time when Julian Fane, still a mere lad, was living at Berlin. He did not himself at that time begin the study of those writings, but an early acquired and accurate knowledge of German (that invaluable implement of culture) enabled him not long after to read them in their original language; and, although his naturally robust character instinctively rejected all that was dangerously perverse in Heine's influence, the impression that was made upon him by his introduction into that *Classische Walpurgisnacht*, which Goethe first imagined on the plains of Pharsalia and the heights of Pereius, and which Heine subsequently realised and ruled, appears to have remained throughout the whole of his after life. His regular study of the poems began with his first settled residence at Vienna, in 1851; and the latest work on which he was engaged, when stricken down by the painful malady that prematurely terminated his existence, was a critical biography of the poet himself. Some of his smaller pieces he had in the meanwhile, and at various times, translated into English verses; and these translations, which (with his habitual dislike of publication) he printed only for private circulation, have been noticed in the 'Edinburgh Review' by Lord Houghton, whose own admirable success in the same most difficult task gives particular interest and authority to his opinion of all similar undertakings.[229]

This long passage provides clear evidence of Fane's lifelong interest in Heine, indicating, as it does, not only his early opportunities of mastering the German language and encountering discussion of Heine in Berlin, but also his later ambitions as translator and biographer.

Fane was back in Berlin in 1849, and, after his graduation from Cambridge, which was delayed by illness until 1850, he joined his father, now Lord Westmorland, in Vienna, whither the latter transferred as British minister in 1851. There Julian Fane officially began his own diplomatic career, a career which he combined not only with a large amount of social activity, but also with a good deal of private study, so that Lytton remarks: 'This was probably the most active and animated period of his life; and I think that during these years he read harder and more systematically than at any later time.'[230] In 1852 Fane returned briefly to England to supervise the publication of a small volume of his poems,

[228] See pp. 179-81 of this chapter.

[229] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, pp. 18-19.

[230] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 73.

most of which had been written during his undergraduate days at Trinity, where he won the Chancellor's medal for his Miltonic elegy 'On the Death of Queen Adelaide'. In discussing the volume of 1852 Lytton says that Fane's verses:

> ...must be regarded only as one of the intellectual products of his multitudinous accomplishments, and as evidence of his many-sided sympathy with all forms of intellectual beauty. From this point of view they are remarkable. They are not the embodiments of those great objective conceptions which constitute the originality of creative poets; nor yet are they the spontaneous irrepressible bird-notes of that genuinely lyric temperament which unconsciously transmutes all subjective sensations into an original music of its own. They have been written partly to solace a passionate taste for poetry, partly as the choicest forms of expression for domestic affections deeply felt, and yet ideally contemplated.[231]

Notwithstanding Lytton's understandable partiality for his friend, his assessment of Fane's poetry here is very sound, since, despite the alleged influence of Tennyson,[232] the majority of these poems are small scale and of purely personal, frequently domestic import.[233] During their time together in the diplomatic service in Vienna, which lasted from Lytton's appointment there in January 1859 until his departure for Copenhagen four years later, Fane and Lytton collaborated on a light-hearted poetic venture, a version of the Tannhäuser story, written in 'the style and spirit of the Tennysonian Idyl.'[234] According to Lytton, this poem 'grew naturally out of [Fane's] enthusiasm for the genius he recognised, and his grateful sense of the emotional satisfaction he enjoyed, in Wagner's great opera of Tannhäuser; which prompted the composition, and furnished the story, of it.'[235] Thus, although both Fane and Lytton would almost certainly have read Heine's 'Elementargeister', with its two versions of the Tannhäuser story, before writing their poem, this does not seem to have played any direct part in prompting the composition of that poem, which bears, moreover, no stylistic relation to either of the versions given by Heine and which is longer and more detailed than these. Clearly the impetus for the Tannhäuser poem by Fane and Lytton was provided directly by the opera of

231 Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, pp. 74-5.

232 Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 88.

233 Robert Lytton reprints a selection of poems from the 1852 volume on pp. 78-87 of his *Julian Fane: A Memoir*.

234 Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 173.

235 Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 173.

Wagner, whose work Fane particularly admired and of whom he wrote to Lytton in 1863:

> I had lately a delightful evening at Lady B.'s with Wagner. He read us the libretto of his new (serio-comic) opera, 'The Singers of Nuremberg.' ... I was greatly struck with the man as well as his work.[236]

In turn, however, Wagner derived the idea for his Tannhäuser from Heine, so that Sammons, in discussing Heine's treatment of the Tannhäuser story in his 'Elementargeister', can claim that: 'With it for the second time he provided the inspiration for a Wagner opera',[237] the earlier instance being that of the 'Fliegender Holländer'.[238] The Tannhäuser poem by Fane and Lytton was published pseudonymously[239] (although the identities of the two authors soon became known), and it appears to have been far from favourably received, since Lytton devotes several pompous and rather peevish-sounding pages of his biography of Fane to a defence of their effort on the grounds that they regarded the poem 'simply as a literary sport in mask and domino; and not as any adequate representation of the character in which either of them would greatly care to appear before the public on behalf of any serious literary effort.'[240] Far more worthy of public attention, in Lytton's eyes, were the sonnets which Fane also wrote during and just after their years together in Vienna. These sonnets, published for the first time in Lytton's *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, were regarded by Lytton as the peak of the poetic achievement of Julian Fane's relatively short life and as 'ample evidence of an original faculty which, had he lived to cultivate it in the leisure of his later life, might have enriched the literature he so reverently loved, and so assiduously studied.'[241]

Given the depth of Fane's interest in Heine, it is, perhaps, surprising that his own poetry should bear no discernible traces of influence by the German poet but should look instead towards Tennyson[242] and, in the case of the sonnets, towards

[236] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 253.

[237] Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 217.

[238] Sammons, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 186.

[239] Lytton reprints Julian Fane's part of it only on pp. 176-201 of *Julian Fane: A Memoir*.

[240] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 174.

[241] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, pp. 204-20.

[242] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 202.

Shakespeare[243] for its models. As a translator, however, Fane's interest and imagination were wholly captivated by Heine, the study of whose works 'he had taken up with great warmth'[244] during his first year in Vienna, from 1851-2. After the brief trip to England to supervise the publication of his own early volume of poems and attend, with his father, the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, - who died in September 1852, - Fane returned to Vienna, where he again turned to Heine and:

> ...resumed with increased fervour his interest in the songs and ballads of that most lyrical of all modern poets. Many of them he set to music of his own, and many he sang with exquisite expression to the charming and well-known music of Vesque Puttlingen, better known by his assumed name of Hoven.[245]

In 1854, again in Vienna, Fane had printed, for private circulation only, his translations of some seventy-five poems by Heine, taken from the *Buch der Lieder*, *Neue Gedichte* and *Romanzero*.[246] According to Lytton, who later published them in his biography of Fane, these translations 'attracted considerable attention from Heine's English admirers'[247] in the mid-1850's, even despite Fane's refusal to publish them himself. Milnes, a friend of Fane since the latter's days at Cambridge,[248] drew attention to them in his *Edinburgh Review* article on Heine,[249] and Lytton quotes Milnes' comments to the effect that 'The very lightness of [Heine's] admirable lyrics makes it most difficult to reproduce them in another tongue',[250] going on, however, to add:

> For such a task, however, Fane was exceptionally qualified. In the first place, he was an excellent German scholar. In the second place, he had a fine poetic taste, a great facility of expression, and a cultivated ear. In the third place, he was free from that strong

[243] See Robert Lytton's comments in *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 203, along with the sonnets which follow on pp. 204-8.

[244] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 203.

[245] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 145.

[246] *Poems by Heinrich Heine Translated by Julian Fane* (Vienna, 1854). Not published.

[247] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 101. The revised version of Fane's translations from Heine appears on pp. 104-43 of the memoir.

[248] In a letter to Robert Lytton Lord Houghton wrote: 'I think that Julian Fane made the most impression on me when he was at Cambridge. I used to go up there often to see my old play-fellows...'. Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 21.

[249] Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 193.

[250] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 101. Milnes' comment can be found in his 'Heinrich Heine', p. 193.

> idiosyncrasy of genius which makes it so difficult for one original poet to throw himself completely into the humour of another, and simply reproduce the utterance of it, without any admixture of some quality peculiar to his own mind.[251]

Milnes' comments on Fane's translations are not wholly uncritical, especially as regards Fane's 'attempt to transfer to another language many of the most peculiar idioms and most vivacious turns of thought'[252] in Heine's poems, and with this criticism Lytton concurs, saying:

> The first (unpublished) version of Fane's translations from Heine was no doubt more or less disfigured by the Germanisms to which Lord Houghton objects. They constitute a defect of which he was not himself unconscious; and, had he ever cared to publish these translations, I am persuaded that, before doing so, he would have carefully removed from them all such impediments to the full enjoyment of their otherwise admirable reproduction of Heine's peculiar style. From the version here for the first time published, indeed, a great number of those foreign idioms, and un-English terms of expression, which were to be found in the version criticized by Lord Houghton, has been removed in conformity with corrections penciled [sic] by the hand of the translator in later years on the pages of the copy from which it is now reprinted. He seems to have been engaged in the revision of these translations (probably in connection with the biography of Heine which he then contemplated) when that night came upon him 'wherein no man can work.'[253]

Fane's projected biography of Heine was still at an early stage at the time of his death in April 1870,[254] but in November 1855 the *Saturday Review* carried in its first number an article by Fane entitled 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist'[255] which Lytton regarded as particularly important because it was a major article which predated the 'Many excellent ones' on Heine which, Lytton acknowledged, 'have since appeared, both in the Saturday Review, and other critical periodicals', with the result that 'the life and works of Heinrich Heine are now better known to the English public than they were at the time when Fane's notice of them was written.'[256]

[251] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 101.

[252] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 102. See also Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 193.

[253] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, pp. 102-3.

[254] Writing of Fane's death, Lytton says: 'Let me add, that among his papers I find many indications of a literary activity abruptly suspended; notes and materials for a biography of Heinrich Heine; notes for criticisms of books; the commencement of a novel and a play; and various unfinished lyrics.' Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 287.

[255] Julian Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', *Saturday Review*, i (3 November 1855), 13-14.

[256] Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir*, p. 90.

Fane's article is basically a generalised mixture of biography and criticism, with a good deal of emphasis on the background in politics and literature against which Heine wrote. Much of the article has a tone of breathless enthusiasm, and, like many other commentators, Fane compares Heine with Goethe, when, in discussing the impact in Germany of Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, he writes: 'Here was a mere youth writing lyrics with a freshness of diction and terseness of expression which would have done honour to the great Goethe himself, and with a grace of fancy which was peculiarly his own.'[257] We are told, moreover, that: 'there is no subject too grave, no theme too light, for the supple pen of the brilliant writer',[258] and Heine is further described as being possessed of 'infinite humour'[259] and of 'genius'.[260] Fane also lays strong emphasis on the stature of Heine as an innovator in German literature, describing him as: 'the founder of a new school of German letters',[261] and going on to say:

> Into the province of Art the young Reformer entered with an audacity which astounded its sober and terrified guardians. Singing his wild 'Ça ira,' he proceeded with revolutionary zeal to overturn the idols he there found enthroned. The romantic school, with its nasal twang, must depart; the maudlin worshippers of a canting sentimentalism must be thrust out; senseless forms, from which the spirit had long since fled, now get buried without any rites of sepulture; exact propriety and pompous gravity are dismissed with a laugh, and pedantry in all its sickly shapes must be banished from the national literature.[262]

Despite his passionate enthusiasm for Heine, however, even Fane felt obliged to explain away 'the snarling bitter cynic'[263] which he found in Heine and which, he felt, closely resembled the 'fierce, fretful soul of Byron'.[264] Popular explanations for this amongst Victorian commentators included Heine's frustrated youthful passion for his cousin Amalie, the restrictions of his Jewish background and his bitter disappointment at the downfall of his hero, Napoleon. Fane, however, prefers to explain away Heine's 'passion of satirical invective'[265] as the result of

[257] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[258] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[259] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[260] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[261] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[262] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[263] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

[264] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[265] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

his disappointment in finding that his Hegelian image of himself as 'a demigod'[266] faded in the light of harsh reality. He goes on to comment:

> Those who admire with the largest and heartiest appreciation Heine's incomparable humour (a humour which has never been affected by the acutest torments of bodily disease, and which the approach of death itself is unable to subdue), cannot deny that he has frequently and grossly abused the faculty by perverting it to low and libellous purposes. Indeed, the wanton insults which he has heaped upon his countrymen, the unjustifiable personalities in which he has indulged, and the effrontery with which he has approached subjects the most sacred in the eyes of the vast majority of his fellow-beings, do give evidence of a certain moral turpitude in the man - out of which, however, as from a fetid soil, have grown those pure and perfect lilies of song with which he has adorned the literature of his native land. It is impossible not to condemn much that he has written; it is scarcely possible sufficiently to praise a great deal more; and while children and the purest of women love him for the simple beauty of his songs, many a man little given to the affectation of purism abominates him for the scurrilous ribaldry of his satires.[267]

Unlike George Eliot, who placed wit before humour in her assessment of Heine's powers, Fane describes Heine as: 'the greatest humorist of the age'.[268] With regard to Heine's involvement in French politics, Fane writes somewhat admonishingly:

> He was of too liberal and enthusiastic a nature to feel sympathy with the advocates of reaction, and he lacked the firmness of character arising from sincerity of conviction, which would have led him boldly to declare for the revolutionary cause. While he avowed himself a Royalist, he wrote with the license of an insurrectionary chief.[269]

Moreover, the note 'more of sorrow than of anger', which characterises so much Victorian commentary on Heine, is sounded prominently, when Fane goes on to remark:

> To the true lover of liberty, one who is ever the true hater of anarchy, the political career of Heine is a source at once of irritation and regret, and its history must touch with unaffected sorrow the soul of every true admirer of his rare genius.[270]

[266] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 13.

[267] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

[268] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

[269] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

[270] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 14.

In addition to its importance in pre-dating the flood of articles which appeared after Heine's death, however, Fane's article has the merit of having been written not by a jobbing journalist or an opportunist hack, but by a man of letters for whom the study of Heine had been truly a lifetime's work, and the article actually ends with Fane's own translation of Heine's poem 'Böses Geträume', which had not appeared amongst the translations published in 1854.[271] The theory that Fane's article influenced George Eliot's 'German Wit' has already been discussed, as has its relation to Milnes' essay on Heine for the *Edinburgh Review*.[272]

The reason why Fane was at leisure to produce his article on Heine in 1855 was that he spent the year in England, whither his father, Lord Westmorland, had returned upon retiring from office. The following February, the month in which Heine died, actually saw Fane attending the Congress of Paris which closed the Crimean War, and it was there that Fane first made the acquaintance of Robert Lytton, then a junior member of the diplomatic service, who, on 10 March 1856, wrote to his father, the novelist Bulwer Lytton:

> Poor Heine is dead. That is a great light gone out. A great light once, but of late only the stink and grease of it were observable. Madame de Seebeck told me that the last time she saw him he said: 'I get so bored with my own bad company, that often as I lie in torture, when my wife has gone to sleep tired out with looking after me, I think it may after all be worth while to invent *le Bon Dieu*, in order to have some one to complain to in my pains and aches' - and at the last moment, when he was dying, and the only person near him wanted to send for a priest, he cried out: 'Non, non! Laissez-le. Le Bon Dieu me pardonnera - c'est son métier!' I forgive him all, but asking for a pension from Russia, which I hear he did before his death.[273]

On 1 March 1870, some six weeks before the death of Julian Fane, Robert Lytton himself contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* a substantial article entitled 'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts'[274] which was basically a review of the German volume of that title, edited by Adolf Strodtmann and published by Hoffman und Campe in 1869.[275] Included in the article were several translations, presumably by Lytton himself, of poems and prose passages from

[271] Fane, 'Poet and Humorist', p. 14. Heine's original can be found in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, i. 428.

[272] See pp. 38-9 of chapter 2 above and pp. 153-5 of this chapter, respectively.

[273] *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert First Earl of Lytton*, ed. Lady Betty Balfour, 2 vols, (London, 1906), i. 75.

[274] Robert Lytton,'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts', *Fortnightly Review*, vii N.S. (xiii O.S.) (1870), 257-77.

[275] *Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken von Heinrich Heine*, ed. Adolf Strodtmann, (Hamburg, 1869).

Heine, all of which were, however, omitted when passages from Lytton's 'striking paper'[276] were reproduced a month later in the American periodical *Every Saturday*. In his article Lytton makes it clear that, despite the gap of time between Heine's early publications and the volume currently under review, he regards Heine as 'still, *par excellence*, the poet of the nineteenth century.'[277] Moreover, Lytton makes clear the importance for Victorian men of letters of the major article on Heine published in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1863 by Matthew Arnold,[278] whom Lytton describes as 'The most perceptive and discriminating of English critics',[279] and who, according to Lytton, 'has, with his usual felicitous accuracy, distinguished Heine from all other poets of his time as a soldier, and (since Goethe's death) the most brilliant soldier, in the war of the liberation of humanity.'[280] On the whole, Lytton's attitude towards Strodtmann's volume is lukewarm, and he challenges the propriety of publishing many of its contents at all, since he feels that reading the book

> ...is like reading an inventory of the personal effects of a dead friend; a list methodically arranged for public inspection of the furniture of the dead man's most private and secret chambers, to which, during his lifetime, not even his intimates were admitted. It is from the hand of a corpse that this book has been taken by those who place it in our own. So long as he was yet alive, Heine withheld the gift.[281]

Despite this, however, Lytton does feel that the publication of the book has

> ...rendered a signal service to the memory of Heine. It is an unanswerable answer to the feeble and ill-advised attempt of some good folks to claim in him a brand plucked out of the fire, a repentant sinner converted *in articulo mortis*. It saves his memory from the stain of any credit given to that whisper; and proves that up to the last moment of his life Heine remained faithful to his own character, and had strength of mind to hold it fast in spite of all the physical pain and weakness of his prematurely begun, and terribly protracted, death-bed imprisonment. If Heine was not always a brave soldier, he at least knew how to suffer and to die unsubdued.[282]

[276] See opening paragraph of Robert Lytton, 'Heine', *Every Saturday*, ix (2 April 1870), 211.

[277] Robert Lytton,'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts', p. 257.

[278] Matthew Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *Cornhill Magazine*, viii (August 1863), 233-49.

[279] Robert Lytton,'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts', p. 258.

[280] Robert Lytton,'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts', p. 258.

[281] Robert Lytton,'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts', pp. 257-8.

[282] Robert Lytton,'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts', p. 270.

Clearly by 1870 the tables had more than turned in Heine's favour, and the Victorian piety which had not infrequently reviled him during the 1830's and '40's[283] now canonised him and claimed him as a death-bed convert.

[283] For a discussion of this see pp. 6-14 of chapter 1 above.

Chapter 6
Heine and the Periodicals after 1856

From J. G. Cochrane's brief review of Heine's *Reisebilder* in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for February 1828[1] up to the poet's death a narrow but steady stream of articles on various aspects of his life and works had appeared in the British press.[2] Of these George Eliot's 'German Wit' is the most important on account of the perceptiveness of her literary criticisms, unprejudiced by views on Heine's private life. Of those articles written by lesser-known literary figures, however, Julian Fane's 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist' merits special mention because it is the product of one of the first English writers to approach the study of Heine in a scholarly fashion and for whom that study was the major intellectual work of a lifetime. Whereas the early British periodical articles on Heine were largely reviews of individual works, after his death there developed a marked tendency amongst periodical writers to wax eloquent on the biographical side, with lurid accounts of his life and long-drawn-out death, and the same anecdotes - such as those recounted by Robert Lytton in the letter to his father quoted above[3] - were repeated endlessly,[4] as were the comparisons with other writers, so that J. D. Lester, writing in the *Dublin University Magazine* for November 1859, wrote:

> Heine has been compared by various critics to Aristophanes, Rabelais, Cervantes, Burns, Sterne, Jean Paul Richter, Swift, Voltaire, Byron, and Béranger, and there can be no

[1] J. G. Cochrane, '*Reise-bilder*. Von H. Heine', *Foreign Quarterly Review*, ii (February, 1828), 370-71.

[2] See discussion of this on pp. 6-21 of chapter 1 above.

[3] See p. 179 and note 273 of chapter 5 above.

[4] See, for example:
a. Nina H. Kennard, 'Henri Heine: A Family Portrait', *The Contemporary Review*, xli (June 1882), 981-93.
b. Kate Hillard, 'Heinrich Heine', *Victoria Magazine*, xxii (1873), 501-15.
c. Anon., 'Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxii (July-December 1877), 74-90.
d. Katie Magnus, 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea', *Macmillan's Magazine*, xlvii (1883), 59-66.
e. Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, cxxix (April 1888), 426-41.
f. Mrs E. M. Davy, 'Some Passages in the Life of Heine', *Belgravia*, lxxxiii (1856-96), 291-9.
g. Alice G. Royston, 'The Book of Ideas', *Universal Review*, vii (July 1890), 437-52.

> doubt that among those who are disposed to trace resemblances amid difference, all those comparisons may be justified.[5]

More than twenty years later a virtually identical list was produced by A. H. Japp, who began an article in the *British Quarterly Review* with the words:

> Heine has been compared to Aristophanes, Rabelais, Robert Burns, Cervantes, Sterne, Voltaire, Swift, Byron, and Béranger. Such comparisons are always more or less loose; but the very fact suffices to attest his claim to a place in the first rank of poets and satirists.[6]

Amongst the nineteenth-century writers of periodical articles on Heine a few stand out as having returned to their subject on a number of occasions. In addition to his article in the *Dublin University Magazine* of November 1859, Lester wrote a brief biographical article on Heine in the *Cornhill Magazine* of February 1863,[7] some six months or so before the appearance of Matthew Arnold's celebrated article in that same organ,[8] and the latter half of 1869 saw another, more substantial biographical production by Lester appear in the *Fortnightly Review*.[9] *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, moreover, carried a two-part contribution by Lester on Heine's life and works, which began:

> There is not another author or poet of so high standing in his own country so little known in England as Heine. People conversant with German literature have probably heard of him, and possibly know that he is one of the foremost literary men of the present century, but even few of these will be found to have read or more than superficially glanced at some of his works, and those only a portion of his poetical writings. Beyond this comparatively small circle among our countrymen few will be found even to have heard the name. And yet Heine is one of the greatest German authors that have ever lived; though not entitled to rank beside Goethe and Schiller, he is among the very next in merit...[10]

It is interesting to note here that even in 1871 Lester considered Heine to be relatively unknown in Britain, and also that Lester is rather more circumspect

[5] J. D. Lester, 'Heinrich Heine', *Dublin University Magazine*, liv (November 1859), 591.

[6] A. H. Japp, 'Heinrich Heine', *British Quarterly Review*, lxxiv (1 October 1881), 265.

[7] J. D. Lester, 'The Sharpshooters of the Press in England, France, and Germany', *Cornhill Magazine*, vii (February 1863), 246-51.

[8] See note 278 of chapter 5 above.

[9] J. D. Lester, 'Heinrich Heine', *The Fortnightly Review*, vi N.S. (xii O.S.) (July-December 1869), 287-303.

[10] J. D. Lester, 'Heinrich Heine', *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, xi (July and August 1871), 17.

than many in his estimation of Heine in relation to Goethe and Schiller.[11] By contrast, A. H. Japp, in the *British Quarterly Review* article of 1881 mentioned above,[12] was able to claim that Heine had 'for years been well known in England as a lyrico-satirical poet, as the writer of clever satires', qualifying this only by the comment: 'yet in his more genuine and serious aspect he has hardly been adequately presented or interpreted.'[13] Like J. D. Lester, Japp also returned to his subject, with a shorter article, entitled 'Recurrent Ideas in Heine', published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in the first half of 1882.[14] This second article, however, was in the nature of a 'pot-boiler' and owed much to its predecessor.

Later still in the century interest in Heine continued to flourish in the periodical press, and in 1891 and 1893 *The Academy* published two brief review articles on Heine by R. McLintock, who expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the work of Leland as translator both of Heine's works and of von Embden's book *Heinrich Heines Familienleben*.[15] E. B. Shuldham was another periodical writer to write more than once on Heine, and in an article in the periodical *Temple Bar*, he quoted Meissner on the subject of Heine's death and death mask and went on to say:

> But it is not in the features' mould of clay that we are to see the poet - that is of the earth, earthy; but let us look to the fair lineaments of his mind, to the tenderness of his heart, whose fountains flowed in song; and though the material heart has forgotten to beat, and the material tongue is silent in the grave, yet this poet's heart is beating grandly and wildly still wherever his songs are heard, and the poet's tongue is eloquent where his thoughts still wake an echo in the souls of men.

[11] Compare, for example, his estimation of Heine with that of Matthew Arnold in his essay 'Heinrich Heine' in the *Cornhill Magazine*, viii (August 1863), 233-49.

[12] See p. 183 of this chapter and note 6 above.

[13] A. H. Japp, 'Heinrich Heine', *British Quarterly Review*, lxxiv (1 October 1881), 272-3.

[14] A. H. Japp, 'Recurrent Ideas in Heine', *Gentleman's Magazine*, cclii (January-June 1882), 71-8.

[15] See:

a. R. McLintock, 'The Works of Heinrich Heine. Translated from the German by Charles Godfrey Leland ("Hans Breitmann"). Vol. I., "Florentine Nights," &c. (Heinemann)', *The Academy*, xl (26 September 1891), 256-7.

b. R. McLintock, 'Recent Heine Literature', *The Academy*, xliii (29 April 1893), 364-5.

The book *Heinrich Heines Familienleben* was written by Heine's nephew, Baron Ludwig von Embden, and was published by Hoffmann und Campe in Hamburg in 1892. McLintock himself had earlier published a selection of translations from Heine's longer works under the title *Heine as Novelist and Dramatist* (London, 1890).

> In the Cemetery of Montmartre a plain slab of marble, marked only with the poet's name, tells us where rests at last that which once was Heinrich Heine. Let us inscribe the trite but loving sentence: 'Requiescat in pace!'[16]

This passage is strongly illustrative of the growing tendency which developed throughout the nineteenth century towards a frequently sentimental idealisation of Heine of which there is no instance more striking than the passage which concluded an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for the end of 1877, which ran:

> At the thought of so splendid an intellect condemned thus to dwell years prisoned within a body paralysed, yet quivering with unspeakable pain, searching the while bitterly the purpose of life and the *au delà* of the grave, and its enshrouded mystery - at thought of this awful close to a tragic life, a pity divine, or a pity most human, as we best please to term it, overflows in us, even at his wild revolts and pain-wrung entreaties for repose.
>
> O sad soul! O tried soul! O soul in need of rest! who through the grave's portals hast now passed beyond the praise of friend or blame of foe, - to the great Father's comforting we leave thee, and to the sleep of death! Requiem eternam dona ei, et lux perpetua luceat ei, Domine! Dona ei requiem![17]

E. B. Shuldham's second article on Heine, which appeared in the issue of *Temple Bar* for November 1900, compared Heine's literary techniques with those of the impressionist painters.[18] It also took up, and concurred with, George Eliot's view of Heine as 'a *prose* writer of the first order'[19] (my emphasis), superior, in this field, even to Goethe, and Shuldham goes so far as to claim that Goethe's '"Schäfers Klagelied" might have been written by Heine, but on the other hand the "Wilhelm Meister" is a dreary, cold bit of workmanship compared with Heine's "Buch le Grand".'[20]

If there were some writers who used Heine more than once as their subject matter, - none, however, more so than George Eliot, - certain periodicals also carried a greater number of articles on him than others. In the case of some of these - notably *Fraser's Magazine* and the intellectually radical *Saturday Review* - this interest spanned a wide period of years in the nineteenth

[16] E. B. Shuldham, 'Heine's Life and Writings', *Temple Bar*, xxix (July 1870), 225.

[17] Anon., 'Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxii (July-December 1877), 90.

[18] E. B. Shuldham, 'Heine As An Impressionist', *Temple Bar*, cxxi (1900), 420-30.

[19] Shuldham, 'Heine As An Impressionist', p. 426.

[20] Shuldham, 'Heine As An Impressionist', p. 430.

century,[21] whilst others - notably *Blackwood's*, *The Spectator* and *The Academy* - carried several articles within a relatively brief period of time.[22] Before Heine's death reviews of his works and articles about his life had appeared sporadically in the British press from 1828 onwards, but after February 1856 the flood gathered momentum, with contributions even in such relatively slight publications as *Belgravia*.[23] George Eliot led the way in April of that year with her article 'Heine's Book of Songs' for the *Saturday Review*,[24] which she followed in August with her review of Alfred Meissner's *Recollections of Heinrich Heine*[25]

[21] See:
- *a*. W. H. Hurlbut, 'Henri Heine', *Fraser's Magazine*, xxvi (December 1842), 733-6.
- *b*. Anon., 'Young Germany', *Fraser's Magazine*, xlix (1854), 81-8.
- *c*. Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Fraser's Magazine*, lxxiv (November 1866), 588-609.
- *d*. Henry G. Hewlett, 'Heinrich Heine's Life and Work', *Fraser's Magazine*, xiv N.S. (November 1876), 600-623.
- *e*. Julian Fane, 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist', *Saturday Review*, i (3 November 1855), 13-14.
- *f*. George Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', *Saturday Review*, i (26 April 1856), 523-4. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 268-71.
- *g*. Anon., 'Mr Leland's Heine', *Saturday Review*, lxxiii (25 June 1892), 749-51.
- *h*. Anon., 'Heine's Family Life', *Saturday Review*, lxxv (14 January 1893), 46-8.
- *i*. Edmund Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', *Saturday Review*, lxxxiv (18 December 1897), 705-6.
- *j*. Anon., '*Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.* Von Paul Holzhausen', *Saturday Review*, lxxxxvi (29 August 1903), 274 and 276.

[22] See:
- *a*. Theodore Martin, 'Translations from Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxi (January-June 1877), 501-5 and 628-33.
- *b*. Anon., 'Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxii (July-December 1877), 74-90.
- *c*. Theodore Martin, 'Translations from Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxiii (January-June 1878), 89-96, 221-4, 426-33 and 599-602.
- *d*. Anon., 'Heine's "Reisebilder"', *The Spectator*, lx (8 January 1887), 48-9.
- *e*. Francis Storr, 'Heine's "Reisebilder"', *The Spectator*, lx (15 January 1887), 77-8.
- *f*. Anon., 'Heine's Works in English', *The Spectator*, lxviii (16 January 1892), 92-3.
- *g*. R. McLintock, 'The Works of Heinrich Heine', *The Academy*, xl (26 September 1891), 256-7.
- *h*. R. McLintock, 'Recent Heine Literature', *The Academy*, xliii (29 April 1893), 364-5.
- *i*. O. W., 'The Centenary of the Birth of Heine. I. - Heine: the Man', *The Academy*, lii (July-December 1897), 553-4.
- *j*. O. W., 'The Centenary of the Birth of Heine. II. - Heine: the Singer', *The Academy*, lii (25 December 1897), 576-7.
- *k*. Anon., 'Heine's "Mouche"', *The Academy*, lv (October-December 1898), 110-11.

[23] Davy, 'Some Passages in the Life of Heine', pp. 291-9.

[24] George Eliot, 'Heine's Book of Songs', *Saturday Review*, i (26 April 1856), 523-4. Reprinted in *Writer's Notebook*, ed. Wiesenfarth, pp. 268-71. For earlier mention of this article see pp. 43-4 of chapter 2 above.

[25] Alfred Meissner, *Heinrich Heine. Erinnerungen von Alfred Meissner* (Hamburg, 1856).

for the *Leader*,[26] a work which was also the basis for J. A. Harrison's article 'The Last Days of a Poet' in *Colburns New Monthly Magazine* for November 1856.[27] Prophetically, Harrison concluded this article with the words: 'Heine lies in the cemetery of Montmartre, and we believe, with our author, that "his death will be the commencement of his apotheosis."'[28] Harrison himself encouraged this process as he referred to Heine as 'one of the greatest poets Germany ever possessed', going further, to say: 'By the death of Henry Heine, German literature has suffered a loss which it has not yet appreciated, and the journals, which merely devoted a few cold lines to his decease, will yet be compelled to recognise the wondrous influence he exercised in Germany from his sick-bed in Paris.'[29] Milnes published his essay 'Heinrich Heine', which incorporated Lucie Duff Gordon's letter to him, in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1856,[30] and in November 1859 J. D. Lester's article 'Heinrich Heine' appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine*.[31] The following decade was introduced by a distinctly cool and prudish review in the *North British Review* of E. A. Bowring's *The Poems of Heine, complete: Translated in the Original Metres. With a Sketch of Heine's Life*,[32] and perhaps the chief interest of this article lies in a sentence of the final paragraph, which runs: 'The tendency now is, to study German to the disparagement of all the Romanic tongues',[33] which indicates something of the headway made by German in only the first half of nineteenth-century Britain. The two *Cornhill* articles of February and August 1863, by J. D. Lester[34] and Matthew Arnold[35]

[26] George Eliot, 'Recollections of Heine', *Leader*, xxiii (August 1856), 811-12. For earlier mention of this article see pp. 43-4 of chapter 2 above.

[27] J. A. Harrison, 'The Last Days of a Poet', *Colburns New Monthly Magazine*, cxvii (November 1856), 363-70.

[28] Harrison, 'The Last Days of a Poet', p. 370.

[29] Harrison, 'The Last Days of a Poet', pp. 364 and 363 respectively.

[30] Richard Monckton Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', *Edinburgh Review*, civ (July 1856), 192-209. For discussion of this article see pp. 148-55 of chapter 5 above.

[31] J. D. Lester, 'Heinrich Heine', *Dublin University Magazine*, liv (November 1859), 590-98. For discussion of this article see pp. 182-3 of this chapter above.

[32] See: E. A. Bowring, *The Poems of Heine, complete. Translated in the Original Metres. With a Sketch of Heine's Life*. (London, 1859). See also: Anon., 'Poems by Heinrich Heine', *North British Review*, xxxii (May 1860), 389-415.

[33] Anon., 'Poems by Heinrich Heine', p. 415.

[34] J. D. Lester, 'The Sharpshooters of the Press in England, France, and Germany', *Cornhill Magazine* vii (February 1863), 247-51. Also mentioned on p. 183 of this chapter and see note 7.

[35] Matthew Arnold, 'Heinrich Heine', *Cornhill Magazine* viii (August 1863), 233-49. For discussion of this article see pp. 78-91 of chapter 3 above.

respectively, were much more enthusiastic about their subject, as was the lengthy biographical article which appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for November 1866, in which the anonymous author said of Heine: 'In poetry, he takes his place next to Goethe, and as a writer on politics, theology and history he is, if not the most profound, at least the most brilliant German author.'[36] The year 1869 brought J. D. Lester's biographical article for the *Fortnightly Review*,[37] which was followed, in March 1870, by Robert Lytton's review of Strodtmann's *Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken von Heinrich Heine*, also in the *Fortnightly*.[38]

After Lytton's article the periodicals in the 1870's published a mixture of articles on Heine's life and translations from his work. The *Dark Blue* of 1871 published one-off translations of Heine's poems 'Tragedy' and 'When two fond hearts are parting',[39] whilst in 1877 and 1878 *Blackwood's* undertook a major publication of no fewer than fifty-nine translations from Heine's poems by Theodore Martin, which featured in the magazine from April 1877 to May 1878.[40] *Fraser's Magazine* for November 1876 carried a long article by Henry G. Hewlett which was basically a digest of William Stigand's *The Life, Work, and Opinions of Heinrich Heine*,[41] a work published the previous year by Longman's which was, on the whole, well received by Hewlett. Thereafter, in July 1877, *Blackwood's* reinforced its series of translations by Martin from Heine with a critical-biographical article on him in which, by contrast with Hewlett, the author castigated Stigand's biography as 'utterly inadequate for any real apprehension of the rare beauties of [Heine's] style, or of the manifold forms that his genius affected - as politician and philosopher, as wit and social agitator, as prose-writer

[36] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Fraser's Magazine*, lxxiv (November 1866), 589.

[37] J. D. Lester, 'Heinrich Heine', *Fortnightly Review*, vi N.S. (xii O.S.) (July-December 1869), 287-303. Also mentioned on p. 183 of this chapter and see note 9.

[38] Robert Lytton,'Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts', *Fortnightly Review*, vii N.S. (xiii O.S.) (1870), 257-77.

[39] See:
a. Franz Hüffer, '"Tragedy". By Heinrich Heine', *Dark Blue*, i (1871), 163.
b. Frederick E. Weatherly, 'From the German of Heinrich Heine', *Dark Blue*, i (1871), 486.

[40] See:
a. Theodore Martin, 'Translations from Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxi (January-June 1877), 501-5 and 628-33.
b. Theodore Martin, 'Translations from Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxiii (January-June 1878), 89-96, 221-4, 426-33 and 599-602.

[41] Henry G. Hewlett, 'Heinrich Heine's Life and Work', *Fraser's Magazine*, xiv N.S. (November 1876), 600-623. See also William Stigand, *The Life, Work, and Opinions of Heinrich Heine* (London, 1875), 2 vols.

and as poet.'[42] The latter half of 1877 saw a return to the subject of Heine by the *Fortnightly*, which carried an article entitled 'Heine in Relation to Religion and Politics' by Leonard A. Montefiore, who rather sentimentally sought to excuse and explain away 'the reproach so often laid at [Heine's] door, that he was a mere scoffer', claiming rather that 'to those before whose earnest gaze the glory of the old faiths has grown dim or vanished altogether, Heine comes as a beacon of light, unfolding noble aims and goodly hopes. He has shown us how the sanctity of the spirit essence must remain despite the death of forms and of creeds.'[43] Clearly the apotheosis of Heine was well under way by this stage. Interestingly, however, Montefiore says of Heine: 'In England he is known almost only as a poet', and he goes on to claim: 'No translation of any of Heine's prose works has, however, as far as I know, ever been published in England.'[44] Considering that Leland's translation of Heine's *Pictures of Travel* had been published in London as far back as 1855,[45] this claim is surprising, to say the least. Also around this time the *Victoria Magazine* carried an article on Heine in which Kate Hillard suggested that the 'discordant tone' which she found in Heine's writings 'had its origin in a subtle deterioration of the brain, which, commencing perhaps with his very existence, showed itself in various ways throughout his life, until it culminated in the softening of the spinal marrow,which, after eight years of intense suffering, resulted in death.'[46] In other respects the article is an unremarkable piece of biographical-critical writing on Heine, which is favourable to him to the point of sentimentality, a point amply illustrated by a sentence from the concluding paragraph, which runs:

> In spite of all the faults that stand out frankly on the surface of his soul, there is something so fascinating in the loving heart, the brilliant intellect, the sparkling wit, the tender mournful pathos, the wonderful imagination of the man, something so inexpressibly touching in the spectacle of his genius and his suffering, that one grows to love him as a friend.[47]

As was often the case, the date of Heine's birth is given incorrectly,[48] and again

[42] Anon., 'Heine', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, cxxii (July-December 1877), 83.

[43] Leonard A. Montefiore, 'Heine in Relation to Religion and Politics', *Fortnightly Review*, xxii (July-December 1877), 325 and 339 respectively.

[44] Montefiore, 'Heine in Relation to Religion and Politics', p. 325.

[45] Charles Godfrey Leland, (trans.), *Pictures of Travel* (London, 1855).

[46] Kate Hillard, 'Heinrich Heine', *Victoria Magazine*, xxii (1873), 501-2.

[47] Hillard, 'Heinrich Heine', pp. 514-15.

[48] Hillard, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 502.

Goethe's words about Platen's lack of love are wrongly applied to Heine, since Hillard writes: 'Göethe thinks the one thing lacking was love; Matthew Arnold says it was moral balance: should we not rather call it a healthy brain?'[49] Clearly Arnold's essay was influential here too.

By the end of the 1870's most of the major intellectual heavyweights of the nineteenth-century British periodical press had said their piece on Heine, but in doing so they had paved the way for the great burgeoning of interest in him which was shown in the succeeding decade by relatively lighter publications intended for a wider readership. Charles Grant, writing in the *Contemporary Review* for September 1880, claimed that: 'Since Goethe's death Heinrich Heine has been the only German man of letters who has exercised a wide and direct influence on the literature of Europe.'[50] In his assessment of Heine's work Grant displays - and wishes to encourage in the British reading public - a marked preference for the later productions, notably *Romanzero*, whilst he takes issue with the 'stereotyped rhymes and expressions, either borrowed from others or invented by himself'[51] of which he finds Heine guilty in such early works as the *Reisebilder* and the *Buch der Lieder*. Grant also attempts in his article to set Heine's work in its historical-political context, since, as he sees it: 'This is Heine's claim to immortality - that in his work the whole spiritual life of his age is reflected and expressed.'[52] The *Contemporary Review* returned to Heine in June 1882, in an article by Nina H. Kennard, entitled 'Henri Heine: A Family Portrait', a highly derivative, melodramatic piece, which relies heavily on anecdote and gossip for its substance, and which seeks to uphold and defend Heine in highly sentimental, lurid terms, saying:

> We read one of Heine's songs, and feels that he echoes our lightest as well as our deepest thoughts in language so exquisite and melodious that we take the poet to our heart at once, and make a friend and companion of him...
>
> Heine has left a blemished name: Carlyle, in his 'Reminiscences,' calls him 'that blackguard' Heine, and many talk of him as an accursed creature; but perhaps those who judge him have a great deal of that bitterness shut up within their breasts which Heine, unfortunately for himself, gave to the world.[53]

[49] Hillard, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 512.

[50] Charles Grant, 'Heinrich Heine', *Contemporary Review*, xxxviii (September 1880), 372.

[51] Grant, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 373.

[52] Grant, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 395.

[53] Nina H. Kennard, 'Henri Heine: A Family Portrait', *The Contemporary Review*, xli (June 1882), 981-2.

October 1881 had seen the appearance in the *British Quarterly Review* of the long biographical-critical article on Heine by A. H. Japp, mentioned above,[54] whose shorter piece, entitled 'Recurrent Ideas in Heine', featured in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the first half of 1882.[55] This latter publication returned to the subject of Heine four years later with an article by Coulson Kernahan entitled 'Some Aspects of Heine',[56] an article which is of interest not simply on account of its author's views on Heine but also because it reveals something of the influence of George Eliot and Matthew Arnold upon succeeding British writers of critical and biographical articles on Heine, and it also makes reference to Lucie Duff Gordon's description of Heine towards the end of his life, as published in Houghton's monograph 'The Last Days of Heinrich Heine'.[57] In common with much of the Heine literature of the late nineteenth century, Kernahan's article discusses Heine in highly coloured terms compounded of admiration for the 'unfolding freshness and charm' of 'every line he wrote'[58] and of regret that Heine was, as Kernahan saw it, 'a *moral coward*; a man who wilfully and despicably chose the ignoble part because he had not the manliness to suffer for the right; a man who habitually shrank from the task which duty imposed when it clashed with his own personal inclinations; a man who persistently listened to the promptings of his own evil passions, rather than to the voice of his truer and loftier nature.'[59] Having found Heine guilty of a wide range of moral failings - in fact, of virtually every sin save that of not loving his mother! - Kernahan then goes on to find every possible excuse for him, claiming that: 'Many of Heine's failings partook more of the nature of *disease* than of *sin*, and for their explanation we must look to pathology alone.'[60] The ill-fated early love for his cousin Amalie and the formal renunciation of Judaism for Christianity are cited as being amongst the specific causes of Heine's alleged 'lack of moral principle'. By contrast with Charles Grant, in the *Contemporary Review* for September

54 A. H. Japp, 'Heinrich Heine', *British Quarterly Review*, lxxiv (1 October 1881), 265-98. See also pp. 183 and 184 of this chapter.

55 A. H. Japp, 'Recurrent Ideas in Heine', *Gentleman's Magazine*, cclii (January-June 1882), 71-8. See also p. 184 of this chapter.

56 Coulson Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', *Gentleman's Magazine*, cclxi (July-December 1886), 233-53.

57 Lord Houghton, 'The Last Days of Heinrich Heine', *Monographs Personal and Social* (London, 1873), pp. 293-339. See esp. pp. 323-32. See also pp. 128-32 of chapter 5 above.

58 Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', pp. 234-5.

59 Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', pp. 237-8.

60 Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', p. 250.

1880,[61] Kernahan feels that Heine's 'originality never degenerates (as is so frequently the case) into mannerism, his phrases never become stereotyped',[62] and Kernahan also rejects the notion of any comparison between Heine and Goethe, since he says:

> To judge Heine and Goethe from the same standpoint, as is not unfrequently done, is to do justice to neither. Except the fact that both were poets, they had little, or nothing, in common. Over Goethe's grave rests the serene afterglow as of the setting of a placid, clear-shining planet; the spot where Heine lies is marked only by the wild meteoric trailing of some fallen star.[63]

The influence of Matthew Arnold upon Kernahan's article is indicated by the quotation of five lines (lines 206-10) from the poem 'Heine's Grave' as a preface to the piece.[64] George Eliot, meanwhile, is quoted directly at two points, once on the subject of Heine's 'songs' and once on the subject of his moral 'transgressions', and the style and tone of her Heine criticism - particularly in 'German Wit' - betray their influence throughout.[65] The importance of Lord Houghton, and through him of Lucie Duff Gordon, to nineteenth-century writers on Heine is also indicated in Kernahan's essay by a direct quotation from Lucie's account of her last visit to Heine, as reproduced by Houghton in his monograph 'The Last Days of Heinrich Heine'.[66] Moreover, an article in the *London Quarterly Review* for July 1882 also begins by quoting part of Lucie Duff Gordon's letter from Houghton's *Monographs*, although the passage chosen on this occasion is Lucie's account of her first meeting with Heine at Boulogne when she was a child of eleven or twelve.[67] The author of this article concurs with the view that: 'On the whole, it is a reasonable thing to say that since the death of Goethe in 1832, Heine's is the foremost and most influential figure among European men of letters, certainly among those of Germany',[68] but with regard to the English reading public he says:

[61] Charles Grant, 'Heinrich Heine', *Contemporary Review*, xxxviii (September 1880), 372.

[62] Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', pp. 234-5.

[63] Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', p. 236.

[64] Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', p. 233.

[65] Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', pp. 235 and 252.

[66] Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', p. 244.

[67] Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', *London Quarterly Review*, lviii (July 1882), 411.

[68] Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', p. 412.

> Though it is true that Englishmen of culture, and necessarily those who have familiarised themselves with the continental literature of the last half century, have recognised the rise of a master spirit, and have submitted to his fascination, it is only now that the Englishman who reads, not as a study, but as a recreation, is beginning to ask 'And who is this Heinrich Heine of whom we hear so much?'[69]

Like Coulson Kernahan in the article mentioned above, this author, too, quotes from Matthew Arnold's poem 'Heine's Grave', but at greater length than Kernahan. Again lines 206-11 are invoked, concerning the 'sardonic smile' which Arnold said 'was Heine',[70] but this author adds to that lines 97-102 and 121-8, lines concerned with the misattributed charge that Heine 'wanted love'[71] and with the 'secret unrest' which, Arnold said, 'Tortured thee, brilliant and bold.'[72] In addition to this, however, the writer in the *London Quarterly Review* also shows overtly something of the influence of Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine', when, in discussing Heine's poem 'The Mountain Idyll', he writes: 'It is a picture of the incipient man of the world, abashed into a love of purity by the guileless presence of a mountain peasant child. An admirable reference to this will be found in Mr. Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*.'[73] An anonymous translation of the 'Mountain Idyl' subsequently appeared in a volume of *Temple Bar* for 1888.[74] 'Heine's Grave' is also quoted in another article of the same year (1882-3) entitled 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea'.[75] In this article for *Macmillan's Magazine* Katie Magnus gives a brief biographical sketch of Heine, in which she aims not to impart any new information about Heine's life, but instead to 'glance only at such portions of it as seem to suggest the clue to a juster reading and a kindlier conclusion',[76] kindlier by far than those of Carlyle and Kingsley which Katie Magnus cites at the head of her piece.[77] Writing four years before Coulson Kernahan in the *Gentleman's Magazine* article mentioned above, Magnus also identified the break with Amalie and the formal adoption of Christianity as the major sources of Heine's 'perpetual unrest' which 'embittered his relationships

69 Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', pp. 411-12.

70 Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', p. 437.

71 Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', p. 437.

72 Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', p. 437.

73 Anon., 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', p. 425.

74 Anon., 'Mountain Idyl. Translated from Heine', *Temple Bar*, lxvi (1888), 537-41.

75 Katie Magnus, 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea', *Macmillan's Magazine*, xlvii (1883), 66.

76 Magnus, 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea', p. 59.

77 Magnus, 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea', p. 59.

and jeopardised his friendships, and set him at variance with himself.'[78] She quotes lines 23-8 of 'Heine's Grave' on the praise which is due to Heine 'Not to have yieded to pain!',[79] and she, too, quotes Lucie Duff Gordon on the subject of Heine's courage in bearing 'such horrible pain and misery in so perfectly unaffected a manner.'[80] Two years later, in July 1884, James Knowles' monthly magazine *The Nineteenth Century* carried an article by Walter S. Sichel entitled 'The Letters of Heinrich Heine' in which Matthew Arnold was described as being 'perhaps more indebted to Heine than to any other one writer',[81] whilst his 'appreciative essay' on Heine was acclaimed for 'translating admirably some of Heine's wittiest and tenderest sayings',[82] but was found to be of limited scope, since it 'deals mainly with his [i.e. Heine's] attitude towards "sweetness and light."'[83] Lord Houghton's writings on Heine, meanwhile, are dismissed as 'stray recollections'[84] of one who was, in Sichel's estimation, 'the most phenomenal author since the Revolution',[85] without a reading of whose works 'one can hardly grasp the tendencies of Europe during the last fifty years, the tendencies of Germany not at all.'[86] The first two weeks of January 1887 saw the publication in *The Spectator* of a pair of articles concerning Francis Storr's translation of *Heine's Travel-Pictures, &c.*[87] In the first of these, a review of Storr's work, the translator is accused of a considerable degree of inaccuracy in his own translations and also of repeating mistakes made by Leland in his version of the *Reisebilder*, published in London in 1855 and in America in 1856.[88] In the second article Storr replies to the *Spectator*'s criticisms, and it is interesting to note that, in accounting for his error of 'referring to Heine what was said by Goethe of Platen', namely that he 'wanted love', Storr says: 'It may be monstrous to suppose that Goethe could ever

[78] Magnus, 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea', pp. 64 and 66 respectively.

[79] Magnus, 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea', p. 66.

[80] Magnus, 'Heinrich Heine: A Plea', p. 66.

[81] Walter S. Sichel, 'The Letters of Heinrich Heine', *Nineteenth Century*, xvi (July 1884), 118.

[82] Sichel, 'The Letters of Heinrich Heine', p. 118.

[83] Sichel, 'The Letters of Heinrich Heine', p. 118.

[84] Sichel, 'The Letters of Heinrich Heine', p. 119.

[85] Sichel, 'The Letters of Heinrich Heine', p. 118.

[86] Sichel, 'The Letters of Heinrich Heine', p. 118.

[87] Francis Storr, (trans.), *Heine's Travel-Pictures, &c* (London, 1887). For the articles see:
a. Anon., 'Heine's "Reisebilder"', *The Spectator*, lx (8 January 1887), 48-9.
b. Francis Storr, 'Heine's "Reisebilder"', *The Spectator*, lx (15 January 1887), 77-8.

[88] Charles Godfrey Leland, (trans.), *Pictures of Travel* (London, 1855).

have said of Heine that he lacked love, but it is some consolation to find oneself in the same pillory as Strodtmann and Mr. Matthew Arnold ("Essays in Criticism," p. 185).'[89]

By this stage in the development of British periodical writing on Heine it was becoming increasingly important to find some new angle from which to approach the by now familiar story of his life. Thus, in 1887 Cassell's *Magazine of Art* published a short article by Garnet Smith entitled 'Heine as an Art-Critic'[90] which deals with three letters by Heine to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* in which he described the Salons of 1831, 1833 and 1843, and with two letters of 1841 which contain remarks by him on Louis Robert and Paul Delaroche. Favourably disposed towards the 'free, chatty manner'[91] of Heine's art criticism, Garnet Smith claims that his article is directed primarily at a group which he identifies as 'the rapidly increasing number of those in England who find a certain charm in Heine which they find but seldom elsewhere, yet have not ventured from the *chefs-d'oeuvre* of the author to his miscellaneous works.'[92] The year 1889 saw a return to the subject of Heine by the *Quarterly Review*, one of the earliest British periodicals to have noticed Heine as far back as 1835[93] but which had remained silent about him during the intervening fifty-four years. The anonymous article of 1889 is a serious, weighty affair which treats its subject in a straightforwardly biographical-critical manner, regarding Heine as 'sure to remain as a living emblem of the century in which the romantic was married to the plastic genius. ... at once the child of the age and its embodiment, often fantastic, oftener still a mocker of it as of himself, but always its true effigies.'[94] Again, however, Heine's alleged moral failings are adduced as 'evidence, that genius without principle acts only as a chaotic force.'[95] Moreover, in the same article Matthew Arnold, who had died the previous year, 1888, is taken to task for having 'exalted' Byron 'as the "greatest elementary power" since

89 Storr, 'Heine's "Reisebilder"', p. 77.

90 Garnet Smith, 'Heine as an Art-Critic', *The Magazine of Art*, x (1887), 402-4.

91 Garnet Smith, 'Heine as an Art-Critic', p. 402.

92 Garnet Smith, 'Heine as an Art-Critic', p. 404.

93 The *Quarterly Review* published the following articles on Heine:
a. Anon., 'Recent German Belles-Lettres', *Quarterly Review*, lv (February 1835), 215-29.
b. Anon., 'Heine on Germany', *Quarterly Review*, lv (December 1835), 1-34.
c. Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxix (1889), 399-430.
d. Anon., 'The Ideals of Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxxxix (1899), 424-52.

94 Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxix (1889), 400.

95 Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxix (1889), 430.

Shakespeare',[96] whilst admitting at the same time that Byron 'had "little culture" and "no ideas".'[97] Arnold is also criticised for his mistake over Heine's birthplace, when the author of the article writes:

> Heinrich Heine was born at Düsseldorf on December 13th, 1799. It is amusing to note that Mr. Arnold, in repeated editions of his 'Essays in Criticism,' speaks of Heine as 'born at Hamburg;' although, since he recommends the 'Reisebilder' to English readers, and translates passages from them, we might suppose he had read them himself, and must be acquainted with the humorous reference to the house in the Bolkerstrasse which the poet says he always thought of when he spoke of 'going home.'[98]

Although in a somewhat convoluted way, this passage again serves to demonstrate that Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' was still being read and heeded more than twenty years after its initial publication in 1863. A connection between Heine and George Eliot is also made in this article, since, in discussing Heine's tragedies, the author maintains that '"Almansor" has some fine passages and a pathos of which we are reminded in George Eliot's "Spanish Gipsy"',[99] a point which has been reiterated since then.[100]

Also around this time the *National Review* carried an article by Thomas Pryde on 'Heinrich Heine's Visit to London'[101] and the *Westminster Review* returned to Heine with an anonymous biographical article which described him in the most favourable terms as: 'one of the most powerful, subtle, and sensitive intellects ever created.'[102] Moreover, eschewing all doubt about Heine's morality, the *Westminster* goes on to assert that: 'This "grandson of Goethe and Voltaire," born to treat with eternal mockery the bad and used-up, the absurd, the false, and the ridiculous, was really anchored fast in love and truth.'[103] Clearly the writer of the *Westminster* article saw in Heine a kindred spirit in terms of his views on Christianity, since he writes that:

[96] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxix (1889), 399.

[97] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxix (1889), 399. Arnold's comments can be found in his essay 'Heinrich Heine' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 132.

[98] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxix (1889), 402.

[99] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxix (1889), 412.

[100] See pp. 62-5 of chapter 2 above.

[101] Thomas Pryde, 'Heine's Visit to London', *National Review*, x (December 1887), 542-8.

[102] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, cxxix (April 1888), 426.

[103] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, cxxix (April 1888), 426.

> In speaking of Christianity he means only that system which condemns the flesh, introduces hypocrisy, and is the most approved support of despotism. Men recognize the nature of this religion, and will allow themselves to be put off with assignments to heaven no more.[104]

Furthermore, in the tradition of Matthew Arnold, this writer believes that 'Heine's claim to have been a valiant combatant and sufferer for freedom for thirty years is valid and true.'[105] This article, too, repeats Heine's own myth about his date of birth, claiming that: 'Henri Heine was born in the night of the 1st of January 1800, and so, at all events, was one of the first men of the century',[106] and he agrees with Heine's friend Alexandre Weill in believing 'a true history of Heine to be indispensable to the poetic and literary youth of all countries.'[107]

Interest in Heine by the British periodical press was maintained in the 1890's not least by Leland's monumental translation of the complete works[108] and of the book by Heine's nephew, Baron Ludwig von Embden, entitled *Heinrich Heines Familienleben*,[109] extracts from which were published in the *New Review*.[110] All of this led naturally up to a mild flurry of interest around the time of the centenary of Heine's birth, 13 December 1897. *Macmillan's Magazine* returned to the subject of Heine in 1890 with a brief article entitled 'The Last Days of Heine',[111] which was a translation of a German article by Dr G. Karpeles in which Lucie Duff Gordon is mentioned amongst five women who were 'the only friends who cheered his dying hours.'[112] Thereafter, in the first half of 1891, Lucie's daughter, Janet Ross, published a selection of her mother's translations from Heine, together with her own introduction to them, in *Murray's Magazine*, in an article discussed in chapter 5 above.[113] The 1890's saw the publication of a

[104] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, cxxix (April 1888), 431.

[105] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, cxxix (April 1888), 434.

[106] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, cxxix (April 1888), 426.

[107] Anon., 'Heinrich Heine', *Westminster Review*, cxxix (April 1888), 435.

[108] Charles Godfrey Leland, *The Works of Heine* (London, 1891-1905), 12 vols, of which Leland translated the first eight.

[109] Baron Ludwig von Embden, *Heinrich Heines Familienleben* (Hamburg, 1892).

[110] Anon., 'Some Unpublished Letters of Heine', *New Review*, viii (February 1893), 139-50.

[111] Anon., (trans.), 'The Last Days of Heine', *Macmillan's Magazine*, lxii (1890), 363-7.

[112] Anon., (trans.), 'The Last Days of Heine', *Macmillan's Magazine*, lxii (1890), 365.

[113] Janet Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine, by the Late Lady Duff Gordon (Lucie)', *Murray's Magazine*, ix (1891), 769-76. See also pp. 132-3 of chapter 5 above.

number of articles on Heine by *The Academy*, including the two review articles by McLintock mentioned above.[114] Thereafter, in two consecutive weeks in 1897, *The Academy* published a pair of articles by O. W. in tribute to the centenary of Heine's birth, in which, again, Arnold's lines on the 'sardonic smile'[115] are invoked to sum up the author's view of Heine. Again the view is expressed 'that on Heine alone the mantle of Goethe, with, perchance, a double portion of the lyrical spirit, fell',[116] and even by 1897 O. W. can only conclude that 'the verdict of posterity on the man and on his work is still as confused and contradictory as was his contemporaries' judgment of him.'[117] *The Academy*'s last article on Heine in the 1890's is a brief review of the translation by Mary Thiddall of Camille Selden's book *Heinrich Heine's Last Days*[118] in which Camille Selden herself features as the once mysterious 'Mouche' who lightened the last fifteen months of Heine's life. Yet again the reviewer invokes 'Matthew Arnold's celebrated line "*That smile was Heine*!"'[119] The *Spectator* returned briefly to the subject of Heine in January 1892 with an anonymous review of volumes one to three of Leland's translation of Heine's complete works,[120] a review which, like McLintock's in *The Academy*,[121] was at best lukewarm and which took Leland to task for inaccuracies, for failing to provide sufficient explanatory material and not least for translating and publishing Heine's complete works, with their 'gross obscenities',[122] in their entirety. Interestingly the name of Lord Houghton figures here in connection with the task of translating and publishing the complete works, since it is said to be a task 'from which Lord Houghton seems to have

[114] See note 22*g-k* above.

[115] See:

a. O. W., 'The Centenary of the Birth of Heine. I. - Heine: the Man', *The Academy*, lii (July-December 1897), 553-4.

b. O. W., 'The Centenary of the Birth of Heine. II. - Heine: the Singer', *The Academy*, lii (25 December 1897), 576-7.

The lines: 'The spirit of the world ... That smile was Heine', from Arnold's poem 'Heine's Grave', are used as a preface to O.W.'s first article. Arnold's lines can be found in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Kenneth Allott, (London, 1965), p. 478.

[116] O. W., 'The Centenary of the Birth of Heine. I', p. 553.

[117] O. W., 'The Centenary of the Birth of Heine. I', p. 553.

[118] See Anon., 'Heine's "Mouche"', *The Academy*, lv (October-December 1898), 110-11.

[119] Anon., 'Heine's "Mouche"', p. 111.

[120] See Anon., 'Heine's Works in English', *The Spectator*, lxviii (16 January 1892), 92-3.

[121] R. McLintock, 'The Works of Heinrich Heine' *The Academy*, xl (26 September 1891), 256-7.

[122] Anon., 'Heine's Works in English', p. 92.

shrunk.'[123] Even though no more details are given, this brief reference at least serves to indicate that Houghton was known as a Heine scholar as late as 1892. By direct contrast with both *The Academy* and the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review* for 25 June 1892, in its review of volumes two, three, five and six of Leland's Heine, found that: 'Verily Heinrich Heine and not Jean Paul is *der Einzige* among Germans: and great is the venture of translating him which Mr Leland has so boldly undertaken, and in which for the most part he has quitted himself so well.'[124] Unlike *The Academy* and the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review* does not point out perceived individual flaws in Leland's translations, but it does take issue with Leland's general policy of '*not* following Heine's intolerable tautology of works, iteration of ideas, or of commonplace conceptions, his brusque French-German terms, or common slang',[125] commenting:

> To tell the truth, indeed, we ourselves should find fault rather with Heine's matter than with his form. He was often cruel; he was sometimes vulgar; he was not seldom trivial, hasty, ignorant. But may Heaven deliver us from the accuracies, the originalities, the correctness of some men if they are to keep us out of the tautologies, the iterations, the commonplace of Heine![126]

The reviewer goes on to point out, however, that 'these observations are meant as a friendly debating of matters of principle with Mr. Leland, not as an unfavourable criticism of his practice', and the reviewer joins Leland in castigating Heine's own '"profundity of ignorance"', whilst at the same time agreeing that Heine wrote 'flawless and wonderful verse' and that 'the *Deutschland* and the *Reisebilder* would not be parted with by any capable student of the European literature of the century for any price.'[127] The following year the *Saturday Review* published a generally favourable review of von Embden's *Heinrich Heines Familienleben* which repeated the misattribution to Heine of Goethe's words that Platen 'wanted love',[128] a persistent mistake in the nineteenth century, whilst of Heine the reviewer said: 'He was incapable of writing a colourless sheet.'[129] In common with *The Academy*, the *Saturday*

[123] Anon., 'Heine's Works in English', p. 92.

[124] Anon., 'Mr Leland's Heine', *Saturday Review*, lxxxiii (25 June 1892), 751.

[125] Anon., 'Mr Leland's Heine', p. 749.

[126] Anon., 'Mr Leland's Heine', p. 750.

[127] Anon., 'Mr Leland's Heine', p. 750.

[128] Anon., 'Heine's Family Life', *Saturday Review*, lxxv (14 January 1893), 46.

[129] Anon., 'Heine's Family Life', p. 46.

Review also produced an assessment of Heine to mark the centenary of his birth in December 1897. In this article Edmund Gosse surveys changing British attitudes towards Heine throughout the nineteenth century, claiming that: 'To a generation fed upon Thomas Arnold there is no question that the voice of Heine was purely abhorrent',[130] an attitude which Gosse attributes to Heine's hatred of England and championing of Napoleon, although by the time of writing he claims that: 'In England the memory of Heine has lived down the bitter prejudice of the Middle Victorian period.'[131] Gosse subscribes to the view that Heine was the natural successor to Goethe on 'the throne of German letters',[132] and he even goes so far as to claim that: 'The history of German poetry since 1827 has mainly been a record of the triumph of Heine', whose anniversary, Gosse claims, 'is being remembered today by the press of every capital in Europe.'[133] Arnold's lines 'for its earthly hour / The strange guest sparkled; now 'tis passed away', from 'Heine's Grave', are recalled in Gosse's conclusion,[134] and reference to the poem is also made earlier in the article, when Gosse says that there were present in the *Buch der Lieder* 'those mocking spirits, whose harsh gibings long afterwards troubled the sympathetic ear of Matthew Arnold, when he watched by the tomb in the benignant alleys of Montmartre.'[135] Indeed, it is to Matthew Arnold and Arthur Hugh Clough that Gosse attributes 'the first conscious introduction of Heinesque influences into English poetry',[136] and he goes on to suggest that these 'influences' have extended not only to Arnold and Clough, but also the school of Pater and Swinburne, when he writes:

> We were armed, in the desuetude of Byronic habits of thought, with the serene philosophy of Wordsworth and the sensuous ecstasy of Keats; the best verse of Matthew Arnold displayed a peculiar originality by fusing with these the perilous sensibility and exaggerated vibrations of the soul of Heine. To a still later school, that of Pater and Mr. Swinburne, Heine's great discovery lay less in his attitude of intellectual revolt than in his adoption of a modern and yet intense Paganism, that which his disciples know as 'die

[130] Edmund Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', *Saturday Review*, lxxxiv (18 December 1897), 705.

[131] Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', p. 705.

[132] Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', p. 706.

[133] Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', p. 706.

[134] Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', p. 705.

[135] Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', p. 705.

[136] Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', p. 706.

> Rehabilitation des Fleisches,' of which the story of Heine's last visit to the Venus of Melos in the Louvre is the most pathetic example.[137]

Thereafter the *Saturday Review*'s next comment on Heine came on 29 August 1903, in the form of a brief, workmanlike review of Paul Holzhausen's book *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.*[138]

In April 1899 the *Quarterly Review* returned again to the subject of Heine with a long, anonymous article entitled 'The Ideals of Heinrich Heine',[139] which the *Quarterly* regarded as its tribute on the centenary of Heine's birth, since, regardless of the rest of European opinion, the author of its article believed that: 'Few things ... are more certain than that Heine was born on December 13th, 1799'[140] (my italic). The aim of this article, the author claims, is to 'try to show what the message of his work and life was', and he goes on to claim that, 'in so doing, we shall eschew stock quotations, and that long incoherence of excerpt which deforms portraiture into panorama',[141] but in spite of its lofty aims the essay develops along more or less straightforwardly biographical lines. In the same year, 1899, the magazine *Argosy* published a one-off translation by Paul England of Heine's poem 'To My Mother'.[142] The fact that a translation from Heine should have been chosen for publication in a relatively popular magazine is in itself an indication of Heine's widespread fame and popular appeal in Britain towards the close of the Victorian era. Around this time *Macmillan's Magazine* also returned to Heine, with an article by W. Beach Thomas entitled 'Heine in Paris', which was based on Mrs Abel Ram's translation of Edouard Grenier's *Souvenirs Littéraires*, published in London in 1899.[143] With regard to this work the reviewer writes: 'At this date it is no doubt a delight to get any new information about Heine's life', but he ends nonetheless by dismissing the book as merely 'a pretty book of Reminiscences'[144] and nothing more. The *Universal*

[137] Gosse, 'The Centenary of Heine', p. 706.

[138] Anon., '*Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.* Von Paul Holzhausen', *Saturday Review*, lxxxxvi (29 August 1903), 274 and 276.

[139] Anon., 'The Ideals of Heinrich Heine', *Quarterly Review*, clxxxix (April 1899), 424-52.

[140] Anon., 'The Ideals of Heinrich Heine', p. 425.

[141] Anon., 'The Ideals of Heinrich Heine', p. 427.

[142] Paul England, (trans.), 'To My Mother. (From the German of Heine.)', *Argosy*, lxviii (1899), 385.

[143] W. Beach Thomas, 'Heine in Paris', *Macmillan's Magazine*, lxxxi (1900), 426-31. See also Edouard Grenier, *Souvenirs Littéraires*, trans. Mrs Abel Ram, (London, 1899).

[144] W. Beach Thomas, 'Heine in Paris', p. 426.

Review at this time carried an article by Alice G. Royston, based on her own translation of Heine's *Ideen: das Buch Le Grand*, in which she described Heine as: 'the great German poet, whose genius, despite State interference and Church condemnation, was nevertheless surrounded by such an enthralling glamour, that no writer of his day, not even excepting Goethe, wielded a greater power, nor commanded a more extensive circle of readers than Heinrich Heine.'[145] This extreme estimate of Heine's stature is then reinforced by lurid description of the poet as: 'a martyr to physical and mental torture, chained to his bed by a frightful disease - poor, deserted, in exile, waiting in hopeless misery for death to bring him the rest which life had denied him.'[146]

The turn of the century was greeted by *Temple Bar* with two articles on Heine: an anonymous piece entitled 'Heine's "Frau Mathilde"'[147] and the article entitled 'Heine as an Impressionist' by E. B. Shuldham, mentioned above.[148] Then, in 1904, James S. Henderson contributed a short piece entitled 'Heine and Sir Walter Scott'[149] in which, again, Arnold's essay on Heine is invoked, in particular his view of Heine as: 'the man of truest genius that Germany has produced since Goethe.'[150] In 1903 Jaye Garry contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* an article entitled 'Heine in London',[151] which was basically a collection of extracts from Heine's own writings about his trip to England in 1827, and in the same year W. L. Courtney's *Fortnightly Review* returned to Heine when it published nine translations by Laurie Magnus of poems from Heine.[152] Thereafter, in 1906, the

[145] Alice G. Royston, 'The Book of Ideas', *Universal Review*, vii (pre-1896), 437.

[146] Royston, 'The Book of Ideas', p. 437.

[147] Anon., 'Heine's "Frau Mathilde", *Temple Bar*, cxx (July 1900) 395-405.

[148] See p. 185 of this chapter and note 18 above.

[149] James S. Henderson, 'Heine and Sir Walter Scott', *Temple Bar*, cxxix (March 1904), 284-90.

[150] Henderson, 'Heine and Sir Walter Scott', p. 284. Arnold's original comments can be found in his essay 'Heinrich Heine' in *C.P.W.*, ed. Super, iii. 107-11.

[151] Jaye Garry, 'Heine in London', *Gentleman's Magazine*, ccxcv (1903), 231-43.

[152] Laurie Magnus, 'Songs from Heine', *Fortnightly Review*, lxxiv N.S. (lxxix O.S.) (1903), 525-8. The poems are:

a. 'Aus meinen grossen Schmerzen', No. 36, p. 79 of 'Lyrisches Intermezzo'.
b. 'Wenn ich in deine Augen seh' ', No. 4, p. 67 of 'Lyrisches Intermezzo'.
c. 'Du hast Diamanten und Perlen', No. 62, p. 123 of 'Die Heimkehr'.
d. 'Du bist wie eine Blume', No. 47, pp. 117-18 of 'Die Heimkehr'.
e. 'Mein Kind, wir waren Kinder', No. 38, pp. 95-6 of 'Die Heimkehr'.
f. 'Es stehen unbeweglich', No. 8, p. 68 of 'Lyrisches Intermezzo'.
g. 'Ich weiss nicht, was soll es bedeuten', No. 2, pp. 95-6 of 'Die Heimkehr'.
h. 'Wer zum ersten Male liebt', No. 63, p. 123 of 'Die Heimkehr'.
i. 'Du liebst mich nicht, du liebst mich nicht', No. 12, p. 70 of 'Lyrisches Intermezzo'.

These can be found in the *Buch der Lieder* in *H.H.S.W.*, ed. Elster, to which the page numbers refer. The song numbers refer to the particular song-cycles.

Fortnightly Review celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of Heine's death with a biographical article by Horace B. Samuel, which was prefaced by Samuel's own, pretty appalling, poetic tribute to Heine and in which Samuels described Heine as: 'the most baffling, elusive, and inconsistent of all writers, the veritable Proteus of poetry',[153] going on ultimately to conclude that Heine's 'writings form an incessant stream of paradoxes, but his life is the greatest paradox of all.'[154]

Thus, it is clear that the subject of Heine's life and works was of enduring interest in Britain throughout the nineteenth century, not only to such major writers as George Eliot and Matthew Arnold, but also to a wide range of lesser figures, many of whom were, however, influenced by George Eliot's four essays on Heine and by Arnold's essay 'Heinrich Heine' and, perhaps even more, by his poem 'Heine's Grave'. Lucie Duff Gordon's letter to Richard Monckton Milnes was obviously of importance in establishing later in the century a vivid picture of the sufferings of Heine's last years, coupled with a growing sympathy for him. It is noteworthy that when reference is made in other periodicals to Milnes' essay and monographs on Heine it is usually the sections based on Lucie's letter which are singled out for most comment,[155] and it is primarily on this letter that Lucie Duff Gordon's claim to influence over nineteenth-century British attitudes towards Heine rests, rather than on the strength of the few published translations of some of his poems. Like Lucie, Milnes is of importance to an account of Heine's reception and influence in Victorian Britain not least because he actually knew Heine personally and, together with Lucie Duff Gordon, was singled out by the dying poet himself as one of the 'ganz vorzügliche Freunde'[156] whom England had sent to him. Had it not been for Milnes' application to Lucie Duff Gordon for information concerning Heine and his subsequent publication of her letter of reply in his essay and monograph on Heine, the charming and poignant accounts which that letter contained might have been much longer withheld from public knowledge, - if, indeed, they had ever seen the light of publication at all, - in which case the swing in Heine's favour by the later nineteenth-century British press would certainly have been denied a powerful stimulus. As a student of Heine's works Milnes was clearly held in high regard in Victorian Britain, since his few published translations from Heine were noted and praised, and the question arose of his possibly attempting a major work of translation from

153 Horace B. Samuel, 'Heinrich Heine', *Fortnightly Review*, lxxix N.S. (lxxxv O.S.) (1906), 855.

154 Samuel, 'Heinrich Heine', p. 870.

155 See, for example, Coulson Kernahan, 'Some Aspects of Heine', *Gentleman's Magazine*, cclxi (1886), 244.

156 See p. 125 and note 2 of chapter 5 above.

Heine.[157] This, of course, came to nothing, but again through his *Edinburgh Review* essay, Milnes was responsible for drawing to public attention the translations of another important nineteenth-century Heine scholar, Julian Fane. Fane's article of 3 November 1855 may have exerted some slight influence over George Eliot's 'German Wit', but his importance lies primarily in the depth of scholarly interest which Fane showed in his subject. He translated a far greater amount of Heine's poetry than any other gentleman-scholar of the period, and from the evidence of Robert Lytton, himself the author of an article on Heine, it seems that, had Julian Fane lived longer, the essay 'Heinrich Heine, Poet and Humorist' would have proved only a prelude to a full-blown biography of Heine,[158] which would have been one of the first to be written by an English scholar. Fuelled by the writings of George Eliot and of such aristocratic literati as Milnes and Fane in the 1850's, the later decades of the nineteenth century championed the cause of Heine, both as an author and as a man, with increasing fervour, occasionally almost with hysteria, especially at times such as anniversaries of his death and the somewhat uncertain centenary of his birth. Translators, notably Charles Godfrey Leland, Theodore Martin, John Stores Smith, John E. Wallis and E. A. Bowring, made Heine's works more widely accessible,[159] and influential biographical works were produced by such figures as Adolf Strodtmann, William Stigand, Alfred Meissner, Baron von Embden, Fürstin della Rocca and Camille Selden.[160] After the early part of the century, when the tendency amongst those periodicals which noticed Heine at all was to

[157] See the second sentence of the anonymous article 'Heine's Works in English', *The Spectator*, lxviii (16 January 1892), 92.

[158] See note 254 of chapter 5 above.

[159] See:

a. *Pictures of Travel*, trans. Charles Godfrey Leland, (London, 1855).
b. *The Works of Heine*, trans. Charles Godfrey Leland, (London, 1891-1905). Leland translated the first eight of the twelve volumes.
c. *Poems and Ballads by Heinrich Heine*, trans. Theodore Martin, (Edinburgh, 1878); *Heine's Book of Songs*, trans. Theodore Martin and Edgar A. Bowring, (New York, 1884).
d. John Stores Smith ('John Ackerlos'), *Selections from the Poetry of Heinrich Heine* (London, 1854).
e. *Heinrich Heine's Book of Songs (A Translation)*, trans. John E. Wallis, (London, 1856).
f. *The Poems of Heine Complete*, trans. Edgar Alfred Browning, (London, 1859).

[160] See:

a. *Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken von Heinrich Heine*, ed. Adolf Strodtmann, (Hamburg, 1869).
b. Adolf Strodtmann, *Heinrich Heines Leben und Werke* (Berlin, 1869).
c. William Stigand, *The Life, Work and Opinions of Heinrich Heine* (London, 1880).
d. Alfred Meissner, *Heinrich Heine. Erinnerungen von Alfred Meissner* (Hamburg, 1856).
e. Baron Ludwig von Embden, *Heinrich Heines Familienleben* (Hamburg, 1892).
f. Fürstin della Rocca, *Skizzen über Heinrich Heine* (Leipzig, 1882).
g. Camille Selden, *The Last Days of Heinrich Heine*, trans. Clare Brune, (London, 1884).

carry reviews of individual works, there developed a marked interest in the story of Heine's life, with, in particular, a ghoulish fascination with the details of his protracted sufferings and death. Analysis of his literary output played a greater or lesser role in these articles, depending on the author and the periodical. Heine's life story never ceased to be of interest throughout the century, and ever more ardent attempts were made to excuse what George Eliot had roundly described as 'the expression of debased feeling' in Heine.[161] Many apparently biographical articles were merely compilations of anecdotes loosely strung together, and inevitably, as the basic outlines of Heine's life became more widely known, it became necessary for the writers of periodical articles to seek ever harder for a fresh perspective on their subject, so that the titles became increasingly specialised. It has remained for twentieth-century scholars to establish accurately and conclusively many of the details of Heine's life, and during this century estimates of his work have fluctuated considerably throughout Europe. The late Victorian image of Heine was composed of a jumble of fact, legend and outright myth, but for all that it is fair to say that the end of the nineteenth century saw the rehabilitation of Heine reach its zenith in Victorian Britain.

161 George Eliot, 'German Wit', in *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Pinney, p. 224.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

Heine was, then, a prominent and controversial figure in Britain throughout the nineteenth century, and opinions about him in the periodical press ranged widely between the *Quarterly*'s early comments on his 'unparalleled virulence', 'personal vituperation' and 'reckless malice'[1] and an article in *Blackwood's* for 1877 which referred to him in the words: 'O sad soul! O tried soul! O soul in need of rest!'[2] On the whole, Liptzin is correct in charting Heine's reception in Britain as a process of steadily rising fortunes, to which considerable impetus was added by the long-drawn-out human saga of his years of suffering through illness from the late 1840's until his death on 17 February 1856.[3] Liptzin, however, distorts the true picture by oversimplifying the matter, since, in fact, despite the general trend, articles both favourable and unfavourable to Heine are to be found in the British press throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, many, if not most, of the periodical writings on him fall into neither distinct category but are rather more discriminating than Liptzin allows for, and overall there emerges a recognisable pattern of praise, often very high, for Heine's literary talents, counterbalanced to varying degrees by censure of his private life and of his political and moral attitudes.

Amongst the lesser-known writers and Heine enthusiasts of Victorian Britain Lucie Duff Gordon played an important role in the upturn of Heine's fortunes in Britain after his death, primarily through the letter which she wrote in response to Richard Monckton Milnes' request for information on him. Those parts of Milnes' *Edinburgh Review* article which seem most often to have caught the attention of other periodical writers are nearly always based on Lucie Duff Gordon's reminiscences of Heine.[4] Moreover, both Lucie Duff Gordon and Milnes

[1] See p. 9 of chapter 1 above and note 43.

[2] See p. 185 of chapter 6 above and note 17.

[3] See chapters 1-3 of Sol Liptzin, *The English Legend of Heinrich Heine* (New York, 1954).

[4] See, for example, the reference to Lucie Duff Gordon's first meeting with Heine in an anonymous article entitled 'Life and Works of Heinrich Heine', *London Quarterly Review*, lviii (1882), 411.

knew Heine personally and stand out amongst their contemporaries because he himself singled them out as pre-eminent among the friends which England had sent him. Milnes' own poetry betrays Heine's influence at some points. Together with Julian Fane and, to a lesser degree, Robert Lytton, Milnes filled the role of gentleman scholar of Heine, although not with the same depth of academic interest as Fane, for whom the study of Heine appears to have been the major intellectual endeavour of his short adult lifetime. Milnes gave a favourable notice to Fane's translations from Heine in his *Edinburgh Review* article,[5] and Robert Lytton, in his biography of Fane, expressed his admiration for those of Milnes, by then raised to the peerage as Lord Houghton.[6] Heine himself thought so highly of Lucie Duff Gordon as to ask her to undertake the task of translating into English all his works, with complete editorial control over them. Nothing came of this, but in 1891 Janet Ross published a selection of her mother's translations from Heine in an article in *Murray's Magazine*.[7] This, however, was only the amateur tip of the iceberg so far as nineteenth-century translations from Heine were concerned, since his works received a large amount of attention in published translations both in Britain and America.[8]

The works of Heine were known to many of the great literary figures of Victorian Britain, but of these only George Eliot and Matthew Arnold left extensive overt reference to their views on Heine in the form of their essays and of Arnold's poem 'Heine's Grave', all of which exerted considerable influence upon succeeding critics of Heine in the British periodical press. Furthermore, a degree of influence by Heine on the works of George Eliot and Matthew Arnold is to be found, although it would be unwise to exaggerate this beyond reasonable bounds. Amongst other major writers of Victorian Britain opinions on Heine ranged from Carlyle's splenetic reference to him as a 'filthy, fetid sausage of spoilt victuals'[9] through to Elizabeth Barrett Browning's reference to him, in a letter of 4 September 1854, which is sympathetic to the point of sentimentality. In this she writes:

5 Richard Monckton Milnes, 'Heinrich Heine', *Edinburgh Review*, civ (July 1856), 193.

6 Robert Lytton, *Julian Fane: A Memoir* (London, 1871), p. 103.

7 Janet Ross, 'Some Translations of Heine, by the Late Lady Duff Gordon (Lucie)', *Murray's Magazine*, ix (1891), 769-76.

8 See Armin Arnold, *Heine in England and America. A Bibliographical Check-List* (London, 1959), pp. 17-21 and 29-31.

9 See Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff, *Out of the Past* (London, 1903), ii. 95.

> You know how that brilliant, witty, true poet Heine, who was an atheist (as much as a man can pretend to be), has made a public profession of a change of opinion which was pathetic to my eyes and heart the other day as I read it. He has joined no church; but simply (to use his own words) has 'returned home to God like the prodigal son after a long tending of the swine.' It is delightful to go home to God, even after a tending of the sheep. Poor Heine had lived a sort of living death for years, quite deprived of his limbs, and suffering tortures to boot, I understand.[10]

George Meredith also had an interest in Heine and in a letter of congratulation to William Sharp on the publication of his biography of Heine he wrote:

> Your Heine gave me pleasure. I think it competently done; and coming as a corrective to Stigand's work, it brings the refreshment of the antidote. When I have the pleasure of seeing you we will converse upon Heine. Too much of his - almost all of the Love poems - draw both tenderness and tragic emotion from a form of sensualism; much of his wit too was wilful; a trick of the mind.[11]

Three years later, in 1891, Robert Bridges followed more in the line of Carlyle, when he wrote to Roger Fry:

> ...I am nothing of an antiquarian. - I often feel as Heine did toward the 3 Holy Kings - you remember? If not you will not wish to be reminded of that ill-mannered German Jew in Venice.[12]

Thereafter, in 1893, Bridges wrote to Richard Watson Dixon, saying that he had 'been reading Heine's prose lately', and going on to comment: 'Heine was very wicked, and I think I shall write a book Adversus Heinem.'[13] By way of very positive contrast, however, A. E. Housman acknowledged Heine, along with the Border Ballads and the songs of Shakespeare, as one of the three models which provided 'fortunate influences' upon his major work *A Shropshire Lad.*[14] Thus, Heine provoked comment from a number of major Victorian writers throughout the century. None, however, made such telling contributions to the assessment of his stature and importance as George Eliot and Matthew Arnold, and to none was he of greater significance.

[10] *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, (London, 1897), ii. 175.

[11] *The Letters of George Meredith*, ed. C. L. Cline, (Oxford, 1970), ii. 938-9.

[12] *The Selected Letters of Robert Bridges*, ed. Donald E. Stanford, (London, 1983), i. 218.

[13] *Selected Letters of Robert Bridges*, ed. Stanford, i. 253.

[14] R. P. Graves, *A. E. Housman. The Scholar-Poet* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 106-107.

Appendix

Translations

Translations of substantial quotations in German are given here to accommodate the needs of those readers of the thesis who are not familiar with the language. They are offered on this purely functional basis and are in no way intended to stand as the best translations from Heine that could ever be supplied. Sources for the verse translations have been chosen according to availability. In most cases a published translation has been supplied, but occasionally I have been obliged to provide my own prose translations of Heine's verse. All translations from the prose are my own, as no modern translation of Heine's prose was available to me at the time of writing.

Chapter 2, p. 26:

It seizes me fast with impetuous might!
Ah, but they never were lovers, these hours,
Secretly leaguing their terrible powers -
Mocking the lover's impatience for spite.

From *Book of Songs*: Youthful Sorrows/Songs.[1]

Chapter 2, p. 27:

It is characteristic that a certain sentimentality always attaches itself to our German rogues. They are no cold intellectual rascals, but scoundrels of feeling.

From preface to *Confessions*.

1 Hal Draper, *The Complete Poems of Heinrich Heine. A Modern English Version* (Boston, 1982), p. 24.

Chapter 2, p. 27:

> The delicacy of Erasmus and the mildness of Melanchthon would never have brought us as far as the sometimes divine brutality of Brother Martin.
>
> From *The History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany.*

Chapter 2, pp. 27-8:

> Glory to Luther! Eternal glory to that dear man, to whom we owe thanks for the rescue of our noblest possessions, and from whose charity we live today! It is hardly befitting to complain about the narrowness of his outlook. The dwarf who stands on the shoulders of the giant certainly sees further than the giant himself, especially if he puts on spectacles; but despite his deepened perception, he lacks the high feeling, the giant's heart, which it is impossible to acquire unto oneself. It is even less fitting for us to pass a harsh judgement on his failings; these failings have been of more use to us than the virtues of thousands of others.
>
> From *The History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany.*

Chapter 2, p. 28:

> Certain it is that the conduct of Spinoza was free of all reproach and pure and spotless as the life of his divine kinsman, Jesus Christ. Like Christ, Spinoza, too, suffered for his teaching, and like Christ he too wore the crown of thorns. Wherever a great spirit expresses his thoughts, there is Golgotha... . Spinoza was ceremonially expelled from the Jewish community and declared unworthy henceforward to bear the name of a Jew. His Christian enemies, however, were generous enough to allow him this title.
>
> From *The History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany.*

Chapter 2, p. 29:

> This pantheism of Goethe's is to be found in its purest and most beautiful form in his short songs. The teaching of Spinoza has burst forth from its mathematical shell and flutters around us in the form of Goethe's song. Hence the rage which orthodox Christians and pietists direct against the songs of Goethe. With their pious bear's paws they are groping after this butterfly which constantly flies away from them. It is so delicately ethereal and it flies on such gauzy wings... . These songs of Goethe's have a kind of playful magic which it is impossible to describe. The harmonious verses twine themselves round your heart like a tender lover; the word embraces you whilst the thought kisses you.
>
> From *The History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany.*

Chapter 2, p. 30:

> Perhaps the stars of heaven appear so pure and beautiful to us only because we are far away from them and know nothing of their private lives. Surely there are also up there many stars which lie and beg; stars which play the hypocrite; stars which are forced to commit every possible evil; stars which kiss and then betray each other; stars which flatter their enemies and - which is even more painful - their friends every bit as much as we do here below. Those comets which are sometimes seen careening about up there like Maenads of heaven, with their flowing locks unfettered, might be the dissolute stars which end by crawling away humbly and penitently into an obscure corner of the firmament and hating the sun.
>
> From *The Romantic School.*

Chapter 2, p. 34:

> *When George Eliot points out the contrast between this elegance and flexibility of Heine's style and the heaviness of the usual German style, she is in fact emphasising not a German but a French element in him. In hunting down and admiring a French element even in a German poet, George Eliot reveals the characteristic strain of the Englishwoman in herself. For the English - with the exception of Carlyle - French culture was 'the culture', and hence all things French were to be used as a model.*
>
> From Sibilla Pfeiffer, 'George Eliot's relations with Germany',
> *Anglistische Forschungen*, lx (1925) 211-12.

Chapter 2, p. 45:

> He stepped up with the ax to do
> The task of demolition,
> And ruthlessly he smashed the poor
> Skeletons of superstition.
>
> The ax strokes rang from vault to vault
> In echoes without number;
> And spurts of blood shot from my breast -
> I suddenly woke from slumber.
>
> From *Germany*: chapter 8.[2]

2 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 498.

Chapter 2, p. 46:

And my wounds are licked by time
Just as Job's dog licked his boils.

Dog, I thank you for your spittle,
But its coolness merely soothes me -
Only death can really heal me,

From *Romancero*: Book 3/Hebrew Melodies - 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.[3]

Chapter 2, p. 46:

And the youngster's noble spirit
Was enraptured by the sweetness,
Wild and wonderful adventure,
And the strangely aching gladness,

And the fabled thrills and shivers
Of that blissful secret world,
Of that mighty revelation
Which we title poesy.

And the art of poesy -
Gaia scienza, gracious talent
That we call the poet's art -
Also worked upon his spirit.

From *Romancero*: Book 3/Hebrew Melodies - 'Jehuda ben Halevy'.[4]

Chapter 2, p. 48:

In natural history museums the whale
Is often left out of the fishes.

From *Other Published Poems*: 'Hymn of Praise to King Ludwig'.[5]

3 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, pp. 659-60.

4 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 658.

5 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 539.

Chapter 2, p. 50:

They hear a tap at the window,
And see a beckoning hand,
Outside, in a preacher's black cassock
They see the dead father stand.

From *Book of Songs*: The Homecoming.[6]

Chapter 2, p. 53:

I loved you - and I love you still!
Though the world in wreckage lie,
From the ruins the flames of my love will
Soar up to the very sky.

From *Book of Songs*: Lyrical Intermezzo.[7]

Chapter 2, p. 53:

More than a decade after she had produced this biographical portrait the writer, with great empathy, created her Daniel Deronda, *the story of that tender hearted young man with the fine understanding. It is highly likely that the study of Heine had a decided effect on George Eliots's perception of the Jew as a psychological type and furnished her with a deep insight into the synthesis of ardent feelings and the capacity for cool, critical contemplation.*

From Lotte Simon-Baumann, 'George Eliot on Heinrich Heine', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, lv (Neue Folge Band xliii) (1931), 319.

Chapter 2, p. 54:

Israel. A witch's magic
Has transformed him to a dog.
.....
But on every Friday evening
At the twilight hour, the magic
Fades abruptly, and the dog
Once more is a human being.

From *Romancero*: Book 3/Hebrew Melodies - 'Princess Sabbath'.[8]

6 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 88.

7 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 67.

8 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 651.

Chapter 2, p. 56:

As a dog with doggish notions,
All the livelong week he piddles
Through life's slime and slops and sweepings,
Mocked and jeered at by street-arabs.

From *Romancero*: Book 3/Hebrew Melodies - 'Princess Sabbath'.[9]

Chapter 2, p. 57:

Happiness is a giddy girl
And always disinclined to stay;
She pats your head, gives you a whirl,
Kisses you quick, and flits away.

But Lady Sorrow now! Don't worry,
She's just the very opposite:
She holds you fast - she's in no hurry -
She sits down by your bed to knit.

From *Romancero*: Book 3/Lamentations.[10]

Chapter 2, p. 59:

Moses, despite his animosity towards art, was himself a great artist and possessed the true artistic spirit. But with Moses, as with his Egyptian countrymen, this artistic spirit operated only on the level of the colossal and the indestructible. Unlike the Egyptians, however, Moses did not shape his works of art out of brick and granite; rather, he built human pyramids, he carved human obelisks, he took a poor line of shepherds and from it he created a people that was to survive the ages ... he created Israel.

From *Confessions*.

9 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 651.

10 Draper, *Complete Poems of Heine. A Modern English Version*, p. 615.

Chapter 2, p. 63:

It is striking that she treats of much the same problem in her lyric-epic drama 'The Spanish Gypsy'. In view of the fact that she began it scarcely two years after her essay on Heine, it would be unwise to reject altogether the notion of a certain, if unintentional, influence here.

From Sibilla Pfeiffer, 'George Eliot's relations with Germany', *Anglistische Forschungen*, lx (1925) 211-12.

Chapter 2, p. 68:

At all events - George Eliot's strongest artistic powers are rooted in the minutiae of everyday life with which she was familiar from childhood; she is at her best when describing the most restricted of lifestyles, far removed from the world of high affairs. Her great gift for loving mankind and reaching out to it in spite of all obstacles,brought her close to that man on whom the supersubtleties of mere intellectual understanding must founder. She recognises that the echo which Heine found in her goes far beyond the intellect alone. To grasp and be stimulated by a finely-honed intelligence is not for her the ultimate attraction; she does not surrender herself to the warm after-glow of self-satisfied pleasure, without a thought for the spiritual needs of the other person. On the contrary, it is precisely the suffering human being whose voice she detects even from amongst his loudest sounds in the spiritual battle of life, and it is to him that she cleaves.

From Lotte Simon-Baumann, 'George Eliot on Heinrich Heine', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, lv (Neue Folge Band xliii) (1931), 319.

Chapter 3, p. 81:

And he is a great God. David sings: his greatness is beyond measure, he has the earth for his footstool.

Our God is a living God, and in his hall of heaven he goes on existing throughout all eternity.

From *Romancero*: Book 3/Hebrew Melodies - 'Disputation'.

Chapter 3, p. 96:

... both expressions ['Jewish' and 'Christian'] are, for me, synonymous, and I use them not to describe a faith but a natural disposition. For me the words 'Jew' and 'Christian' are virtually identical in meaning, and they stand in direct contrast to the word 'Greek',

which, in the same way, I use to denote not a particular race but an attitude of mind and a way of looking at things which are as much inborn as learned. In this respect I might say: all men are either Jews or Greeks, men with ascetic impulses, opposed to art and hungry for things of the spirit, or men of a realistic disposition, who love life and embrace it warmly.

From *Ludwig Börne: A Memorial.*

Chapter 3, p. 97:

Whereas Arnold interprets 'Hellenism' as a power of the intellect, an ability to see things as they are, Heine sees in 'Greeks' sensuous and artistic people. Whereas Arnold's use of 'Hebraism' describes a moral attitude which manifests itself in actions, Heine sees in 'Jews' ascetic people, hostile towards art. With Arnold this contrast is one of morality and intellect, of action and thinking. Heine, however, does not separate a moral and a spiritual view. Instead, he makes use of both terms together to describe the mental attitude of the 'Jews' and puts this in antithesis to the artistic disposition of the 'Greeks'. For Arnold these terms are used to indicate two abstract forces in man, whereas for Heine they are names used to characterise concrete and tangible manifestations of two types of human beings.

From Ilse-Maria Tesdorpf, *The Argument Between Matthew Arnold and Heinrich Heine, Between the Critic and the Critic.*

Chapter 3, p. 98:

Arnold turned towards Heine mainly because he felt more supported by him than by any other author in the role of a critic. His preoccupation with Heine made him realise Heine's importance in this field and above all it stimulated his own work. It is even said that Arnold borrowed his critical terms 'Philistinism', 'Hellenism' and 'Hebraism' from Heine.

In his tendency to reform England by means of his criticism, Arnold felt himself fortified and strengthened by Heine.

From Ilse-Maria Tesdorpf, *The Argument Between Matthew Arnold and Heinrich Heine, Between the Critic and the Critic.*

Chapter 4, p. 110:

Thus roared Poseidon,
And into the sea plunged back;
While, over his vulgar sailor's joke,
Laughed under the water
Amphitrite, the buxom fishwife,
And the stupid daughters of Nereus.

From *The North Sea*, First Cycle. Poem V - 'Poseidon'.[11]

Chapter 4, p. 111:

Ye Gods of Greece, I have never loved you!
For Greeks I hold in distinct aversion,
And even Romans I frankly hate;
Yet sacred compassion and shuddering pity
O'erflow my heart,
When thus I see you there above me,
Ye gods long forsaken,
Dead, night-wandering phantoms,
Weak as clouds that the wind scares by!
And when I bethink me what quaking wind-bags
Are these new gods who have overcome you,
These new sad gods who are now the fashion,
The malice cloaked in the sheepskin of meekness -
Oh, my heart swells with gloomiest rage,
And I would batter the modern temples,
And battle for *you*, ye gods of Hellas,
For you and your genial ambrosial right.

From *The North Sea*, Second Cycle. Poem VI - 'The Gods of Greece'.[12]

11 John Todhunter (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. E. Rhys, (London, 1934), p. 55.

12 Todhunter (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. Rhys, p. 74.

Chapter 4, p. 112:

Tell me now the meaning of man!
Whence comes he coming? Where goes he gone?
Who dwells up there in the golden starfields?

From *The North Sea*, Second Cycle. Poem VII - 'Questions'.[13]

Chapter 4, p. 112:

Loudly murmured the sea,
And bright paced forth, victorious in heaven,
The stars eternal.

From *The North Sea*, Second Cycle. Poem VI - 'The Gods of Greece'.[14]

Chapter 4, p. 112:

The billows but murmur their murmur eternal,
Still blows the wind, the clouds still go sailing,
The stars go on twinkling, indifferent and cold,
And a fool waits for the answer.

From *The North Sea*, Second Cycle. Poem VII - 'Questions'.[15]

Chapter 4, p. 113:

From the sun above thee
I'll snatch the beaming fiery gold,
And from it weave a diadem
For thine anointed head.

From *The North Sea*, First Cycle. Poem I - 'Coronation'.[16]

13 Todhunter (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. Rhys, p. 75.

14 Todhunter (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. Rhys, p. 74.

15 Todhunter (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. Rhys, p. 75.

16 Todhunter (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. Rhys, p. 49.

Chapter 4, p. 113:

> But the fair maid of the village,
> Her garland weaving,
> Respects you and plucks you,
> To twine with you her beauteous tresses.
>
> From *The North Sea*, Second Cycle. Poem XI - 'Coronation'.[17]

Chapter 4, p. 115:

> The dichotomy which has so long bemused us is destroyed; the stupid mortification of our bodies has finally ceased.
>
> From *Variae*, First Cycle. Poem VII - 'Seraphine'.[18]

Chapter 4, p. 115:

> My heart is like our old grey friend who ponders over two stacks of hay, wondering which of the two provides the best food.
>
> From *Variae* - 'Yolante and Marie'.

Chapter 5, p. 125:

> God, I really don't know what I had against the English that made me always so hostile towards them, but it was in truth only my devilry, I never actually hated them, neither did I ever really know them. I went once to England many years ago, but I knew no one and found London thoroughly dismal, and the people on the street seemed to me quite intolerable. But England has had her revenge in fine style, she sent me most excellent friends - you, and Milnes - that good Milnes, and others too.
>
> From Lucie Duff Gordon's letter to Houghton.

17 Todhunter (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. Rhys, p. 80.

18 Peter Branscombe, *Heinrich Heine: Selected Verse* (Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 102.

Chapter 5, p. 127:

When day by day at morning
I pass your window fair,
It gives me joy, sweet maiden,
To see you standing there.

From *The Journey Home*.[19]

Chapter 5, pp. 157-8:

Where does the fault lie? Is Our Lord perhaps not quite omnipotent? Or is he himself responsible for this disorder? Ah, that would be base.

From *Poems. 1853 and 1854*; the additional 'Lazarus' poems.[20]

Chapter 5, p. 158:

Those piercing cries from the diseased poet's mattress grave, where he begins to wrangle with God and all mankind and scarcely bothers to hide his terrible fear of death behind a forced cynicism, - these children of pain from a tortured poet's soul could never be offered to the mass of the English public in their bare form. The man of deep sensibility will surely now wish that in such circumstances no translation had ever been attempted; on the other hand, one can quite understand, if not accept, Milnes' point of view, that a few difficult verses were not sufficient reason to deny his countrymen the opportunity of coming to grips with these moving examples of Heine's sarcasm.

From Walther Fischer, *The Personal Relationship of Richard Monckton Milnes to Germany*.

19 M. M. Bozman (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. E. Rhys, (London, 1934), p. 29.

20 Branscombe, *Heinrich Heine: Selected Verse*, p. 223. Compare with the translation by Milnes given on p. 158 of chapter 5.

Chapter 5, pp. 158-9:

True, one would be hard pressed to find in Milnes' translation the gentle gleam of Heine's moonlight romanticism, which in the opening verses of the original plays its dim light over those shadowy ruins; but Milnes has certainly done justice to those elements in the poem which were susceptible of translation.

From Walther Fischer, *The Personal Relationship of Richard Monckton Milnes to Germany.*

Chapter 5, p. 159:

Yes, dearest child; thyself, thou art the flower;
I recognize thee by thy kisses yearning.
No flower-lips could have such tender power,
No flower-tears could ever be so burning.

From *Last Poems* - 'La Mouche'.[21]

Chapter 5, pp. 161-2:

For many years a maid had a familiar spirit sitting by her on the stove, where she had cleared his own little space for him and where she spent the long winter's evenings in conversation with him. Now once the maid asked little Heinz - for that is what she called the spirit - to show himself to her in his natural form. Little Heinz, however, refused absolutely. But at last he gave way and said that if she went down into the cellar she would see him there. Then the maid took a light, went down into the cellar, and there, in an open cask, she saw a dead child swimming in its own blood. As it turned out, the maid had herself given birth to a child out of wedlock many years earlier; secretly she had murdered it and had placed it in a cask.

From *The History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany.*

Chapter 5, p. 162:

Compared with the light, easy babbling tone of Heine's 'Elementary Spirits' in the third volume of the 'Salon', the tone of Milnes' learned prose-introduction to his poem-cycle 'The

21 Margaret Armour (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed. E. Rhys, (London, 1934), p. 168.Compare with the translation by Milnes given on p. 159 of chapter 5.

Goddess Venus in the Middle Ages' - which refers back to Heine's example - appears far more ponderous.

From Walther Fischer, *The Personal Relationship of Richard Monckton Milnes to Germany.*

Chapter 5, pp. 163-4:

These are no ghosts, for, as I have stated on several occasions, they are not dead; they were not created in the first place and are immortal beings who, after the victory of Christ, were forced to withdraw into the subterranean seclusion where, together with the rest of the elementary spirits, they conduct their devilish business.

From 'Elementary Spirits'.

Chapter 5, p. 164:

Tannhäuser, the knight, he walked so fast,
That his wounded feet were bleeding;
'Twas midnight when, at the Venusberg,
He stayed at last his speeding.

From *New Poems* - 'Tannhäuser'.[22]

Chapter 5, pp. 165-6:

All this joy, all this happy laughter has long since died away, although local legend has it that the Gods of ancient Greece still live on in the ruins of the old temples; but on account of the victory of Christ they have lost all their power and are wicked devils who spend the daytime hiding away amongst owls and toads in the dark ruins of their former glory, but who rise up again at night in their old graceful form to entice away and bewitch some unsuspecting rambler or incautious traveller.

All manner of fantastic legends have grown up in connection with this piece of folklore, and more recent poets have created from it the motifs for their most beautiful poems. The setting is usually Italy, and our hero some German knight who, on account of his youth and inexperience or perhaps his slim figure, is ensnared with particularly alluring artifices. There he goes out walking on fine autumn days, alone with his dreams, and his thoughts may turn to the oak forests of his native land and to the flaxen-haired maiden whom he has left behind, the frivolous dandy! Suddenly, however, he is confronted by a marble statue whose aspect pulls him up sharp in his tracks. It may be the Goddess of beauty, and he finds himself face to face with her, and the young barbarian's heart is

22 Armour (transl.), in *Prose and Poetry. Heinrich Heine*, ed.. Rhys, p. 90.

quietly gripped by the ancient magic. What is it? Never before has he seen such slender limbs, and in this piece of marble he glimpses a more vital life than he has ever found in the rosy lips and cheeks, in the whole fleshly earthiness of his countrywomen. These white eyes look at him so voluptuously and yet at the same time they are so full of terrible pain that his breast is filled with love and pity, pity and love. Now he goes walking more often amongst the ancient ruins, and his comrades are surprised that he is now scarcely ever to be seen at drinking bouts and swordplay. Strange rumours start to circulate as to what he gets up to amongst the ruins of the pagan world. One morning, however, he rushes back to the camp, his face pale and distorted, settles his bill, packs his knapsack and hurries back over the Alps. What has happened to him?

From 'Elementary Spirits'.

Chapter 5, p. 167:

Various things in the course of this meal struck the knight as strange. There was no salt on the table, and when he asked for it, a look of almost hideous displeasure distorted the white face of the lovely lady, and only after repeated requests from him did she at last, with evident vexation, have her servants bring the salt cruet. The servants' hands trembled as they placed it on the table, and they spilled just about half the contents. Still, the good wine, which glowed like fire in the knight's throat, dispelled the secret horror which sometimes came over him.

From 'Elementary Spirits'.

Chapter 5, p. 168:

The knight undertook this commission; but his heart was pounding as he stood at midnight by the appointed crossroads, where he saw the strange procession pass by. There were pale men and women, dressed in magnificent festive robes from pagan times; some wore golden crowns, others laurel wreaths on their heads which, however, were sunk in distress; furthermore, all manner of silver bowls, drinking vessels and utensils, which belonged to the ancient rites of the temple, were carried past with fearful haste; in the turmoil were also to be seen great bulls with gilded horns, hung around with garlands of flowers.

From 'Elementary Spirits'.

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