LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH | TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

René Schickele, Alsace and the Question of Cultural Identity.

A Study of *Hans im Schnakenloch* and *Das Erbe am Rhein*

ÁINE MCGILLICUDDY

Presented in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSPHY

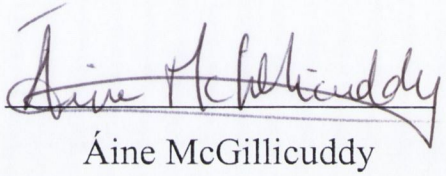
UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
TRINITY COLLEGE

2004

TRINITY COLLEGE
14 OCT 2004
LIBRARY DUBLIN
THOSIS
7421

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other University and is entirely my own work. The Library of the University of Dublin, Trinity College, has my permission to lend or copy this thesis upon request. This permission covers only single copies made for study purposes, subject to normal conditions of acknowledgment.



Áine McGillicuddy

Summary

My thesis entitled, 'René Schickele, Alsace and the Question of Cultural Identity. A Study of *Hans in Schnakenloch* and *Das Erbe am Rhein*' is a comparative investigation into issues of politics and cultural identity in Alsace under German and French rule with the First World War acting as the divisive line between the two experiences. The first part of the thesis examines cultural issues centred on differing Franco-German definitions of nationhood and the varying auto-and hetero-images they produced of one another's collective identities. This examination highlights in particular how these rival nations used such arguments to justify their claims on Alsace up to the outbreak of World War I. This discussion serves as the backdrop for the study of René Schickele's wartime drama *Hans im Schnakenloch* which addresses the impact of such Franco-German rivalries on Alsatian self-definitions of cultural identity. The second part of this thesis examines the situation in Alsace under a change of rulers when it becomes a part of the French nation. Again issues of cultural identity and the political situation are examined here as a necessary precursor to understanding the political and cultural aspects of the trilogy of novels written by René Schickele which focuses on Alsace in the 1920s.

This study contributes to existing research both in its methodology and its findings as other researchers have sought to examine the theme of cultural identity in some of Schickele's works. However, the socio-political discussion which precedes each of the works analysed, extends our understanding of these two works. This is in particular true of the drama *Hans im Schnakenloch* which to date has not been discussed in such detail. Finally, it is hoped too that this study will contribute to furthering our understanding of the issues of cultural identity amongst ethnic minorities in Europe.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my immense gratitude to my Ph.D. supervisor Dr. Gilbert J. Carr, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Germanic Studies, for his critical perspective on my work, his generosity with his time and knowledge, his encouragement, advice and endless patience. This thesis is indebted to his expertise and excellent supervision. Furthermore, I wish to acknowledge my appreciation of Professor Eda Sagarra, former Head of the Germanic Studies Department, who showed a special interest in my research and was most encouraging. My thanks too to the other staff members and postgraduates of the Germanic Studies Department for their interest and feedback, particularly within the framework of the departmental research colloquia. Special thanks go to Dr. John Horne and Dr. Alan Kramer (History Department, Trinity College Dublin), Dr. Edward J. Arnold (French Department, Trinity College Dublin), Dr. Richard Shepherd (Magdalene College, Oxford) and Professor Adrien Finck, (German Department, University of Strasbourg) as well as many of my colleagues in SALIS, Dublin City University for their helpful advice. Gratitude must also be expressed to the following institutions who in their respective capacities were invaluable in ensuring that research for this thesis could be accomplished successfully: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg; Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach am Neckar; Landesarchiv Berlin; BIDEC, Nanterre, Paris; Colindale Newspaper Library, London and the Bibliothèque Municipale, Nancy. I would like also to thank the Germanic Studies Department and Graduate Studies Office, Trinity College Dublin, the Higher Education Awards Office, Dublin Corporation and the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies, Dublin City University for their vital financial support. I thank especially my parents Tim and Anna McGillicuddy for their tremendous encouragement and my family and friends who have given me such great support throughout this period of research. Finally, 'un grand merci' to my husband Christophe Baudson for his unwavering patience and continual encouragement.

Contents

Introduction.....1

Chapter 1.....16

Questions of Nationhood and Cultural Identity in France, Germany and Alsace (1870-1914).

1.1. Nationhood and Identity.....16

1.2. The *Kultur-civilisation* debate.....18

1.3. French collective identity and *civilisation*.....21

1.4. Germany: the emergence of the *Kulturnation* and its identity.....24

1.5. Alsace: a *Grenzland* between two nations.....36

1.6. Conclusion.....53

Chapter 2.....55

A Study of the Wartime Drama *Hans im Schnakenloch*

2.1. Introduction.....55

2.2. Origins of the play.....57

2.3. Identity and characters.....62

2.3.a. The fraternal relationship.....62

2.3.b. Role of female characters.....73

2.3.c. Minor characters.....84

2.4. Politics and the French characters.....89

2.5. Censorship and reception of *Hans im Schnakenloch*.....116

2.6. Conclusion: *Ehedrama* or *Kriegsstück*?.....142

Chapter 3.....145

Alsace between the Wars: Politics and Cultural Identity

3.1. Introduction.....145

3.2. Politics and the question of cultural identity in post-war Alsace.....154

3.3. The rise of autonomism.....171

3.4. Schickele and post-war Alsace.....190

3.5. Conclusion.....209

Chapter 4.....211
Das Erbe am Rhein: Questions of Cultural Identity in an Interwar Narrative
4.1. Introduction.....211
4.2. Identity and characters.....220
4.2.a. Family relations.....220
4.2.b. The fraternal relationship.....226
4.2.c. Claus and the female characters.....238
4.3. Nature, politics and identity.....248
4.4. Conclusion.....258

Conclusion.....259
Bibliography.....262

Introduction

René Schickele is particularly remembered for editing the pacifist literary magazine *Die Weißen Blätter* during World War I and for his strong associations with the expressionist movement. Although he enjoyed widespread recognition and acclaim in the early part of this century, he, like so many other German writers of his generation, was to become one of the 'Gespenster in der Diaspora'[1], as he poignantly expresses it in his diary in 'exile' in the South of France where he died on 31 January 1940. Branded an Alsatian Jew by the Nazis (although he was Catholic), cut off from his public and unable to publish in Germany, like many of his fellow writers and intellectuals, Schickele gloomily forecast: 'Schon die nächste Generation wird nichts mehr von uns wissen'.[2] In Schickele's case this is what nearly happened. In the last few decades, however, his life and work have again begun to attract attention. Schickele's background and the region he grew up in were to have a profound and lasting influence on him and his work. Born in Oberehnheim (Obernai), Alsace on 4 August 1883 of an Alsatian father and French mother, he grew up speaking French before learning German at school. His bilingual and bicultural heritage in a region caught between Franco-German rivalries and his untiring promulgation of Alsace and its people as ideal mediators between its neighbours meant that he was often at odds with the overriding nationalist discourses of the time. In this study the themes of politics and identity will be in particular focussed upon in our discussion of Schickele's work against the backdrop of France's and Germany's differing expressions of nationalism.

The first chapter of this thesis will focus on the polemics of the *Kultur/civilisation* debate and the usage of these terms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which is both the initial, formative period for Schickele's writings and the temporal framework in the first part of my thesis, i.e. the years of annexation, under German rule, particularly just at the outbreak of World War I, the most critical phase of Alsatian history hitherto. Inter-war Alsace, under French rule, will be examined in the second part of my thesis. Alsace shall be dealt with specifically as it is the region from which Schickele came and is the setting for many of his works. The choice of time-frame, 1914-1932, has been dictated by the selection of two works representative of these historical junctures: the first, a play, *Hans im Schnakenloch*, set in Alsace just before and during the outbreak of the Great War and the second, a trilogy of novels, *Das Erbe am Rhein*, written in the 1920s and early 1930s. Among other things, these serve as a means of comparing and

---

[1] Diary entry of 11 December 1933. In: *Werke in Drei Bänden*. (Hermann Kesten, ed.). Cologne, Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch Verlag, 1959. Page 1062. All further quotations from this collection will refer specifically to the volume from which they are taken. Here, *Werke III*.
[2] *Ibid*. Page 1062.

contrasting life in Alsace under the rule of both its powerful neighbours and their attitudes to one another. The traumatic event of war serves as the divisive line between the two experiences. Using the contrastive historical contexts of Wilhelmine Germany and inter-war France will enable us to examine the question of how cultural identity is formed and how far it is determined by reference to the Other or in opposition to a dominant culture. What emerges is a dialectic relationship between the cultural identity of each collective with its Other which influences its creation of auto-images and hetero-images.[3] Indeed Alsace's identity cannot be understood without first understanding these Others and their influence on its identity construction. It is important to analyse how both these Others viewed each other as well as Alsace, as the power struggles between France and Germany had such impact on the cultural identity of this region. As history has shown, the animosity of relations between Alsace's neighbours brought with it many repercussions, rendering it impossible to contemplate the possibility of harmonious co-existence of both theses cultures. During these periods of intense Franco-German rivalry Alsace experienced great difficulty in integrating fully into these nations. Although the region was claimed by both as an integral part of their Self-identity, Alsace was unable to satisfy France and Germany's demands to exclusively identify itself with one culture rather than another. Difficult relations between the region and its powerful neighbours were compounded by Alsace's part identification with the Other that these mutually hostile cultures represented for one another. Thus, if the region was regarded as a legitimate part of French and German collective identity, it was equally viewed with suspicion as constituting an element of Otherness within their identity constructs.

Alsace's ambivalent position between these nations can be described, as Homi Bhabha terms it, as 'in-betweenness' – this can be interpreted as identity that inhabits two realities or cultures and is 'forced to live in the interface of the two'.[4] Here identity is defined not only in terms of the Other but also partly constitutes the Other to some extent. It exists somewhere between these polarities, between Self and its Other. This dialectic relationship causes the Self to focus on itself reflexively and helps it to refine and sharpen its self-definition. Alsace, caught between the polarities of Self and Other during these critical historical junctures, was forced to assert its own sense of cultural identity, its 'in-betweenness', in the face of the more dominant German and French cultures which

---

[3] The terms 'auto-image' and 'hetero-image' are used by imagologists to distinguish between perceptions of the Self and of the Other in image studies. See for example: Corbey, Raymond and Leerssen, Joep (ed.). *Alterity, Identity, Image. Selves and Other in Society and Scholarship.* Amsterdam, Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 1991. Page 129.

[4] In Du Gay, Paul / Hall, Stuart. *Questions of Cultural Identity.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996, pp. 91-92.

attempted to assimilate the region and suppress its identification with the Otherness each represented for the other.

Throughout its history, exclusion, domination and discrimination of the Other has been an integral part of Europe's evolving identity-formation processes – processes which are of course still ongoing. Attitudes towards the Other vary from epoch to epoch and have been conditioned by factors such as religion, gender, ethnicity and nationalism. The alienation of particular groups reinforces the collective identity of an 'in-group', who partly define themselves through this differentiation. One of the most pervasive and powerful expressions of this process has been the phenomenon of nationalism. There has been an upsurge of interest in the study of nationalism since the 1980s after a lull in the decades following the Second World War and these studies have been conducted principally by historians, anthropologists and sociologists. The failure of alternative economic-political systems, such as the fall of Communism and the rise of neo-Liberalism, contributed to this increased interest in nationalism as countries and regions struggled to assert their culture and identity in the vacuum created by the demise of social utopias in the 1980s.

It has, however, been argued recently that psychologists too have an important contribution to make in studies on nationalism because 'national structures are crucial in shaping the way people identify themselves'.[5] Belonging to a particular nation shapes the way in which one perceives the world and others, one's self-understanding and identification with a particular group of people. Psychologists have to date principally used the concept of the nation in relation to stereotyping processes but have largely ignored the historical aspect of nationalism, i.e. nations as a narrative in which each member plays a role. Usually these narratives invoke a (sometimes) mythical past using cultural artefacts such as language, food, music, folklore, literature, costumes to reinforce the notion of a collective group which has progressed together through time, passing down a cultural heritage through the generations, which contributes to shaping its distinctive identity. However, as Reicher and Hopkins argue: 'it is not the past in itself which provides the material for national narratives. Rather it is the *contemporary* store of historical icons, historical myths and historical images which provides the building blocks'.[6]

Reconstructions of the past that its members choose to emphasise and 'remember' in the present will in turn have an impact on future identity processes. The past, the present and future, then, are in continual flux, mutually influencing one another and the collective

---

[5] Reicher, Stephen & Hopkins, Nick. *Self and Nation. Categorization, Contestation and Mobilization.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001. Preface, ix.
[6] *Ibid.* Page 24. My emphasis.

identity of a particular nation. What nationalists choose to remember and how they inculcate a particular narrative into the collective memory and contribute to its identity formation is an area which could be greatly enriched by collaborative studies in the domains of psychology and history.

Studies in alterity and imagology, influenced by postmodern discourse, have made an important and innovative contribution to debates on national and cultural identity.[7] Here the notion of pre-given, fixed categories such as national identity has been rejected. Rather national identity is articulated as a construct formed from the binary opposition between identity and alterity. Identity in itself is not seen as existing without the presence of the Other. We cannot know what the 'essence' of a national identity is. All we receive are images, very often stereotypical images, and representations, through various media, which can be divided into auto- and hetero-images. Examining what a particular nation chooses but also what it rejects as its defining characteristics, how it views other nations (the Other) and compares itself to them, can aid us in better understanding its own auto-image and its relations in a wider global context. Theories of alterity and imagological analysis are very effective methodologies in current contemporary studies on cultural and collective identity.

Numerous studies, produced by historians, sociologists and anthropologists such as Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* and his posthumous work *Nationalism,* Anderson's *Imagined Communities,* Smith's *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalities since 1780* and Giesen's *Kollektive Identität*[8], have within their own disciplines examined the phenomenon of nation building, the myths and realities associated with the concept of the nation and the impact it has had on the collective identities of various ethnic groups in Europe over the last two centuries. It is generally agreed in the majority of these studies that nation-states are a product of modernity, 'which rule over a territorially-defined people'[9], although some scholars, such as the sociologist Anthony D. Smith, or the historian Miroslav Hroch, qualify this with a primordialist argument that 'successful nation-states must have an ethnic core at their heart [...] and nationalism would be ineffective were its appeal not directed at a pre-

---

[7] See for example: Corbey, Raymond and Leerssen, Joep (ed.). *Alterity, Identity, Image. Selves and Other in Society and Scholarship.*

[8] Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1983. Gellner, Ernest. *Nationalism.* London: Phoenix, 1997. Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London, New York: Verso, 1983. Smith, Anthony D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1986. Hobsbawm, Eric,J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Giesen, Bernhard. *Kollektive Identität. Die Intellektuellen und die Nation 2.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999.

[9] Hobsbawm, Eric,J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* Page 80.

existent community'.[10] It would seem that although there existed communities which were linked by a common language and customs, these were not important criteria in political terms in pre-modern times. Religious and local ties created much stronger ties between collectives. As Brubaker informs us: 'the subjective "identity" of the vast majority of the population throughout Europe was no doubt largely local on the one hand and religious on the other until at least the end of the eighteenth century. For most inhabitants local and regional identities continued to be more salient than national identity'.[11] The religious bonds are in part due to the fact that 'in pre-modern society priests and scribes transmitted and spread communal memory and celebrated a sense of common identity'.[12] This is particularly true since the time of the Reformation in Europe when Protestants and Catholics defined themselves through their difference from one another, as well as from Jews.

Theorists such as Gellner refute arguments of ancient origins of nationalism. In the pre-industrial age, in 'Agraria', he argues 'cultural similarity is not a political bond and political bonds do not require cultural similarity'.[13] It is only when societies made the transition from 'Agraria' to 'Industria', which brought about higher levels of literacy and the replacement of a plethora of local cultures with fewer privileged higher cultures, that nationalism was born. The slogan 'one culture, one state' is a hallmark of nationalism. Hobsbawm, too, supports the modernist view of nationalism and refers to the various forms of collective belonging that existed in the pre-modern world as 'proto-nationalism'.[14]

In historical and sociological studies of groups, collectives or nations, the terms 'primordial', 'traditional' and 'universal' very often appear. They enable us to distinguish the different means by which collectives may be understood. Bernhard Giesen in *Kollektive Identität*[15], for example, has conducted an in-depth theoretical study on how primordial, traditional and universal 'codes' manifest themselves in different collectives or societies. He uses the term code in order to represent distinguishing features which group together a variety of differences, e.g. good versus bad, higher versus lower class. This is similar to Freud's hierarchical oppositions of conscious versus unconscious, real and imaginary, etc. The similarity lies in the necessity of the negative or subjugated term in constituting the positive or dominant term and, indeed, *vice versa*. Codes of collective

---

[10] Hall, John, A. *The State of the Nation. Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Page 6.
[11] Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992. Page 5.
[12] Smith, Anthony. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Page 157.
[13] Gellner, Ernest. *Nationalism.* Page 24.
[14] Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* See in particular, Chapter 2.
[15] Giesen, Bernard. *Kollekive Identität. Die Intellektuellen und die Nation 2.*

identity therefore enable members of a community to draw a line between themselves and the 'outside' world and to define themselves through differentiation. Primordial codes are based on differentiation according to gender, generation, kinship, ethnicity or race. Traditional codes depend upon social routine, specific behavioural rules and, most importantly as the name suggests, on traditions. Finally, implicit in the meaning of universal codes is an element of missionary intent. Such communities, e.g. France during the Enlightenment, Communist groups, fascist movements, religious groups, exist in the name of their self-definition of progress and reason and a desire to change the world. Giesen's classifications all contain within them the postmodernist discourse of the presence of the Other, lurking at the fringes of the collective, its very strangeness, outsider or observer status and unfamiliarity reinforcing the bond within the collective. The collective in-group too, in a dialogic relationship with the Other, has by its act of exclusion, constituted the status of outsider, *Fremder*, *étranger* on those whom they do not regard as belonging – whether they be for primordial, traditional or universalist reasons. Thus both the in-group and the outsider mutually define one another, even in hostility. As we shall see, the three significant collectives that are the focus of this study, namely, France, Germany and Alsace, cannot be categorized in quite such a clear-cut fashion as Giesen's models. Universal, traditional and primordial definitions of collective identity may not give us any clear and easy methods for determining how, for example, France and Germany, as we shall discuss in the following chapter, constructed their own and each others' identities through auto- and hetero-images. What is evident, however, is that these definitions have varying resonance and influence in the different collectives. Germany is most strongly defined as primordial and traditional in this early stage of its national collective identity, whereas France, proud of its past, forged its identity through a spirit of progress and universalism.

With regard to Alsace and its relations with these contrastive French and German collective identities, I have identified three models which provide a framework of analysis for the following chapters.

Model (1): Nationalism

(a) Alsace and Germany: border dissolves to the East.

(b) Alsace and France: border dissolves to the West.

Chapter One focuses on the dispute over the position of the border to either the East or West of Alsace. Here we discuss French and German justifications for claims on Alsace as part of their respective collective identities according to their contrasting definitions of nationhood. Emphasis will be placed on this dispute from the late nineteenth century up to the outbreak of World War I. In particular we will examine France's universalist arguments based on citizenhood in favour of the construction of a border to the East of

Alsace along the Rhine and its dissolution to the West before discussing Germany's primordial and ethnic-centred justifications for the dissolution of the border to the East of Alsace and its construction to the West marked by the Vosges Mountains.

Model (2): Regionalism

(a) Separatism

(b) Autonomism

The first wave of regionalism of relevance for us in this study refers to the emergence of a particularist regional identity which was a response to Franco-German nationalist antagonisms and in particular the German annexation of Alsace, 1871-1918, which is discussed in Chapter One. This can be regarded as a separatist movement which wished to break with the ruling nation and maintain contact with its Other, in this case, France. The protestor movement, a phenomenon of the early part of the annexation, was gradually replaced with a more conciliatory autonomist movement (2b) which no longer sought to resist the ruling power but campaigned instead for a certain amount of independence or autonomy for Alsace within the construct of the German nation. The development of this consciousness of a particularist identity is reflected in the cultural life in Alsace of the period, especially at the turn of the twentieth century when a new generation of Alsatians came of age who had never known life under French rule, Schickele amongst them.

Chapter Two which focuses on the first of Schickele's two works to be discussed in this study, the drama *Hans im Schnakenloch*, examines questions of national and regional identity against the backdrop of the impending Great War. Here we discuss how an attempt to retain a personal and regional identity which is rooted in duality is challenged by nationalistic bellicosity (1 a, 1 b) and the assumption that one can only choose one identity. Schickele's plea for understanding of the Alsatian dilemma during the war, however, is not based on passeist notions of regionalism (2 a) which closes its borders both to East and West but promotes the idea of Alsace's particularist cultural identity and its affinities to both French and German cultures as a means of ensuring Franco-German harmony. Alsace here is promulgated as a 'Mittelland' whose unique cultural heritage should be used to mediate between its hostile neighbours while remaining part of the German Empire (1 a). Questions of cultural identity are addressed on both a political and personal level where the interaction of characters of differing nationalities serves too to highlight the Alsatian crisis of identity.

Chapter Three provides us with an analysis of the historical, political and cultural backdrop for the second of Schickele's works to be analysed in the following chapter. Here the focus is on inter-war Alsace when the border has dissolved to the region's West (model 1b) and Alsace is now part of the French nation. We examine in detail how this changeover impacted on the development and assertion of Alsatian cultural identity in the

face of French hegemonic dominance. The regional models too can apply here but in reverse order, beginning with the rise of a more radical form of autonomism (2 b) within the framework of the French nation. The ever-increasing tensions between France and Alsace during this period and the growing popularity of Nazism and fascist movements in Germany triggered too the rise of separatist movements (2 a) which gained some support in Alsace, albeit marginally, particularly at the end of this epoch just before the outbreak of World War II. A new model, the supranational (3 a) is also promoted in this chapter, where we discuss Schickele's utopian vision in his prose writings for the dissolution of borders both to the East and West of Alsace. Political borders are fluid and irrelevant and instead Alsace is promulgated as a potential means of Franco-German harmony, the pre-condition for European co-operation and unity.

The problematic of politics and cultural identity in inter-war Alsace discussed in Chapter 3 is revisited on a fictional level in Chapter Four which discusses Schickele's trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein*. Here, we trace the tensions in Alsace provoked by the French Republic's nationalist attitudes (1 b) and the effect this has on the narrator and his family. References too to the Alsatian autonomist movement (2 b) provide a critical commentary on contemporaneous issues in this region. The dilemma of Alsatian cultural identity and the importance of cultural heritage are in particular symbolised by the narrator's personal relations both within his family and with female characters of differing nationalities. Schickele's Utopian ideal of Europeanism (3a) is particularly focussed upon in the third volume of the trilogy, contrasting with the dystopia of another brand of internationalism, Communism (3b), whose tolerance of violent means to achieve its goals is condemned by Schickele.

Professor Adrien Finck of the Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg has been the main instigator in the renewal of interest in Schickele and his works. No longer is the choice of Schickele and his writings an almost forbidden subject in Alsace as it was only a few decades ago[16], and although Finck did not write his doctoral thesis on his chosen subject, he has since been a significant contributor to research on Schickele. His first major work on Schickele, written in the French language in 1982, is, as the title suggests, a general introduction to this prodigal son of Alsace. The main aim of

[16] Finck recalls: 'Ich wollte damals meine Thèse de Doctorat d'Etat an der Straßburger Universität über René Schickele schreiben; doch mein Doktorvater, der es gut mit mir meinte, mahnte zur Vorsicht und riet ab ("Pensez-vous à votre carrière universitaire!/Denken Sie an Ihre Universitätskarriere!") – ein Zeichen, daß Schickele nicht Prophet im eigenen Lande war, daß der deutschsprachige Dichter als "deutschgesinnt" sozusagen "tabu" blieb'. In: Seubert, Holger. *Deutsch-französische Verständigung: René Schickele.* Munich: Eberhard Verlag, 1993. Preface.

Introduction à l'œuvre de René Schickele[17] was to revive interest in this near-forgotten writer through a wide-ranging discussion of his works as well as furnishing the reader with biographical detail. It is, then, a general work which by its own admission does not go into any great depth of analysis but wishes rather to kindle the reader's interest or serve as a springboard for further research on Schickele, particularly by drawing parallels between the author's life and works. Maryse Staiber, based in Strasbourg, is best known for her research on Schickele's work during his exile years[18] but also for her collaboration with Adrien Finck in the editing of two books which group together a number of articles on different aspects of Schickele's life and works. The first of these appeared in 1984, following a conference in 1983 organised by Adrien Finck entitled *Elsässer, Europäer, Pazifist*[19] which provides the title and leitmotif for this collection of articles written in both French and German to celebrate Schickele's hundredth birthday. The second book entirely in the German language, *René Schickele aus neuer Sicht*[20], appeared in 1991 and brings together a series of conference papers delivered at a colloquium held in Strasbourg in November 1990 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Schickele's death. These years, 1983 and 1990 are regarded as 'Schickele years' and mark an attempt on the part of Finck, Staiber and a core group of Schickele researchers such as Joachim, W. Storck, Julie Meyer, Charles Fichter and Maurice Godé amongst others to revive Schickele's memory in the public's consciousness, particularly in Alsace. Special articles appeared around the time of the 'Schickele years' in Alsace such as Finck's 'Actualité de René Schickele'[21], 'Hommage à Schickele'[22]and Ohabe's article 'René Schickele – Geist und Weisheit zweier Völker. Ein Vordenker Europas würde 100 Jahre'[23]. For some, such as Holger Seubert in the preface to his published doctoral thesis, such attempts to reinstate Schickele, 'haftet diesen Beiträgen meist der Geruch pietätvoller Pflichtübungen an'.[24] However, if certain commemorative articles are written principally out of a sense of duty

---

[17] Finck, Adrien. *Introduction à l'œuvre de René Schickele.* Kehl, Strasbourg, Basel: Salde / Morstadt 1982.

[18] See for example Staiber's article, 'Situation de René Schickele en France (1932-1940).' In: *Revue d'Allemagne,* April/June 1986, pp. 265-277. Eric Robertson too has written on Schickele's final years in France, comparing his situation to that of Ernst Erich Noth's who also lived in Sanary-sur-Mer. The article examines these writers' switch to writing in the French language and differing ways of coping with life in exile. Robertson, Eric. 'The French Exile of René Schickele and Ernst Erich Noth.' In: *German Life and Letters*, 45, 3, July, 1992, pp.244-248.

[19] Finck, Adrien / Staiber, Maryse (ed.). *Elsässer, Europäer, Pazifist. Studien zu René Schickele.* Kehl, Strasbourg, Basel: Salde / Morstadt Verlag, 1984.

[20] Finck, Adrien / Ritter, Alexandre / Staiber, Maryse (ed.). *René Schickele aus neuer Sicht. Beiträge zur deutsch-französischen Kultur.* Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Presse, 1991.

[21] Finck, Adrien. 'Actualité de René Schickele.' In: *Revue Alsacienne de Littérature*, 1983, pp.94-100.

[22] Finck, Adrien. (ed.) 'Hommage à Schickele.' In: *Ibid*, 10, 1985, Special edition featuring short articles on Schickele by various authors, including: Joachim W. Storck, Jean-Marie Gall, Eugène Philips, Charles Fichter and Maryse Staiber.

[23] In: *Der Westen*, 4, 30, July/August 1983, pp.5-6.

[24] Seubert, Holger. *Deutsch-französische Verständigung.* Preface.

to mark Schickele's anniversaries, it must also be acknowledged that active researchers in this field of studies, such as Finck and Staiber, have used these occasions successfully to produce academic articles, organise conferences and bring Schickele experts from France, Germany and Alsace together in dialogue.

The books and theses subsequently published on Schickele, and to date there have been relatively few, have either offered similar general, chronological studies interweaving his life and works or tend to focus on one particular epoch or field of interest, such as his early life or his expressionist phase. The sum of these studies, however, whether of a general or of a specific nature, have left gaps in the scholarly investigation of certain aspects of his work and biography, not least his wartime drama, *Hans im Schnakenloch,* which until now has received little attention. Discussion of this play has for the most part amounted to little more than a section in the chapters on Schickele's activities during the war in the more general works or has been briefly referred to within the context of a particular theme in articles such as Joachim Storck's 'Rebellenblut in den Adern'[25] which explores the role of politics in Schickele's work and the impact his Alsatian origins and life experiences had on him and his writings. Eric Robertson's article, 'Art and Propaganda: Two dramatic portrayals of Wartime Alsace'[26], is an exception in that the entire article focuses on no other work of Schickele's than *Hans im Schnakenloch.* Robertson conducts a comparative analysis of Schickele's play and that of journalist Charles Haenggi's unpublished dialect play, *D'Familie Steiner-Frenzel vu Winzbarge.* In his article he outlines how the two authors first met in Switzerland during the war, examines the role of language and similarity of themes in their plays, as well as on the reception of *Hans im Schnakenloch.* Although Robertson's exposition on the reception of Schickele's play does not focus on the German reviews which debated about it during the war, contributing to the controversy and attention surrounding it, he does provide us with new insights regarding the Berne performance of the play. Through Charles Haenggi's first-hand observations of this performance, the reactions of the audience and his comparison between the stage and book versions, it is apparent that the play's potential to be misinterpreted depended very much on how and where it was staged.

In contrast, an article such as Julie Meyer's 'Madonna-Kore und Mänade'[27] which explores in detail the influence of women and their representations in Schickele's work,

---

[25] Storck, Joachim. '"Rebellenblut in den Adern." René Schickele als politischer Schriftsteller.' In: *Recherches Germaniques,* 9, 1979, pp. 278-307.

[26] Robertson, Eric. 'Art and Propaganda: Two Dramatic Portrayals of Wartime Alsace.' In: *German Life and Letters*, 45, 2, April 1992, pp.126-139.

[27] Meyer, Julie. 'Madonna-Kore und Mänade. Zeugnisse zum Wandel des Frauenbildes im Werk René Schickeles zwischen 1907 und 1917.' In: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 17, 1976, pp.191-246.

completely ignores the play as a reference point in discussing its particular theme. However, Meyer's doctoral study on Schickele's *Jugendstil* and Expressionist period[28] includes quite a detailed if not very lengthy discussion on the themes and reception of *Hans im Schnakenloch*, (pp. 221-226), a play, she believes, 'verhalf Schickele zu einer Berühmtheit, wie sie kaum der Herausgeber der "Weißen Blätter" erreichte'.[29] Her book is also valuable in providing detailed information on the location of reviews of Schickele's play as well as for its informative commentary on Schickele as a writer and editor during these two artistic epochs. Hitherto, researchers of expressionism had usually referred to Schickele as part of overall studies in the field, such as in Richard Sheppard's *Expressionism in Focus*[30], Walter Sokel's *The Writer in Extremis*[31], Wilhelm Krull's *Politische Prosa des Expressionismus*[32], Anz and Stark's *Manifeste und Dokumente*[33] or Lionel Richard's *D'une apocalypse à une autre*[34]. Gunter Martens in his analysis of the links between vitalism and expressionism[35] refers to Schickele in rather more detail as part of a wider study of selected authors of that era, devoting a whole chapter to him and his friend and fellow-writer, Ernst Stadler. Meyer's study, however, is the first to apply an entire study on *Jugendstil* and expressionism to Schickele's work during those artistic eras.

Other studies on Schickele include Friedrich Bentmann's *René Schickele. Leben und Werk in Dokumenten*[36] which offers a broad, if at times fragmentary, survey of biographical knowledge about the Alsatian writer through a miscellaneous collection of documents written both by and about him. As one of the first major books on Schickele to be published, it has been an important source of information for subsequent researchers in this domain. Michel Ertz's[37] comparative study of Friedrich Lienhard and René Schickele rigorously examines the lives and works of these authors in chronological and detailed fashion as well as their divergent views on Alsace, Germany, France and Europe.

---

[28] Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum. Jugendstil und Expressionismus bei René Schickele (1900-1920).* Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1981.
[29] *Ibid.* Page 221.
[30] Sheppard, Richard. *Expressionism in Focus.* Blairgowrie: Lochee, 1987.
[31] Sokel, Walter. *The Writer in Extremis. Expressionism in 20th century German Literature.* New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964.
[32] Krull, Wilhelm. *Politische Prosa des Expressionismus: Rekonstruktion und Kritik.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982.
[33] Anz, Thomas / Stark, Michael (ed.). *Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur, 1910-1920.* Stuttgart: Metzler, 1982.
[34] Richard, Lionel. *D'une apocalypse à l'autre – sur l'Allemagne et ses productions intellectuelles de Guillaume II aux années vingt.* Paris: Union Générale d'éditions, 1976.
[35] Martens, Gunter. *Vitalismus und Expressionismus: Ein Beitrag zur Genese und Deutung expressionistischer Stilstruktur und Motive.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971.
[36] Bentmann, Friedrich . *René Schickele. Leben und Werk in Dokumenten.* Nuremberg: Verlag Hans Carl, 1974.
[37] Ertz, Michel. *Friedrich Lienhard und René Schickele. Elsässische Literaten zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich.* Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Presse, 1990.

Eric Robertson's *Writing between the Lines*[38], hailed as the first major study of Schickele in the English language, again spans the life and works of Schickele. Yet, as with the other general works on Schickele, this study examines his life and works from a new vantage point. Here, Robertson is particularly interested in the influence of Schickele's particular linguistic background and situation and on his choice of German as his language of literary medium as well as discussing his work within the contemporaneous literary movements of France and Germany. Other studies on Schickele in English consist of Paul Kurt Ackermann's article 'Excerpts from an unpublished diary of René Schickele'[39] taken from a manuscript then in the possession of Anna Schickele. This manuscript of diary entries written by Schickele during his final years in the south of France in Sanary-sur-mer records his preoccupations with the developing political events in Hitler's Germany and his own worries about his future as a writer, banned and cut off from his readership as well as giving us further insights into his life amongst the many exiled German literati living in Sanary at that troubled time. Margaret Rogister in her article, 'Romain Rolland: One German View',[40] focuses as a point of departure on a speech made by Schickele in honour of Romain Rolland's, the renowned French pacifist's, sixtieth birthday. Rogister here dismantles general assumptions regarding the originality and authenticity of Schickele's speech by demonstrating how he relied more heavily on Stefan Zweig's monograph on Rolland than he admitted which amounted to an 'enthusiastic piece of plagiarism'.[41] She further examines Rolland's contrasting relationships with Zweig and Schickele as well as commenting on the political views and self-revelations to be found in Schickele's tribute to Rolland.

More recently Hans Wagener's book entitled *René Schickele. Europäer in neun Monaten*[42] bears witness to the fact that Schickele's works, although not part of the canon of German literature,[43] continue to provoke interest over sixty years after the author's death. However, as Wagener points out in this study which traces Schickele's life and works until the final years of 'exile' in his official homeland, '[t]rotz aller Bemühungen seiner Freunde bleibt Schickeles Werk bis heute noch weitgehend wieder zu entdecken.'[44] Wagener highlights how this born mediator between France and Germany, while not

---

[38] Robertson, Eric. *Writing Between the Lines. René Schickele, 'Citoyen Français, deutscher Dichter' (1883-1940).* Amsterdam, Atlanta GA.: Rodopi, 1995.
[39] Ackermann, Paul, Kurt. 'Excerpts from an unpublished diary of René Schickele.' In: *Monatshefte*, 46, 1954, pp.332-338.
[40] Rogister, Margaret. 'Romain Rolland: One German View.' In: *The Modern Language Review*, 86, April 1991, pp.349-360.
[41] *Ibid.* Page 349.
[42] Wagener, Hans. *René Schickele. Europäer in Neun Monaten.* Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 2000.
[43] A fact borne out by the lack of interest publishing houses have shown in making his works widely available to the public. The most recent publication of one of his works was his novel *Die Witwe Bosca* in 1985 by Ullstein Taschenbuch and finding his books in print and in bookshops is nowadays rare.
[44] Wagener, Hans. *René Schickele. Europäer in Neun Monaten.* Page 283.

forgetting his local heritage, has also embraced the wider European context as his homeland and the solution to national and ethnic conflict. In this sense Wagener shows him to be an author whose views and writings are still very pertinent in today's Europe.

If researchers on Schickele, such as Finck, Robertson and Wagener have chosen to presents us with a general biographical overview and analysis of most or all of his works, other researchers are strongly associated with one or two particular aspects of his life and works. Charles Fichter, for example, has predominantly concentrated on Schickele's literary activities in pre-war Alsace in a set of short articles, entitled, 'Sturm und Drang im Elsass' which include 'La question de la Constitution de 1911'[45] and 'René Schickele. Die Weissen Blätter et la guerre de'14-'18.'[46] Similarly, in another journal article 'René Schickele et l'Alsace avant la Première Guerre Mondiale'[47], he again focuses on young Schickele in pre-war Alsace, a theme which he develops in most detail in his book, *René Schickele et l'Alsace jusqu'en 1914*[48] which, against the backdrop of the cultural renaissance in Alsace at the turn of the twentieth century and then Paris and Berlin, examines Schickele's avant-garde literary début, the development of his political ideas and his writings, including his poetry[49], his novels such as *Der Fremde*[50] and the drama, *Hans im Schnakenloch.*[51] Much attention has been paid to his involvement with *Die Weißen Blätter*, in particular in the doctoral theses of both Maurice Godé[52] and Helga Noe[53], which appeared in the French and German languages in the same year and discuss Schickele's involvement in this literary enterprise, in particular his pacifist views and crucial role as editor, from 1915 to 1920. Meyer, too devotes a section of the second part of her book, *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum,* to an analysis of the *Die Weißen Blätter*, which looks at its history prior to Schickele's association with it and its evolution under his editorship.

Another aspect of Schickele's life that has been documented to some extent is his time in Badenweiler after the war and the disappointment of the failed 1918 revolution when

---

[45] Fichter, Charles. 'Sturm und Drang im Elsass. La question de la constitution de 1911.' In: *Budderflade,* 16, 1979, pp. 27-29.
[46] Fichter, Charles. 'Sturm und Drang im Elsass. René Schickele. Die Weissen Blätter et la guerre de '14-'18.' In: *Budderflade*, 17, 1979, pp.14-17.
[47] Fichter, Charles. 'René Schickele et l'Alsace avant la Première Guerre Mondiale.' In: *Land un Sproch. Les Cahiers du Bilinguisme,* 6, 1978, pp.5-6.
[48] Fichter, Charles. *René Schickele et l'Alsace jusqu'en 1914.* Obernai: Imprimerie Gyss, 1978.
[49] Schickele's poetic anthologies include *Pan.* Strasbourg: Stürmerverlag, Josef Singer, 1902 and *Weiß und Rot*, Berlin: Verlag Paul Cassirer, 1910.
[50] Schickele, René. *Der Fremde.* Berlin: Morgen Verlag, 1907.
[51] Schickele, René. *Hans im Schnakenloch.* Berlin: Verlag der Weißen Bücher, 1915.
[52] Godé, Maurice. *Les théories utopistes dans les revues expressionistes allemandes, der Sturm, die Aktion, die Weißen Blätter - Théories et Réalisations.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Lille, 1986.
[53] Noe, Helga. *Die literarische Kritik am Ersten Weltkrieg in der Zeitschrift, "Die Weißen Blätter": René Schickele, Annette Kolb, Max Brod, Andreas Latzko, Leonhard Frank.* Ph.D. Thesis University of Zürich, Constance: Offset Druck Maus, 1986.

he wrote the trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein.* The trilogy has been to date most extensively researched by Régine Tuckermann in her doctoral thesis, completed under the supervision of Adrien Finck in 1990[54] and prior to that as part of an overall general literary study of Schickele's novels up to 1937 by Jean-Jacques Schumacher.[55] Tuckermann examines in great detail the genesis and structure of the novels. Her focus on how certain characters in the trilogy were inspired by real-life individuals in Schickele's life is enlightening, in particular, her discovery through studies of Schickele's diaries and correspondence that his friend and fellow-writer, Annette Kolb, was the inspiration for the character Aggie Ruf, a fact hitherto unknown. Other studies of Schickele during his Badenweiler years and of the trilogy include an analysis of the role of nature in reflecting political climates in Dietmar Lieser's article, 'René Schickele: Natur und Politik in der elsässischen Trilogie, "Das Erbe am Rhein."'[56] Miroslav Ossowski in his article, 'Eine europäische Provinz. Die Vision vom geeinigten Europa in René Schickeles elsässischer Trilogie, *Das Erbe am Rhein*'[57] discusses how the Alsatian problematic is portrayed differently within a European dimension in each volume and how this affects the narrative structure, historical insertions interwoven with current events as well as choice and portrayal of characters. Gunther Holtz's 'Das Erbe am Rhein. Mythos, Glaube und europäische Vision im Werk René Schickeles'[58] examines the role of mythical analogy, religion and politics in what he describes as Schickele's *opus magnum* (p.166). Most recently, Stefan Woltersdorff's published doctoral thesis *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft. Elsaßmodelle in Prosatexten von René Schickele (1899-1932)* [59] provides an in-depth and separate analysis of each volume of the trilogy within the theoretical framework of particular political models which aim to place Alsace within a broader European context. Woltersdorff's study too is the first to provide a detailed analysis and commentary on Schickele's journalistic writings and prose essays up to 1932. However, despite the

---

[54] Tuckermann, Régine. *La Trilogie Romanesque. "Das Erbe am Rhein" de René Schickele. Genèse, Forme, Message.* Typewritten doctoral thesis, University of Strasbourg, 1990.

[55] Schumacher, Jean-Jacques. *Das Romanwerk von René Schickele. Thematik und Entwicklung (1907-1937).* Typewritten doctoral thesis, University of Paris, St. Cloud, 1960. It is interesting to note that Schumacher was able to produce a thesis on Schickele in a university outside the region of Alsace in the very same year that Finck was advised by his supervisor in Strasbourg not to choose Schickele as his topic. It reinforces Finck's assertion that Schickele and his works were a taboo subject in his own region at that time.

[56] Lieser, Dietmar. 'René Schickele: Natur und Politik in der elsässischen Trilogie *Das Erbe am Rhein.*' In: *Literarisches Schreiben aus regionaler Erfahrung. Westfalen – Rheinland – Oberschlesien und darüber hinaus.* Paderborn: Schöningh, 1996, pp.252-266.

[57] Ossowski, Miroslav. 'Eine europäische Provinz. Die Vision vom geeinigten Europa in René Schickeles elsässischer Trilogie, Das Erbe am Rhein.' In: *Euphorion*, 89, 1995, pp.428-437.

[58] Holtz, Günter. 'Das Erbe am Rhein. Mythos, Glaube und europäische Vision im Werk René Schickeles.' In: *Recherches Germaniques*, 21, 1991, pp.161-176.

[59] Woltersdorff, Stefan. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft. Elsaßmodelle in Prosatexten von René Schickele (1899-1932).* Bern: Peter Lang, 2000.

contribution such articles make to research on this period of Schickele's life and the trilogy, much remains to be said on the portrayal of characters and themes of cultural identity and heritage in these novels.

Particular areas of study in Schickele research can be identified as having been especially well documented through the contributions of scholars. General biography and analysis of Schickele's works, his early life and pre-war years in Alsace, the war years, engagement with *Die Weißen Blätter*, the inter-war Badenweiler years, the female characters in his writings, his relationship with Rolland and Thomas Mann[60] and the exile years in France have all been discussed in books and articles. The variety and number of studies on Schickele, although they have certainly not exhausted all the avenues of exploration, have since the 1980s increased in quantity and scope, bearing witness to the complexity of his cultural heritage and the diverse manifestations of his treatment of cultural identity and the political situations he lived through. Many studies too have been conducted on Alsace and its political and cultural history which will be referred to throughout this study but have made scant reference to Schickele, who in both his prose and fictional work displays an unremitting interest and preoccupation with these themes. While studies to date on Schickele certainly refer to the socio-political background of his work and the recurring theme of cultural identity, a more exhaustive analysis of these aspects of his work is desirable. This study aims to combine a detailed analysis of *Hans im Schnakenloch* and *Das Erbe am Rhein* with a thorough discussion of their historical background and issues of identity and culture in order to provide the reader with as profound an understanding as possible of the political and historical context in which Schickele lived and wrote.

[60] See for example: Ulrich, Margot. 'Thomas Mann und René Schickele im Exil. Plädoyer für einen Briefwechsel.' In: *Heinrich Mann Jahrbuch*, 1, 1983, pp.171-186. Also: Wysling, Hans / Bernini, Cornelia (ed.). *Jahre des Unmuts. Thomas Manns Briefwechsel mit René Schickele 1930-1940.* Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1992 and Herbert Lehnert's review of the latter: 'Neues zur Biographie Thomas Manns.' In: *Orbis Litterarum*, 49, 1994, pp.52-55.

Chapter 1: Questions of Nationhood and Cultural Identity in France, Germany and Alsace (1870-1914)

1.1. Introduction: Nationhood and identity

The Alsatian context for René Schickele's writings is constituted by his particular ethnic group's history and culture which have been marked indelibly by the powerful political and cultural influences of two of Europe's greatest and historically rival nations: France and Germany. Alsace was, up to the mid-twentieth century, the site of much hostility, political turbulence and hardship for the indigenous population and a bone of contention between its two neighbours. Although the question of Alsace has been resolved since it became a part of the French Republic at the end of World War II, we are today witnessing the struggle of other ethnic groups in different parts of Europe to assert their own cultural and political identities, albeit in very different historical, political and geographical contexts, both through peaceful and violent means, whether in Northern Ireland or in ex-Yugoslavia. It is clear that the nation state is no longer regarded as a fixed and permanent entity, as it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, containing within its boundaries a homogeneous group of people with a shared culture and past, even if, as Benedict Anderson in a by now well known description explained, these were in reality 'imagined communities' which owed much of their sense of solidarity to the invention of the printing press, higher levels of literacy and the circulation of national newspapers.[61] Rather, to quote Anderson again, 'old nations, once thought fully consolidated, find themselves challenged by "sub"-nationalisms within their borders'.[62]

Alsace presented such a challenge to both France and Germany during successive periods of (attempted) integration into these two nations. Other *ethnies* too presented such challenges to France and Germany in turn, during their forging of political unity and nation building, for example, the Bretons in France and the Danes in Schleswig-Holstein. However, given its particular geo-political position, the situation in Alsace differed to that of other regions or ethnic minorities, struggling to maintain their own identities, language or culture, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[63] Franco-German

---

[61] Anderson. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London, New York: Verso, 1991. Page 4.

[62] *Ibid.* Page 6.

[63] Although Schleswig-Holstein too was the source of dispute between two sovereign states, the tensions existed due to the presence of a distinct Danish minority within this territory. The people of Alsace, by contrast, were neither exclusively French nor German, but possessed their own particular identity and were always referred to as Alsatian or during the period of annexation, as Alsace-Lorrainers.

rivalry and tension has been long established and well documented, thus the parameters of reference are well known. In this sense, then, a reading of Schickele's work in the context of the problematic questions surrounding Alsace's location between two powers and its alternating appropriation by them, allows us to explore a critical example of how collective cultural identity is experienced and expressed.

In postmodern terms the notion of a complete and self-sufficient sense of French, German, or indeed any identity, was not possible. In defining the collective cultural identity of these rival nations, then, we can only do so in dialectical terms. Their identities are on the one hand constituted out of their differences, but on the other are being constantly destabilized by the threat of the Other. How they are read and experienced in Alsace, which itself did not generate these discourses but at most adopted them – or, more precisely, where such discourses were either imposed from outside or adopted by opinion leaders or ideologically appropriated by culturally specific interest groups and institutions, is another question to be examined here. Alsace, claimed by each collective according to their own self-definitions of cultural identity, yet perceived as an unknown quantity, as part of the Other, was regarded with mistrust and hostility. Thus Alsace simultaneously belongs both to the insider- and outsider-group, due to its particular history and dual cultural heritage. Its identity exists somewhere in a nebulous *Grenzland* hovering uncertainly between Self and Other or, as Homi Bhabha's writes: 'in the boundaries *in-between* nations and peoples'.[64] This tension in its identity formation is further intensified and complicated by the existence of sub-cultures within Alsace whose varying degrees of positive identification with one or other of their rival neighbours, leads to the unavoidable, if not always desired, detriment of their relations with the rival neighbour. It highlights the complexity of the composition of ethnic identities, even when they may seem self-evident to us at first. As Smith points out: 'In many ways it is easier to "grasp" nationalism, the ideological movement, than nations, the organizational cultures. Even ethnic communities, so easily recognizable from a distance, seem to dissolve before our eyes the closer we come and the more we attempt to pin them down'.[65] In an attempt to clarify the issues of cultural identity in Alsace during a particularly unsettled period of its history, i.e. annexation to the German Empire, the differing concepts of nationhood in France and Germany, with particular reference to questions of cultural identity, will first be examined before discussing Alsace's response to the impact of existing on the border between these two enemy nation-states.

---

[64] Bhabha, Homi. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge, 1990. Page 4.
[65] Smith, Anthony D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1986. Page 2.

1.2. The *Kultur-civilisation* debate

The convergence of such two powerful forces in the small territory of Alsace was marked by conflict due to political power struggles and ideologically opposed *Weltanschauungen*, which in their more extreme form manifested themselves through the polarisation of the terms *civilisation* and *Kultur*, representative of France's and Germany's views on the concept of culture respectively. In the *Kultur* and *civilisation* discourses of Germany and France images of collective 'Self' and 'Other' were polarized. The polemics of the *Kultur-civilisation* debate were to have far-reaching implications for Alsace and its people's self-perception. There have been many studies conducted on the etymological, semantic and ideological development of these concepts, *civilisation* and *Kultur*.[66] Such studies, however, rarely refer to Alsace as a unique space in which the full impact of this conflictual relationship is manifested. These discourses were elaborated as part of Germany's and France's identity constructions and legitimations. Their differentiation from one another after the Franco-Prussian War, during a period of intense nationalist rivalries, formed an integral part of their identity formation.

During the annexation to the Second German Empire, the people of Alsace developed a strong sense of their own collective identity, which is both a symbiosis of French and German influences and a transformation of these into its own expression of cultural particularism. Alsace exists somewhere on the boundaries of Self and Other, in part identifying to some extent with both French and German cultural definitions, in part alienated from them. An attempt to pin down an ethnic community such as that of Alsace is then indeed not an easy task, further complicated as it was during the annexation by the fraught interplay and influence of those cultural representations of French and German collective identities within its borders: *civilisation* and *Kultur*.

With the outbreak of World War I the terms *civilisation* and *Kultur* were politicised to an extreme level. A war monument in Les Eyzies (Dordogne) aptly expresses this radicalisation and politicisation. It is dedicated to those who fell in the Great War for France and is inscribed with the words: 'A tous ceux qui sont morts pour la civilisation'.[67] For France, fighting for *civilisation* meant defending humanistic ideals such as freedom,

---

[66] See for example: Brunner, Otto / Conze, Werner / Koselleck, Reinhart. (ed.). *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexicon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland.* Volume 7. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992, (*Zivilisation/Kultur*, pp. 679-774). Knobloch, Johann / Moser, Hugo / Schmidt-Hidding, Wolfgang / Wandruszka, Mario / Weisberger, Leo / Woltner, Margarete (ed.). *Europäische Schlüsselwörter, Wortvergleichende und wortgeschichtliche Studien.* Volume III: *Kultur und Zivilisation.* Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1967. Guizot, François. *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain.* Paris: Hachette, Collections Pluriel, 1985. First edition 1829.

[67] Curtius, Ernest Robert, 'Wandlungen des französischen Kulturbewußtseins.' Deutsch-französische Rundschau, 1, 1928. Page 728. Quoted in: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe.* Page 759.

modern democratic systems, progress and internationalism from what they regarded as German militaristic imperialism and authoritarianism, hallmarks of the German *Kultur*, which the French perceived as inward looking and regressive: 'Die Westmächte gaben sich den Anschein, als kämpften sie "im Namen der Zivilisation" für Humanität und Freiheit. Dabei bekämpften sie die "Kultur", die ihnen als Ausdruck deutscher Überheblichkeit, als mittelalterlich und militaristisch erschien.'[68] In Germany the will to protect German *Kultur* and to promote French *civilisation* as the antithesis to their *Kultur* was as fervent as the reverse was in France. Many German intellectuals and writers made their views on this quite clear, including Thomas Mann in his article *Gedanken im Kriege*, where he defines this antithesis:

> Zivilisation und Kultur sind nicht nur ein und dasselbe, sondern sie sind Gegensätze, sie bilden eine der vielfältigen Erscheinungsformen des ewigen Weltgegensatzes und Widerspieles von Geist und Natur [...] Kultur ist Geschlossenheit, Stil, Form, Haltung, Geschmack, ist irgendeine gewisse geistige Organisation der Welt [...] Zivilisation aber ist Vernunft, Aufklärung, Sänftigung, Sittigung, Skeptisierung, Auflösung, Geist.[69]

Although inherently there is nothing negative about these definitions of *Zivilisation*, the German press and military eagerly used and abused both of these concepts to serve the war-propaganda machine. *Zivilisation*, associated with the purely political, commercial and utilitarian, and as such superficial, was portrayed as a concept of less value than that of German *Kultur*. *Kultur* was associated with spirituality, emotional and philosophical profundity, the organic, the advocacy of tradition and defined German identity and *Geist*. 'Deutschland als Land einer überlegenen "Kultur" kämpft für Volk und Nation, für Autorität und Tradition, für den gewachsenen Staat, für den Individualismus, für eine Freiheit, die mehr auf die Pflichten als auf die Rechte pocht.'[70] French civilisation was in contrast 'das Geringwertige, Äußerliche, Seelenlose, Mechanische, Nivellierende, Internationale, Gesellschaftliche, bloß Nützliche und Technische [...]'.[71]

---

[68] *Europäische Schlüsselwörter*. Page 327.
[69] Mann, Thomas, 'Gedanken im Kriege', *Die Neue Rundschau*. 25 (1914), 1471. Quoted in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Page 760. However, it is quite ironic that Thomas Mann should endeavour to portray France in a negative light using such attributives, given that they could easily have applied to him. It highlights clearly how the war impacted on the judgement of those who normally would have been quite critical of Wilhelmine German society.
[70] Bollenbeck, Georg. '"Kultur" und "civilisation" – eine deutsch-französische Geschichte.' In: Viehoff, Reinhold / Segers, Rien T. (ed.). *Kultur Identität Europa. Über die Schwierigkeiten und Möglichkeiten einer Konstruktion*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999. Page 291.
[71] *Ibid.* Page 291.

Through such contrastive classifications it is apparent that the Germans believed that this war had to be fought in defence not just of their country but also of these 'higher' cultural values which for them defined who they were. For the Germans, the French had in a sense diluted their culture through their preoccupation with internationalism and material progress. The proliferation of pamphlets, manifestos, brochures, articles and dissertations which appeared just before and during the war in Germany emphasized the necessity of protecting the purity and superiority of their own culture and defending it against French influence. Such writings were propagated by members of the Pan-German League but also by academics, particularly historians such as Heinrich von Sybel, Friedrich Meinecke and Theodor Schieder as well as by intellectuals and writers such as Thomas Mann, one of ninety-three signatories of the *Aufruf an die Kulturwelt.*[72] However, representations in the French wartime press of German *Kultur* were just as calumnious and it was often depicted as barbaric and as a threat to civilised society: 'La lutte engagée contre l'Allemagne est la lutte même de la civilisation contre la barbarie'.[73] *Civilisation* was a universal term for the French, applicable not just to their own culture, but representative of an enlightened world in general. They perceived themselves as the natural leaders in such a civilized, progressive society, which would ensure the democratic and humanitarian principles of the French revolution: *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.* As German *Kultur* was the antithesis of the French notion of culture, it was for them only logical to assume that German culture represented all that was non-civilised and therefore barbaric. They were scornful but also wary of Germany's promulgation of its *Kultur*, which sought to further German interests with disregard for progressiveness and universal principles. 'Die Deutschen versuchen sich als Überlegene in ihrer Qualität als Deutsche herauszustellen, während sich die Franzosen auf die Überlegenheit ihrer universalistischen "civilisation" berufen und sich als die Lehrer des Menschengeschlechts aufwerten.'[74] Both nations were convinced of the superiority of their own particular 'mission' which they used to spearhead their political combat. However, such polarisations were but the acceleration and intensification of differences between these two nations or cultures which had been evolving as part of a long process prior to World

---

[72] 'The appeal to the "World of Culture" on the 4 October 1914 [...] was the first of many similar declarations with a common theme, namely the solidarity of the German intellectual and cultural elites with official policies and above all with Prussian militarism which, it was claimed, had proved to be the sole defender of German culture against the onslaught of [...] western "materialist" civilization.' Mommsen, Wolfgang, J. 'German artists, writers and intellectuals and the meaning of war, 1914-1918.' In: Horne, J. (ed.) *State, Society and mobilization in Europe during the First World War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Page 29.

[73] Bergson, Henri, 'Discours', (8 August 1914). Bergson, *Œuvres Complètes*. Quoted in: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe.* Page 766.

[74] Bollenbeck, Georg. '"Kultur" und "civilisation" – eine deutsch-französische Geschichte.' Page 292.

War I. What needs to be addressed here is how these conflictual representations of culture promoted by France and Germany became politicized to such an extreme extent by the time of the outbreak of the First World War. Who, or what sectors of the French and German populations, subscribed to negative image processing of the other and what were their motives in doing so? How were such representations of their respective cultures informed by their national collective identities and how does it contribute to defining these identities? Finally, the answers to these questions should furnish us with more insight into the nature of collective identity for the people of Alsace.

1.3. French collective identity and *civilisation*

We begin with France. France was arguably one of the most homogeneous societies in Western Europe by the nineteenth century. Its definition of nationhood was state-centred and based on assimilation. France did not regard issues such as language or ethnicity as sufficiently valid reasons in themselves to constitute a nation and therefore did not use primordial arguments to define its collective identity. One did not have to belong to a 'French race' to be considered truly French. French patriotism was mainly defined on ideological rather than ethnic grounds, as the arguments used to claim the annexed territory of Alsace-Lorraine as French highlighted. 'Historically, French patriotism had a universalist thrust [...] Patriotism and universalism were easily reconciled when France was the dominant power'.[75]

For centuries France had been regarded as Europe's most progressive and culturally superior nation and perceived itself to be imbued with a civilizing mission towards the rest of Europe. This image of France was widely accepted in Europe, including in Germany: 'Frankreich ist seit den Zeiten Richelieu's und Ludwigs XIV gewohnt, die erste Rolle unter den europäischen Nationen zu spielen'.[76] François Guizot, in the introduction to the first of his well-known series of lectures in the Sorbonne in 1828, on the History of European Civilisation, contributed to, and confirmed this view of France as the centre of civilization:

> Il ne faut flatter personne, pas même son pays; cependant je crois qu'on peut dire sans flatterie que la France a été le centre, le foyer de la civilisation en Europe [...] en un mot, la clarté, la sociabilité, la sympathie sont le caractère particulier de la France, de

[75] Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992. Page 100.
[76] David Strauss to Ernest Renan. Letter dated 12 August 1870, written in Rorschach am Bodensee. Quoted in: Renan, Ernest. *Was ist eine Nation? Und andere politische Schriften.* Vienna: Folio, 1995. (Translation from French: Fehringer, Maria.) Page 87.

sa civilisation et ces qualités la rendaient éminement propre à marcher à la tête de la civilisation européenne.[77]

France prided itself on the memory of the French Revolution, which overthrew *l'ancien régime,* i.e. the past, to make way for the future, which was to ensure a more egalitarian and enlightened way of life for all citizens of its Republic. Indeed the language Guizot uses in this speech echoes the rhetoric of the French Revolution and indicates how the French Revolution and the universalist mission of *civilisation* were linked. The main basis, therefore, for French collective identity rested on rational choice and political unity. 'L'existence d'une nation est un plébiscite de tous les jours.'[78] This implies that France's collective identity could be described wholly as universalist. Writers and intellectuals such as Victor Hugo, Maurice Barrès, Romain Rolland, Henri Bergson and Ernest Renan as well as politicians such as Adolphe Thiers, Léon Gambetta or General Boulanger were all proponents of this image of France as an indivisible and culturally advanced nation, despite their different political persuasions and varying ideologies. All believed their *patrie* and cultural heritage were worth defending and promoting, because *la patrie* by the late nineteenth century was bound up inextricably with the nation and collective national identity, which Philippe Contamine traces back to a proto-nationalist sentiment in his preface to *La Gloire. Mourir pour la Patrie*: 'Mourir pour la patrie: ce devoir très ancien se confond avec la prime coagulation de l'idée même de la nation'.[79]

However, defeat in the Franco-Prussian war shook France's belief in this universalist mode of self-definition to a certain extent. France did remain a nation which was predominantly assimilationist rather than ethno-cultural, a fact reflected in its citizenship laws which are based on the principle of *jus soli*.[80] Universalism, nevertheless, was criticised for weakening national vigour and it was felt that France needed to instill a stronger sense of patriotism in its citizens. As Brubaker informs us: 'the new geo-political

---

[77] Guizot, François. *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe,* pp. 56/57.

[78] Renan, Ernest. *Qu'est-ce que c'est une nation? Et autres écrits politiques.* Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1996. Page 241.

[79] Contamine, Philippe. Preface to 'La Gloire. Mourir pour la patrie.' In: Nora, Pierre (ed.). *Les Lieux de Mémoire, II. La Nation.* Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1986, pp.10-43. Here, page 10. The concept of 'la patrie' as 'un ancien devoir' in France should not be confused with nationhood which was essentially a product of modernity. Defending la 'patrie', Contamine informs us, still in the Middle Ages 'ne peut pas passer pour l'*ultima ratio* du pouvoir, elle ne peut tout justifier ni tout sanctifier [...] certes la notion du pays existe, mais peut-être s'agit-t-il d'une notion trop répandue, géographiquement et politiquement'. (Page 17). Rather, defending one's 'patrie' was bound up with the notion of defending the honour of one's family, lord or community as well as for glory and material gain which were also prime motivations for going to war against France's enemies.

[80] '*Jus soli* defines the citizenry as a territorial community [...] There is an affinity between *jus soli* and the self-understanding of classical countries of immigration, with its emphasis on the assimilationist workings of birth and upbringing in the territory.' In: Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, pp.122-123.

situation, it was argued, required a new type of patriotism. Defeated, weak and vulnerable, France needed a particularist patriotism, a *resserrement*, a contraction and concentration of values and commitments. In this respect France had to imitate Germany'.[81] However, the ethnicization of French understanding of nationhood remained relatively weak and only really manifested itself virulently through anti-semitic sentiment at the time of the Dreyfus affair (1894). Even, as Brubaker informs us, 'Barrès and Maurras, despite their anti-Semitism, lack a consistently ethnic understanding of nationhood like that routinely articulated by nineteenth-century German intellectuals'.[82] In *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme*, for example, Barrès writes:

> Disons-le une fois pour toutes: Il est inexact de parler au sens stricte d'une race française. Nous ne sommes point une race, mais une nation; elle continue chaque jour à se faire et sous peine de nous diminuer, de nous anéantir, nous, individus qu'elle encastre, nous devions la protéger.[83]

Although the nation is depicted here as a potentially destructive force for the individual, Barrès apotheosizes France into an ideal worth dying for. A French citizen's foremost loyalty must be, he urges, to the nation. By the outbreak of World War I, the cult of *la patrie*, French collective identity and culture, were inculcated into the minds of the majority of the French, mainly through the educational system and the army and succeeded in invigorating nationalist sentiment.[84]

France did rely on tradition too to reaffirm French identity and differentiate it from other collectives. The commemoration of the French Revolution on 14 July, the use of the tricolor flag and the singing of the *Marseillaise* are all ritual symbols, creating a bond specifically amongst citizens of the French nation and without the same meaning for citizens of other collectives. Alsace, during the annexation, was of course an exception and the Marseillaise was sung by some as a form of protest against the imposed regime[85]. Indeed the Marseillaise was first composed and sung in Strasbourg by Rouget de Lisle in

---

[81] *Ibid.* Page 100.
[82] *Ibid.* Page 102.
[83] Barrès, Maurice. *Scènes et doctrines du Nationalisme.* Paris: Juven, 1900, pp.19-20.
[84] Contamine, Philippe. Preface to 'La Gloire. Mourir pour la patrie.' Page 10. See also pp.37-38 for a list of significant dates concerning the setting up of societies, army and education bills.
[85] In her biography of Pierre Bucher, Gisèle Loth refers to the insurgence of the schoolchildren against German authorities, which occurred during Bucher's schooldays in the 1870s, recalled by Jean Schlumberger, a native of the same village, Guebwiller, where 'des écoliers étaient conduits au bureau de police pour avoir sifflotè *La Marseillaise* ou parce qu'ils portaient un col marin bleu avec un maillot blanc et rouge'. Loth, Gisèle. *Un Rêve de France. Pierre Bucher, une passion française au coeur de l'Alsace allemande.* Strasbourg: Éditions La Nuée Bleue / Dernières Nouvelles de France, 2000. Page 25.

1792. Important also in creating a feeling of solidarity and unity amongst the French, was not only the sense of possessing a superior culture which should be used to shape and transform other civilisations or the use of traditional rituals and symbols to remind the people of France's glorious past, but also the incitement of animosity towards a perceived threat to their very identity and homeland: 'l'amour de la patrie s'est toujours nourri, de façon cachée ou ostensible, d'une autre passion, tout aussi agissante et virulente: la haine de l'ennemi'.[86]

France's enemy, clearly, since their defeat after the Franco-Prussian war, was Germany. Well known French figures, such as Maurice Barrès, Charles Maurras or Paul Déroulède, founder of the *Ligue des Patriotes*, all contributed to creating and maintaining this animosity whilst promoting a chauvinistic French nationalism. By defining Germany as the Other through negative depictions of its people and culture, France retained and reinforced a superior sense of its auto-image and identity. Dissenting voices, wishing to promote harmonious relations with Germany or who at least rejected the negative contrasts between German *Kultur* and French *civilisation*, were drowned out by the clamour of French nationalist fervour. Those who did not view Germany as a threatening Other, such as Romain Rolland and Jean Jaurès, were isolated figures who, try as they might, were powerless to alter the nationalist doctrine of Germanophobic sentiment. France, in the face of the increasing power of the German Empire, needed to distance itself from this enemy who defined its nationhood in a completely contrasting way. Part of this differentiation lay in the continued belief in the myth of its universalist and civilizing mission whilst, nevertheless, making imperialist inroads into the African continent in the late nineteenth century and discriminating against outsider groups within its own borders, e.g. Jews. The Dreyfus affair and anti-Semitic writings, such as de Gobineau's treatises on the inequality of races and Drumont's newspaper, *La France Juive,* bear witness to this phenomenon.

1.4. Germany: the emergence of the *Kulturnation* and its identity

In the late nineteenth century Germany had evolved as a new and very different type of nation to that of France, Spain or England. It transformed from being a loose, ineffectual and predominantly rural amalgamation of states with little sense of solidarity into an empire, tightly controlled by the skilful leadership of Bismarck, the 'Iron Chancellor', and became a powerful, industrialised nation. It was during his era and in particular after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 that France and Europe began to be

[86] Contamine, Philippe. 'La Gloire. Mourir pour la Patrie.' Page 41.

aware of the emergence of a new German identity and this gave rise to a re-evaluation of what German culture signified. It must be remembered, however, that this process of evaluation and with it the development of the concept of a German *Kulturnation* had already begun with the anti-Napoleonic wars of liberation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Not only had this conflict fuelled anti-French sentiment across Germany but also fed into a patriotic sentiment which coincided with and in part encouraged the development of the Romantic interest in a specific German culture. By 1813, as Blackbourn informs us:

> [T]here were nationalist feelings at work that had been absent twenty years earlier. [...] Particularly among members of the educated middle class we can see a heightened patriotic sentiment. It was conditioned by the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire, sharpened by French occupation, and fed by the growing interest in German language, history and folkways shown by intellectuals like Herder and Schlegel.'[87]

Nevertheless, prior to the consolidation of the Second German Empire and up to 1870, France was still strongly influenced by the images of Germany and the Germans portrayed by Madame de Staël in her famous book *De l'Allemagne* (1810), in which she pens romanticised descriptions of Germany, the land of *Dichter und Denker*: 'le pays et les habitants offrent à l'observation quelque chose d'intéressant et de poétique. Vous sentez que des âmes et des imaginations douces ont embelli ces campagnes'.[88] For the French, it was a country with a literary, philosophical and musical tradition, which posed no threat. It was indeed heavily influenced by French culture, which was, as we saw, generally accepted to be of a superior nature throughout Europe. 'Der Glaube an die Voranstellung Frankreichs läßt sich durch das ganze 19. Jahrhundert hindurch verfolgen. Der Vicomte Louis de Bonald nennt Frankreich 1817 den "premier-né de la civilisation européenne".'[89] Germany, due to its fragmented structure, prior to Bismarck, ostensibly had little confidence in a homogenous 'German' culture and was regarded as self-effacing and deferential towards other perceived superior cultures.[90] Madame de Staël again furnishes us with her insight on this:

---

[87] Blackbourn, David. *The Fontana History of Germany 1780-1918. The Long Nineteenth Century.* London: Fontana Press, 1997, pp. 88-89.
[88] De Staël, Madame. *De l'Allemagne.* Volume 1. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968. Page 52.
[89] De Bonald, Louis. *Pensées sur divers sujets et discours politiques.* Paris, 1817. Quoted in: *Europäische Schlüsselwörter.* Page 21.
[90] De Staël's impression of such self-effacement in the face of the admired otherness of cultures such as France's inverts the dialectic self/other postmodern model in use today.

En littérature comme en politique, les Allemands ont trop de considération pour les étrangers et pas assez de préjugés nationaux. C'est une qualité dans les individus que l'abnégation de soi-même et l'estime des autres; mais le patriotisme des nations doit être égoïste [...] la bonne opinion que les Français ont d'eux-mêmes a toujours beaucoup contribué à leur ascendant sur l'Europe [...] Les Allemands sont Saxons, Prussiens, Bavarois, Autrichiens; mais le caractère germanique, sur lequel devrait se fonder la force de tous est morcelé comme la terre même qui a tant de différents maîtres.[91]

There are differing opinions on how significant the Franco-Prussian war was in the assertion of a German identity and the struggle to promote their own specifically German culture as part of their constitution of nation and empire. In *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* for example we read: 'Die Geschichte des deutschen Kulturbegriffs ist auch nach 1871 nicht die Geschichte einer Suche nach nationaler Identität, nach einer spezifisch deutschen Kultur. Diese Aspekte spielen bestenfalls eine Rolle am Rande und gewinnen erst nach der Jahrhundertwende etwas mehr Gewicht'.[92] The Franco-Prussian War was not fought on cultural, ideological grounds according to this argument; it was only in its aftermath that military victory over France fed into the polemics of the *Kultur-civilisation* debate. This is reflected in Bismarck's *Politik*, where his achievement of territorial integrity of the German nation state in 1871 had little to do with the forging of national identity for ethno-cultural reasons. Rather, it was to assure the dominant position of Prussia in an empire that excluded its arch-rival, Catholic Austria.[93] Friedrich Naumann, member of the German parliament in 1914, believed, on the contrary, that the Franco-Prussian war was a necessity in order for the German people to affirm their own identity. In the case of the more educated members of German society, their Francophile attitudes were so predominant that they had blurred the distinction between a separate German sense of Self and the Otherness of French identity. Naumann even maintained that the assertion of their own culture was the main reason for this war:

Es gab eine Zeit, in der Deutschland zu Frankreich ganz anders stand. [...] Alle besser gebildeten Deutschen hatten einen französischen Winkel in ihrer Seele [...] Nie konnte der Deutsche als Deutscher empfinden und handeln lernen, wenn er nicht erst einmal den Schnitt ganz vollzog [...] Der Franzose mußte zeitweilig von den

---

[91] De Staël, Madame. *De l'Allemagne.* Volume 1. Page 56.
[92] *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe.* Page 751.
[93] For more on this, see for example, Blackbourn, David. *The Fontana History of Germany 1780-1918*, pp. 243-269. See also, Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Page 13.

> Deutschen gehaßt, verachtet, geneidet werden. Ohne diese Stimmung gab es keine Schlacht von Sedan, keine sieghafte Wacht am Rhein.[94]

Although it is, I believe, an exaggeration to claim that the Franco-Prussian War was fought in order for the Germans to break away from the influences of French *civilisation* and set out the parameters for their own *Kultur*, certainly there is some element of truth in Naumann's thesis. One only has to consider Bismarck's claiming of Alsace-Lorraine as a war-prize on cultural grounds, even if this was not his real reason for annexing the newly-won territoires, and his calculated gesture in crowning King Wilhelm I, King of Prussia as German Kaiser in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles, a place strongly evocative of France's glorious past. This was a statement to the world that Germany was now superior to France. Of course Bismarck's main reason for provoking a war with France was to ensure that Germany would consolidate its empire unhindered and that, along with Austria, none of the Catholic states in South or West Germany could look to France as a protector against Prussia.[95]

The Franco-Prussian war was a rude awakening for the French. It shattered the De Staël image of the romantic, poetic German roaming the rural backwaters of Germany. Instead France was confronted with an efficient, well-equipped army which humiliatingly defeated it and laid siege to its capital. With the emergence of this new Germany which Bismarck had been steadily consolidating and strengthening through his 'blood and iron' policy, new stereotypical images of the Germans appeared which were strongly influenced by typical Prussian characteristics – authoritarianism, militaristic tradition, a strong Protestant work-ethic and sense of duty. In fact the consolidation of the German Empire has often been referred to as the Prussianisation of Germany. With Germany's victory over France, the balance of power had shifted in Europe and Germany now reconstructed its image and collective identity.

Many Germans in constructing this new identity in the latter part of the nineteenth century adopted a defensive role in the face of the more confident self-promotion of the French and their culture. Germany had defeated France on the battlefield but had yet to prove that German *Kultur* was also supreme. One could say that their attitude to French culture at that time was dominated by a superiority-inferiority complex: 'Die Gesamthaltung ist eher defensiv [...] im Sinne des Einholens anderer, bereits weiter fortgeschrittener Nationen'.[96] They realised that to assert the importance of their own

---

[94] Naumann, Friedrich. 'Deutschland und Frankreich.' In: *Der Deutsche Krieg. 2, Politische Flugschriften.* (Jäckh, Ernst, ed.). Stuttgart, Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914, pp.15-16.
[95] Austria would have been these states' first choice as a protector but Bismarck had already defeated Austria and expelled it from the North German Confederation in 1866.
[96] *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe.* Page 752.

Kultur, they would have to liberate themselves from strong French cultural influence and demonstrate their cultural superiority over the defeated enemy. Throughout the Wilhelmine period this was achieved usually in two ways: by promoting German culture and by demonising France and French culture. This means of affirming one's own collective and cultural identity reveals in imagological fashion much about the German mentality. In other words, what is interesting to examine here is what particular qualities of French culture were criticized, as this furnishes us with an insight into how the Germans perceived themselves and what qualities they cherished and felt were necessary in order to belong to the German collective. Such descriptions of France will be part of a wider discussion on the different strands of opinion existing within the German Empire at this time and how it constituted a collective identity.

Firstly, let us examine how Germany's auto-image altered in Wilhelmine Germany. As we have seen, prior to 1871, Germany was not a cohesive territory with a strong unified collective identity but was rather a loose, fragmented aggregation of regions. Some of these regions were predominantly Catholic and others Protestant, some had a democratic, liberal political tradition and others, a more conservative one. Also with the upsurge in industrialisation, some areas of Germany had become richer and more powerful than other areas, which remained rural, and this too had a social and political impact.[97] Partly due to the influence of these factors but also due to the fact that prior to 1871, some of the regions had had very little contact with one another, it was clear Germany would face enormous challenges in forming a strong sense of national collective identity. Common symbols, traditions and values all had to be created to reinforce a sense of unity and as Chickering informs us: '[t]o this end, the government used all its resources, from the schoolroom and pulpit to the academic community and the ministries in Berlin'.[98] The most powerful symbol of unification however was Bismarck, 'who because of the role he had played in the founding of the *Reich*, emerged as the principal custodian of the grail of national symbols'.[99] The new German Empire not only created traditional symbols, such as *Sedantag*, a national holiday to commemorate German victory over France, but also developed existing primordial arguments to define itself, i.e. its emphasis on the *Deutsches Volk* as a homogeneous, ethnic group. Those who shared the German language and blood were deemed to share an affinity, which was naturally

---

[97] Overall however this industrialisation of Germany was to contribute much to the nationalising of its people and reached its culmination with total mobilisation in World War I. We are reminded here of Gellner's theory on the transition from Agraria to Industria.

[98] Chickering, Roger. *We Men who feel most German. A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League 1886-1914.* Boston, Mass., London: Allen & Unwin, 1984. Page 26.

[99] *Ibid.*

excluding.[100] This is remarked on by Renan, who compares the German primordial culture to France's more universalist one. 'Notre politique, c'est la politique du droit des nations, la vôtre, c'est la politique des races: nous croyons que la nôtre vaut mieux [...] vous avez levé dans le monde le drapeau de la politique ethnographique et archéologique en place de la politique libérale.'[101] Here, Renan clearly differentiates French and German *Weltanschauungen*. The German understanding of nationhood is described as being based on ethno-cultural grounds which uses difference as an important criterion of self-definition. Language, culture and racial ties were the common ties that bound the German people together, albeit loosely prior to their politicisation in a nation-state, for which Prussia provided the impetus. Indeed the pre-political Germany was a nation in search of a state,[102] or as Gellner, in his chapter, 'The Marriage of State and Culture', describes it: 'a bride (proto-national Germany) in search of a bridegroom (the state)'.[103] Ethno-cultural factors then were constitutive of German national identity and citizenship was based on the principle of *jus sanguinis*[104] – a community of descent, which rather than assimilating the Other within its boundaries, defined itself through the Other's exclusion. German treatment of the Poles is an example of this, contrasting with the attitude towards the Alsatians, who were regarded as members of the same *Volk*.

During the Wilhelmine period there was a huge increase in the number of patriotic societies and associations which promoted German culture, language, music and sport, to the extent that it was jokingly agreed that wherever two or more Germans were seen gathered together, they were doubtlessly creating a new *Verein*. The most prominent of these were the Colonial Society, the School Association, the Language Association and the Pan-German League, which were all set up in the 1880's and had a broader interpretation of the concept of German identity than the government's political and traditional interpretation within the limits of the *Staatsnation*. For example, Chickering tells us that 'the Pan-German League insisted that all human life was [...] founded on groups (*Völker*) that were ethnically defined by their language, culture, tradition and race [...] Political society was fluid, the ethnic community transcendent and eternal'.[105] Language for the Pan-Germans was a primordial and fundamental part of one's

---

[100] Of course, language and blood ties were recognized as important in reinforcing a sense of solidarity between French citizens too. However, unlike in Germany, definitions of French nationhood were primarily assimilationist and universalist. It was assumed that citizens would learn and, indeed, would want to learn, the French language which had been an important tool in the centralisation of power.
[101] Renan, Ernest. 'Nouvelle Lettre à M. Strauss', Paris, 15.9.1871. In: *Œuvres Complètes*, Volume 1. Page 452. Quoted in: Völkel, Marcus. 'Geschichte als Vergeltung. Zur Grundlegung des Revanchegedankens in der deutsch-französischen Historikerdiskussion von 1870/71.' *Historische Zeitschrift,* 257, 1993, pp.63-107. Here, page 72.
[102] Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Page 1.
[103] Gellner, Ernest. *Nationalism.* Page 53.
[104] Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, pp.122-123.
[105] Chickering, Roger. *We Men who feel most German*, pp.76-77.

psychological make-up and, for Germans at least, the most 'holy' component of one's being.[106] For Pan-Germans then, collective identity in the German *Reich* was bound up by primordial ties of language and race, but, as is clear from their views on the limitations of the political nation state, they envisaged expanding borders to include all German speakers in one truly German nation. Chickering compares their ideology to a national religion 'which displayed structural parallels with the Christian vision of fall and redemption. The event that Pan-Germans regarded as the analogue of the fall in German history was the Thirty Years War, the catastrophe which brought about political fragmentation, cultural stagnation and the beginnings of the diaspora of emigrant Germans throughout Europe'. Bismarck is likened to the Messiah who redeems the nation and offers hope of redemption.[107]

However, there were more extreme elements, for example, Ernst Hasse, President of the Pan-German League and a member of the National Liberal party, for whom 'on the ethnocultural understanding of nationhood, the Bismarckian state and its citizenship were only imperfectly national'.[108] Bismarck was not a supporter of the *grossdeutsch* project, which sought to include all Germanic peoples within one nation and exclude those not of the same ethnicity, e.g. the Slavs, as this would mean including the Catholic Austrians in the empire. Therefore, although Bismarck was the architect of the German Empire, in the eyes of some Pan-Germans, his achievements were regarded as incomplete. The Pan-German League was in fact a relatively small, albeit assertive, group[109] but its ideology and influence were palpable throughout Germany, for example in the conviction that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine had been justified on linguistic and cultural grounds by a broad spectrum of German society.

Germany had been influenced since the early nineteenth century by Romanticism, part of whose attraction lay in its nostalgic evocations of a past society, which was close to nature (German soil, forests) and revived the memory of folk tradition. The Romantic movement was not, however, primarily concerned with the question of nationhood but 'it supplied patterns of thought and appraisal for the consolidation, celebration and eventual repoliticisation of the ethno-cultural understanding of nationhood'.[110] It was in part a reaction to the values of the Enlightenment, which were seen as the guiding principles of the French definition of nationhood. Romanticism opposed '*Einzigkeit* as over against *Einzelheit* [...] feeling against dessicated rationality; unconscious organic growth against

---

[106] *Ibid.* Page 93. Paraphrased.
[107] *Ibid.* Page 81.
[108] Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Page 51.
[109] 'The Pan-German League was the smallest of the major patriotic societies in Imperial Germany, and for most of the pre-war period the scale of its operations remained comparatively restricted.' In: Chickering, Roger. *We Men who feel most German.* Page 224.
[110] Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Page 9.

conscious, artificial construction, vitality and integrity of traditional rooted folk cultures against soullessness and artificiality of cosmopolitan culture'.[111]

The German past was now reconstructed in the present to create a sense of unity and shared heritage. It appealed to rural sectors of the population, who could identify with such constructs of identity, rooted as they were in their region but also to those disillusioned with life in the rapidly growing industrial cities and who felt alienated and threatened by cosmopolitanism. Wilhelm Schäfer, who founded the cultural magazine *Die Rheinlande* (1900), was one such proponent of a return to 'das Volk, das Volkstum' and the potential of 'die mythisierte heimatliche Erde zu erneuern und zu heilen'.[112] The loss of contact with the land is equated by him with loss of virtue. Positive values are associated with the *Volk* who epitomize true Germanic qualities and have not lost touch with their roots. France and its culture is perceived as the antithesis to *Deutschtum.* 'Frankreich gilt als Land der Moden und -ismen, eine ständig wechselnde und sich verändernde Bühne der Eitelkeiten, dem in Deutschland die Suche nach dem Wahren und Tiefen gegenübersteht.'[113] Although Schäfer acknowledges France's artistic achievements, he believes Germany, a young, energetic nation, but with deep roots in the past, now surpasses France: 'Er sieht in Deutschland die aufstrebende Kraft, die auf allen Gebieten Frankreich überholt: Wir bilden eine neue Kunst und gründen ringend und strebend ein neues Gemeinsamkeitsgefühl'.[114] Patriotic songs and poetry glorifying Germany and its past remained very popular. Ernst Moritz Arndt's *Des Deutschen Vaterland* expresses the vigour of the German nation, including all German speakers in an organic whole (*das ganze Deutschland).* To further create Germany's sense of solidarity, France is depicted as a bitter enemy:

> Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland,
> Wo Zorn vertilgt dem welschen Land,
> Wo jeder Franzmann heißet Feind
> Wo jeder Deutsche heißet Freund
> Das soll es sein!
> Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein![115]

---

[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Kortländer, Bernd. 'Ein Frankreichbild aus dem konservativen Lager. Wilhelm Schäfer, Die Rheinlande und Frankreich.' Page 281. In: Grunewald, Michel / Abret, Helga. (ed.) *Visions allemandes de la France (1871-1914). Frankreich aus deutscher Sicht (1871-1914).* Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1995.
[113] *Ibid.* Page 292.
[114] *Ibid.* Page 294.
[115] Arndt, Ernst Moritz. 'Des Deutschen Vaterland.' In: Benzmann, Hans. *Deutschlands Lyrik. Das Zeitalter der Romantik.* Munich, Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1908. Page 487. Of course at the time of the

The reference in the song to every German as a friend, although evidently it was impossible for every German to be aware of each and everyone of his fellow Germans' existence, still creates a sense of community – the 'imagined community'.[116] Equally, France is to a certain extent, the 'imagined common enemy' on a national level. Individual or political difference of opinion is not taken into consideration. The negative image of France as the threatening, hostile Other is upheld as an integral part of the formation of Germany's collective identity. 'Die Feindschaft war, [...] konstitutiv für die Bildung des modernen nationalen Selbstverständnisses [...] Selbst berufliche oder private Kontakte zum 'Feindesland' vermochten diese Identifikation nicht zu relativieren oder gar in Frage zu stellen.'[117]

There did, however, exist divergences of opinion with regard to France after the Franco-Prussian war on a political and religious level. Not everyone in Germany subscribed to the image of France as the *Erbfeind*. German Catholics, for example, during the *Kulturkampf*, felt so provoked that they no longer wished to prove they were loyal subjects in the Empire. France, a predominantly Catholic country, was viewed at that time under a more favourable light. In 1874, Mgr. Kettler made a public appeal in *Germania*, Zentrum's official newspaper, calling on Catholics not to participate in *Sedantag*, Germany's new national holiday to celebrate victory over the French.[118] Thus German Catholics were asked to show solidarity not with their fellow-countrymen but with France. German collective identity is challenged here by this alienated subgroup's destabilization of its integral sense of Self by identifying more closely with the Other. Constructions of German cultural collective identity depended in part on negative stereotyping of the French and differentiation from them, yet in this instance the German Catholics were no longer differentiating themselves from this enemy but subverting the traditional discourse of enmity with one of amicability. Throughout the 1870s the French are depicted in positive terms in the Catholic press and in parliament.

> Les Français, non seulement sont restés aussi aimables qu'auparavant, mais ils ont acquis une foule de qualités que nous avions autrefois l'habitude de considérer comme notre secret spécifiquement allemand; ils sont devenus plus calmes et plus sérieux, on

---

compostion of this song, 1813, no German nation existed but it remained a popular lyric when Germany did become a nation. The hyperbolic sentiment directed against the French should be understood within the context of the Napoleonic Wars and the strong anti-French sentiment prevalent amongst some circles in Germany at that time.

[116] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Page 3.

[117] Jeismann, Michael. 'Der Kampf um die europäische Zivilisation.' In: *Visions allemandes de la France. Frankreich aus deutscher Sicht.* Page 15.

[118] Colonge, Paul. 'La Presse Catholique et la France.' In: *Ibid.* Page 140.

ne les entend plus se vanter, la mégalomanie a disparu, ils sont devenus plus travailleurs [...].[119]

Interestingly, Schröder's highest praise of the French is that they no longer conform to their stereotypical portrayals as a superficial and decadent people but they are now more like the Germans. This reveals that although Catholics in Germany did not share a sense of solidarity during the *Kulturkampf* with fellow German citizens, which manifested itself in a pro-French attitude, they nevertheless believed in a specific German identity, which was superior to the stereotypical French one. In imagological analysis this is a perfect example of how the positing of (double-edged) complimentary hetero-images or comparison are used to reinforce a positive auto-image. However, this feeling of rapport with their French neighbours dissipated within a decade. The cessation of the *Kulturkampf*, France's rising national-chauvinism (e.g. Boulangism), political and financial scandals (e.g. the Panama scandal) and increasing secularism altered Catholic sentiment in Germany towards their neighbour by the mid-1880s and German Catholics became more fully integrated into the German Empire.

Another group, the democrats in South Germany, also had a very different image of the French to that promoted by German nationalists, Protestants and Pan-Germans. These democrats were influenced by liberalist ideas of 1848 and belonged to the *Deutsche Volkspartei*, founded in 1868. Anti-Bismarck, they called for a more democratic Germany and voiced opposition to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Their main aim was to promote Franco-German relations in the name of progress and peace. This party believed that education and commitment to peace could lead to successful Franco-German co-operation at the heart of Europe. They endeavoured to combat rising chauvinism in both countries. However, their Francophile views and constant criticism of German militarism were seen as an attack on Prussian culture and their party lost much support. Their idealism and desire to see France and Germany overcome their rivalry and animosity towards one another to form a peaceful Europe were out of keeping with the *Zeitgeist* of the time but again offer us an example of an alternative outlook in Imperial Germany.

Like Catholicism, socialism was mistrusted in Imperial Germany. Both were regarded as unreliable in their loyalties to the nation-state – the former due to its foremost loyalty to Rome and the latter because of the international nature of its ideology. In 1889 with the foundation of the Second International in Paris supranational solidarity between the French and German working classes was promulgated. National borders were to be of

[119] Speech given by Schröder, a deputy of Zentrum, in the German *Reichstag*, 17 November 1874. In: *Ibid.* Page 140.

no consequence in the struggle of workers everywhere against capitalist forces. Co-operation between the French and German socialist parties was seen as an advantage to both, from which they could learn from each other's organisational cultures:

> Wenn die Deutschen es die Franzosen gelehrt haben, den Wahlausschuß zu benutzen und sich einzurichten, sollen die Franzosen den Deutschen diesen revolutionären Geist einrichten, den ihnen ein Jahrhundert Geschichte überliefert hat. Die Zeiten sind jetzt vorbei, als eine Nation behaupten konnte, die andern zu führen.[120]

However, these discrepancies between German and French socialists proved too great a barrier in creating a supranational movement and impossible to reconcile. Although both had the same aim to transform society, the societies with which they were confronted, were very different. This entailed divergent strategies and political cultures. The German *SPD* became very critical of political corruption in the Third Republic and the moderation of some sectors of the socialist party ('die bourgeoissozialistische Partei'[121]). However, although by 1914 they had distanced themselves from France, they remained critical of Prussian dominated and capitalist politics in Germany.

If Catholics, liberal democrats in South Germany and socialists were all at one stage or another dissenting voices in the construction process of a new German collective identity and culture, who then were its proponents? Who were the representatives of this emerging *Deutschtum*? Protestant, middle-class, and North German, the *Bildungsbürger* can be identified as illustrative of the fundamental difference in mentality between the Germans and the French. The values of this stratum in society became typified as German values: love of order, a sense of duty, obedience to authority, industriousness, militarism and a strong moral code. Michel Grunewald in his study of the *Preußische Jahrbücher* (*PJB*), allegedly one of the most representative newspapers of the *Bildungsbürgertum,* comments on its attitudes to France and the frequent comparisons made between German *Kultur* and French *civilisation.*[122] Heinrich von Treitschke and Hans Delbrück as editors of this paper and supporters of the right wing of national-liberalism not only expressed the views and beliefs of the archetypal German in the

---

[120] Letter from Friedrich Engels to Paul Lafargue, 1892. Droz, Jacques. *Einfluß der deutschen Sozialdemokratie auf den französischen Sozialismus (1871-1914).* Opladen, 1973, Page 7. Quoted in: Bock, Hans Manfred. 'Sozialistische Diskordanz und Kapitalistische Dekadenz. Zur Frankreich-Perzeption im sozialdemokratischen Theorie-Organ. *Die Neue Zeit* von 1890-1914.' In: *Ibid.* Page 80.
[121] *Ibid.* Page 100.
[122] Grunewald, Michel. 'Frankreich aus der Sicht der Preußischen Jahrbücher (1871-1914).' In: *Ibid,* pp.193-212.

Wilhelmine period but would also have influenced or reinforced their readers' opinions and attitudes.

Those who did not conform to the collective, such as Catholics, left-wing liberals and socialists were all in particular attacked by Treitschke: 'die Preussischen Jahrbücher [waren] eine regierungsnahe und kaisertreue Zeitschrift. Innenpolitisch traten sie unter Treitschke insbesondere als unbedingte Gegner von Zentrum, Sozialdemokraten und Linksliberalen auf'.[123] Treitschke promoted certain characteristics as typical traits of his fellow people and very often used France as a negative point of reference in order to define German qualities in a positive light. That the *Preußische Jahrbücher* found it necessary to polarise French *civilisation* from German *Kultur* reveals much of its own defensive attitude towards its neighbour. France's moral corruption and decadence, its idolatry of money and *revanchisme* appear in many articles in *Preußische Jahrbücher*, not just to vilify France but to reinforce a particular sense of German identity – its 'protestantischer Volksgeist' – and to promulgate the German people as morally superior:

> [S]ie schilderten Frankreich als Gegenmodell und prangerten die 'sittliche Fäulnis', die ihrer Meinung nach dort herrschte. Viele Aufsätze und Kommentare aus der Zeitschrift erwecken tatsächlich den Eindruck , als seien 'moralische Korruption' und Gottlosigkeit nicht nur Fehler mancher französischer Politiker, sondern Grundmerkmale der französischen Gesellschaft überhaupt, während Sittlichkeit und Frömmigkeit den Deutschen angeboren seien. [124]

In contrast to French collective identity constructed primarily on universalist and traditional principles, Germany defines itself according to language, race, religion – thus, primordially, to use Giesen's categorization. However its manipulation of the past, particularly through the reconstruction of the concept of *Volk* and its traditions and the creation of new traditional symbols in the Empire, such as *Sedantag* demonstrate the importance of the cult of historical tradition in the formation of German collective identity also. Such portrayals of the past in the present (1870-1914) highlight not just a common tradition, be it real or fictitious, but also the necessity in Imperial Germany to (re-) construct tradition and reinterpret Germany's fragmented history, in order to reinforce a sense of unity amongst its citizens: 'Auf dem Umweg über die Vergangenheit, die selbst wieder eine Projektion der Gegenwart ist, konstituiert eine traditionale Gemeinschaft ihre kollektive Identität'.[125] This is an articulation of the narrative process of the nation along

---

[123] *Ibid.* Page 194.
[124] *Ibid.* Page 200.
[125] Giesen, Bernard. *Kollektive Identität.* Page 42.

temporal axes, in continual flux between the past, present and future. What and how Germany, or France indeed, chose to commemorate the past revealed much about their contemporaneous concerns and attitudes and this would in turn affect how these collectives regarded themselves and each other in the future.

1.5. Alsace, a *Grenzland* between two nations

We will now turn our attention to Alsace, which, caught between the ideological and ethnocultural arguments of France and Germany, existed in a sort of limbo, boundary land, both simultaneously a symbol of the Other and a necessary component of their identities. Alsace itself never aspired to be a nation, but given its geo-political situation and its history, its own culture was particularist and complex and certainly not easily definable. Despite Alsace appearing to have been predominantly influenced by German culture up to the time of the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, 200 years of French rule had rendered many Alsatians French patriots. From the time of the French Revolution onwards the people of Alsace had begun to enjoy prosperity and harmony under French rule and had espoused the democratic principles of the new Republic with great enthusiasm. True, they spoke a German dialect and many of the names of their families, towns and villages, hills and rivers sounded more German than French, but it was with reluctance that Alsace became a part of the new German Empire and German citizens. Rather than equating the French language with patriotic sentiment, the Alsatians equated it with one's position in society and wealth, as those who spoke French daily in the region were usually from the upper bourgeoisie. As Eugène Philipps points out:

> [E]n Alsace, beaucoup plus qu'ailleurs, le français était 'la langue des riches'[...] La petite bourgeoisie et l'élite intellectuelle ne vinrent vraiment au français qu'au cours de la première moitié du XIXe siècle [...] Pour eux (le milieu paysan et ouvrier) [...] le français restait la langue des 'possédants'. Le clivage social commençait ainsi à se doubler d'un clivage linguistique inquiétant.[126]

The disinclination towards the use of French by the majority of the population however did not prevent the people of Alsace from perceiving themselves to be good French citizens. Indeed some of the most valiant generals during the Napoleonic wars, such as Kellermann (1735-1830), Rapp (1771- 1821) and Kléber (1753-1800), who led the battle campaigns in Egypt, hailed from Alsace. For the Alsatians, language did not determine

[126] Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques en Alsace jusqu'en 1945.* Strasbourg: L'Alsatique de Poche, 1975, pp.87-88.

citizenship but rather was bound up with religious and cultural expression. Hobsbawm argues that up to about 1880 'language had nothing to do in principle with being English or French and indeed [...] French experts were to fight stubbornly against any attempt to make the spoken language a criterion of nationality [...] The language Alsatians or Gascons spoke remained irrelevant to their status as members of the French people'.[127] The Alemannic dialect, *Elsässisch,* and High German for written texts, continued to be the most prevalent mode of expression and remained so right up until the end of World War I[128] despite two centuries of French rule and largely unsuccessful attempts, especially during the late nineteenth century (when the question of language and nationality did become an issue in questions of nationhood, *pace* Hobsbawm), to obliterate the German dialect through the educational system and the Churches.[129] Following the Franco-Prussian war, when the territories of Alsace-Lorraine were ceded to the victorious Germans according to the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt (October 1871), attempts to expand the use of French through the educational and administrative systems and the Churches were of course abruptly halted.

But how did Germany and France regard Alsace? On what grounds did they feel justified in claiming it as part of their collectives? Language, culture and differing notions of nationhood certainly played a crucial role. For Germany the concept of 'one language, one nation' was sufficient justification, where nationhood was based on the notion of a shared cultural and linguistic heritage. In France the reverse was true where the concept 'one nation, one language' held sway and rather, it was a shared, common citizenship and participation in the political and administrative procedures of the State which was regarded as the most necessary condition to creating a sense of French national identity. With political assimilation, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, it was assumed, would follow.[130] Since the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia,[131] the people of Alsace

---

[127] Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, pp.19-20.

[128] Statistics for the number of Germanophones and Francophones in Alsace-Lorraine in 1882 show that a resounding majority of the population spoke High German/Alsatian predominantly. 80.21% spoke High German/Alsatian only; 11.48% spoke French only and 8.31% spoke both French and High German/Alsatian. Quoted in: Lévy, Paul. *Histoire Linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine de la Révolution Française à 1918.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 1929. Volume II. Page 335.

[129] On the question of language in Alsace and in particular on the role played by the Churches, see Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes linguistiques en Alsace.* Chapter 4: 'Deux langues rivales 1800- 1870'.

[130] *Ibid.* Page 109. See also, Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Introduction.

[131] Up to that time the history of Alsace had been integral part of the Empire. This dates back to about the beginning of the fourth century when a large influx of Germanic tribes, predominantly Franks and Alemanni, settled in Alsace. These constituted the largest ethnic group to remain in Alsace as the presence of Romans and Celts who had inhabited the region since before the fourth century became weaker. Until the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia it was the language and traditions of the Germanic tribes, which held sway in Alsace. Peace had reigned in Alsace prior to the Thirty Years War, assured by two of Charlemagne's grandsons (Charles le Chauve and Louis le Germanique)

had been on the whole content citizens of France and proud to belong to such a great and unified nation particularly after the 1789 Revolution. Questions of language and protection of ethnic identity, although important in Alsace, were secondary in the face of such universal progressiveness.

> What could the defense of small peoples, small languages, small traditions be, in the overwhelming majority of cases, but an expression of conservative resistance to the inevitable advance of history? The small people, language or culture fitted into progress only insofar as it accepted subordinate status to some larger unit or retired from battle to become the repository of nostalgia and other sentiments.[132]

This is Hobsbawm's view of the nation state in the period 1830-1880, a period marked by the ideology of bourgeois liberalism. Nations such as France or Britain were comfortable with heterogeneity within their borders, as they believed the small region had everything to gain from belonging to the greater nation. Questions of culture and language were not yet the burning issues they would become after 1880. The above statement should be qualified, however, by taking into consideration these countries' colonial expansion, where both language and culture were imposed on other ethnic groups, in colonised lands, even if only at official administrative levels before the 1880s. Within their own borders regional difference was not viewed as a real threat to the dominant culture. In other words, in France ethnocultural arguments were not enough – the people of Alsace-Lorraine had wished to remain French citizens and the acquisition of the French language as their daily vernacular would develop with time, facilitated by its use in all administrative, bureaucratic and educational processes. The nation would make French citizens out of the people of Alsace.

For newly formed nations in the nineteenth century such as Germany, the presence of heterogeneous *ethnies* within their borders was tolerated far less than in France, as they were perceived as a threat to their fragile unity. Germany's treatment particularly of the minorities in Schleswig-Holstein and Silesia bears witness to this to a greater extent than in Alsace-Lorraine, where the population was regarded as belonging to the German race. Nationalist and right-wing liberal Germans throughout the nineteenth century argued that culturally and linguistically the territory of Alsace shared a common heritage with their land. This is indeed true – to a certain extent. Germany reclaimed Alsace-Lorraine as a

---

through their famous *Serment de Strasbourg*, (842) one of the oldest bilingual manuscripts, written in Rhine-Frankish, a German dialect, and Romanic French. Already the symbolic significance of Strasbourg and Alsace as a mediating point between Gallic and Germanic tribes is evident.

[132] Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* Page 41.

long lost brother on cultural and linguistic grounds, particularly the region of Alsace. Historians and writers such as Ernst Moritz Arndt, Heinrich von Sybel, Heinrich von Treitschke, Theodor Mommsen and even francophiles such as David Strauss, revindicated Alsace as rightfully belonging to the new German nation and this led to a veritable war of publications and correspondence between German and French historians. These claims were being made even before the consolidation of the Second German Empire. Thus, Arndt writes in 1845:

> Das Recht hat geredet und ausgesagt, daß Besitz, Stamm, Sprache, Art und Neigung dieser Lande und Völker für das deutsche Reich ist. Nun tritt die Politik auf und beweist, daß Deutschlands Selbständigkeit und Europas Sicherheit nicht bestehen kann, wenn die Franzosen den Rhein und die jenseits des Rheins liegenden deutschen Lande behalten [...] Der Rhein, Deutschlands Strom, aber nicht Deutschlands Grenze. Ich meine mit dieser Überschrift, die beiden Ufer des Rheins und die umliegenden Lande müssen deutsch sein, wie sie sonst waren [...].[133]

Immediately after the Franco-Prussian war, Heinrich von Treitschke published three essays, entitled, *Die Feuerprobe des Norddeutschen Bundes* (3 August 1870), *Was fordern wir von Frankreich?* (30 August 1870), and *Friedenshoffnungen* (25 September 1870)[134] in which he too called for the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Likewise von Sybel justified Germany's claims on Alsace-Lorraine in *Deutschlands Rechte auf Elsaß und Lothringen* (1871).[135] In Herderian fashion ('Ein Volk – eine Sprache!')[136] it was promulgated in such writings that Alsace, as a German speaking population, rightfully belonged to the German nation. 'For them language was the soul of a nation and [...] increasingly the crucial criterion of nationality.'[137] As we have seen, justification of the German nation's existence relied very much on constructions of the past, and indeed certain views of the past that suited its purposes best, to reinforce a sense of unity. Pan-German historians, for example, tended to gloss over the fact that Alsace had been under French rule for two hundred years prior to annexation. Instead they emphasized Alsace's

---

[133] Arndt, Ernst, Moritz. *Der Rhein, Deutschlands Strom aber nicht Deutschlands Grenze*. Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam, 1845, pp.15-16.
[134] Von Treitschke, Heinrich. In: *Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Volume 3, Neudruck-Hendel, Meersburg, 1929. Quoted in: Siegburg, Heinz-Otto. 'Die Elsaß-Lothringen-Frage in der Deutsch-Französischen Diskussion von 1871 bis 1914.' *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Saargegend*, 17/18, 1970, pp.12-13.
[135] Von Sybel. 'Deutschlands Rechte auf Elsaß und Lothringen (1871)', In: *Kleine Historische Schriften, 1863-1880*, Volume 3. Quoted in: *Ibid.* Page 13.
[136] Herder, Johann, Gottfried. *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967.
[137] Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* Page 95.

close association with the Holy Roman Empire or how it had been separated from other Germanic lands by the treaty of Westphalia. Again this highlights psychological manipulation of the past to suit constructions of identity in the present. In Beate Gödde-Baumann's article *Frankreichbilder Deutscher Historiker*[138] we are given an example of how the Germans used history to justify their unification. In an exchange between Adolphe Thiers, the first leader of the Third Republic and Leopold von Ranke, the German historian, on the recent Franco-Prussian war, Ranke vindicated Germany's annexation of Alsace for the following historical reason: 'Daß der Krieg nicht mehr gegen Napoleon gerichtet sei [...] als gegen die Politik Ludwigs XIV, der einst einen Zeitmoment der Schwäche des deutschen Reiches benutzte, um nicht allein ohne Recht, sondern selbst ohne Anspruch Straßburg unseren Händen zu entwinden'.[139] Ranke argues that Alsace had been taken from Germany by Louis XIV, thus the Germans, in claiming Alsace, albeit two centuries later, were reuniting the region with its true fatherland.

France, in response to German historians' arguments, focused on the two centuries of French rule and played down the preponderant German influence in Alsace since the fourth century by referring to Alsace's ethnic origins prior to this. These differing viewpoints gave rise to a plethora of correspondence, e.g. the letters from Ernest Renan to David Friedrich Strauss:

> Vos germanistes fougueux allèguent que l'Alsace est une terre germanique, injustement détachée de l'empire allemand [...] Il est incontestable que, si on soumettait la question au peuple alsacien, une immense majorité se prononcerait pour rester unie à la France" (13 September 1870).
> L'Alsace est maintenant un pays germanique de langue et de race; mais avant d'être envahie par la race germanique, l'Alsace était un pays celtique [...]Presque partout où les patriotes fougueux de l'Allemagne réclament un droit germanique, nous pourrions réclamer un droit celtique. (15 September 1870).[140]

Strauss's reply is symbolic of the fundamentally differing views these two nations held with regard to Alsace: 'Deutschland seinerseits hat fortbestanden, und hat sich von seiner damaligen Schwäche erholt, auch nachdem ihm jene Länder genommen waren, und doch

---

[138] Gödde-Baumann, Beatte. 'Frankreichbilder Deutscher Historiker.' In: *Visions allemandes de la France. Frankreich aus deutscher Sicht*, pp.17-33.
[139] *Ibid.* Page 21.
[140] Renan, Ernest. *Qu'est-ce que c'est une nation? Et autres écrits politiques.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1996, pp.199, 210.

waren es deutsche Länder, Stücke von seinem eigenen Leibe losgerissen [...]'.[141] Jules Michelet's *La France devant l'Europe* (1871) refuted the linguistic and primordialist arguments put forward by German nationalists, as did Fustel de Coulanges in *L'Alsace est-elle allemande ou française?* in which he states: 'Ce qui distingue les nations, ce n'est ni la race, ni la langue. La patrie, c'est ce qu'on aime. Il se peut que l'Alsace est allemande par la race et le langage; mais par la nationalité et le sentiment de la patrie elle est française'.[142] Even from these references to the hefty debates between France and Germany at the time one can see that the intellectuals and ideologists of both nations had fundamentally different views on how one defined a collective identity and on how they regarded Alsace-Lorraine as a part of that identity.

Bismarck had, however, a different reason to the ethno-cultural camp in Germany for annexing Alsace-Lorraine. The newly acquired territories were to serve as a defensive bulwark against their *Erbfeind*, as France was increasingly perceived to be, after the Franco-Prussian war. 'Es blieb daher nichts anderes übrig, als diese Landesstriche mit ihren starken Festungen vollständig in deutsche Gewalt zu bringen, um sie selbst als ein starkes Glacis Deutschlands gegen Frankreich zu verteidigen, [...] wenn Frankreich [...] uns den Handschuh wieder hinwerfen sollte.'[143] Bismarck portrays France here as an aggressor which had provoked Prussia into taking these measures to protect itself. He did not dismiss the strong French influence in the region, unlike nationalists such as Ernst Moritz Arndt, who revindicated annexation on cultural grounds. Bismarck was very pragmatic with regard to the attitude of the Alsace-Lorrainers towards the annexation and did not expect the assimilation to be an easy one by any means. He appeared to harbour little nostalgic sentiment about the return of these lands to the new German nation and was under no illusion that the imprint of the past two hundred years of French rule on this people could be fully eradicated by simply reuniting Alsace-Lorraine with the rest of the German nation. Time and patience, he argued, would be two essential ingredients for an eventual full integration:

> Ich glaube deshalb, daß es uns mit deutscher Geduld und deutschem Wohlwollen gelingen wird, den Landsmann dort zu gewinnen [...]Es werden aber immer Elemente zurückbleiben, die mit ihrer ganzen persönlichen Vergangenheit mit in Frankreich wurzeln, und die zu alt sind, um sich davon noch loszureißen [...]Also wir dürfen uns nicht damit schmeicheln, sehr rasch an dem Ziele zu sein, daß im Elsaß die

[141] Letter from David Friedrich Strauss to Ernest Renan (29.9.1870). In: Renan, Ernst. *Was ist eine Nation. Und andere politische Schriften.* Page 116.
[142] Quoted in: Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques en Alsace.* Page 325, footnote 125.
[143] Parliamentary session, 2 May 1871. Stein, Philipp (ed.). *Fürst Bismarcks Reden. Mit verbindender geschichtlicher Darstellung.* Volume 5, 1871-1874. Leipzig: Philipp Reklam, 1895-1899. Page 49.

> Verhältnisse sein würden wie im Thüringen in Bezug auf deutsche Empfindungen [...].[144]

The question of defence against France was his main motive for claiming this territory. Without any doubt, however, the linguistic and cultural arguments of nationalist Germans served him well and lent great support to his actions. The future status of Alsace-Lorraine in the new empire was debated in the *Reichstag*. Various options were discussed and opposed or rejected by Bismarck, including creating a neutral state of Alsace-Lorraine to complete a chain of neutral buffer states between France and Germany, ranging from Switzerland to Belgium. However, given the attachment of Alsace-Lorraine to France in the past, Bismarck realized that creating a neutral state would only work towards France's advantage as he was convinced Alsace-Lorraine would soon affiliate itself with Germany's enemy. This highlights the suspicion and distrust with which the new territories were regarded: '[E]s ist zu erwarten, daß die starken französischen Elemente, welche im Lande noch lange zurückbleiben werden, die mit ihren Interessen, Sympathien und Erinnerungen an Frankreich hängen [...] bei einem neuen französisch-deutschen Kriege bestimmt haben würden, sich Frankreich wieder anzuschließen [...]'.[145] Instead Bismarck considered only two options to be really viable in deciding on Alsace-Lorraine's fate in the initial phase of the annexation. Either Alsace-Lorraine must become part of Prussia or become a *Reichsland*, which meant it would remain a self-contained unit within the empire but would not be on an equal footing with the other federal German states:

> Ernsthaft ist wohl nur in Frage gekommen: soll Elsaß und Lothringen zu Preußen gelegt werden, oder soll es unmittelbares Reichsland sein? Ich habe mich unbedingt für die letztere Alternative von Anfang an entschieden [...] weil ich es für leichter halte, daß die Elsässer sich mit dem Namen der Deutschen assimilieren, als mit dem Namen der Preußen [...].[146]

The Treaty of Frankfurt, which formally concluded hostilities between France and Prussia, was signed on 10 May 1871, sealing the fate of the people of Alsace-Lorraine. Bismarck had made his intentions quite clear: Alsace-Lorraine would become a

---

[144] *Ibid.* Parliamentary session, 2 May 1871. Page 53.
[145] *Ibid.* Parliamentary Session, 2 May 1871, pp.48-49.
[146] *Ibid.* Parliamentary Session, 25 May 1871, pp.67-68.

Reichsland – a colony within the empire. On 9 June 1871 the laws concerning the unification of Alsace-Lorraine with the German Empire came into being.[147] Effectively, Alsace-Lorraine was not to be treated on an equal footing with other states in the German Empire until 1874. This portrays once again the caution and wariness with which Bismarck regarded their new acquisitions. This wariness was justified by the outcome of elections held in Bordeaux on 8 February 1871, for example, which purported to decide on the fate of Alsace-Lorraine and where deputies who protested against the annexation were voted for unanimously.[148] Alsace-Lorraine was of course already occupied by the Germans, which indicated the futility of a debate on ceding these provinces to the victors, but nevertheless the people of these territories were permitted to vote in this election. In the first years of Alsace-Lorraine's annexation to Germany, many people, both in France and Alsace-Lorraine, protested against the Treaty of Frankfurt, according to whose terms the French had effectively ceded Alsace-Lorraine as a war prize to the victorious Germans. It did not have the right to determine any laws for itself, but was instead governed by direct imperial decree. Unlike the other states within the federal framework, the territory of Alsace-Lorraine did not initially have the right to send any deputies to represent it in the parliament. This was decreed in Article three of the new constitution concerning Alsace-Lorraine.[149] Only in 1874 did Bismarck permit a Territorial Committee or *Landesausschuß* to be set up in the *Reichsland* and allow representation in the *Reichstag*.

Protestors, drawn mainly from the francophone bourgeoisie, fiercely resented their forced attachment to an empire dominated by aristocrats and by the military. They were inspired by Léon Gambetta and his speech against the annexation on 17 February 1871 in Bordeaux, known as the *protestation de Bordeaux*, which demanded that Alsace-Lorraine remain a part of France. In Alsace his supporters formed a secret, anti-German organisation 'Ligue d'Alsace', in March 1871, in reaction to the Franco-Prussian War's outcome, which was funded mainly by wealthy industrialists and bourgeois from the Mulhouse region, where links with France were strongest. They exhorted all Alsace-

---

[147] Article Two stated: 'Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs tritt in Elsaß und Lothringen am 1. Januar 1874 in Wirksamkeit. Durch Verordnung des Kaisers mit Zustimmung des Bundesrats können einzelne Teile der Verfassung schon früher eingeführt werden'. In: von Möller. *Sammlung der in Elsaß-Lothringen geltenden Gesetze.* Volume I: *Verfassungsrecht und Gesetzbücher.* Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner Verlag, 1880. Page 1.

[148] Hiery, Hermann. 'Wahlen und Wahlverhalten im Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen 1871-1914.' In: Ara, Angelo / Kolb, Eberhard (ed.). *Grenzregionen im Zeitalter der Nationalismen. Elsaß-Lothringen/Trient-Triest, 1870-1914.* Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1998. Hiery also informs us however that about one-third of the population did not cast a vote, displaying apparently a certain indifference towards the outcome of the vote. He identifies this indifferent minority as being predominantly of Protestant rural background in Northern Lower Alsace. Page 71.

[149] 'Die Staatsgewalt in Elsaß und Lothringen übt der Kaiser aus.' In: Von Möller. *Sammlung der in Elsaß-Lothringen geltenden Gesetze.* Page 1.

Lorrainers to proclaim their opposition to the annexation by signing the option clause whether or not they actually left Alsace-Lorraine. The option clause was a provision of the Treaty of Frankfurt, which allowed all those who preferred to live under French rule to file an option declaration and leave Alsace-Lorraine. This option clause was in effect until October 1872.[150] Bilingual pamphlets, circulated by the Ligue d'Alsace/Elsässer Liga, protested vehemently in the early years of the annexation against their forced attachment to Germany and urged a policy of non co-operation with the German authorities:

> L'Allemagne se rit de nos douleurs et de nos larmes, mais [...] elle s'effraie de notre insaisissable résistance parce qu'elle sait bien que la question alsacienne posée devant l'Europe dès les premiers jours de l'annexion, grandit à mesure que la France se relève. Gardons donc précieusement le terrain conquis; pas de coopération, pas de compromis![151]

Those who protested longed for a return to France and republicanism, where as non-aristocrats they had the possibility of attaining positions of power and status. They also saw the annexation as a lowering of status on a cultural and social level, as in this domain all that was French at that time was seen to be superior to all that was German, a generally accepted view that even Bismarck recognised: 'hinter dem Elsässer und Lothringer, so lange er französisch war, stand Paris mit seinem Glanze und Frankreich mit seiner einheitlichen Größe; er trat dem deutschen Landesmann gegenüber mit dem Gefühle, Paris ist mein, und fand darin eine Quelle für ein Gefühl partikularistischer Überlegenheit'.[152]

The Catholic Church too, particularly those in the lower clergy, initially had deep reservations about their attachment to an empire whose seat of power was in Berlin, the capital of Prussia, a largely Protestant state. 'Priestly obedience to the authority of the Pope and bishops in the area of faith and morals found no counterpart in political matters, where the lower clergy acted with great independence.'[153] Even a summary glance

---

[150] 378,777 optants chose initially to refuse German citizenship and move instead to France. A further 154,032 chose to leave even after the Ligue d'Alsace changed their policy and advised all patriots to sign the clause but to then remain in Alsace and resist Germanisation. Source: Silverman, Dan, P. *Reluctant Union: Alsace-Lorraine and Imperial Germany 1871-1918.* Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972. Page 68.

[151] No title. In: *Ligue d'Alsace/Elsässer Liga.* No.29, Mulhouse. 1873. No page number.

[152] Stein, Philippe (ed.). *Fürst Bismarcks Reden.* Parliamentary session, 2 May 1871. Page 50.

[153] Silverman, Dan, P. *Reluctant Union: Alsace-Lorraine and Imperial Germany 1871-1918.* Page 114.

through the pamphlets of the Ligue d'Alsace/Elsässer Liga reveals an active participation by the clergy in the protestor movement:

> [L]es électeurs du Sundgau et des vallées en feront bonne et prompte justice en votant pour l'honorable curé de Mulhouse, M. l'abbé Winterer. Il n'y a pas de candidature qui puisse être plus hostile que celle-là à l'empire d'Allemagne. (No. 33) [...] Ceux qui sont restés avaient une grande tâche à remplir; ils appartenaient au clergé catholique, engagé, au nom de sa foi, dans une lutte à outrance contre l'Empire d'Allemagne et M. de Bismarck. (no. 39).[154]

Members of the higher ranks of the Catholic clergy tended to adopt a more conciliatory and diplomatic approach towards their new German imperial rulers. For example in 1874, when 15 protestor deputies from Alsace-Lorraine were elected to the Reichstag, reaction to their appearance there was so tumultuous that Raess, Catholic Bishop of Strasbourg and one of the deputies, declared: 'die Elsaß-Lothringer meiner Konfession sind keineswegs gemeint, den Vertrag von Frankfurt, der zwischen zwei großen Mächten abgeschlossen worden ist, in Frage zu stellen'.[155] Bishop Raess must have been aware that his words would hardly find much support in the *Reichsland*, particularly amongst the bourgeoisie, but also amongst many of his subordinates in the Catholic Church. However his words and conciliatory approach should not be judged without taking their historical context into account. In 1874 the *Kulturkampf* was at its height, when waves of repressive measures were introduced against Catholics, whom Bismarck regarded as an enemy within, as their loyalties were divided between Berlin and Rome. Alsace-Lorraine was three-quarter Catholic and already regarded with suspicion as 'das "katholischste" Land des Deutschen Reiches'.[156] In light of hostility towards Catholics at the time, coupled with the suspicion with which the people of Alsace-Lorraine were already treated in the *Reich*, it may be surmised that the bishop wished to avoid provoking reprisals or hardship in such an antagonistic climate.

However, not everyone protested against the new state of affairs in Alsace-Lorraine. Many germanophone Protestants in Alsace, for example, were not averse to their new imperial masters: Bismarck, the Chancellor, was Lutheran, as was the Emperor, and some shared a conviction, similar to that of the pan-Germans, that Alsace due to culture, history

---

[154] *Ligue d'Alsace/Elsässer Liga.* No.33, no date given and No. 39, December, 1876. No page number.

[155] Quoted in: Hiery, Hermann. 'Wahlen und Wahlverhalten im Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen 1871-1914.' Page 78.

[156] *Ibid.* Page 72. Text and footnote 5: Volkszählung 1871: 79,7, 1910:76,2%. Quoted from: *Statistische Mitteilung über Elsaß-Lothringen,* 7 (1913-14). Page 16.

and language rightfully belonged in the German Empire. Since the Reformation, Strasbourg had grown to be an important centre for Protestants, and both Huguenots from France as well as German and Swiss Protestants had moved there. However, even when in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes (1598), which had assured freedom of religious practice for Protestants in France, he was somewhat constrained by the Treaty of Westphalia from completely banning Protestantism and had to leave the Lutheran churches intact. Nonetheless, by pursuing a policy of granting favours to those who converted to Catholicism and disadvantaging those of Protestant faiths, Louis XIV managed to transform Strasbourg into a city with a Catholic majority. For example, under his reign, administrative posts in Alsace were limited to Catholics. Despite these changes, intellectual life remained strongly attached to Germany during the eighteenth century, due to the widespread use of the German language. Young Goethe, who studied at the Protestant University of Strasbourg in 1770, is said to have remarked on the strong German character of the town. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, he impresses upon his readers the Germanic style of Strasbourg cathedral: '[S]o wagte ich, die bisher verrufene Benennung gothische Bauart, aufgefordert durch den Wert dieses Kunstwerks, abzuändern und sie als deutsche Baukunst unserer Nation zu vindizieren'.[157] Later, he remarks on Alsace's continuing close ties to German culture, language and traditions despite more than one hundred years of French rule: 'Elsaß war noch lange nicht genug mit Frankreich verbunden, als daß nicht noch bei alt und jung eine liebvolle Anhänglichkeit an alte Verfassung, Sitte, Sprache, Tracht sollte übrig geblieben sein'.[158] These close ties were of course partly due to the significant presence of Protestants, who remained in the region. The German language was the language of Luther and they believed that the survival of Protestantism depended on the survival of German in Alsace.[159]

Although the majority of Catholics in the region spoke Alsatian or High German too, for Protestants the use of German in their religious practices meant being part of a wider religious community in Germany and Switzerland, and hence close cultural ties too were maintained. Two examples of the close affiliations to Protestants East of the Rhine are taken from the correspondence between two Alsatian Protestant theologians, Eduard Reuss and Karl Heinrich Graf (1838-1867), published in *Elsässische Kulturfragen.*

---

[157] Goethe, Johann,Wolfgang. *Aus Meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit. Autobiographische Schriften* 1, Volume 9. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981. Page 386. See also: Goethe's *Von deutscher Baukunst.* Frankfurt am Main: Bodoni Antiqua, 1923.
[158] Goethe, Johann, Wolfgang. *Aus Meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit.* Volume 9. Page 481.
[159] Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques en Alsace.* Page 99.

Mitteilungen der Elsass-Lothringischen Vereinigung, 1910.[160] The first is from the *Vormärz* period, when anti-French sentiment in Germany had intensified, in the wake of the Napoleonic wars:

> Graf an Reuss, Paris, 12. März 1840: Ich bin ein so guter Deutscher als irgend einer in den Bundesstaaten, ja vielleicht noch ein besserer, eben weil ich es nicht sein darf [...] so sehe ich die Franzosen doch immer als ein fremdes Volk an. Ich fühle mich als Deutscher, bin mir als Deutscher bewusst [...] Das Deutschtum des Elsasses so viel als möglich aufrecht zu erhalten, das ist der Wunsch meines Patriotismus.

The sentiments expressed here are symptomatic of the outlook of a minority group, living within the borders of a dominant, alien culture. The French are for him 'ein fremdes Volk', and this sense of alienation from them reinforces his identification with Germany. Living on the border so close to Germany, although officially a French citizen, strengthens his resolve to protect that Germanic element of Alsatian identity. What is also evident from these extracts of Graf's and Reuss's correspondence is how closely bound up Protestant religion was with their affinity to German language and culture and how alienated they felt in an Alsace governed by Catholic France. A later letter reflects the opposition to French cultural standardization:

> Reuss an Graf, Strassburg-Neuhoff, 5. September 1859:
> Wir haben jüngst die infamsten Angriffe erfahren und abwehren müssen, dass wir es gewagt haben in der Pfarrkonferenz gegen die gewaltsame Einführung des Französischen im Religionsunterricht in den Dorfschulen zu protestieren [...] Da nun auch katholische Geistliche energisch protestiert haben, so ist offenbar dieser Angriff nur wieder ein Praeludium auf das, was wir ehestens als Protestanten zu erwarten haben, und unser Deutschtum ist nur ein Prätext für anderes.[161]

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches in Alsace were opposed to using French as the language of religious instruction, as the vast majority of the population spoke German dialect. The Catholic clergy believed that the practice of their faith should be in the mother tongue of their followers, and for the Protestants it was a matter of tradition that their religious practice and hymns had always been in German, which also maintained a

---

[160] The *Elsass-Lothringische Vereinigung* was a pro-German organisation, which favoured full cultural integration into the German empire.

[161] 'Eduard Reuss, Briefwechsel mit Karl Heinrich Graf.' K. Budde und H.J. Holtzmann (ed.). *Der "Culte du passé" und die Wirklichkeit.* Giessen, 1904. Quoted in: *Elsässische Kulturfragen. Mitteilungen der Elsass-Lothringischen Vereinigung.* 12, 1910, pp.360-369.

link with their neighbours, east of the Rhine. Thus, there existed historical reasons for a Protestant minority rejoicing when links with France were cut in 1871 and embracing the notion of becoming part of the German Empire.

Finally, between those who were decidedly opposed to the annexation and those who welcomed it, were those who, faced with the *fait accompli,* decided it was better to accept the new situation, albeit reluctantly, and strive to improve the status of Alsace-Lorraine within the German Empire. This group, known as autonomists, was severely criticised by members of the Ligue d'Alsace, who regarded them as traitors for collaborating with the Germans and abandoning the struggle to resist annexation:

> [G]ardez-vous avant tout des autonomistes, qui ne manqueront pas, pour obtenir vos suffrages, de pleurer la France perdue, dans leurs professions de foi. Méfiez-vous d'eux; ce sont vos pires ennemis, qui vous jetteront impitoyablement dans les bras de la Prusse. Vous savez ce qu'on appelle de ce nom; vous connaissez ces gens qui reconnaissent, d'un air attristé, que l'annexion est un grand malheur, mais qui conseillent de se résigner aux faits accomplis et de ne s'occuper que des interest matériels du pays.[162]

By the 1890s, which marked the coming of age of a new generation, such sentiments began to dwindle, however, and many of the people of Alsace, in particular, began to accustom themselves to the idea that they now belonged to the German Empire. Support for the protestors decreased, although it never fully disappeared. Life under French rule was a fond memory but gradually it was deemed by many to be unrealistic, if not impossible, to strive for a return to their Gallic neighbours. National boundaries after the Franco-Prussian war had shifted in Alsace-Lorraine, but the people of this much disputed territory had to carry on with their daily lives, regardless of who was in power. The majority still did not feel fully German, however, given their strong historical, political and cultural associations with France and their continued treatment as a suspect minority within the Empire. Instead they developed a strong regional identity. In Lorraine, however, many still hoped for a reunion with France. Within Alsace, as we have seen, different currents of opinion were prevalent during the annexation. The predominant attitude, however, was one of a realisation of being a unique people, who could not commit themselves to belonging solely to one community or another. It was difficult for an outsider to become a fully integrated member of such a society, in the sense one could

---

[162] 'Électeurs d' Alsace et de Lorraine! Wähler aus dem Elsaß und Lothringen!' In: *Ligue d'Alsace./Elsässer Liga.* No. 39. December, 1876. No page number.

become a French citizen; nor could one uniquely rely, as in Germany, on a shared language, literature and traditions to become a German citizen. The shared inherited experience of belonging to two nations and living in an annexed territory was the bond between the members of this group.

However, the people of Alsace were not of a particular race, many of their traditions were similar to that of other Alemanni, and even if their dialect was particular to Alsace, it was very similar to other Alemannic dialects and understood by others. It was, rather, their unique past which gave this people their strong sense of collective identity. Thus Alsace could be defined as a traditional society, to use Giesen's terms. The revival in dialect literature, its nostalgic themes, locally-coloured humour and satirical portrayals of the German outsiders in their region, support this argument. Thus, on a cultural level all that was Alsatian became very popular. In 1900, for example, the University of Strasbourg began to hold lectures on Alsatian history. Writers, poets, politicians, journalists turned to Alsace's own particular ethnic identity as a possible way forward for their region as they felt they could neither place their trust fully in France nor in Germany, who had used their land as a political pawn. During this period also, there was a strong revival of interest in the arts and artistic output blossomed.[163] The *Théâtre Alsacien*, established in 1898 by Gustav Stoskopf, a dialect playwright, was at the forefront of this new revival in the dialectophone movement. The plays written under the auspices of the *Théâtre alsacien* were exclusively regionalistic in nature, both through their sole use of the Alsatian dialect and plots which dealt only with themes pertinent to *d'r Heimat*, where 'Heimat' meant Alsace alone. The use of dialect and local themes was of course, not a phenomenon exclusive to Alsace. In Germany, as we discussed earlier, rapid industrialisation and the influx of the rural population into large cities, provoked a positive re-evaluation of provincial village and country life. The changes in German society due to the enormous growth of cities and all the problems that brought with it, evoked a sense of nostalgia for a way of life that appeared to be threatened and this nostalgia found expression in *Heimatkunst.*

Alsatians such as Friedrich Lienhard and members of *Alsabund*, a literary German circle, who were hostile to the notion of double culture in Alsace, subscribed to the ethno-cultural arguments revolving around Alsace's unique identity and believed that the region should be fully assimilated culturally into Germany. Its magazine *Erwinia* promoted a primordialist notion of *Heimatkunst* as part of the larger movement taking place in

---

[163] 'L'Alsace culturelle, artistique, littéraire semblait se réveiller brusquement de son profond sommeil [...] Tous les domains, l'artistique, l'historique, le littéraire, le politique furent touchés par cet ardeur de renouveau.' In: Dollinger, Phillipe, (ed.). *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos jours.* Toulouse: Univers de la France, Privat, 1979. Page 21.

Germany, which idealised provincial life and the concept of the simple *Volk*, the epitome of *Deutschtum,* untainted by cosmopolitanism and cultural avant-gardism. *Alsabund* had approximately 200 members, mainly comprising, not suprisingly perhaps, Protestant pastors and teachers. Their notion of *Heimatkunst* was far removed from that of the *Théâtre Alsacien*, whose works, full of humour and satire, contrasted with the seriousness and conservatism of *Alsabund's* literary output. The *Heimatbewegung* represented in the *Théâtre Alsacien* was less preoccupied with problems or threats of industrialisation than with reinforcing a particularist identity which used the predominantly rural Alsace as its constant framework. So strong were these plays in affirming an autonomous Alsatian identity vis-à-vis a German one, that they were sometimes viewed aversely by the authorities as containing subversive tendencies as well as for their satiric portrayal of Germans and their frequent theme of glorification of bygone days when Alsace was under French rule.[164]

The political counterpart to this particularist movement was the autonomist party (*Autonomistische Partei*) founded by August Schneegans in 1875. This party sought a greater degree of self-government for Alsace-Lorraine within the framework of the Empire and more equitable treatment of its citizens on a par with those of the other German states. As the people of Alsace-Lorraine gradually accepted their new national status, and the number of adherents to the protestor movement dwindled, autonomism gained more popularity and new autonomist parties were established along religious, class and political lines. By 1911 the autonomists had split into five different parties. These included the Alsatian Catholic Centre party, *Zentrum*[165], which was by far the most popular party, the *Sozial-demokratische Partei*[166], a wing of the larger party of the same name in Germany, the *Elsaß-Lothringische Volkspartei* (Democrats), the *Liberale Landespartei* (Liberalists) and *Nationalbund d'Alsace-Lorraine*, a Catholic party controlled from Paris and also indirectly by *Zentrum* (Alsace) in a bid to gain more Catholic votes, most particularly through the involvement of the protestor, Abbé Emile Wetterlé. He also encouraged irredentist agitation for a return to France, whilst claiming

---

[164] See Trunck, Sylvie. *Représentation de l'Alsacien dans le Théâtre Régional.* M.A. Thesis. University of Strasbourg, 1992, for an excellent study on *Le Théâtre alsacien.*

[165] Although bearing the same name as Ludwig Windthorst's Catholic Centre Party in Germany, the party in the *Reichsland* was very clear in affirming its own autonomist identity: 'Le parti du Centre alsacien-lorrain est un parti indépendant absolument autonome qui ne dépend en rien des partis du même nom dans les autres Etats confédérés. La similitude du nom atteste simplement une communauté d'idéal. Nous affirmons tout particulièrement notre originalité nationale et notre particularisme alsacien-lorrain'. In: Mayeur, Jean-Marie. *Autonomie et Politique en Alsace. La Constitution de 1911.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1970. Page 146.

[166] The social-democrats were the second most popular party in Alsace after *Zentrum*, with their main support coming from the urban centres of Strasbourg, Colmar and Mulhouse. The *SPD* in Germany provided the funding for the vast majority of their political activities, having opposed the manner in which Alsace had been annexed to the German Empire.

he wished to affirm the unique position of Alsace-Lorraine within the German empire. The *Nationalbund d'Alsace-Lorraine* only received a margin of the votes in the first election in 1911, which indicates that the people of the *Reichsland* had grown to accept the apparent inevitability of life under German rule.

However, a certain degree of latent hostility and resentment was still present, as incidents such as the Zabern affair of 1913 indicated.[167] Societies set up to maintain links with French language and culture were popular[168] and the upper bourgeoisie, especially in the Mulhouse area, continued to use French as their daily language and to send their daughters to French convent schools.[169] There still existed a minority who even continued to hope for a return to France and promoted the continued use of French in this annexed territory. These francophiles were then often regarded not simply as protagonists of French culture but also as enemies of the German Empire. Abbé Emile Wetterlé, for example, editor of the francophile *Le Journal de Colmar*, which later changed its name to *Nouvelliste d'Alsace-Lorraine* was seen as a prominent promoter of French language and culture in Alsace and was openly anti-German. The magazine *Cahiers alsaciens,* one of the most important francophone magazines in Alsace, was founded by Pierre Bucher, 'un des défenseurs les plus influents de la présence française en Alsace et qui utilise la culture alsacienne comme argument et arme contre la germanisation'.[170] This highlights the fact that the question of Alsace was never a clear-cut one and it was impossible to ignore the region's double heritage.

The reality was, however, that Alsace could never survive either politically or economically as an independent state but would have to rely on one or other of her two powerful neighbours and was in fact at the mercy of their conflicts, as the Franco-Prussian War had proven and World War I would prove again. The question was more one of retaining their own cultural identity. The Alsatian people were conscious of the impossibility of eliminating the omnipresence of either one of these cultures completely in this region, as both had played such an influential role through the course of history. However, the Alsatians' lack of assurance was intensified by the fact that the two nations to which they owed their specific cultural heritage were enemies. Each time there was a power struggle in their region between the two, the Alsatians were forced to renege on

---

[167] Ritter, Gerhard, A. *Das deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1914. Ein historisches Lesebuch.* Göttingen: Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, 1977, pp.340-344 for two accounts of the Zabern affair.

[168] 'En Alsace, le souvenir français est entretenu par des revues et journaux francophones ou bilingues, admis par les autorités allemandes. Les deux plus importants sont la *Revue alsacienne illustrée*, bilingue, fondée en 1898[...] et les *Cahiers alsaciens* de Pierre Bucher.' Cited in Vogler, Bernard. *Histoire Culturelle de l'Alsace. Du Moyen Age à nos Jours, les très riches heures d'une région frontière.* Strasbourg: Éditions La Nuée Bleue / Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 1993. Page 328.

[169] Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques en Alsace.* Page 138.

[170] Vogler, Bernard. *Histoire Culturelle de l'Alsace.* Page 328.

one culture and endeavour to integrate fully into the other. Yet their cultural identity was influenced by the dialectical relationship between these two. Negating the influence of one would have an impact on their own self-definition and their relationship to the other which would alter their sense of collective cultural identity. Alsace, it seemed, in the rising hostilities between France and Germany, served as the divisive boundary line rather than the means of harmoniously uniting France and Germany in what Schickele and his companions Otto Flake and Ernst Stadler of his 'Stürmerkreis' days idealistically express as 'geistiges Elsässertum'.[171] 'Geistiges Elsässertum' was used to express their aim to become a new type of 'nation', which would supersede politics and all the old rivalries between France and Germany and be founded on art. The word 'Alsace' would lose its political connotations and become synonymous with culture. 'In der Kunst werden wir das neue Reich gründen und durch die Kunst, durch die Herrschaft werden wir eine Nation werden, eine Geistesrepublik, hier bei uns, in die alle eintreten werden, die ein freies, volles Menschentum als höchstes Ideal ersehnen.'[172] Such an aspiration to found a republic based on art was of course not new. It is, for example, strongly reminiscent of Schiller's concept of the aesthetic state where Reason and Nature would be harmoniously united and 'das Ideal der Gleichheit erfüllt [wird]'.[173]

Universalist elements then, were palpable in Alsace, but only amongst this intellectual group of poets and thinkers led by René Schickele, who included Ernst Stadler, Otto Flake, Bernd Iseman, René Prévôt, Hans Koch, Thomas Seltz, Hermann Wendel, Otto Dressler and Salomon Grumbach. They believed Alsace, due to its unique history, had a special cultural mission to ensure harmony between France and Germany. Rather than looking inwards on itself and relying on dialectophone movements such as the *Théâtre Alsacien* to express its collective identity, or reneging completely on their French cultural heritage, such as *Alsabund* promulgated, Schickele believed they should go beyond borders, just as their own borders had been crossed many times, and incorporate their literary output, influenced by Alsace's dual heritage, into more avant-garde movements. However, Schickele's and his companions' humanistic and progressive outlook proved to be too utopian, remaining in the realm of ideas, and the people of Alsace were still caught between the rivalry of their neighbours. So where did the Alsatian belong? Whose side was he on? He was neither fully German, nor fully French, yet had inherited something

---

[171] Stadler, Ernst. *Dichtungen, Gedichte und Übertragungen mit einer Auswahl der kleinen kritischen Schriften und Briefe,* I. Hamburg: Ellermann, 1954. Page 128.
[172] Schickele, René. *Die Rot-Weisse Zukunft*, 6. Page 90. In: Fichter, Charles. *René Schickele et l'Alsace jusqu'en 1914.* Obernai: Imprimerie Gyss, 1978. Page 48.
[173] Schiller, Friedrich. 'Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen.' In: *Sämtliche Werke.* Volume 5: *Erzählungen und Theoretische Schriften* Munich: Carl Hanser, 1959, pp. 570-669. Here, Letter 27, page 669.

rom both their cultures. He spoke a Germanic dialect, but took pride in his participation n the Franco-Prussian war, fighting and dying for France.

.6. Conclusion

It is clear that France and Germany defined their respective collective identities both hrough promotion of stereotypical positive auto-images and negative propagation of ietero-images of each other. Alsace, caught in the crossfire, was marked by this ialectical relationship between France and Germany. Alsace's own cultural identity was ffected by the polemics of the *Kultur/civilisation* debate, particularly in the critical phase f the annexation when Franco-German nationalist rivalries intensified and 'led to the deological accentuation of the French political as against the German ethno-cultural nderstanding of nationhood'.[174] The annexation, as we saw, met with differing reactions n Alsace, depending to what degree each sub-group identified itself with the French or German cultures. Indeed, as in the case of those promoting regionalist initiatives such as he *Théâtre Alsacien*, some sought to distance themselves from both, in favour of a evindication of Alsace's own particularist identity. Conversely, Schickele and his circle vished to promote Alsace as a cultural mediator between France and Germany, to break own national borders and mentalities. The annexation led also to ambivalent attitudes on he part of France and Germany towards Alsace, who both viewed this region as a omponent of their self-identity constructions, yet also as constituting Otherness within heir nationalist defintions, neither fully French nor German but a hybrid of their two rival ultural identities.

The French, accustomed to a leading role in European civilisation, never recovered in his period from the humiliating defeat of the Franco-Prussian war at the hands of a eople they had at best perceived to be dreamers and thinkers and at worst had regarded s barbarians. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine remained an open wound and became he focus for those who desired a *guerre de revanche,* such as Maurice Barrès or redentists such as Abbé Emile Wetterlé. Those who were better acquainted with German culture and did not participate in the discourse which polarised French *ivilisation* and German *Kultur* but rather pleaded against it, such as Jean Jaurès or René chickele, were voices in the wilderness, as the tensions between France and Germany nounted steadily in the last decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, ulminating in the First World War. In the following chapter we examine René chickele's depiction of the identity crisis and trauma for Alsatians forced to choose sides

[174] Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Page 12.

at this climactic point of Franco-German rivalries in his controversial wartime drama *Hans im Schnakenloch.*

Chapter 2: A Study of the Wartime drama *Hans im Schnakenloch*

2.1. Introduction

Throughout his literary career, René Schickele developed his ideas on the potential of a special mediating role for Alsace between France and Germany[175]. As we saw in Chapter One this 'Vermittlerrolle des Elsaß' or 'geistiges Elsässertum' was a progressive, universalist vision seeking to overcome boundaries both physical and psychological in Alsace and to redefine its place or identity within the triangular constellation it formed with France and Germany. Finck describes it as follows: '"Geistiges Elsässertum" bedeutet für Schickele *Öffnung*: auf den französischen und deutschen Sprach- und Kulturraum; das bedeutet auch: geistige Überwindung der nationalen Grenze.'[176] Schickele's controversial wartime drama *Hans im Schnakenloch,* referred to by one critic as 'das Drama der Grenzmenschen'[177], manifests this preoccupation with his homeland and relations with its two powerful neighbours. According to the dramatist himself, he wrote his play in October 1914, therefore soon after the outbreak of war, within the space of eight days.[178] It was the first German play using World War I as its backdrop to be written at the time of war.[179] The play first appeared in book form in 1915[180], then in the January 1916 edition of *Die Weißen Blätter* and again by S. Fischer Verlag in 1917. In 1927 a shorter, altered version of the play was published by Kurt Wolff publishers[181] with a preface by Schickele. My references in this chapter will be to the *Die Weißen Blätter* 1916 edition, unless otherwise stated.

Through the microcosmic world of one Alsatian family, the Boulangers, the play gives us a penetrating, and sometimes wryly humorous insight, into the stereotypical Alsatian

---

[175] 'Immer wieder ist bei Schickele die Rede von der "Vermittlerrolle" des Elsaß.' Finck, Adrien. In his chapter: René Schickele und das "Geistige Elsässertum." In: *Elsässer, Europäer, Pazifist. Studien zu René Schickele.* Finck, Adrien / Staiber, Maryse (ed.). Kehl, Strasbourg, Basel: Salde / Morstadt Verlag, 1984. Page 25.

[176] *Ibid.* Page 27.

[177] Bab, Julius. 'René Schickele als Dramatiker.' In: *Die Schaubühne,* 12, 2, 40, 3rd October 1916, pp311-315. Here, page 313.

[178] This he claims in *Vorrede von 1927*, the author's preface to the 1927 edition of *Hans im Schnakenloch.* In: *Werke in Drei Bänden.* (Hermann Kesten, ed.) Cologne, Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1959. Volume III. Page 10. Henceforth, each volume will be referred to as *Werke I, II, III,* respectively.

[179] 'Schickeles *Hans im Schnakenloch* war das erste Kriegsdrama aus der Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs überhaupt.' Storck, Joachim. 'Rebellenblut in den Adern. René Schickele als politischer Schriftsteller.' In: *Recherches Germaniques,* 9, 1979, pp.278-307. Here, page 290

[180] Published by 'Verlag der Weißen Bücher', 1915. However, as Julie Meyer points out Schickele appears to have intended this to be a private publication and was unaware that some copies were sold. In: Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum. Jugendstil und Expressionismus bei René Schickele (1900-1920).* Munich: Fink Verlag, 1981. Page 221.

[181] Schickele, René. *Hans im Schnakenloch. Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen.* Munich: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1927.

psyche on the eve of World War I, in the context of the relations between and perspectives of France, Germany and Alsace at that tumultuous time in history. It is a play that addresses issues of identity in a place and time where such issues have real epistemic and political consequences. It is in particular through the words, thoughts and deeds of the protagonist Hans, that Schickele highlights what has come to be described as a postmodern predicament: the impossiblity of attaining a fixed and certain identity. Identity formation here is perceived as engaging in a dialectic relationship with its Other(s) and defines itself through difference, through an awareness if what it is not and is in continual flux, 'ever changing, involved in a process.'[182] For the Alsatians at this time, this is particularly problematic, given that the Others (France and Germany) through which they define themselves, and who are therefore an integral part of their identity formation, are mutually hostile and averse to permitting Alsace to continue its existence of 'culture's in-between'[183] – neither fully French, nor German but inhabiting a reality in the interface of these two cultures.

However, in his depiction of many of the characters in *Hans im Schnakenloch* Schickele also makes use of stereotypes, which can be denoted as rigid, fixed definitions of group or national identity. Given the intensification of the polemical *Kultur-Zivilisation* debate at the outbreak of World War I, the play provides ample scope to draw on national and group stereotype Alsatian, French and German characters, both male and female. As Adrien Finck points out, 'le problème alsacien est au centre de discussions où s'affrontent francophiles et germanophiles, Alsaciens autochtones, optants de 1871, immigrés allemands, représentants de la France, qu'elle soit celle de la revanche ou celle du socialisme pacifiste.'[184] This selection of characters of diverse nationalities and political persuasions suggests that Schickele is more interested in creating types of character to represent different perspectives on the Alsatian question. However, Schickele sometimes also subverts certain stereotypes, moving away from preconceived notions about characters, undermining our perceptions of them and their respective identities. An analysis then of the characters of this drama and their interactions provides us with further insights into the question of cultural identity and the treatment of the concepts of Self and Otherness. I will be examining this with particular reference to the relationship between Hans and his brother, Balthasar, the role of the main female characters and minor characters of different nationalities, before focussing on the political discussion with the French characters. A study of the play's reception by contemporaneous critics and

---

[182] Wodak, Ruth; de Cillia, Rudolf; Reisigl, Martin; Liebhart, Karin. *The Discursive Construct of National Identity.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999. Page 11.
[183] Bhabha, Homi. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge, 1990. Title of Chapter 4. Page 54.
[184] Finck, Adrien. *Introduction à l'œuvre de René Schickele.* Page 62.

audiences, its censorship and subsequent banning just before its hundredth performance will allow us to understand how the treatment of such issues of identity and concepts of alterity were received during the war.

2.2. Origins of the Play

The title of the play was inspired by the Strasbourg folksong, *D'r Hans im Schnockeloch* whose best-known version was adapted by the post-Romantic, Adolphe Stöber (1810-1892). The original Hans, according to the local popular story, was an innkeeper who lived towards the end of the 18th century in the Schnakenloch district, just outside Strasbourg, situated on flat terrain as it lies in the plain of Alsace. This plain was at one time very marshy due to the meeting there of the waters of the Rhine and the river Ill which flows through Strasbourg and attracted many mosquitoes. Hence the name *Schnakenloch*, mosquito pit. Hans's inn is said to have enjoyed an outstanding reputation and many who came for a stroll in this area always finished their walks with a visit to the inn. On one particular occasion some of his guests, it is said, were dissatisfied with the service and thus the famous, satirical song originated, sung to the air of an old dance melody:

D'r Hàns im Schnockeloch het àlles, wàs mir will.
Un wàs mir will, diss het 'r nit.
Un was 'r het, diss will mir nit.
D'r Hàns im Schnockeloch het àlles, wàs mir will.[185]

With the passage of time the song was altered by composers both known and unknown. Adolf Stöber's adaptatation transformed Hans into a wealthy farmer, and it is his verses that have rendered the version best known today, attributing to Hans his inherent discontent and restlessness. The words of this version of the folksong effectively portray the image of a disgruntled and confused Hans, always dissatisfied with himself and his lot.

[185] In: *Encyclopédies d'Alsace*, Strasbourg: Editions Publitotal, 1982-1986, Volume 6, pp.3728-3732. Here, page 3732.

I

D'r Hans im Schnockeloch het alles, was er will!
Un was er het, diss will er nit,
Un was er will, diss het er nit,
D'r Hans im Schnockeloch het alles, was er will!

II

Er isch e richer Bür, un's gefällt em nimm sin Hüs;
Abrisse losst er sin Gebeij
Un stellt sich funkelnaauelneij
E Hüs mit Schyr un Stall ans Gallebrüechel 'nüs

III

Un in der erste Naacht, uff einmol rueft's Fyrio!
Sin Hüs verbrennt un d'Stallung mit –
Un was er will, diss het er nit.
Jez lejt sinn neuer Böij – e Kohlehüffe – do'

IV

Er het e süfri Frau, getreij in Glück un Not,
Rechtschaffe, so wie's wenni gitt:
Doch was er het, diss will er nit –
Er losst sie sitze d'heim, bis sie sich grämt ze tot.

V

Jez bli't em noch sin Guet. Was macht er? Schla uff Schla
Verkauft er alles, Matt un Feld,
Un macht sin ganzi Hab ze Geld,
Un setzt sich uff e Schiff for nooch Amerika.

VI

Was g'schieht? E Sturm bricht los, un in der letste Not
Kum schwimmt er selbst au's Üfer noch;
Kummt bettelarm in's Schnockeloch
Un schafft als Bureknecht betrüebt um's däjli Brot.

VII

Un ze Sank-Galle drüs, dort het er jetzt sin Grab:
Un was er het, diss muess er han,
Un was er will, er kann's nit han –
Drumm leb' zefriede doch mit Gott un diner Hab.[186]

Verses were also added on to other versions less well-known. For example, different versions of Hans's treatment of his faithful wife exist. In Stöber's adaptation, we learn that Hans abandons his wife, leaving her to die of unhappiness (*Er losst sie sitze d'heim, bis sie sich grämt ze dot*). In another, however, we learn that Hans finds his good and loyal wife 'too stupid and devoted' (*Doch er sààt, sie sei ze frumm\Un noch drzüe hirnwidi dumm*).[187] It is quite possible that Schickele was referring to such verses when writing about Hans's and Klär's marital relationship in his play. The song symbolizes 'Hans's' or the stereotypical Alsatian's inherent dissatisfaction with his situation. He is never completely happy with who he is or what he has, always restlessly searching for that elusive unattainable: the secure knowledge of who he is and where he is going. By entitling his play *Hans im Schnakenloch*, Schickele colours our opinion of Hans Boulanger, the main character, particularly as this song is chanted tauntingly in his presence on more than one occasion in the play. Thus, the 'schwankender Charakter' of Hans in the folksong becomes strongly associated in the reader's mind with that of Hans Boulanger who lives in Schnakenloch. Also, it immediately indicates to the reader that this play is strongly attached to Alsace and the dilemma of Alsatians regarding their identity, as Hoffet points out: 'Ces mots traduisent admirablement l'insatisfaction essentielle de l'Alsacien, ce quelque chose de flottant, d'incertain qui explique ses brusques et mysterieux retournements. Il ne sait pas où il va. Il en est toujours à se chercher.'[188] The location itself, the 'Schnakenloch', a marshland infested by mosquitos, is suggestive of a place of entrapment, where marshy ground pulls one down, rendering it difficult to leave this pit or hole. Implied also is a feeling of persecution in being attacked and bitten by mosquitos on all sides, perhaps the original reason for the restless behaviour of Hans who can find no peace in such a place. On a symbolic level, the negative portrayal of the 'Schnakenloch' and attempts to leave it, could be interpreted as a desire on the part of 'Hans', the archetypal Alsatian, to escape the quagmire of his cultural heritage, which is inextricably bound up with being a native of this 'valley'. Alsace thus

[186] Stöber, Adolf. *Der Hans im Schnockeloch.* Strasbourg, 1861.
[187] In: *Encyclopédies d'Alsace*, Volume 6, pp.3728-3732. Here, page 3732.
[188] Hoffet, Frédéric. *Psychanalyse de l'Alsace*. Colmar: Alsatia Poche, 1994. First published in 1951. Page 105.

sees itself as a problematic region, a politically disputed territory suffering under the internecine struggles of its neighbours.

Schickele was not the first to use this song as the title and inspiration for a play. Ferdinand Bastian, a founding member of the *Théâtre Alsacien* or *Elsässisches Theater,* the aforementioned group of dialect dramatists, also used the folksong as the title and leitmotif for a play. Bastian's *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch*[189] (1899), however, adheres much more closely to Stöber's version of the folksong than does Schickele. In *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch*, Hans's innately dissatisfied nature destroys not only his own life but also that of some of those close to him. The play is set in Alsace at an unspecifed time, although apparently before the annexation, as there is no reference to German characters in the play. This is in keeping with a common theme of the plays of the *Théâtre Alsacien* - the evocation of bygone days in Alsace under French rule.

The opening act is principally concerned with depicting Hans, a wealthy but disgruntled young farmer, as a discontented character, restless and capricious as described in the stage directions for his first appearance: 'Hans, junger Mann [...] unzufriedener-launenhafter Charakter.'(Act I, p.5). By contrast, François, a music teacher, whose name and language suggest his strong affinities to France, is portrayed in a stereotypical manner as elegant, cultured and poetic. Love is a priority for François, contrasting with Hans's own uncertainty and gruff dismissiveness of the subject. His language is peppered with French expressions reinforcing his identification with France: 'Vous savez mademoiselle Madeleine, ich bin fianciert un nächschtens geht's noch Amérique. Eh bien, adieu min lewer Hans.' (Act I, pp.19-20). Hans finally decides to marry Urschel, the daughter of the local innkeeper, but true to his nature, does have some regrets that he does not after all marry Sybille. Sybille is a more coquettish and bourgeois character, who unlike Urschel does not speak solely in the dialect but similar to François, mingles her words frequently with French which is intended to lend her an air of grace and sophistication. She is also portrayed as somewhat condescending towards her rivals for Hans's hand, highlighting how the simple Alsatian folk viewed the Frenchified bourgeoisie with a mixture of admiration and awe but also felt inferior to them. Hans's regrets reflect his indecisive nature which is always torn between two choices – 'e Zwaseelemensch', as he is described by the local vet and family friend, Gerôme (Act I, p. 27).

Hans's discontent is again in evidence on the day of his daughter's christening, when he bemoans the fact that he did not have a son and marry Sybille after all: 'E Maidel hawi -wenn ich numme noch leddi wär, odder wenn ich d'Sybille ghirot hätt, hätt ich jetzt e

[189] Bastian, Ferdinand. *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch. Volksspiel in 4 Aufzügen mit Musik, Gesang und Tanz.* Strasbourg: Nouveau Journal, 1930 (second edition).

Bue.' (Act III, p. 71). Members of the christening party reproach Hans for his surliness towards his wife and his unseemly behaviour – they sing the first verse of *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch* to tease him. The day ends in tragedy when Hans's house burns down accidentally. Unable to watch his house and property being destroyed by flames he disappears, departing alone for America, leaving his family behind. In the final act, five years have passed and through Lehn, Hans's aunt, we learn what has since occurred. Hans has never returned to Alsace, both Angenes, Hans's other aunt, and his baby daughter died in the fire. Urschel, unlike Hans's wife in the song, does not die but has recently married a French brigadier and is about to move to Lyon. Hans, we learn, supposedly drowned in stormy weather en route to America. However, only moments after Urschel has taken leave of Aunt Lehn, Hans appears dressed in tatters, having after all survived the stormy seas and returning to Alsace, feeling guilty for having abandoned his family for so long. However, he decides to sacrifice a reunion with Urschel in order for her to be happy: 'Ja, d'Ursch soll frei sin! – si soll glücklich sin!' (Act IV, p. 97) and taking the advice of his aunt, he departs to work as a farm labourer where once he was the master. The stock comic ending of the play highlights how Hans's misfortune has been brought about by his own foolish, self-destructive behaviour and restless nature. He does learn to appreciate what he has had, however, too late. The play ends mockingly with the song, *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch.*

The play with it rustic setting and its use of the Alsatian dialect could be regarded as a typical example of a *Volksstück.* Bastian's version does not ostensibly engage in a treatise of the political issues of the day as there are no overt political references in the dialogue, nor satires on any characters representing Germany. It principally depicts Hans's sullen and uneasy disposition and the tragi-comic consequences of his attitudes and actions and is rather more a dramatic rendition of the folk-song. Yet, the Frenchified characters, such as François, portrayed in a positive light, evoke nostalgic remembrances of the close links that had once existed between Alsace and France which is also achieved through an intermix of Alsatian dialect and French words. Urschel's re-marriage to a soldier, who offers her a new life in France, is seen as a positive turning point in her life although she is sad to leave her homeland. All these are indicators of the playwright's positive attitude towards France and an indirect criticism of German rule, which Eric Robertson also points out: 'Ferdinand Bastian's dialect play *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch* (1899) adopts the mythical subject of the eponymous song above to support his nostalgic evocations of pre-1870 French control. This work is typical of the period in its use of historical

sentimentalism to express a particular political viewpoint.'[190] However, the portrayal of the region and its people are confined exclusively to the retelling of the old, well-known folksong, thus limiting political commentary. The dialogue is predominantly in the Alsatian dialect and this play in *Heimatkunst* tradition was obviously written with local audiences in mind who could respond to the nostalgia and the treatment of the song in dramatic form on an intuitive level. Bastian's play was quite popular: by 1928 it had, for example, been performed 30 times in Strasbourg.[191] Schickele, on the contrary, although he by no means despised his native dialect, did not regard it as an adequate means for literary expression. Thus, although his *Hans im Schnakenloch* is set in Alsace and deals with the dilemma of being Alsatian at a time of war between two powerful neighbours, the dialogue is not written using dialect. His play reached a wider audience due to his use of High German and as he was already quite a well-known literary figure in Germany by the time the play appeared. Its wider appeal, however, is also due to the fact that his play does not simply adhere to a faithful retelling of this folk-song but builds upon it to create a powerful drama which was not afraid to tackle controversial issues. We begin our discussion of *Hans im Schnakenloch* with an analysis of the characters and the treatment of identity in the play.

2.3. Identity and Characters

2.3.a. The fraternal relationship

Hans is the elder of the two sons in the Boulanger family, around whom the play is centred, bereft of their father who died fighting for France in the Franco-Prussian War. Not only his father's sacrifice but also his name would seem to indicate that this family possesses a heritage of strong attachment to France, reminiscent as it is of General George Boulanger, an extreme French nationalist and reactionary politician who used the discontent in France following the Franco-Prussian War to stir up anti-German sentiment and make an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Republican government in 1888-89. Hans's first name, by contrast, indicates his Germanic heritage and also his identification with *Hans im Schnakenloch*, who personifies the typical Alsatian always restless, dissatisfied with his lot. Thus already in this Franco-German name Schickele succeeds in highlighting the bi-cultural heritage and the ambivalent nature of the protagonist.

---

[190] Robertson, Eric. 'Art and Propaganda: Two Dramatic Portrayals of Wartime Alsace.' In: *German Life and Letters*, 45, 2, April 1992, pp.126-139. Here, page 127.

[191] 'Das Elsaß gab dem Stücke lediglich die Sprache und die Farbe. Trotzdem war es gerade durch die Farbe von größter Wirkung und hat in Straßburg bis heute etwa 30 Aufführungen zu verzeichnen." Lutz, Désiré. 'Ferdinand Bastian. Zu seinem 60. Geburtstage.' In: *Heimatsstimmen*, 6, 7, 10.7.1928, pp.439-441. Here, page 441.

Balthasar, the younger brother, differs greatly in temperament from Hans and this, as we will see, causes tensions in their fraternal relationship. Hans, as the elder son and head of the household, has inherited the family estate and with it the concomitant duties and responsibilities. However, he does not shoulder his responsibilities very successfully and it becomes apparent that he has little interest in farming his inherited lands. Rather than remaining at home, to take care of the affairs of the estate, he is restless and prefers to spend his time travelling and studying abroad, thus, in the words of his mother, 'kein rechter Bauer mehr' (Act I, ii, p.8). This behaviour, as Charles Fichter indicates, highlights a sense of rootlessness in Hans who seems unable to decide where he wants to stay for any length of time, a malaise similar to that of his namesake, 'Hans im Schnakenloch': '"Allant d'une ville à l'autre, incapable de s'insérer dans la societé, il "ne sait pas ce qu'il veut".'[192]

Balthasar appears to be the steadier, more dutiful son who, in contrast to Hans, seems more firmly rooted to the family lands – a common theme of *Heimatkunst*. Indeed, Balthasar could be regarded as the ideal protagonist of a *Heimatroman* with its polarisation of characters similar to that defined by Karlheinz Rossbacher: 'Was sein Personal betraf, tendierte der Heimatroman dazu, Ingroup-Outgroup-Konstellationen zum Stereotyp zu vereindeutigen: hier Bodenbesitzend-Ansässige, dort Schweifend-Städtische'.[193] Similar to the construction of stereotypical oppositions found in *Heimatkunst*, Balthasar's rootedness is opposed to Hans's rootlessness and cosmopolitanism. However, we should be wary. Schickele seems to be playing here with our preconceptions from the very outset, given that the title of the play has been inspired by a folksong and preceded by Bastian's dialectal adaptation, *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch*. Schickele's *Hans im Schnakenloch* despite its folkloric and regional references is not a *Volksstück*, not least because of his explicit wish that the actors avoid using dialect. 'Wo nötig ist die Sprache in Satzbau und Redeweise dialektisch gefärbt. Dies genügt. Der Schauspieler widerstehe der Versuchung, seinen eigenen heimatlichen Dialekt zu verwerten.'[194]

Furthermore, contrary to the *Heimatkunst* tradition it is not Balthasar, the 'Bodenbesitzend –Ansässige', but rather Hans, the 'Schweifend-Städtische', who is the protagonist of this play. This does not mean, however, that Balthasar as Hans's opposite

---

[192] Fichter, Charles. 'Sturm und Drang im Elsass. Die Weissen Blätter et la guerre de 14-18.' In: *Budderflade*, 17, 1979, pp.14-17. Here, page 14.

[193] Rossbacher, Karlheinz. 'Heimatkunst der frühen Moderne.' In: Grimminger, Rolf (ed.). *Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.* Volume 7: Gothart-Mix, York (ed.). *Naturalismus, Fin de Siècle, Expressionismus 1890-1918.* Munich, Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2000. Page 311.

[194] Schickele, René. *Hans im Schnakenloch.* In: *Die Weissen Blätter.* January 1916. *Bemerkungen für den Spielleiter.* Page 4.

nust be shown in a more negative light. Schickele here subverts the *Heimatkunst* onstellation of stereotypes, so that Hans's and Balthasar's characters do not fit easily into mplistic, polarised categories such as good and bad, moral and amoral, hero and anti-ero. Thus, although Balthasar is the protagonist Hans's counterpart in the play, he ppears, nevertheless, to be endowed with more positive characteristics. He is the more lfless brother who leads a quiet, industrious life, remaining at home, looking after the state, 'immer auf dem Posten' as Klär says of him (Act I, vi, p.14), while the self-ndulgent, restless Hans, who Schickele presents as the 'hero' of this play, is away hasing some new adventure.

Balthasar is not unlike Klär, his sister-in-law, with her strong sense of duty, in his deep eling of loyalty to the land, which belonged to his father. However, his sense of loyalty i also somewhat paradoxical in terms of his allegiance to Germany, which was for his ther an enemy land, but which Balthasar recognises as his *Vaterland* despite Alsace's latively recent incorporation into the Empire. We learn in Act I, scene ii, for example hat Balthasar has been made a lieutenant in the German army. His adherence to Germany i a conscious decision – unlike Klär he did not inherit his allegiance to Germany at birth bt chose it. It undermines his decisive declaration to Klär in Act IV, xiv: 'Charakter ist Treue'. For if Balthasar were truly loyal to his forefathers and to his dual cultural heritage, he would be unable to make the decision to choose Germany so unequivocally as hs *Vaterland*. Given the political climate at that time, he knew too that his choice would nean the rejection of his French cultural heritage – a part of his Alsatian identity. Thus, Balthasar's choice reveals an attempt to resolve an inner crisis by denying an intrinsic part o his identity make-up.

Hans, on the other hand, has no illusions about his sense of duty or commitment. He is conscious of the sheer impossibility for him to choose between France and Germany. In this sense he remains true to himself and his Alsatian heritage. This is, however, an anbiguously positive trait in Hans. The restlessness of his nature, an expression of the imer tensions and sense of alienation he experiences as a result of the internalisation of the border within him as well as living between two cultures inimical towards one aiother, has negative consequences for those around him also. Are we to admire a potagonist who leaves his younger brother to shoulder all the responsibilities of running the family estate and is unfaithful to a loyal wife? Despite his inability, however, to commit himself to his duties, he charms those around him who, like his mother, indulgently forgive him his irresponsible conduct: 'Schangele[195], du bist kein Bauer, aber es macht ja nichts.' (Act I, ii, p.9).

[195] *Schangele* is a familiar term of affection for *Hans* in Alsace, derived from *Jean*.

Only when Balthasar murmurs: 'Es ist ihm halt nie recht schlecht gegangen.' (Act I, ii, p.9), is there an indication of sibling rivalry between the brothers, a symbol of the inherent tensions of the Alsatian temperament. It is important to note, however, that although tensions exist between Hans and Balthasar, Schickele does not intend their rivalry to deteriorate into enmity:

> Hans und Balthasar sind 'keine feindliche Brüder' wie Hans einmal sagt. Der Verfasser glaubt das eigentümlich vertraute Verhältnis der beiden Brüder auch außerhalb des Spieles betonen zu müssen, aus Furcht, deren Darsteller möchten vom ersten Auftreten an allzudeutlich einen "Kampf aufnehmen" oder gar einander bösartig begegnen. Die Plänkeleien zwischen den beiden haben mit den Jahren etwas von einer freundlichen Gewohnheit angenommen – wie überhaupt die liebenswürdige Lebensart dieser Menschen keineswegs unter der Deutlichkeit ihrer Rede leidet. Erboste Gesichter und rollende Augen sind selbst im letzten Aufzug nicht am Platze.[196]

The tensions between them have evidently existed for a long time due to the differences in their temperaments and attitudes and are an accepted part of their relationship. This underlying tension and rivalry is recalled in amusement by Hans: 'Früher liebte er es, mich anzufallen, mit der Schleuder, mit dem Knüppel, mit dem Messer. Ich habe ihn nie angerührt, es sei denn gewesen, um ihm sein Mordwerkzeug abzunehmen.' (Act II, *V*, ii, p.39). From further remarks on his character made by Balthasar in Act III, we receive the impression that not only is there is a restless but also a destructive streak in Hans, for example in scene one, page 58:

> Wenn er (*Hans*) nicht weiß, was er von seinem Vater bekommen hat, damit er es erhält und an seine Kinder weitergibt, so soll er es doch um Gottes Willen stehn und liegen lassen. Ich habe ihm vorgeschlagen, die Mutter hat ihm vorgeschlagen, er solle alles Geld nehmen und davon leben oder irgend etwas anderes anfangen, [...] er könnte der glücklichste, sorgloseste Mensch sein, aber nein, er muß uns zugrunde richten. Eher gibt er keine Ruhe.

If read for its national connotations, this speech by Balthasar, the more Germanic of the two brothers, suggest that just as he covets the Schnakenloch property for himself,

---

[196] Schickele, René. *Bemerkungen für den Spielleiter.* In: *Ibid.* Page 4. Schickele's stage directions also indicate a break away from the Expressionist style, with which he was previously closely associated.

Germany too wants full control of the land of Alsace and to end its lingering attachments to France, represented by the more Gallic Hans, its absentee master, representing an absent France, who still claims to be the true possessor of the property.

Hans appears to possess an epicurean nature, which we notice particularly in Acts I and III, where we receive the impression from comments by his mother, Klär, Balthasar and from himself that he indulges in his whims and seeks to lead a carefree life at any cost. However, although their mother relies on Balthasar to look after the estate, appreciating his goodness, ('Unser Balthasar ist der bravste Junge der Welt.' Act I, ii, p.9) and despairs of Hans's handling of their affairs, she seems to communicate with Hans more, half remonstrating with him for his misdemeanours of the past, half fondly remembering them. It is obvious that Hans, despite his fickle character and inconstancies, is at the same time loved for his charming and more flamboyant nature while Balthasar remains in the background and in the shadow of his brother's presence:

BALTHASAR (ZU KLÄR) Blick doch *einmal,* nur eine Sekunde, von Hans auf mich. Die Welt ist doch nicht nur ein Abglanz von ihm. Ich habe mich von kleinauf daran gewöhnt, mich ihm unterzuordnen. [...] Zum Teil bin ich ein Geschöpf von ihm. Er ist in vielem und scheint in allem stärker als ich. Ich gönne es ihm, wenn ich auch manchmal ungeduldig, sogar neidisch bin. (Act III, ii, p.57).

Balthasar seems to be suggesting here an allegory of Franco-German rivalries like those discussed in Chapter One, within the context of the *Kultur/civilisation* debate. Hans, representing more Gallic traits, is perceived as possessing the superior nature (*civilisation*) which dominates the more Germanic nature (*Kultur*), as personified by Balthasar, who admits that he is sometimes envious of his brother. However, Balthasar also perceives himself to be partly a creation of Hans, this Other, so different from himself, just as Balthasar and his more Germanic temperament represent the Other for Hans. The brothers then can be seen to mutually define and complement each other's characters. For example, it is due to Hans's carefree attitude and inept handling of the family estate that Balthasar with his sense of duty has been pushed more into the role of the steady, quiet brother whose 'Erlebnisse sind nicht Gemeingut der Familie' (Act I, ii, p.9), whereas Hans's experiences are well-known, laughed and talked about in the family. Conversely, Hans is carefree and able to enjoy his freedom because Balthasar can be relied upon to look after the estate in his frequent absences. One can sense Balthasar's envy of his brother and the attention he receives, even if he claims he is the only one 'der sich nicht einfach von ihm hat schlucken lassen.' (Act III, i).

The oppositions set up between the characters of the two brothers in the play are reminiscent of those of the Benkal brothers in Schickele's expressionist novel, *Benkal, der Frauentröster*[197], who clearly possess temperaments similar to the Boulangers. Here, however the roles are reversed and it is Benkal the older brother who reminds us of the steady Balthasar, and Benkal the younger around whom the novel is centred, who like Hans is the more unreliable, restless character. Take for example the following description of Benkal senior: 'Benkal der Ältere war bekannt als ein ehrenhafter, aller Lüge und Prahlerei abholder Mann, auf dessen Wort sich bauen ließ.'(p.110). This contrasts with the descriptions of Benkal, the younger, 'ein Schwätzer, den niemand ernst nahm' (p.110):

> Da er unfähig war, die geringste Arbeit zu verrichten, wäre er wahrscheinlich sogar im reichen Mittelland verhungert, wenn er nicht in einem älteren Bruder [...] einen unwandelbar treuen Anhänger gehabt hätte, der ihn kleidete und nährte, mit Taschengeld versah und im übrigen auf die Stunde wartete, die das Genie des bewunderten Bruders aller Welt offenbaren sollte. (p. 102)

The descriptions of Benkal the Younger remind us of Hans: both are dependent upon their brother's industriousness and diligence to support them, they are both fickle and promiscuous in their relationships with women but can also both be described as pacifists with a sensitive nature who do not wish to participate in the wars taking place around their homelands. Both Hans and Benkal the Younger are drawn to cities and nightlife. They are extroverts by nature. Balthasar, on the other hand, never appears to accompany Hans on his social excursions, nor do we know if he has friends, whereas Hans does. On the odd occasion that Benkal the Older ventures into the city, he does not feel at ease there. However, differences in their temperaments do not create tensions between the Benkal brothers but instead inspire admiration in the older brother for his younger sibling:

> Für den Bruder war Benkal die leibhaftige Kunde und der Abglanz von all dem Bunten, Bewegten, Aufreizenden, das abends, nach Schluß der Geschäfte, unter den schillernden Monden in der großen Stadt aufging, und worin er selbst, wenn er je einmal Erholung suchte, sich nur als einen tolpatschigen und stolpernden Onkel vom Land empfand.[198]

---

[197] Schickele, René. *Benkal der Frauentröster.* In: René Schickele. *Romane und Erzählungen.* Volume 1. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1983, pp.99-191.
[198] In: *Ibid.* Page 109.

Tensions between Hans and Balthasar, however, do still exist, however unconscious these may sometimes be, and are reflected for example in the way they communicate. Dialogue between them is frequently terse. Hans can be rather dismissive of Balthasar, whose manner can appear surly when talking to his older brother, for example, when he finds Hans and Louise Cavrel together at the Countess Sulz's garden party and disapproves of this, particularly as he knows that Klär is waiting anxiously for her husband. One suspects that Hans speaks in a sharp tone to Balthasar, treating him 'wie einen Schulbuben' (Louise Cavrel, Act II, *V*[199], ii, p.39), because he feels guilty, knowing that his brother frowns upon his behaviour. In fact Balthasar may be jealous that Hans has so much attention bestowed upon him without seeming to really deserve it, but Hans acknowledges Balthasar's capable manner of looking after the estate. It is clear that despite their caustic tones in addressing one another at times, he is also very fond of his brother, whom he is even willing to acknowledge as the true master of Schnakenloch, as he remarks to Klär: 'Glaube bitte nicht, daß es gegen meinen Willen geschieht, wenn ein Stück meines Lebens nach dem anderen – von mir an ihm übergeht. Ich liquidiere mich zu seinen Gunsten. Er ist heute schon der Herr im Schnakenloch. Ich hab' ihn sehr lieb.' (Act I, vi, p.14). This acknowledgement also gives rise to an allegory, however, where Balthasar, representing Germany, is the real master in Schnakenloch (Alsace) and Hans, whom we have already seen is strongly identified with Alsace, has lost all he (it) possessed to his brother's (Germany's) advantage.

Differences in the brothers' natures are again evident in their attitude to the outbreak of war. For Hans the predicament of his identity takes on new significance as he will now be forced to choose sides. Eric Robertson pinpoints the dilemma for Hans: 'War is always disastrous for the pacifist; for Hans the pacifist, the Alsatian pacifist, the very decision to opt for one nation and renounce the other is fatal.'[200] This situation is difficult for Hans not only as a pacifist and an Alsatian but also because he possesses a particularly sensitive nature, as in the oscillating seasonal moods he evokes in Act I, vi: 'Winter, Frühling, Herbst – da muß ich immer an die nordischen Göttersagen denken, an Nebelriesen, feuchte Zwerge und melancholische Helden [...] Klär, wenn es nur Sommer wäre! [...] Frühling und Spätherbst, die verundeutlichen mir – mich und die Welt.' (page 14). This fear of 'melancholy' seasons reflects Hans's deep-seated fear of feeling 'unclear' or uncertain of who he is. The spectre of war between France and Germany only serves to intensify this *Angst* in Hans. War then is a catastrophe for Hans, regardless of who wins or loses, which will have deep repercussions owing to his particular sense of identity and vulnerability, creating further tension and conflict within him.

---

[199] '*V*' refers to the *Verwandlung* or transition section of Act II in the 1916 edition of the play.
[200] Robertson, Eric. 'Art and Propaganda: Two Dramatic Portrayals of Wartime Alsace.' Page 131.

Although unreliable at times, he is also an astute observer of political events, eloquently expressing his ideas and opinions on war and on the question of the annexation of Alsace. He believes Germany will never yield her possession of Alsace without a struggle and he prophetically warns that a war over Alsace between France and Germany would be of disastrous consequences on a scale never before witnessed in history: 'Deutschland Elsaß-Lothringen umtauschen? Nie. Sie müßten es schon zurückerobern. Kommt aber dieser Krieg, was Gott verhüten möge, so erleben Sie eine Katastrophe, mit der verglichen Sedan eine unglückliche Manöverübung war.' (Act II, i, pp.30-31). Through his discussion with French dignitaries, who will be analysed in greater detail in a following section of this chapter, his frank and well-reflected observations on the consequences of war for Alsace and the complex position of the Alsatians regarding Franco-German hostilities transform our view of him into a whole new light. His restlessness, his Gallic temperament, his repudiation of war, his love of France and admiration of Germany – in other words the whole complexity of his character with its inherent contradictions – is inextricably bound up with his identity as an Alsatian. He provides us with a brilliant and penetrating insight into the heart of the Alsatian dilemma regarding loyalties towards France and Germany, when he declares: 'Spannen Sie einen Menschen mit Armen und Beinen zwischen zwei Pferde, jagen Sie die Pferde in entgegengesetzter Richtung davon, und Sie haben genau das erhabene Schauspiel der elsässischen Treue.' (Act II, i, p.30). This violently graphic image of the Self being physically pulled apart in opposite directions until it is torn in two and destroyed conveys the anguish of choosing between two competing Others. The Others here are to be interpreted as France and Germany. Alsace is for Hans the Self which can only be defined through a *double* binary relationship with these two Others. Each time there is a power struggle in the region the victorious side expects Alsace's renegation of the other culture. Yet as its cultural identity is constructed through a dialectical relationship with both, negating the influence of one would impact on its own self definition and relationship to the Other which would alter the Alsatian sense of collective cultural identity. The crisis in Alsatian identity arises then when Alsace is compelled to align itself with only one of those it defines as its two Others, or when the Self attempts to ignore one part of the equation and define itself uniquely in terms of one Other. However, this dialectical relationship opens up the possibility of several other permutations depending on differing perspectives. For France, Alsace also represents the Other. Through its difference from French identity it causes France to reassert its unified, homogenous identity, even if through their historical ties Alsace has also been a part of this identity. Likewise, Alsace for the Germans shares a Germanic identity, yet, due to the influence of its French cultural heritage can be defined as an Other, the stranger within the Empire,

which has to be repressed in the name of national unity. The region's identity has been shaped both by this status of Otherness and its assertion of its double cultural heritage, which gave rise to its particularist identity, when faced with attempts of wholesale assimilation into one or other of these rival nations.

With the outbreak of war, Balthasar, in contrast to Hans, is enthusiastic and eager to participate, rather than reflect on the consequences of his allegiance to one side. He is more warlike than Hans, who prefers to think and discuss rather than act. Unlike Hans, he seems overjoyed to have a mission, a cause to fight for, where he is expected to choose one side and thus unequivocally state where his loyalties lie. In response to Hans's question: '[B]ist du einig mit dir?', Balthasar replies: 'Vollkommen. Für mich ist es wie eine Befreiung. Ich möchte am liebsten mit gehobenen Händen laufen und Hurra rufen.' (Act III, xi, p.78). Balthasar's positive reaction to the outbreak of war may be interpreted on different levels. For Robertson, Balthasar's oblivion to war's destructiveness is a result of his obsession with virtue, i.e. his zealous sense of duty in fighting for his chosen *Vaterland*, and is as flawed as Hans's neglect of his wife, family and estate in pursuit of freedom from the constraints of his identity.[201] His positive reaction to the war can also be viewed, however, as an attempt on his part to escape the dilemma of being Alsatian in such a time and a desire to feel he can belong to only one nation. Although Hans does not share his brother's euphoric reaction, his probing question, 'Bist du einig mit dir?' suggests that he possibly empathises with Balthasar in a way, aware that his reaction to the war may arise from a determination to resolve potential conflict or divisions within himself. *Befreiung* could also be interpreted as the sense of liberation he experiences in going off to war as to a great adventure, leaving behind the drudgery of work and financial worries about his family estate – a feeling that was shared by many both in France and Germany, as often documented indeed by the 1914 generation. As he has chosen to fight for Germany, it could also be interpreted as an opportunity to identify more closely with Klär, whose values and attributes he admires and with whom he is in love. Although the brothers react in very contrasting ways to the outbreak of war, Balthasar, like Hans, cannot escape the ambiguities and complexities of his Alsatian heritage. Both face a crisis of identity. Hans feels he will be asked to do the impossible – to choose between Germany and France, thus recalling the violent image of the Self being torn in two. Balthasar tries to resolve the ambivalence of his identity by attempting to define himself uniquely in terms of one Other, i.e. Germany, and negating the significance of his French cultural heritage by fighting against France.

---

[201] *Ibid.* Page 136.

The relationship between Hopla and Hopsa, servants in the Boulanger household, parodies that of Hans and Balthasar. The near-identical names may cause one to immediately think of a strong family bond existing between them. Both Hans and Hopla are the elder of the two and Hopla, like Hans, is a true Alsatian, unable to be totally dedicated to one side or the other in this war. Hopla is much older than Hopsa and the difference in generation manifests itself in a sinister way when war breaks out. The corresponding differences between Hans and Balthasar, and Hopla and Hopsa, can be interpreted as an embodiment of the contrastive ways of dealing with the dilemma of Alsatian identity. Reminiscent of Balthasar, Hopsa, according to Starkfuss, can be regarded as a 'rechter Deutscher' (Act III, vii, p.73), as he has been drilled by the German army. Hopla, however, is old enough to remember living in Alsace under French rule. Like Hans he is ambiguous in his loyalties. He is killed at the hands of Hopsa whom he had locked away, ostensibly to protect some French soldiers on the Schnakenloch property from Hopsa's gun. However, he had more probably been protecting Hopsa in his German uniform from the guns of the French.

Both Hans and Hopla possess temperamental natures. Madame Boulanger recounts the tale of Hans's terrible argument with his father, having brought an Englishwoman back from his travels and vainly trying to hide her in the attic. Hopla, having been hit by Hans and then apologised to, after an argument between the two, dramatically departs from Schnakenloch, only to return soon after. Balthasar and Hopsa are similar in that they are both the younger and have made a decision to fight for the Germans. Thus Hopsa's killing of Hopla can be viewed in a symbolic and prophetic light, as by the end of the play we know that Hans has chosen to fight for the French army in order to have Balthasar's life spared and Balthasar, as a soldier in the German army, will now be his brother's enemy, although in their civilian life they are 'keine feindlichen Brüder' (Act II, *V*, ii, p.39) by their own admission.

It is through Hopla's character also that Schickele voices the opinion of Alsatians at this time regarding the strong Prussian military and police presence in their region, which was resented, managing, however, at the same time to present it in quite a light-hearted way. Indeed in an article originally published in *Die Weißen Blätter*, it is clear that Schickele felt the presence of Prussians in Alsace to be more problematic than that of other Germans who did not share Prussian enthusiasm for bureaucracy and rules:

> "Dann schon lieber Franzosen", dachten viele Elsässer, wenn ein preußischer Beamter auf ihnen seine administrativen Tugenden enfaltete. Die Badener, die

> Württemberger, die Bayern hätten ebenso gedacht, wenn sie von heut auf morgen in die Obhut von zehntausend preußischen Beamten gegeben worden wären.[202]

In the opening act Hopla taunts the local German policeman, nicknamed 'der Teufel' on account of his red beard, about the presence of Germans in Alsace and their many restrictive laws on all manner of things, such as using French words, in a humorous but rather scathing manner. It is clear that 'der Teufel' serves as a comic element in the play. Mechanically citing the laws of the land with great pomposity, he is an easy target for Hopla's quick-witted retorts and irreverent comments. However, although he resents many of the laws which it is the duty of 'der Teufel' to uphold, Hopla and 'der Teufel' are quite good friends when 'der Teufel' is off duty. This again highlights the ambiguous attitudes prevalent in the region and echoes the ambiguities in Hans's loyalties towards Germany.

So far I have concentrated on the differences between Hans and Balthasar and the underlying tensions in their relationship. However, there is also a strong bond between the two brothers. Their relationship here can again be compared to that of the Benkal brothers. Although Benkal the Older conceals his emotion by speaking of his younger brother with a superior attitude, he secretly admires him, believing he is destined for greatness: 'Wie die Benkal waren, ließ er sich seinen Glauben nicht anmerken, sondern sprach im Gegenteil mit weithin sichtbarer Überlegenheit von seinem Brüderchen'.[203] When Hans returns to Schnakenloch and to Klär after his three-month absence in the company of Louise Cavrel, he is repentant and promises to behave sensibly in the future, to co-operate more with Balthasar, realising the importance of family bonds: 'Zuerst bringe ich das Gut auf den Stand zurück, in dem es bei Vaters Tod war. Ich mache nichts mehr ohne Balthasar. Wir sind Brüder und müssen zusammenhalten.' (Act III, iii, p.67). Of course Hans really proves his love for his brother when he promises to join the French army in exchange for the life of Balthasar, who in his German uniform has been chased by French soldiers on the Schnakenloch property itself. This is a great sacrifice for Hans, who had refused to be forced into choosing sides and had been ideologically opposed to the whole notion of war in itself. Ironically and tragically, his act to save his brother may lead to fratricide, as now according to the rules of war Hans and Balthasar are enemies. Here, as Storck highlights, Schickele shows us how extreme nationalism and war can rent apart a family: '[I]ndem es an den Gliedern einer und derselben Familie exemplifiert wird, bezeugt Schickele damit das Familienhafte des Konflikts',[204] and how the ideal of a

---

[202] 'Die elsässische Frage.' In: *Die Weissen Blätter,* May 1916. Here from: *Werke III.* Page 978.
[203] *Benkal der Frauentröster.* Page 102.
[204] Storck, Joachim W. 'Rebellenblut in den Adern'. Page 289.

brotherhood of nations is destroyed. Hans's and Balthasar's difference in temperament, their brotherly rivalry and banter now take on new and catastrophic dimensions in the context of war. Each has chosen or has been forced to choose sides. The underlying tensions between them have been distorted, magnified and politicised by the conflict which destroys their fraternal relationship, family and home.

23.b. Role of Female Characters

Schickele's treatment of Hans's dilemma on a political level is echoed in his relationships with Klär and Louise. In his portrayal of the national identities of these female characters he draws on polarised *Kultur-Zivilisation* stereotypes. The characteristics of Klär, as Hans's German wife, and Louise, as his French mistress, would appear to conform frequently, though not always, to the clichés and stereotypical hetero- and auto-images propounded by these nations as previously discussed in Chapter One. The relationship with Klär is influenced by reference to stereotypical *Kultur* characteristics such as sincerity and intensity of feeling, a strong sense of duty and morality, whereas Hans's affair with Louise is associated with certain German *Zivilisation* stereotypes, including emphasis on the sensual rather than sentiment, lack of commitment and superficiality. Fichter refers to this Franco-German polarisation in his identification of Hans's marriage to Klär (his legitimate relationship) with his attitude to Germany, based on ties of loyalty and dutiful love, whereas Hans's affair with Louise (his illicit relationship) is equated with his love for France, a love driven more by his senses and passion: 'Hans aime deux femmes, comme il aime deux pays. Son sentiment "légitime" le porte du côté allemand, tout comme sa raison, tandis que ses sens et sa passion l'attirent vers la France.'[205] A very similar point is made by Wagener in his more recent work, on the polemics of dutiful and sensual love as a reflection of the dichotomy in allegiances towards Germany and France in the play:

> In seiner Familie und in seinen Beziehungen zeigt sich symbolisch die doppelte Zugehörigkeit des Elsässers: die Ehe mit einer Deutschen und die Liebe zu einer Französin; wie er zwei Völker und Länder, Deutschland und Frankreich, liebt, so liebt

[205] Fichter, Charles. 'René Schickele. Sturm und Drang im Elsass – die weissen Blätter et la guerre de 14-8.' Page 14. The same argument is put forward by Adrien Finck 'Le symbolisme est accentué par le fait que le héros aime deux femmes, comme il aime deux pays, l'autre étant une française, femme d'un deputé socialiste. Son amour légitime, de même que sa raison, le porte vers l'Allemagne, tandis que ses sens et sa passion l'entraînent vers la France.' In: *Introduction à l'Oeuvre de René Schickele.* Page 62.

er auch zwei Frauen. Von seiner Vernunft wird er zur deutschen Seite gezogen, von seinen Sinnen und seinem Gefühl aber nach Frankreich.[206]

The characters and their inter-personal relationships are invested, therefore, with an underlying meaning and can be read too as extended metaphors or allegories for the political themes in the play. Schickele's use of allegory is very effective in his depiction of the female characters and their relations with Hans. Although the characters are on one level used as symbols to represent national concepts and their relationships convey a secondary meaning of political significance, Schickele also succeeds in creating convincing characters on a literal level by playing on (and subverting) these national stereotypical traits. The personal theme of the play, then, finds a corresponding resonance in the political theme. Just as Hans is identified with Alsace, Louise represents France, the analogy being pushed so far at one instance that her identity merges with that of France:

LOUISE Kommen Sie General, küssen Sie Frankreich die Hand.
GENERAL Oh, Madame. (*Küßt ihr die Hand.*)
(Act II, *V*, vii, p.43).

We are reminded frequently throughout the play of Klär's German identity, so that her comparative analogy to Germany is also evident, as the following examples indicate:

BALTHASAR Du deutsche Frau. (Act III, I, p.56).
MUTTER Sei mir nicht bös', Klär. [...] Ich habe Frankreich sehr lieb.
(Act III, xii, p.79).

What this section intends to address is how Schickele plays on these national stereotypes in his depiction of Klär and Louise and in the development of the love theme, and whether this contributes to a better understanding of the complexities of Alsatian identity. The shift in emphasis at various times throughout the play between the allegorical and more literal or psychological representation of the female characters and their relationships with Hans will also be discussed. The contrasting Otherness of Klär and Louise appeals to different aspects of Hans's nature, with the result that he finds himself unable to choose one in favour of the other. Due to the dichotomous nature of his affections, he hovers, indecisive, unable to make the expected commitment to either of these women who both wish to claim him to the exclusion of the other.

[206] Wagener, Hans. *René Schickele. Europäer in Neun Monaten*. Page 103.

One would assume that Klär as Hans's wife can enjoy a certain stability in her relationship, bound as it is by conventions of marriage and protected by law. The political analogy to this relationship is immediately obvious – just as Hans is married to Klär and bound by marital duty, Alsace is bound to Germany by the conventions of the Treaty of Frankfurt. Germany's claim on Alsace is thus legitimised as is Klär's on Hans. Despite the apparent solidity of such a relationship, however, Klär's position seems vulnerable because of her husband's capricious nature. It is clear that Hans's mother recognises the challenges facing Klär in being married to her inconstant and irresponsible son and believes he is fortunate to have married such a loyal and loving woman: 'Ach, Klär, ohne dich wäre er schon lange nicht mehr da. Ich danke jeden Tag seinem Schutzengel, daß er euch in München an einer Straßenecke hat zusammenstoßen lassen. Ich bitte dich, halte ihn nur fest.' (Act I, ii, p.9). Klär confesses, however, that she finds it difficult to hold on to Hans, 'ein Ausreißer von Geburt' (Act I, ii, p.9), despite her best efforts. It is only during Hans's absence with Louise that Klär experiences what she surmises Hans has often suffered, as she confides in Balthasar: 'Ich wußte nicht, was Menschen sind. Wie sie maßlos leiden, und wie sie maßlos begehren können. Ich dachte immer, ich sei in einen Taugenichts verliebt [...] eben in den "Hans im Schnakenloch".' (Act III, i, p.56). She muses that it is she who should apologise to him because she nearly believes that: '[D]er hatte es beim Durchbrennen schwerer als ich beim Sitzenbleiben.' (Act III, i, p.56). Her comment symbolises how, unlike Hans the archetypal Alsatian, she as a German does not suffer from such crises of identity and advocates more understanding for the ambivalent position of the Alsatian torn in his loyalties.

Hans's predilection for infidelities is a symptom of restless and self-destructive tendencies rather than a desire to intentionally ruin his relationship with Klär, as she fears (Act I, vi, pp.14-15). His seeming inability to remain wholly faithful to Klär, yet wish to remain married to her, ('Aber ich habe die Frau und behalte sie.' Act I, vi, p.16), reflects Alsace's ambiguous attitudes towards the union with the German Empire. Alsace resists full cultural integration into the German nation not because it wishes to break its ties with Germany, but because it simply cannot deny its sentimental attachments to France. Yet this 'disloyal' affinity to France is detrimental towards the success of its happy union with Germany. Hans's double identification, both with 'Hans im Schnakenloch', whose discontented, restless nature brings misfortune on himself and those near him, and with an Alsace whose expression of identity causes at times unavoidable tensions in its relations with Germany, reinforces this idea of his innate destructiveness, familiar from the 'Hans im Schnakenloch' legend, as Balthasar remarks: 'Er kann nicht ertragen, daß etwas gedeiht. Eines Nachts, wenn er aus der Stadt kommt und nicht gleich einschlafen kann, geht er auf den Boden und steckt sein eigenes Haus an.' (Act III, i, p.58).

Klär is not always able to conceal from Hans how his behaviour grieves her but she scarcely reproaches him for his thoughtlessness towards her, nor does she ever threaten to retract her love (Act I, vi, p.16). The gentle, patient nature of the 'sanfte, blonde Frau' (Act III, i, p.55) is complementary to Hans's restlessness. She provides him with security and constancy, which he needs, but is unable to offer her himself. This description of Klär's appearance and disposition endorses too the stereotypical image of the blonde-haired, loyal, dependable German. In Klär's unconditional love for Hans, her forgiveness of his past infidelities and her 'Geduld, die einen fast heiligt.' (Act III, iii, p.67), one detects a play upon *Kultur* clichés in the depiction of her stereotypically Germanic traits of an exaggerated sense of duty and intensity and depth of sentiment. Later in the play their difference of disposition is emphasised when Klär refers to Hans's mockery of her strong sense of duty as the 'Fetisch der Deutschen' (Act IV, i, p.81). Balthasar realizes how his brother's infidelities grieve Klär and he wishes to defend her against Louise's contention for Hans. When Louise intimates Hans's intention to leave Klär for her, he declares: 'Ich werde Klär verteidigen bis zum letzten.' (Act II, *V*, iii, p.40). His sympathies lie with Klär just as they do with her homeland – he is eager to defend both. His sense of solidarity with Klär reinforces, therefore, his more 'Germanic' identity, the ideal Alsatian for the Germans, with unswerving loyalty. Balthasar's values and code of behaviour, more so than Hans's, are in harmony with Klär's, whom he admires. The more 'Gallic' aspects of Hans's behaviour, his part- identification, from a German stance, with the Otherness of French identity make him suspect as an Alsatian whose loyalities are unclear. The similarities in character between Klär and Balthasar are noticed by Louise, who remarks on their compatibility: 'Klär und Sie wären ein gutes Paar. Sie passen zueinander.' (Act II, *V*, iii, p.40).

However, Balthasar, who declares his love for his brother's wife soon after Hans's return to Schnakenloch and the three-month absence with Louise, can never hope to win Klär, it seems. His stoic, responsible nature is too similar to her own and it is Hans's charming, carefree nature which attract her and inspire her love for him, despite his infidelities (Act III, i, p.57). This complementarity in Klär's and Hans's relationship suggests a stereotyped idealisation of harmonious relations between Germany and an Alsace which remains true to its double heritage. Hans and Balthasar represent here complementary constituents of the 'Hans im Schnakenloch.' Hans does not (always) want what he has and Balthasar cannot have what he wants.

Due to the fundamental duality of his nature, Hans is also attracted to a very different type of woman to Klär. He seems almost powerless to resist, once in the grip of the passions that affairs with such women evoke, despite the consequences of his behaviour both for him and his family. This is an example of the dichotomous representations of

love in Schickele's works, which Julie Meyer locates as the polarisations of 'engelhafte[n] Liebe' and 'zerstörerische Passion'.[207] Although he admires Klär, something within him strains to escape the weight of her noble and boundless love – this 'engelhafte Liebe' – which at times overwhelms and suffocates him. He knows he can never live up to her expectations but that she will nevertheless forgive him when he inevitably fails her and is irresistibly enticed away again by some new love adventure. He admits that he is at times drawn to those with a similar restlessness and malaise in their nature. The unrestrictive nature of these affairs leaves him free to return to the solidity of his relationship with Klär when he has tired of such escapades or a sense of remorse and nostalgia drives him back. It is the initial sense of freedom, escape from duty and responsibility and the exhilaration of change that Hans finds appealing whilst always appreciating the magnanimity of Klär's love: 'Ich bin ein Stück Menschenkrampf [...] und fliege darauf, wenn ich die Krankheit bei anderen entdecke. Du aber liebst aus dem Ganzen, du liebst majestätisch.' (Act III, iii, p.67). The polarised nature of Hans's relationships on a psychological or emotional level reflects here the polemics of the *Kultur/civilisation* debate and serve as a politcal allegory for Alsace's relations with both Germany and France. Relations with Klär (Germany) are characterised by terms such as duty, patience, loyalty, whereas his love-affairs, such as with Louise, (France) appear to be marked by sensuality, superficiality, insincerity and irresponsibility.

When reproaching Hans after his affair with Louise, Klär attempts to make him view their relationship in a new light: 'Hier hast du eine Geliebte, reif und nicht verdorben, erfahren aber nicht im geringsten resigniert, bestrafe sie nicht, weil du sie geheiratet hast.' (Act III, iii, p.64). In this act (Act III) Klär, without a trace of her earlier emotional, self-effacing behaviour, challenges Hans and exposes his hypocrisy in his relationships, winning our admiration. She remains optimistic that their marriage can yet be fulfilling and happy for both of them. Her more assertive behaviour subverts our image of her as the patient, gentle, long-suffering wife, possessing stereotypical German qualities, but lacking in sensuality, warmth and passion. She appears to be trying here to convince Hans that it is unnecessary for him to look outside his marriage for a lover as she can balance both extremes. In political terms this can be interpreted as Germany trying to convince Alsace that life under German rule offers all it needs and thereby the superfluity of retaining links with France. On a psychological level, Klär's 'wooing' of Hans is also a stereotypical allegory of the defenceless female (in this case Alsace) being wooed by the male aggressor (Germany). There is an obvious inversion of gender stereotypes, where

[207] Meyer-Boghardt, Julie. 'René Schickeles Anti-Muse oder: wie die Wirklichkeit die Fiktion einholte.' In: *Recherches Germaniques,* 18, 1988, pp.103-120. Here, page 103.

the meek wife Klär adopts typical male traits and is demanding and almost aggressive in her behaviour towards her husband Hans, whose fickle, susceptible nature is more usually associated with female stereotypical behaviour. The interplay of these two sets of stereotypes, national and gender, highlights how here the political allegory takes precedence over the personal one.

When Hans rejects Klär's attempts to undermine his image of her as a dutiful wife and mother, she criticises him for his double standards: 'Wenn du vor Entzückung den Kopf verlierst, so ist das ein Abenteuer der Sinne. Wenn ich dich recht verstehe, etwas Minderwertiges. Langweilst du dich, so ist es eine Ehe und erhaben.' (Act III, iii, p.63). In Hans's denial of any similarity between marriage and 'ein Abenteuer der Sinne' (Act III, iii, p.63), we see how advantageous the definition is for him, allowing him on the one hand to reassure Klär that he regards their relationship as more noble and durable than his affairs, and on the other hand, so he believes, justifies his need for liasions outside his marriage. When Hans guiltily reclaims his role as a loyal husband and responsible father, it is as if Klär has succeeded in her appeal to that 'Germanic' part of his nature, which also in part influences his Alsatian identity. He makes a conscious decision to settle down and lead a good, dutiful life shouldering his responsibilities as head of his family and the Schnakenloch estate. That it is the 'Germanic' side of him which holds sway here is emphasised by his decision regarding his son's upbringing: 'Er muß deutsch werden, ganz deutsch, nur deutsch.' (Act III, iii, p.67). This dutiful side of him overcomes the influence of passion and destructive feelings and a period of calm and optimism after the storm of his affair allows his love for Klär to be renewed and harmony to be restored but with a certain dutiful determination: 'Ich habe mich aber fest entschlossen, die Scheuklappen anzulegen, mit denen allein man ins Himmelreich gelangt.' (Act III, iii, p.67). In his conscious efforts here to achieve this happiness, one detects an undercurrent of satire in the image of a blinkered Hans forcing himself to renege on part of his nature.

The cause of Hans's latest exploit is Louise, Klär's counterpart, who appears to be the stereotypical *femme fatale* in the play. Her character is redolent of another of Schickele's *femme fatale* figures – Lo, the enigmatic heroine of his Parisian novel, *Meine Freundin Lo.*[208] That the name 'Lo' is an abbreviated form of her name, strengthens Louise's identification with this 'Schauspielerin des Grand-Guignol, jung, hübsch, [...] Meisterin in den Künsten des Vergnügens', [209] as indeed also with other well-known *femme fatale* characters such as Frank Wedekind's Lulu. Louise's comparison to Lo is reinforced by certain parallels in the details regarding their respective love affairs. Henri Daul, the

[208] Schickele, René. *Meine Freundin Lo.* In: *Romane und Erzählungen.* Volume I. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1983, pp.15-98.
[209] *Ibid.* Page 19.

novel's narrator, informs us: 'Sie (Lo) ist drei Monate mit mir zusammen gewesen. Das geht über ihr Konzentrationsvermögen.'[210] Likewise, Hans spends three months with Louise before she decides the affair is over and requests to be taken back to her husband. Louise is the more dominant partner in the relationship with Hans. She takes the initiative and Hans can only react to her suggestions and demands: 'Als ich Frau Cavrel auf ihren Wunsch in ihr Haus zurückbrachte, sagte mir ihr Mann: "Ich weiß, daß man eine Frau wie Louise nicht verführt."' (Act III, iii, p.63). Hans is disarmed by his passion, as is Henri, who finds he must follow Lo's wishes. 'Und Lo gehörte mir ja, wie lang, wußte ich nicht, aber jetzt gehörte sie mir. Ich konnte sie sicher nicht länger behalten, als sie mich liebte. Wie lang, darüber hatte ich keine Macht.'.[211] Louise's self-assured behaviour contrasts strongly with the portrayal of Klär's vulnerability or sentimentality and generally more acquiescent nature.

In political terms this suggests an image of France as a country confident still in the superiority of its own cultural identity over that of Germany, despite its humiliating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the political instability and financial scandals which dogged the Third Republic. It alludes too to France's belief that Alsace, at least in the initial phase of the annexation, would choose to rejoin the French nation, given the opportunity. Alsace's sentimental attachment to France undermines its relations with a recently unified German Empire which demands Alsace's full allegiance. Such an analogy reflects the polemics of the *Kultur/civilisation* stereotypes. However, as far as Alsace's allegiances to these rival powers are concerned, the differing nature of the two relationships suggests that a union with Louise (France) that is anything more than a flirtation is an unrealistic option for Hans (Alsace) if serious consequences are to be avoided. Thus Hans (Alsace) cannot, and will not, contemplate leaving Klär (Germany), regardless of the fascination Louise (France) exerts over him (Alsace).

We first encounter Louise in Act II engaged in flirtatious repartee with Hans at the Countess Sulz's picnic. She seems confident of the charm she exercises over him and has no qualms in referring coolly to his wife, praising her mastery of the French language, nor to introducing Hans to Cavrel with ulterior motives: 'Sie meinen doch auch: wir wollen mit offenen Karten spielen?' (Act II, i, p.28). Her allusion to playing cards with an open hand suggests a diplomatic game, reinforcing the political analogies to their relationship. This comment could signify a challenge to Hans to declare his affections to Louise or analogously for Alsace to declare its attachment to the impatiently waiting France. Hans's and Louise's relationship breaks with social convention: both are married but believe themselves to be in love with each other. Sensuality and passion rather than ties

[210] *Ibid.* Page 22.
[211] *Ibid.* Page 62.

of duty and commitment hold sway over their relationship and she shows no more loyalty to Hans than to her husband. Uncertain as she is of her feelings towards Hans, Louise's behaviour conforms to negative stereotypical characteristics of *Zivilisation* such as superficiality of sentiment and impetuosity. By contrast, Klär would first make sure of her total devotion to another man before leaving her husband for good for him, as she tells Hans on his return to her after the failure of the affair with Louise: '[I]ch wäre dir untreu geworden, wenn ich einen anderen geliebt hätte. Nicht stückweise, nicht auf Urlaub, nein, ganz, mit mir und meinen Kindern.' (Act III, iii, p.64). Incidentally, neither Hans nor Louise seems to doubt that they would be accepted back by their spouses, who both possess noble characters and forgiving natures.

However, our impressions of Louise are subverted. Although she is confident of her charms to entice Hans away from his wife and is prepared to yield to her passions and leave her husband, Louise admits to Hans that she has never before been unfaithful in her marriage. It emerges that she is not interested in a brief affair with Hans but wishes to marry him, thereby forcing him to leave Klär for good and belong solely to her. Her concern too both for her own reputation in society and for Cavrel's feelings are not the concerns usually associated with an amoral *femme fatale*. So although initally she may appear so, she is not the stereotypical *femme fatale* after all. Schickele's subversion of this stereotypical image of the French female character would seem to confirm that he is less interested in portraying national and gender stereotypes than in using political allegories to discuss Alsace's relations with its neighbours. Louise's wish to marry Hans may be viewed, on a political level, as France's desire to covet Alsace for itself, preventing its return to Germany. This may signal both on a personal and political level its serious intent but only in the form of rehabilitating an illicit relationship.

Louise is not the only *femme fatale* figure in Schickele's work to deviate from the standard clichéd images. Lo, too, is an example, of a subverted representation of the *femme fatale*. Although Lo's relationships do not last long and she discards and acquires lovers easily, she never misleads or deceives those who fall under her charm. She is self-assured but artless, honest in her intentions and promises. She guarantees no more than one idyllic summer in her company to Henri for example: '"Henri", sagte sie jetzt, "ich verspreche dir einen schönen, stillen Sommer [...] Im übrigen wirst du dich wenig um andre Leute kümmern und immer an mich denken."'.[212] In his depiction of Lo, Schickele celebrates her independent spirit, her frank and sensual nature, to which Stadler, too, in

[212] *Meine Freundin Lo*. Page 27.

his critique of the novel, responds in very positive terms.[213] The lovers Lo leaves behind cannot remain resentful or angry with her and, as all agree: 'Sie ist eine kurzfristige Geliebte, aber eine ewige Freundin.'[214] Although Louise's behaviour when parrying with Hans appears beguiling and flirtatious she likewise wishes to be frank with him, encouraging him as we have seen, 'mit offenen Karten [zu] spielen' (Act II, i, p.28). Her character, like Lo's, is portrayed sympathetically on the whole, despite her intention to leave her husband for the fickle Hans and her demanding, restless and, at times, coquettish behaviour. In this subversion of the clichéd image of the *femme fatale* Schickele may perhaps also be attempting to win more understanding for Hans's infidelities by portraying similarly restless characters sympathetically.

Hans himself, however, appears to have stereotyped Louise as a *femme fatale*. She is a symbol of freedom for him, the urbane Parisian, unrestricted by convention and, in her sophisticated, confident attitude, utterly unlike Klär, his gentle, patient wife. Louise appeals to his sensual, passionate side and although he loves her, he assumes she realises that he must eventually return to Klär and the Schnakenloch estate where he really belongs. He is disconcerted, therefore, by her expectations of marriage and guiltily feels he has misled her, since it is beyond his capabilities to give her what she desires: 'Hören Sie, Louise. Ich kann – ich kann ihnen nichts versprechen. [...] Liebe, ich komme mir sehr hinterhältig vor. Als ob ich Sie mit falschen Versprechungen überlistet hätte.' (Act II, iii, p.36). Seen allegorically again, such a commitment would be impossible as not only would it increase the threat of war but for Alsace would mean reneging on its German heritage. Louise's love quickly turns to anger and resentment. Their relationship gradually disintegrates into a mutual destructiveness, as we are told by Hans: '[W]ährend wir reisten, gewöhnten wir uns in so furchtbarer Weise aneinander, daß wir uns schließlich lieber mißhandelten, als uns zu trennen. Ich habe ausgehalten bis zum letzten. Ich habe mich schinden lassen in jeder denkbarer Weise.'(Act III, iii, p.66). Hans feels oppressed and anxious by her obsession with him, haunted by her memory, the image of the *femme fatale* is combined with the political and military connotations of this Franco-Alsatian relationship which highlight the precariousness of Alsace's position:

> Ich werde die Frau nicht los. Auf einmal ist sie wieder da. Ich kämpfe fast körperlich mit ihr. Sie verfolgt mich aus der dunkeln Ecke ihres Boudoirs heraus, wo sie den

---

[213] 'Lo selber bleibt ein unvergeßliches Geschöpf. Sie ist sanft, leidenschaftlich, innig und heiter, sehr menschlich und von einer schimmernden Aufrichtigkeit [...] Ihre Herzensangelegenheiten sind von einer flecklosen Reinheit und voll jener praktischen und zugreifenden Klugheit.' Stadler, Ernst. 'René Schickele.' In: Stadler, Ernst. *Dichtungen, Gedichte und Übertragungen mit einer Auswahl der kleinen kritischen Schriften und Briefe.* Volume 2, Hamburg: Ellermann, 1954, pp. 79-102. Here, page 101-102.

[214] *Meine Freundin Lo.* Page 98.

halben Tag sitzt und ihre Gedanken auf mich richtet – alle ihre heftigen, zähen Gedanken. Ich bin eine Festung, die der Feind unter immerwährenden Sturm gesetzt hat, wie unter eine Brandung Waffen." (Act III, iii, p.65-66).

Thus, Alsace does not wish to be the cause of a *guerre de revanche,* the potential for which is symbolised by Louise's sudden change of behaviour when she realises that although she has Hans's affections, he finds himself unable to commit himself fully to her nor leave Klär: 'Es war herrlich. Aber natürlich töricht nicht daran zu denken, daß sie sich rächen werde.' (Act III, iii, p.66). The enigma of Hans's and Louise's break-up suggests here again that the political allegory overrides the psychology behind the love affair, as we are not made privy to much detail surrounding the dissolution of their relationship or how Louise takes revenge apart from her refusal to communicate with Hans after the affair (Act III, iii, p.63). Her behaviour towards Hans implies, on the allegorical level, that France has just as little understanding of Alsace's position as Germany.

Hans, the typical Alsatian, oscillates in his desire for both women but can only choose one. This symbolism is most explicitly revealed when Hans is summoned by Louise during the course of the party at the Countess Sulz's and realises the time to make a decision to leave with her has arrived. With his exclamation, 'Himmlischer Vater!' (Act II, *V*, xiii, p.50), his indecision is so evident that his friends Starkfuss and Dimpfel teasingly chant 'Hans im Schnakenloch'. This is one of a number of occasions when this folksong is sung within the earshot of Hans and reminds us that his character embodies the perennial predicament of Alsace and Alsatians always uncertain of what they want. Hans is caught in a limbo-land of indecision unsure of what he really desires – whether he should remain with Klär or embark on an adventure with Louise, just as Alsace is expected to make an impossible choice between France and Germany.

Hans's situation is reminiscent of another of Schickele's Alsatian protagonists, Paul Merkel, in his debut novel, *Der Fremde*[215], who displays similar symptoms of self-destructive behaviour and a sense of alienation, where 'his position in a no man's land between two hostile cultures only symbolizes his inner loneliness'.[216] Paul, too, appears to destroy his chances at happiness almost wilfully – he chooses Ellen, a dying young Englishwoman as his lover, after rejecting Malva, whom he has known since childhood, who offers him a lasting chance of happiness with her. Like Hans, he cannot seem to offer commitment in his relationships. This same theme recurs in his pre-war novel,

---

[215] *Der Fremde.* In: *Werke I,* pp.1013-1180.
[216] In: Sokel, Walter, H. *The Writer in Extremis. Expressionism in 20th Century German Literature.* New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1964. Page 129.

Benkal der Frauentröster, where Benkal the sculptor, who has consoled, and is loved, by different women in *Mittelland* during the war, such as Hahna, Kru and Ij, is also unable to love 'aus dem Ganzen' (Act III, iii, p.67) and chooses art as his refuge from real life.[217]

Hans's inability to attach himself to one or other woman highlights the particularity of his own identity: he is neither fully understood by either woman, nor can he be truly fulfilled in remaining with only one of them. His sense of Self can only be realised in his reference to the Otherness of these women's contrasting identities for him: the German and the French. However, Hans's Otherness destabilises Klär and Louise's relationships with him, yet in doing so reinforces their desire to possess him despite his resistance to commit fully to one or the other. In their coveting of Hans, Schickele inverts the gender relations and plays upon national character stereotypes in the differing reactions of the two women: until the outbreak of war Klär tolerates Hans's resistance with docility and seemingly never-ending patience. Louise is demanding and when her demands are refused, she leaves Hans with a vaguely threatened feeling of impending vengeance. Their behaviour implies on the allegorical level Alsace's resistance to wholesale assimilation by Germany and fear of a *guerre de revanche* on the part of France.

The outbreak of war gives rise to the expectation that Hans must choose allegiance to one country, just as he is expected to make a choice between these women. The outbreak of war also isolates Klär, rendering her a figure in need of sympathy (Act IV, i, p.81). Having refused to leave her husband, who is apparently unwilling to meet nationalist expectations and participate on any side in this war, she is sheltering in the cellar of their household in Schnakenloch with Madame Boulanger, while Hans wanders about upstairs, very distant to her: 'Ja, Hans, es ist wie eine Wolke, in der du mir langsam entschwebst. Du bist ja schon so weit fort.' (Act IV, i, p.83). Klär feels unable to rely on Hans during the war, just as Germany cannot depend upon Alsace's allegiance. Only Balthasar, who fights for the Germans, seems to be close to her, and they share the same hope for the victory of Germany, (Act IV, xxiv, p.92).

Klär's rejection of Balthasar's declaration of love is, it seems, consistent with her loyal nature, but it induces Balthasar to reveal Hans's intention of crossing over the Vosges to the French in secret to save his brother. Ignorant of Hans's noble motives, she loses patience and releases all her buried feelings of hurt and anger at his betrayal of her, which up to now she has only alluded to. Significantly, in the 1927 edition to the play a line has been added, which suggests that after the war Schickele tries to emphasise the *Ehedrama* theme and play down the political connotations of Hans's choice, when Klär bitterly exclaims as he is about to depart: 'Oh! Alles ist wahr, was du sagst – alles, alles! Du

[217] See Sokel's discussion on this theme in the chapter, "The Impotence of the Heart." In: *Ibid.* Page 131-132.

holst noch Frau Cavrel aus dem brennenden Paris.' (Act IV, xxi, p.99). Klär's comment here lends a further tragi-comic twist to the ending, not least because of her misconception regarding Hans's real motives for joining the French army. It is only at the end of the play that for the first time we fully realise all the sacrifices Klär has made to keep their marriage together and the strength of her character. Balthasar seems to have sensed this other side to her apparently gentle nature but sees it as an integral part of the German temperament, drawing on *Kultur* clichés to reinforce the stereotype representation of Klär as Germany: 'Es ist wie mit der deutschen Musik. Die wildesten Stücke haben die brävsten Menschen geschrieben. Dieses zweite Gesicht eines deutschen Kleinbürgers ist geradezu unheimlich. Einer hat das Wort dafür gefunden: Innerlichkeit. Es ist eine dämonische Eigenschaft. [...]Von dieser Art ist deine Treue.' (Act III, i, p.56).

Hans and Klär part bitterly and tragically. Their fates have been caught up in the more powerful events of the war. All Klär's efforts, patience and loyalty in the ten years of their marriage have been unable to keep them together and it is France who finally claims Hans. As he poignantly remarks before taking leave of her: 'Aber was bedeutet unser beider Herzen Klopfen in dem Sturm!' (Act IV, xxi, p.100). The polemics of war pull them apart and she is bitter in her sense of betrayal, both as his wife and as a German. On a personal and political level Hans's decision and indecision causes anger and disappointment as well as suspicion. As Peter Jansen points out, Hans's promiscuity in his relationships is indicative of his unavoidably polygamous response to nationalist demands for loyalty to only one *patrie*:

> Hans Boulanger, der 'Hans im Schnakenloch', liebt nicht nur seine deutsche Klär, er verführt (und liebt) auch die Französin Louise, die Frau eines Deputé. Nationale Politik hat es so an sich, zu einem Entweder-Oder zu nötigen, vaterländischer Erotik nicht minder. Schickeles Helden antworten auf den Zwang zur Entscheidung, die in jedem Falle falsch wäre und der sie ihr Sowohl-als-auch entgegenhalten, polygam. [...] Wer durchaus ein Vaterland zu lieben vermag, der ist über jeden Verdacht erhaben: er ist nicht promiscü.[218]

2.3.c. Minor Characters

This section examines how those representative of a certain cross-section of the Alsatian community of the time: soldier, teacher, priest and mother, until now only fleetingly referred to in our discussion, contribute to the analysis of Alsatian identity and the elaboration of some of the main themes. In their interactions with other characters

[218] Jansen, Peter. 'Politik und Eros. Gelegentlich über Schickele.' In: *Streit-Zeit-Schrift*, 5, 2, 1966, pp.13-16. Here, page 16.

and in their views and opinions on Alsace and war, Hans's friends Starkfuß, Dimpfel and Abbé Schmitt, are illustrative of particular stereotypical identities, behaviour and attitudes, which will be first discussed before turning our attention to Madame Boulanger, the mother figure in the play.

Starkfuß, as the German soldier with his simple, militaristic philosophy that 'Krieg ist Krieg', is stationed in the Strasbourg military barracks. Since the Franco-Prussian war, German military were assigned to this annexed territory, in order to deter any ambitions of France to regain their lost lands and also to discourage any irredentist activity in this land where loyalty to the German Empire was not taken for granted. As in the case of Teufel, there are obvious satirical connotations in the caricatural name of the soldier, 'Starkfuß', which evokes the image of a strong, powerful military force but also, more negatively, a domineering and tyrannical occupancy in a region where the Zabern affair had occurred only the year previous to Schickele's writing of the play.[219] These more negative associations are a reflection of French clichés of a ruthless, belligerent Germany, propagated with particular virulence since their humiliating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. However, although Starkfuß's name is in itself a satirical reference, the somewhat more positive portrayal of his character to some extent undermines the connotations attached to his name. Dimpfel, a teacher, is a more reflective, peaceful man, exempted from military service when war breaks out: 'Ich will meine Ruhe, damit ich merke, daß ich auf der Erde bin. [...]Und wenn's an Sterben geht, sag' ich brav 'Danke schön' und nehme mich, so gut es geht, zusammen, bis es vorbei ist.' (Act I, xv, p.23). Abbé Schmitt, as a Catholic clergyman, regards his role as similar to Starkfuß's – a soldier in his own right – but a soldier of God and his Church: 'Und wenn nicht im Rekrutendrillen, so könnte ich es doch im Kämpfen jederzeit mit dir aufnehmen.' (Act I, xiii, p.21). His challenging manner towards Starkfuß is representative of those clergy in the lower orders who refused to adopt the conciliating approach of their superiors and were openly opposed to a Protestant dominated Prussia, which ruled the *Reichsland* by direct decree. Reference too to his bishop's criticism of his behaviour (Act I, xv, p.24) supports this argument.

All three meet Hans at the Boulanger homestead regularly where they discuss in good-natured, if sometimes heated, fashion their different outlooks on religion, war and society despite differences of faith, nationality and politics. Portrayal of the cameraderie and banter which takes place between these four, even when discussing controversial issues before the outbreak of war at the end of the play, can be viewed as a plea against the

[219] For Schickele's reaction to the Saverne affair of 1913, see René Schickele. *Stille Betrachtungen nach den Zaberner Tagen.* In: *Cahiers Alsaciens*, 13. Strasbourg, 1917, pp.19-23. Also in: *Werke III, Aufsätze und Reden*, pp.988-991.

ruthlessness of armed conflict which allows for no tolerance or discussion. Their meetings and ability to discuss their differing opinions peaceably again promote Schickele's idea of 'geistiges Elsässertum' as in the scenes where Hans meets the French characters.

When war is declared these four friends reunite one last time to bid their final farewells, as soon it will be impossible for them to meet again under the same circumstances. The war has changed everything. This farewell scene is tinged with pathos and we are made aware of the tragedy and futility of war:

STARKFUSS (ZU HANS) Wenn du auch kein rechter Deutscher bist, so bleibst du doch mein Freund. Komm her, Hans, stoß an, auf unsre Freundschaft! Schade, daß unser Herz jetzt nicht zusammenschlägt. (Act III, vii, p.74).

For Hans, the news of the outbreak of war, we know, has even more catastrophic implications than it does for his comrades, faced, as he is, with the predicament of choosing between the country his father died for and his wife's homeland, which officially has been his homeland too for over forty years. Starkfuß, in contrast, is not unduly upset by Hans's reflections on the terrible carnage and destruction of innocent lives wreaked by war. He has been trained to be a soldier in the German imperial army and does not question where his loyalties lie: 'Was heute ein rechter Deutscher ist, den reißt es mit einem Ruck hoch. Der fragt nicht lange, wieso und warum [...] Wir müssen unsern Weg machen, geht es nicht friedlich, dann mit Gewalt.' (Act III, vii, p.73). In his views on the loyalties of the Alsatians during the war, he alludes to Balthasar, reinforcing his identification as the more Germanic of the two brothers and Hans, as the typically ambiguous Alsatian:

HANS Uns hältst du also nicht für rechte Deutsche?

STARKFUß Den Hopsa, ja. Alle junge Bauern, die wir gedrillt haben, ja. Dich und die meisten andern sogenannten Familiensöhne nicht. Balthasar ist eine Ausnahme." (Act III, vii, p.73).

Starkfuß symbolises the stereotypical image of a Germany ready and eager for war, in his restlessness and longing to fight again in battle: 'Ihr habt nicht nur einen Beruf, ihr übt ihn auch aus [...] Ich hab Kriegmachen gelernt und vertrödle die besten Jahren damit, Rekruten zu drillen.' (Act I, xi, p.20). Abbé Schmitt, whose actions are directed by the dictates of his Church and his creed, has his own clearly defined path to follow in giving comfort and help to the many that would need it, following in the trail of destruction:

citizenship but rather was bound up with religious and cultural expression. Hobsbawm argues that up to about 1880 'language had nothing to do in principle with being English or French and indeed [...] French experts were to fight stubbornly against any attempt to make the spoken language a criterion of nationality [...] The language Alsatians or Gascons spoke remained irrelevant to their status as members of the French people'.[127] The Alemannic dialect, *Elsässisch,* and High German for written texts, continued to be the most prevalent mode of expression and remained so right up until the end of World War I[128] despite two centuries of French rule and largely unsuccessful attempts, especially during the late nineteenth century (when the question of language and nationality did become an issue in questions of nationhood, *pace* Hobsbawm), to obliterate the German dialect through the educational system and the Churches.[129] Following the Franco-Prussian war, when the territories of Alsace-Lorraine were ceded to the victorious Germans according to the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt (October 1871), attempts to expand the use of French through the educational and administrative systems and the Churches were of course abruptly halted.

But how did Germany and France regard Alsace? On what grounds did they feel justified in claiming it as part of their collectives? Language, culture and differing notions of nationhood certainly played a crucial role. For Germany the concept of 'one language, one nation' was sufficient justification, where nationhood was based on the notion of a shared cultural and linguistic heritage. In France the reverse was true where the concept 'one nation, one language' held sway and rather, it was a shared, common citizenship and participation in the political and administrative procedures of the State which was regarded as the most necessary condition to creating a sense of French national identity. With political assimilation, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, it was assumed, would follow.[130] Since the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia,[131] the people of Alsace

---

[127] Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, pp.19-20.

[128] Statistics for the number of Germanophones and Francophones in Alsace-Lorraine in 1882 show that a resounding majority of the population spoke High German/Alsatian predominantly. 80.21% spoke High German/Alsatian only; 11.48% spoke French only and 8.31% spoke both French and High German/Alsatian. Quoted in: Lévy, Paul. *Histoire Linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine de la Révolution Française à 1918.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 1929. Volume II. Page 335.

[129] On the question of language in Alsace and in particular on the role played by the Churches, see Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes linguistiques en Alsace.* Chapter 4: 'Deux langues rivales 1800- 1870'.

[130] *ibid.* Page 109. See also, Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Introduction.

[131] Up to that time the history of Alsace had been integral part of the Empire. This dates back to about the beginning of the fourth century when a large influx of Germanic tribes, predominantly Franks and Alemanni, settled in Alsace. These constituted the largest ethnic group to remain in Alsace as the presence of Romans and Celts who had inhabited the region since before the fourth century became weaker. Until the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia it was the language and traditions of the Gemanic tribes, which held sway in Alsace. Peace had reigned in Alsace prior to the Thirty Years War, assured by two of Charlemagne's grandsons (Charles le Chauve and Louis le Germanique)

had been on the whole content citizens of France and proud to belong to such a great and unified nation particularly after the 1789 Revolution. Questions of language and protection of ethnic identity, although important in Alsace, were secondary in the face of such universal progressiveness.

> What could the defense of small peoples, small languages, small traditions be, in the overwhelming majority of cases, but an expression of conservative resistance to the inevitable advance of history? The small people, language or culture fitted into progress only insofar as it accepted subordinate status to some larger unit or retired from battle to become the repository of nostalgia and other sentiments.[132]

This is Hobsbawm's view of the nation state in the period 1830-1880, a period marked by the ideology of bourgeois liberalism. Nations such as France or Britain were comfortable with heterogeneity within their borders, as they believed the small region had everything to gain from belonging to the greater nation. Questions of culture and language were not yet the burning issues they would become after 1880. The above statement should be qualified, however, by taking into consideration these countries' colonial expansion, where both language and culture were imposed on other ethnic groups, in colonised lands, even if only at official administrative levels before the 1880s. Within their own borders regional difference was not viewed as a real threat to the dominant culture. In other words, in France ethnocultural arguments were not enough – the people of Alsace-Lorraine had wished to remain French citizens and the acquisition of the French language as their daily vernacular would develop with time, facilitated by its use in all administrative, bureaucratic and educational processes. The nation would make French citizens out of the people of Alsace.

For newly formed nations in the nineteenth century such as Germany, the presence of heterogeneous *ethnies* within their borders was tolerated far less than in France, as they were perceived as a threat to their fragile unity. Germany's treatment particularly of the minorities in Schleswig-Holstein and Silesia bears witness to this to a greater extent than in Alsace-Lorraine, where the population was regarded as belonging to the German race. Nationalist and right-wing liberal Germans throughout the nineteenth century argued that culturally and linguistically the territory of Alsace shared a common heritage with their land. This is indeed true – to a certain extent. Germany reclaimed Alsace-Lorraine as a

---

through their famous *Serment de Strasbourg*, (842) one of the oldest bilingual manuscripts, written in Rhine-Frankish, a German dialect, and Romanic French. Already the symbolic significance of Strasbourg and Alsace as a mediating point between Gallic and Germanic tribes is evident.

[132] Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* Page 41.

STARKFUß Die Weiber werden dich nötig haben.

SCHMITT Ich werde sie trösten, und sicher gehört dazu für mich mehr Tapferkeit und jedenfalls mehr Großmut als du für deine Arbeit brauchst. (Act III, vii, p.75).

Dimpfel, the academic, seems capable of remaining aloof from the war by intellectualising and objectifying it to a certain degree and does not in any case face a dilemma regarding his national identity (Act III, v, p.71).

The definite, unequivocal choices of his friends according to their nationalities or beliefs highlight the indecisive Hans's own ambiguous position. It is only he who appears to have no clear path to follow and no special mission to fulfil. However, he cannot remain aloof from this conflict which will engulf the region in which he lives. His is a special dilemma specific to his ethnic identity and no matter which side he chooses, he will choose against friends or family. He envies Starkfuß his lack of indecision and his certainty of which side he belongs to: 'Ja. Ich beneide dich, wenn du wüßtest, wie. Bis zum Verlangen, ganz und gar zu euch zu gehören, einer von euch, von euerm Fleisch und Blut zu sein, in dieser grausigen Stunde.' (Act III, vii, p.74). However, Hans realises he would be betraying a part of himself if he chooses either side in preference to the other. The problematic of his identity cannot be solved by simple choices. Instead, he chooses to do nothing and remains in Schnakenloch to look after the estate, caught in the crossfire of warring neighbours, who use his home as a battleground, until he is finally compelled to choose the French side to save Balthasar's life.

Starkfuß and Dimpfel as German characters highlight also the polemics of French and German identity, particularly in Act II at the Countess Sulz's party, where they have an opportunity to observe and comment on the French dignitaries. Here their negative stereotyping of the French, through comments on their appearance and behaviour, reveals a lack of comprehension and scepticism which contrasts with Hans's ability to fraternise with them so well that the Countess assures him: 'Sie können versichert sein, mein junger Freund, wenn ich Sie nicht von Kindsbeinen gekannt hätte, so wie wir Sie unter uns sehen, würde ich Sie gewiß für einen unserer jungen Franzosen halten.' (Act II, i, p.33). The fluidity and ease of Hans's relations with both French and Germans in this harmonious setting symbolises the dual nature of Alsace whose innate understanding of both cultures enables it to respond intuitively to each, even if it can never fully identify with either group. By contrast, Starkfuß and Dimpfel alienate the French with designations such as 'Komische Franzosen' (Act I, x, p.18) or 'Welsche(n)' (Act I, x, p.18; Act II, *V*, x, p.48). Unlike the Alsatians they sit apart unwilling to engage directly

with the French group, wary of the Otherness of French identity. Here, influences of Romain Rolland's fifth volume of *Jean Christophe*, entitled *La Foire sur la Place*,[220] which will be discussed in more detail in the following section, are palpable in the reactions of the German friends to these French characters. Their comments are reminiscent of the German Jean-Christophe's initial impressions of Parisians on his first visit to the French capital, for example in relation to their propensity for talkativeness: 'Il était assourdi par le bruit de la foire aux paroles'.[221] Dimpfel, like Starkfuß, complains of the volubility of the French guests: 'Sie schwätzen, daß einem vom Zuhören die Zunge aus dem Hals hängt.'(Act II, *V*, x, p.48). Jean-Christophe's reference too to the sickness pervading the Parisian artistic milieu, symbolising the spiritual illness of a decadent people,[222] is reflected in Starkfuß's comment on Countess Sulz's guests: 'Lauter Gespenster. Komiker mit alten Blutflecken [...] Es muß auch gesunde Leute unter ihnen geben.' (Act II, *V*, x, p.48). The exaltation of health and corresponding disparagement of sickly appearances again complies with *Kultur-Zivilisation* clichés, where Germany prides itself on being a young, vigorous, disciplined healthy nation which has surpassed a decrepit and diseased France, weakened by corruption, moral decay and decadence. The relief of Dimpfel is evident when the French contingent of the party have departed and he informs Balthasar that he feels he has been 'Unter einem Wasserfall von Welschen. Aber jetzt sind wir unter uns...' (Act II, *V*, xxii, p.53). Dimpfel's choice of words imply that he has felt overwhelmed by the presence of the French and regards them as strangers in this territory where Germans and Alsatians alone belong together as indicated by his use of the pronoun 'uns'. These three comrades of Hans, although not appearing frequently in the play, nevertheless have significant roles to play, not just in contributing to the elucidation of the complexity and diversity of interpersonal relations in this region and in the development of the arguments on the questions of identity, politics and war but also in providing moments of comic relief during the scenes of good-humoured repartee between them and Hans. Schickele uses them also to move the action of the play forward at critical moments, for example when Dimpfel's cry 'Es gibt Krieg' (Act III, iii, p.68) shatters the optimistic mood of Klär's and Hans's reunion and heralds momentous change for Alsace and the inhabitants of Schnakenloch.

Likewise, Madame Boulanger does not appear very often in the play – just at the beginning and at the end. She represents that generation of women in Alsace whose

---

[220] Rolland, Romain. *Jean Christophe.* Paris: Librarie Paul Ollendorff, 1904-1912. The fifth volume of the ten volume novel cycle, *La Foire sur la Place* first appeared in Charles Péguy's *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* in 1908.

[221] Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Page 109.

[222] 'Etre sain, tout était là [...] les écrivains parisiens étaient malade; ou quand l'un d'eux était sain, il était rare qu'il n'en eût pas honte; il s'en cachait, il tâchait de s'en donner une bonne maladie.' In: *Ibid.* Page 131.

husbands have fallen in the defence of France against Germany and now see their children being educated as German citizens. She constantly reminds her sons of their father, whose memory she keeps alive. This may explain in part why Hans, as the eldest son, presumably having more memories of his father and conscious of inheriting his position as master of Schnakenloch, possesses such a restless nature and feels the tension of his double cultural heritage so intensely. Madame Boulanger's comments to her two sons and to Klär, along with her reminiscences, also give us a clearer picture of the characters of Hans and Balthasar and what kind of relationship she has with both of them. Hans is a source of amused exasperation to his mother, whereas it is the reliable and steady Balthasar she depends upon to sort out any problems in the management of the estate.

At the outbreak of war, Madame Boulanger, like Klär, displays her courage by refusing to leave Schnakenloch for the safety of nearby, neutral Switzerland and remains in the cellar, praying for France – and for Balthasar, who fights on the German side. Here, the tragedy of the war for the Alsatians in particular is highlighted. Madame Boulanger possesses a tolerance which many French and German women who may have lost loved ones either to France or to Germany would find difficult to comprehend. Despite having lost her husband to the Germans and sometimes finding their presence irksome in Alsace, she is sensitive to Klär's position in their household, as a German living among Alsatians: 'Ihr wißt, ich hab' nichts gegen die Deutschen. Gelt nicht, Klär? Aber manchmal kommt's mir so vor, als ob mehr geschrien würde, seitdem sie im Lande sind.' (Act I, ii, p.7). Her comments on the loud behaviour of the Germans, however, also once again reinforces negative stereotyping of the presence of German military and officials in the region. When war breaks out, she also demonstrates her ambiguous Alsatian nature through her respectful treatment of her German daughter-in-law Klär, while at the same time remaining loyal to France: 'Sei mir nicht bös, Klär [...] du möchtest auch nicht, [...] daß Frankreich ganz und gar zugrunde geht?' (Act III, xii, p.79). The war for this Alsatian woman is a source of great sorrow, for not only does she risk losing her sons on the battlefield, as does every French and German mother, but she bears the added pain of seeing them going to fight on opposing sides. The pacifist sentiment of the play relies heavily on the women's endurance, tolerance and common sense.

2.4. The French characters and Politics

It is in particular in Act II, where discussions on the politics of the day and the mounting threat of war dominate, that Schickele through the dialogue and actions of his characters further develops ideas on the position of Alsace between France and Germany on the brink of war. He highlights the disastrous consequences for Alsace and Alsatian identity if, rather than being a means of breaking down the bastions of national-

chauvinism which were being reinforced by the polemics of the *Kultur-civilisation* debate and the vitriolic discourse of ultra-nationalists in both countries, it was to become a bone of contention between its neighbours.[223] Apart from setting the scene for Hans's and Louise's encounter, this second act in the play, where French, Germans and Alsatians meet peaceably to discuss their different opinions, demonstrates the last glimmer of an optimism that war could yet be averted before its outbreak in Act IV.[224] It is here that Hans meets the French deputies Cavrel, Simon[225] and Müller, as well as the Alsatian optant, General Kaufmann.

The potential for controversy and misunderstanding generated by this act in particular, was of course hardly avoidable, given the time the play was written and performed in, with its dialogue focussed so much on Franco-German relations, war and the position of Alsace. This is borne out by the heavy censorship and eventual banning of the play and is also highlighted by the French pacifist, Romain Rolland's surprisingly negative reaction to Schickele's treatment of France's fate in the war. Schickele had expected a sympathetic reaction to the play by Rolland, whom he so greatly admired and who, in the face of much adversity, remained throughout the war a strong advocate of cordial Franco-German relationships and maintained or formed friendships with many intellectuals of German nationality, in an effort to create a core of pan-European and pacifist committment. So disconcerted and dismayed was Schickele by Rolland's harsh criticism of the French characters in the play[226] that, in a letter to him in September 1916, thus before the play was first performed, he defended his treatment of the question of Alsace and depiction of the characters and expressed his perplexed disappointment:

> [C]e malheureux 'Hans' [...] qui , paraît-il a aussi eu la malchance de vous déplaire à vous, sur qui j'avais compté le plus. Franchement, je n'en reviens pas et je ne trouve qu'une seule explication, c'est que vous n'avez pas lu jusqu'au bout, que vous vous êtes arrêtez (*sic!*) en route. Ce qui concerne les deputés français je fais remarquer dans

---

[223] Romain Rolland, just after the outbreak of war, comments with scepticism on France's and Germany's rival covetousness of Alsace-Lorraine. 'Patrie, idole sanglante! Ils prétendent tous deux (Allemagne et France) qu'ils aiment Alsace-Lorraine et qu'elle est de leur sang. Ce n'est pas vrai. Ils ne l'aiment pas. Ils ne l'aiment pas pour elle-même, mais pour eux-mêmes, pour leur orgueil. Autrement commenceraient-ils par la détruire? Ils l'assassinent tous deux pour l'arracher à l'autre.' In: Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre. Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire morale de l'Europe de ce temps.* Paris: Albin Michel 1952. Book I, 25th August 1914. Page 40.

[224] One is reminded here of Schickele's essay, 'Das Gastmahl der guten Europäer' which first appeared in *Die Weißen Blätter* (January 1915), the theme of which is taken up in his *Vorrede* to the 1927 edition of *Hans im Schnakenloch.* Page 11.

[225] In the 1927 edition to the play Simon's name changes to Maxime-Simon to correspond with his reappearance in Schickele's postwar trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein* under this name.

[226] '[W]ovon der Autor zunächst wohl nur in abgemilderter Form durch Annette Kolb erfuhr'. In: Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum.* Page 221. See also in the same work her chapter 'Antipode Romain Rollands.' Pages 109-116.

les 'Bemerkungen für den Spielleiter': "Die Franzosen im zweiten Akt sind keine Zerrbilder. Sie lieben nur eine gewisse losgelöste Art des Ausdrucks, selbst zum Schaden ihrer Würde." L'auteur de la foire sur la place ne peut contester la justesse de cette remarque.[227]

In an unpublished section of his diary, Rolland refers to his response to this letter of Schickele's, written four days later and from which he partly quotes:

> Je me suis plaint seulement qu'il ait choisi pour représenter la France des personnages de la Foire sur la Place [...] Dans le débat tragique qui se livre, au coeur de l'Alsace, entre les deux peuples rivaux, j'aimerais à voir ceux-ci s'opposer par ce qu'ils ont de meilleur, et non par ce qu'ils ont de plus douteux. Votre choix de personnages me paraît de nature à prolonger le malentendu fâcheux qui persiste dans l'esprit allemand sur le caractère français.[228]

Rolland's comment here reflects his disappointment that Schickele, in his treatment of the thorny question of Alsace, chose to represent France with stereotypes, which he regards as detrimental to an already negative image of the French in Germany.

Contrary to what Schickele might have hoped, his allusion to *La Foire sur la Place*, the fifth volume of Rolland's ten volume novel *Jean-Christophe*, set in Paris, seems to have further disenchanted Rolland with both the play and its author. *La Foire sur la Place* is described by R.A. Francis in his study of Rolland as, 'a satirical portrayal of the Paris Inferno'[229], a place of 'all-pervading cliquishness and corruption'.[230] It is reminiscent not just in its title, but also in its sardonic treatment of Parisian society of the vanity fair, a traditional topos of satire, most famously depicted in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, which its author informs us, is 'a very vain, wicked, foolish place, full of all sorts of humbugs and falseness and pretensions'.[231] Many of the characters encountered by Rolland's German hero, Christophe, in Paris are depicted with biting satire and ironic humour, as we follow

---

[227] Julie Meyer has documented the correspondence between Schickele and Rolland in detail. In: Meyer-Boghardt, Julie. '"Cher maître": Die Korrespondenz zwischen René Schickele und Romain Rolland mit einigen ergänzenden Dokumenten.' In: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 29, 1988, pp.85-137. Here Schickele's letter is to be found on pp.101-2.

[228] "Maschinenschriftl. Transkription, unveröffentlicht, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fonds Rolland)." This source is to be found in *Ibid.* Page 103. Footnote 80. Rolland's letter was written to Schickele on 27th September 1916.

[229] Francis, R.A. *Romain Rolland.* Oxford, New York: Berg, 1999. Page 68.

[230] *Ibid.* Page 74.

[231] Thackeray, William, Makepeace. *Vanity Fair.* London: Penguin Classics, 1994. Page 69. First published in serial form in *Punch* magazine, London, between 1847-1848. A French translation of *Vanity Fair* existed as early as 1868 published by Hachette, Paris in two volumes under the title, *La Foire aux Vanités.*

his progression through the novel and the Parisian worlds of music, art, literature and theatre and in his encounters too with Socialist politicians, whose hypocrisy and flippant attitude towards their political ideology disturb him: 'Christophe était gêné de voir ces ministres socialistes, ou radicaux-socialistes, ces apôtres des classes misérables et affamés, faire les connaisseurs en jouissances raffinées'.[232] This helps to explain Rolland's vexation with Schickele, in depicting French political figures in a wartime drama in the German language that deals with the sensitive issue of Alsace and the war, for choosing this particular volume of *Jean-Christophe*, where Rolland has criticised what he considers to be the very worst aspects of French society and behaviour. Meyer interprets his attitude as follows: 'Rolland [...] mußte sich empören über die charakterlose Trottelhaftigkeit der Figur des französischen Parlamentariers Müllér und über die übertrieben beifällig gezeichnete Abenteuerlust des korrupten französischen Ministers Simon'.[233] Rolland's criticism of Schickele's depiction of the French characters in the play could be regarded as somewhat ironic, given that *La Foire sur la Place* had been translated into German by Otto Grautoff[234] shortly before the war. It became widely available to a German readership, as Rosenberg in his critique of Rolland's work indicates,[235] and thus, could itself have been regarded as perpetuating some of the negative images of the French current in Germany that have been discussed in Chapter One. However, the message of Rolland's novel cycle in its entirety is one of reconciliation between France and Germany and overall it attempts to project positive images of both nations which outweigh the negative stereotyping of the Parisians in that particular volume.

Although it was published during wartime, Rosenberg's critique of *Jean-Christophe* is surprisingly moderate and positive when one takes into account that this is a review of a French author, writing about a German's impressions of France and its people. Rosenberg manages to avoid a triumphalist tone in discussing those aspects of the work where Rolland criticises his homeland and avoids using such negative views of the French, penned by one of their own citizens, for propaganda purposes. Rosenberg endeavours to present a balanced view of Rolland's criticisms of his homeland. 'Aber dem oberflächlich geschauten Frankreich steht ein zweites gegenüber, das seine Stärke

---

[232] Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Ollendorff edition. Page 197.
[233] Meyer, Julie. *René Schickele und Romain Rolland.* In: Fink, Adrien; Staiber, Maryse (ed.). *Elsässer, Europäer, Pazifist.* Page 98.
[234] Grautoff purchased the rights to translate *Jean-Christophe* between 1912-1913. See Rolland, *Journal des années de guerre.* Page 1858.
[235] 'Da erscheint in den Jahren 1904-1912 ein Roman, der nicht weniger als 10 Bände erfüllen sollte. Und welch ein Wunder! Dieser Roman wird nicht nur gelobt sondern auch gelesen.' Rosenberg, Felix. 'Franzosen und Deutsche in Romain Rollands Jean-Christophe.' In: *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift.* Book 1/2, 7, January/February 1915, pp.196-213. Here, page 196.

bildet, jenes Volk der Arbeit, das sich um den Lärm der Mächtigen nicht kümmert [...] Dieses Volk bildet einen Körper mit seiner Erde'.[236] He reverts, however, to *Heimatkunst* clichés to portray this other more positive image of France, and he is not quite able to refrain from promoting *Kultur* values and clichés in discussing Rolland's treatment of Germany, where he plays down the criticisms of Germany and Germans and emphasises instead favourable depictions,[237] such as references to 'intuitive Erfassen der Natur und die aus dem Innersten ihrer Seele hervorquellende Musik'.[238] One wonders if he had to temper his praise somewhat by including reminders of more recent writings of Rolland's which were less Germanophile. Overall, however, Rosenberg's critique would appear to be a good example of a conciliatory discourse constructed out of selected affirmative auto-images, corresponding to the *Kultur* discourse, which do not resort to portraying France in a negative light. His praise of Rolland focuses particularly on that author's depiction of how tolerant Germans were at that time, reaffirming a positive image of them. Rosenberg applaudes the pacifist, co-operative message in the last volume of *Jean-Christophe* which highlights interdependence of Franco-German relations and promotion of their co-operation, and in his praise one detects a genuine desire for dialogue.

Views on Schickele's treatment of the French and their identity in *Hans im Schnakenloch* necessitate an examination of the portrayal of the French characters in question, so that the manner and extent of the influences of *La Foire sur la Place* can be ascertained in more detail. Schickele's use of biographical sources will also be discussed, which undermines Rolland's critical interpretation that the French characters were inspired solely by *La Foire sur la Place*. Schickele's depiction of French identity also raises questions about Alsatian identity, the confrontation of differing permutations of Self with Other, as well as the use of caricature or stereotypes.

The second act of the play in which the French deputies appear is the only act not set on the Schnakenloch estate. Rather, it opens with a scene in the Vosges mountains in the aftermath of a picnic and later, in the *Verwandlung* section, at an evening party at the elderly Countess Sulz' castle. It is indicated that Countess Sulz, although from Alsace, has strong links to a France of a past era – France of the Second Empire and Napoleon III: 'Gräfin Sulz, das klingt sehr nach napoleonischem Adel, und da Sulz meines Wissens kein Schlachtort ist, dürfte man auf den dritten Napoleon schließen. Dann hätte sie allerdings Grund, Royalist zu sein.' (II, *V*, vii, p.43). Her association too with Empress

---

[236] *Ibid.* Page 198.

[237] 'Aber die Beobachtung der Seiten deutschen Wesens, die Rolland als unerfreulich hinstellt, tritt in seinem Werke durchaus nicht in den Vordergrund; es muß wohl auch jeder Leser diesseits des Rheins den Eindruck gewinnen, daß das Ganze eine Empfindung freundlichen, um nicht zu sagen, liebvollen Interesses für deutsches Wesen durchweht.' *Ibid.* Page 211.

[238] *Ibid*, pp.209-210.

Eugenia and Pauline de Metternich as well as her fondness for Offenbach's operettas, such as *La Belle Helène*, all bear testimony to this (II, *V*, i, pp.37-38).[239] The figure of the countess and her home represent then a connection with a past that Alsace once shared and the atmosphere of these bygone days lingering on here creates a nostalgic, almost haunting atmosphere, as Louise and Balthasar remark: 'Es ist wirklich ein gespenstisches Haus.' (II, *V*, i, p.38). Balthasar's reference to 'ein Mausoleum mit Offenbachscher Musik' (II, *V*, i, p.38), indicates that he endeavours to suppress or 'entomb' his French cultural heritage. However, his agreement with Louise that the atmosphere is haunting is telling, suggesting that he is subconsciously troubled by his suppression of the French influences on his identity. Hans, on the other hand, appears to be fascinated with the elderly Countess' tales of Paris (II, *V*, i, p.37). The fact that Louise comments on his clinging on to such memories in an Alsace which had been part of the German Empire for over forty years, suggests that France itself has left these days behind. Ironically, what for her indicates in the usually fickle Hans a kind of loyalty to this memory of France, the dialogue of Louise and Balthasar (II, *V*, i, pp.37-38) implies how faded the glitter of those times has become or is rendered incongruous by the passage of time. For example, Louise marvels at the thought that Empress Eugenia and Pauline are still alive and wonders: 'Wie sie heute wohl aussehen, die armen Frauen?' (II, *V*, i, p.38). Countess Sulz's youthful transformation when singing *La Belle Hélène* is in part mockingly attributed, by Louise again, to the following fact: 'Außerdem ist ihr Gebiß vorzüglich gearbeitet.'(II, *V*, i, p.38). Louise's tongue-in-cheek remarks on the appearance and sentimentality of Countess Sulz and her superficial comments on her formerly illustrious friends are reminiscent here of the portrayal of the Parisian milieu as depicted in *La Foire sur la Place,* where nobody ever appears to take anything too seriously and is quick to mock those of more sentimental or sincere natures, such as Christophe, for example, whose views on love 'faisaient la joie de l'auditoire', recounted 'avec un sérieux admirable, une insouciance touchante du ridicule: car il ne pouvait pas ne pas voir qu'ils se moquaient de lui effrontément.'[240] This is suggested in General Kaufmann's remark to Louise, 'Zum Glück weiß ich, daß ich mit einer Pariserin spreche, die den Ernst immer von der heiteren Seite nimmt.' (II, *V*, vii, p.42).

If Louise, at times, reveals stereotypical characteristics of the superficial Parisian, Schickele in his portrayal of the character General Kaufmann has not had

---

[239] It seems probable that Schickele modelled the character of Countess Sulz, on the Comtesse Mélanie de Pourtalès (1836-1914), who divided her time between Chateau de Pourtalès in Robertsau, on the outskirts of Strasbourg, her salon in Paris and the imperial court. She was a lady-in-waiting for Empress Eugenia and a close friend of Pauline de Metternich. See: Grossmann, Robert. *Comtesse de Pourtalès. Une cour française dans l'Alsace impériale 1836-1870-1914.* Strasbourg: Éditions la Nuée Bleue / DNA, 1995.

[240] Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Page 54

recourse to *La Foire sur la Place.* Kaufmann, originally from Alsace, is instead, a stereotypical representative of those optants who chose to leave the annexed territory in 1872 under the agreement of the Treaty of Frankfurt. Having lived away from Alsace for more than forty years, he now has a very simplistic and romanticised view of Alsace, believing that this region wishes only to return to France: 'Die wahren Elsässer wissen, daß sie ihre Zukunft zu suchen haben, wo ihre Vergangenheit war [...] Wir werden ihnen helfen, wenn die Stunde schlägt.' (Act II, i, p.29-30). He typifies here also those in France who were looking for a *guerre de revanche* against the Germans for their humiliation in 1870 and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. His views echo that of the war-mongering, extreme right-wing in France, whose apostle was the writer Maurice Barrès (1862-1923). For Barrès the only solution to the question of Alsace-Lorraine lay in the patriotic duty and sacrifice of French citizens in war against Germany. Alsace-Lorraine was to be the *raison d'être* for the war.[241]

Hans, however, rejects this solution to Alsace's problems: 'Dann bin ich kein wahrer Elsässer.' (Act II, i, p.30). He is resentful of General Kaufmann's presumption that Alsace waits only to be reunited with France and of his ignorance of the fact that forty years of German rule in Alsace have brought about changes. He is vexed too that Kaufmann still calls himself an Alsatian, although he had long left the region: 'Sagen Sie doch, bitte, nicht: wir Elsässer [...] Sie haben aufgehört, Elsässer zu sein, als Sie das Land verließen. Ihre Kinder wissen vom Elsaß nicht viel mehr als von der Schweiz. Ihre Liebhabereien machen uns das Leben schwer.' (Act II, i, p.30). Hans is a pacifist by virtue of his Alsatian identity – 'kein wahrer Elsässer' could place themselves in the same camp as Kaufmann, who regards Alsace as, 'das glorreichste Schlachtfeld der Welt!' (Act II, i, p.29). Here, Schickele indicates his view of an Alsace that cannot be sympathetic to the discourse of the *revanchards* in France, by distancing Hans and Alsace from this particular stream of opinion. However, if Hans rejects the views and hopes of Kaufmann, that Alsace be rejoined with France, it is not a rejection arising from any anti-French sentiment on Hans's part, but because he is aware that such a reunification could only be possible through war with Germany. Hans is not a pacifist simply because he is opposed to war itself or believes it is morally unjustified. Rather, it is the hybrid nature of Hans's

---

[241] That the people of Alsace-Lorraine should have the right to decide for themselves on a solution for their future, as proposed at the Socialist Congress of London in 1915, infuriated Barrès, as Rolland remarks in his diary: 'Barrès, qui, depuis quelque temps, s'étudiait à se vêtir d'une fausse douceur, montre de nouveau sa face de hyène, à qui l'on arrache son cadavre à ronger. (Écho de Paris, 19 février): "*Vous l'avez lue, cette clause insensée, votée par les Socialistes, à leur Congrès de Londres! Vous l'avez lue! Ils disent que les Alsaciens-Lorrains seront appelés à disposer d'eux-mêmes!...Il n'y a qu'une solution, que réclament les intérêts unis de la France, de l'Angleterre, de la Russie, de la Serbie: l'amoindrissement et le dépècement de l'Empire allemand.*"' Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book V. February, 1915. Page 262.

Alsatian identity and his dual cultural heritage, linking him inextricably to both France and Germany, which leave him with no choice other than to oppose war in this particular context. It is the predicament for Alsace caught between these Franco-German hostilities which Schickele is emphasising here. Whether Alsace should side with France or Germany is not really the issue, from this particular pacifist viewpoint, but rather that it should be at liberty to maintain harmonious relations with both nations without this being misconstrued as anti-French or anti-German sentiment. Hans's insistence that Alsatian identity could not be restricted to the impositions of narrow, nationalist definitions may seem unrealistic. Yet, he also informs the French guests, that Alsace foolishly remains attached to France, although there can be no hope for their reunification:

HANS Denn wir lieben Frankreich, hören Sie?, wir lieben Frankreich.

CAVREL Ihre Anhänglichkeit -

HANS Ist dumm – unverzeilich dumm. Aber sie besteht. Seien Sie zufrieden, daß wir sie Ihnen umsonst geben. Denn Sie, Sie holen uns nie zurück. (Act II, i, p.30).

Hans's belief that France will never regain Alsace may be interpreted, in the context of the impending war, as a prediction of France's defeat in the war. Schickele at the time of writing the play had genuinely believed France would be defeated, as he indicated to Rolland in a letter, recorded by the latter in his war diaries: 'Il m'écrit de Zurich, 1er mars 1916 [...] qu'il l'a écrit avant que la nouvelle de la Marne eût pénétré en Allemagne, et lorsqu'il croyait sérieusement que la France allait recevoir le coup de grâce et mourir.'[242]

Hans's rejection of Kaufmann and his views, his love of France but belief in the superiority of Germany's military prowess are all centred on the core issue preoccupying him, the dilemma of his Alsatian identity. This identity or Self cannot give either France or Germany what they demand: complete loyalty and negation of one of its Others to the exclusion of its rival, as both constitute in part the particular Alsatian identity. Alsace's only, albeit unrealistic, choice in a Franco-German conflict is not to choose if it hopes to retain the integrity of its identity. However, given the tenacity of these dominant rival forces, France and Germany, in claiming Alsace uniquely as a part of their own identities, this option is hardly feasible and provokes crisis in the Alsatian sense of identity. This is captured in the poetic image of Félix Bertaux, for whom the effects of French and German demands on Alsace are counterproductive for the narcissistic appropriators but destructive for Alsace itself: 'L'Alsace est un lac sur lequel l'Allemagne et la France,

[242] *Ibid.* Page 683.

dans un accès de narcissime sont venus se pencher, exigeant qu'il renvoie leur image, la réclamant plus belle que nature. Or la fièvre des arrivants a troublé le fond'.[243] Thus Hans, the true Alsatian, can only hope that such a conflict may never occur. This promotion of the imperative for Alsace to be pacifist is to be found elsewhere in Schickele's writings. During the Morocco crisis of 1911/12, as editor of the *Straßburger Neue Zeitung*, he states emphatically:

> Wir Elsaß-Lothringer können aber gar nichts anderes sein, als leidenschaftliche Pazifisten, wir können nie und nimmer gelten lassen, daß ein Krieg zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich unvermeidlich sei, weil dieser Krieg das Fürchterlichste wäre, was uns widerfahren könnte. [244]

It is this conviction which is at the core of Hans's discussions with the French deputies. Whereas Kaufmann is representative of a type, the French deputies, Cavrel and Simon are recognizably based on real political figures of the time – the French Socialist politician, Jean Jaurès (1859-1914) and the erstwhile Socialist and then Radical-Socialist minister Aristide Briand (1862-1932):

> Hans Boulanger provoziert im zweiten Aufzug die französischen Parlamentarier Cavrel, in dem Schickele den am Vorabend des Krieges ermordeten Sozialistenführer Jean Jaurès porträtiert und Simon, der nach dem politischen Porträt des Pragmatikers Aristide Briand gezeichnet ist.[245]

This is not the only appearance of Jaurès and Briand in Schickele's work, of whose political significance he was fully aware. As Joachim Storck, in reference to Jean Jaurès, writes: 'Wie nachdrücklich die Begegnung mit diesem "Tribun" des Volkes für Schickele gewesen ist, bezeugt dessen mehrfaches Auftreten im Werk des Dichters'.[246] The collection of essays, entitled *Schreie auf dem Boulevard*,[247] 1913, contains accounts of various political and historical events as well as perceptive and colourful descriptions of various political figures in France, including his enthusiastic essay on Jean Jaurès, entitled *Ein Mann spricht*

---

[243] Bertaux, Félix / Rossé, J. *et alii*. *Das Elsass 1870-1932*. Colmar, 1936. Volume III. Page 207. Quoted in Vogler, Bernard. *Histoire Culturelle de l'Alsace*. Page 533.
[244] Schickele, René. Editorial. In: *Straßburger Neue Zeitung*, 16 April 1912.
[245] Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopishen Civitas Hominum*. Page 224.
[246] Storck, Joachim. 'Rebellenblut in den Adern.' Page 285.
[247] Schickele, René. *Schreie auf dem Boulevard*. First edition, Berlin: Cassirer, 1913. A selection of these essays, which omits the Jean Jaurès' essay, is published under the same title in: *Werke III*, pp.277-411.

zum Volk: Jaurès.[248] Here, Schickele skilfully conveys the effect of Jaurès's oratorial powers on his audience,[249] portraying with great detail and perception Jaurès's appearance and mannerisms whilst speaking. In bringing such an immediate and passionate description to his readers, Schickele makes no secret of his admiration, as a writer, for such an accomplished speaker: 'Er hat eine volkstümliche Einbildungskraft, er hat sogar Poesie. Manche seiner Bilder könnten von Victor Hugo sein. Und dann sein Humor!'.[250] This eulogy of Jaurès reappears, interwoven into the chapter, *Die Frau und der Tribun*, in *Meine Freundin Lo.*[251] The protagonist, Henri Daul, brings Lo to hear Jaurès speaking in a public hall in the Latin Quarter one evening. Jaurès's oratorical powers and force of character and intellect are highlighted by Henri Daul in an attempt to diminish Lo's interest in the politician Cunin through an unfavourable contrast: 'Wer sollte einen Politiker wie Cunin entlarven, wenn nicht ein Politiker wie Jaurès!'.[252] The plan fails, however, and Lo eventually leaves Henri for Cunin. Jaurès fails to impress Lo. "Verstehst du, Henri, mir ist der Mann einfach zu stark, und von Politik verstehe ich nichts. Männer, die so breite Schultern und keinen Hals haben, machen mir Angst'.[253] However, her observations, which focus on outer appearances rather than on Jaurès's eloquence or the quality of his ideas reflect stereotypically upon the frivolous, superficial nature of the Parisian, who can only admire or like those they find attractive and pleasing on a surface level. Jaurès is too intense and serious for Lo, who finds him 'zu stark' and is not interested in the business of politics, but instead 'ganz und gar für die Liebe lebt.'[254] However, her reasons also reinforce the image of the powerful charisma of Jaurès's physical presence and personality.

Briand makes an appearance again as Maxime-Simon in the third novel of his post-war trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein,* entitled *Der Wolf in der Hürde* which we will be examining in more detail in a later chapter. In *Schreie auf dem Boulevard*, he is the subject of the last essay, *Der Politiker Briand,*[255] where it is evident that Schickele's opinion is rather more mixed and far less an eulogy than a commentary, in somewhat sceptical tones, on his rise to power and almost grudging admiration of his political dexterity:

---

[248] First appeared in *März*, 4th January 1913 before being printed in this collection of essays. It was omitted, however, from the republication of *Schreie auf dem Boulevard* in *Werke III.*

[249] Other observers of Jaurès have also recorded this skill as an orator: 'C'est que Jaurès est une "bête oratoire". Il lui arrive souvent, devant deux ou trois personnes, de partir dans des périodes, comme s'il s'adressait à une foule.'[249] Rabaut, Jean. *Jean Jaurès.* Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1971. Page 108.

[250] Bentmann, Friedrich. *René Schickele: Leben und Werk.* Page 69.

[251] Schickele, René. *Meine Freundin Lo.* In: *Romane und Erzählungen*, pp. 15-98.

[252] *Ibid.* Page 86.

[253] *Ibid.* Page 92.

[254] Wagener. *Europäer in Neun Monaten.* Page 63.

[255] 'Schreie auf dem Boulevard.' In: *Werke III*, pp.394–411.

> Was Aristide Briand an politischer Bildung besitzt, sind die Ablagerungen einer von den verschiedensten Intelligenzen und Instinkten sprudelnden Umgebung in einem großen Gedächtnis und einem elektrischen Verstand, der von allen Dingen das für die eigene Person in passende Maß nimmt. Andere mochten mehr Kenntnisse haben. Briand nahm, was davon zu gebrauchen war, und kleidete sich damit. (Page 404).

Schickele's critical opinion of Briand and his lack of loyalty to the Socialist Party is compounded by criticism of his hardline approach as prime minister in quelling the railway strike of 1910, in another essay in this collection, *Ein Streik,* which is also alluded to in the play:[256]

> Im Oktober 1910 aber kam der Streik der Eisenbahnarbeiter. Und jetzt erfuhr man, was Briand unter einer sozialen Republik verstand. Er unterdrückte einen vollkommen gesetzlichen, von seinem eigenen Justizminister für gesetzlich erklärten Streik mit der Dampfwalze seiner Polizei [...] Weil er skrupellos ist, nennt man ihn einen Staatsmann. (*Der Politiker Briand*, page 408). Briand war erbarmungslos, die Streikenden hatten Gelegenheit gefunden, sich mit diesem Gedanken vertraut zu machen, sie konnten auf das Schlimmste gefaßt sein. (*Ein Streik*, page 376).

Jaurès, in contrast, with his political integrity, shows solidarity with the workers in championing their cause and in his defiant opposition to Briand's orders for arrests: 'Jaurès erhob sich: "Im Namen der Republik und des Streikrechts protestiere ich gegen diese eigenmächtige Verhaftung."' (*Ein Streik,* page 371). The views on Briand's handling of the strike substantiate Müller's comment in *Hans im Schnakenloch* on Simon's efficient treatment of revolt but lesser popularity with the 'Volk': 'Simon kann einen Aufstand unterdrücken, aber ich glaube nicht, daß er einem Volk den Glauben an die Sterne einblasen könnte' (Act II, *V*, viii, pp.45-46).

Schickele's knowledge of and interest in French politics, in particular French Socialism, was gained chiefly between 1909 and 1913, when he lived in Paris and worked as a political correspondent for the German periodical *Nord und Süd* and for the *Straßburger Neue Zeitung*. It was during this period that Schickele became acquainted with Jaurès's own particular brand of Socialism – a pacifist socialism not constrained by

[256] *Ibid*, pp.365–377.

complete adherence to Marxist theory - with which he could identify.[257] Jaurès also wished to obtain peace in a Europe where belligerent nationalism was escalating at an alarming rate. What in particular must have won Schickele's admiration for Jaurès's political outlook was that he too understood that real peace between France and Germany was the key to a harmonious Europe. Jaurès realized that although the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine was a national tragedy for France, the cankerous memory of the Franco-Prussian War should be encouraged to heal by fostering friendlier relations with Germany rather than festering and degenerating into war. 'Nous n'avons pas le droit de laisser subsister la question d'Alsace-Lorraine comme un principe permanent de guerre possible.'[258] As Goldberg writes:

> Jaurès appealed rather to time and patience as the only solutions to the problem: Our duty is simple. It consists in remaining well-armed: talking little but thinking a great deal about Alsace-Lorraine; of honoring the dignity of France by rising above cowardly and childish attacks on the Germans in France; and of choosing our leaders and policies in domestic affairs without reference to foreign powers.[259]

Both Schickele and Jaurès were horrified at the prospect of a war breaking out in Europe, although Jaurès, with his unshakeable faith in the international working class and conviction that good sense would prevail at the end of the day, believed that the war could still be prevented. They shared the same political ideology and a desire for intercultural exchange as a means to building trust between nations, in particular France and Germany.[260] His assassination a few days before the war on account of his outspoken pacifist stance seemed to symbolically extinguish a last hope that order and civilisation would prevail against the impending chaos.

Given the similarity of these two men in their political outlooks and their uncompromising pacifist stance, as well as Schickele's deep admiration for Jaurès, it is not surprising then to find Jaurès appearing in *Hans im Schnakenloch* as the French deputy Cavrel, participating actively in the discussions on Alsace, Franco-German

---

[257] 'Jaurès (hat) Schickele gelehrt, daß Sozialismustheorie auch ohne doktrinäres Festhalten an Marxischer Lehre möglich ist.' Brummert, Ulrike. 'Aufhebung von Grenzen. Zur deutsch-französischen Vermittlerrolle von René Schickele und Jean Jaurès.' In: Finck, Adrien; Ritter, Alexandre; Staiber, Maryse, (ed.). *René Schickele aus neuer Sicht. Beiträge zur deutsch-französishen Kultur*. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Presse, 1991. Page 54.

[258] In an article written by Jean Jaurès for the newspaper *Petite République* (no date given) and quoted in Bariety, Jacques and Poidevin, Raymond. *Les Relations franco-allemandes 1815-1975.* Paris: A.Colin, 1977. Page 154.

[259] Goldberg, Harvey. *The Life of Jean Jaurès*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1968. Page 197. Jaurès is quoted and translated from an article written for *Dépêche de Toulouse*, 22.10.1887.

[260] 'Beide sind Verfechter eines interkulturellen Austauschs über die nationalen Staatsgrenzen hinaus.' Brummert, Ulrike. 'Aufhebung von Grenzen.' Page 45.

relations and war, in Act II (and again being referred to in Act III).[261] It seems unlikely that Schickele, given this deep admiration of Jaurès, should have been influenced in his depiction of Cavrel by *La Foire sur la Place*. Rolland too was a great admirer of Jaurès, yet as we have seen deeply resented Schickele's comparison of his work to that of *La Foire sur la Place* because he believed that the play's characters had been influenced by his satirical portrayals. Are we to believe then that it is the depiction of Cavrel that Rolland resented in *Hans im Schnakenloch*? Jean-Christophe is described as spending an evening in discussion with a Socialist deputy, and this does provide an outward framework for the comparison. 'Il [Jean-Christophe] fut amené à en causer, un soir, avec un deputé socialiste qu'il rencontrait parfois dans le salon de Stevens.'[262] Unlike the pacifist Jaurès, though, this particular Socialist, Achille Roussin, is an 'homme du monde' and 'un chef de parti violent'.[263] Certain impressions of Roussin's appearance and mannerisms bear resemblance to Cavrel, others, however, remind us still more of Simon, which will be discussed in more detail later. In relation to Cavrel, Roussin with his energy, his zest and friendly manner seems quite similar: 'les manières cordiales [...] exubérant d'une façon raisonnée, s'assimilant sur-le-champs tout ce qu'il entendait; sympathique d'ailleurs, intelligent, s'intéressant à tout' (page 191/192). We are told also, 'Il avait une assez jolie femme'. However, these are rather superficial correspondences. The analogies between Jaurès and Cavrel are far stronger than between Roussin and Cavrel. Schickele never had an opportunity to discuss politics with Jaurès in real life, but through the characters of Cavrel and Hans he constructs an imaginary dialogue with a politician whose intellect and political outlook he respected. Another indicator that Jaurès is the true inspiration behind Cavrel is his eloquence, which remains true to Jaurès's effusive, rhetorical manner of speech, a gift which Schickele had ample opportunity to observe whilst in Paris; Cavrel is described as speaking 'mit natürlicher Beredsamkeit, wahrer Empfindung' (Act II, i, p.29).

On the level of biographical detail, the analogies between the fictitious Cavrel and Jean Jaurès begin with the identity of their wives' names – Louise. Biographical studies of Jaurès portray his wife as an ambitious woman who in the early years of marriage lived in the hope that her husband would one day be an important minister in the French government. Jaurès in fact never received a ministerial position, as he felt it would endanger the unity of the Socialist party which he had worked so hard to unite. Cavrel, like Jaurès, is a Socialist member of the French parliament, but not a minister. Unable to

---

[261] In her essay on Schickele and Jaurès, Ulrike Brummert writes: 'Jaurès hat für die Figur des Cavrel Pate gestanden.' *Ibid.* Page 55.
[262] Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Page 191.
[263] *Ibid.* Page 191.

understand his deep loyalty to the unity of the Socialist party even at the cost of his own political success, Louise lost interest in Jaurès's political career and gradually became all but estranged from him, using their youngest son Louis's health as a pretext to spend most of her time in Albi in the South of France and away from the 'unhealthy air' of Paris.[264] In *Hans im Schnakenloch,* there are echoes of this lack of comprehension of her husband's career in Louise Cavrel's speech to Hans: 'Oh, ich war sehr ehrgeizig. Das sind wir Mädels der republikanischen Gesellschaft immer [...] Und als mein Ehrgeiz fort war und ich mich umsah, da merkte ich, daß ich auch meinen Mann verloren hatte [...] Er weiß heute noch nicht, daß ich irgendwo weit hinten auf seinem Weg liegen geblieben bin.' (Act II, iii, pp.35-36). However, unlike Louise Jaurès, Louise Cavrel is not portrayed as embittered and in fact greatly admires her husband, even if she does not share his enthusiasm for socialist politics and feels remote from him. It is suggested that in earlier days she did believe in him and although she admires him, realises she will never possess his strength of conviction. She, like Lo, feels alienated in this world of politics, which in Schickele's works appears to be a male realm: 'Aber Cavrel ist kein Politiker, er ist ein Prophet [...] ja, ich bin wahrhafter geworden durch ihn, ich habe eine neue Welt gesehn – *(leise)* – in der ich mich niemals heimisch fühlen werde.' (Act II, iii, p.35).

Louise Jaurès's dysfunctional relationship with her husband is taken a step further in the play when Louise Cavrel leaves her husband and has an affair with Hans. Cavrel, we learn, similar to Jaurès, loves his wife unconditionally. Jaurès retained his respect and affection for Louise although it was apparently not reciprocated, and Schickele emphasises Jaurès's renowned generous and noble nature when he describes Cavrel's unconditional acceptance of Louise: '[I]ch habe sie (Louise) nach Hause gebracht vor ihren Mann, der wie ein Offizier der Heilsarmee mit mir sprach, nachdem er sie mit der Freude eines ausgehungerten Bären umarmt hatte.' (Act III, iii, p.66). However, Julie Meyer indicates how this portrayal of Cavrel along with that of the other French characters could have given rise to Rolland's criticism:

> Schickeles [...] Darstellung eines gewissermaßen selbstverständlichen Hanges zur Galanterie und Libertinage in den französisch orientierten elsässischen Gesellschaftskreisen und bei den französischen Gästen, die dem erotischen Abenteuer des Hans Boulanger Vorschub leisten oder wie Cavrel zumindest Toleranz und

[264] 'En réalité, Louise s'est aigrie depuis qu'elle a perdu l'espoir de voir son mari accéder au pouvoir...Jamais homme plus fidèlement épris de sa femme depuis vingt ans ne fut traité avec plus d'indifférence [...] Louise est Mme. Jaurès. Elle n'est plus sa femme.' Auclair, Marcelle. *La Vie de Jaurès ou la France d'avant 1914.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1954, pp.514-515.

Diskretion entgegenbringen, haben den Eindruck erweckt, als wollte der Autor die französische Mentalität verunglimpfen.[265]

This suggests that Schickele in his endeavours to underline the differences between the French and the German characters, has endorsed stereotypical depictions of French identity which, at least by Rolland, were taken amiss. Despite Schickele's intentions regarding his portrayal of French attitudes to Louise's and Hans's love affair, it is clear that in the context of the ongoing war, his motives could easily be misconstrued and distorted by either side. What is interesting is that this is taken amiss by a French writer rather than emphasised by German propagandists.

Much of the dialogue in Act II focuses in particular on the thorny subject of Alsace-Lorraine and its relations with both France and Germany. As the Countess remarks: 'Die ewigen Dinge drehen sich alle um das Elsaß.' (Act II, i, p.29). This recognition of the political significance of Alsace in a Europe of nations also signifies the tragedy of human conflict over territory and the suffering of its victims. This is Schickele's pacifist message, but 'die ewigen Dinge' were also universal questions of the in-betweenness of an identity caught between and forged out of two opposing national identities. It may seem at first that Cavrel has not perhaps really grasped the import of the Countess's remark on Alsace, when he exclaims in response to this comment by the Countess, in a fashion typical of Jaurès: 'Selbstverständlich. Das wunderbare Land. Ein Garten – bis an den Rhein!' (Act II, i, p.29). However, according to Ulrike Brummert, Cavrel is attributed this phrase in the play to illustrate his (or Jaurès's) understanding of the unique position of Alsace: 'Die Figur des Cavrel wird mit vollem Einfühlungsvermögen in die elsässische Partikularität konstruiert, so kommt aus seinem Mund das von Schickele so geschätzte Bild des elsässischen Gartens.'[266] The idyllic pastoral connotations associated here with Alsace as a garden stretching from the Vosges to the banks of the Rhine, indicate that France regards Alsace in an idealised light – a garden offering 'ein überwältigender Anblick' (Act II, i, p.29). The Countess's remark, 'Dies ist die historische Stelle, wo Ludwig XIV ausrief: "Der schöne Garten!"' (Act II, i, p.29) reinforces the idea that France, with its historical ties to Alsace, has always fostered an idyllic image of Alsace as a beautiful garden which has become part of a national myth. The image also has the biblical connotation of the Garden of Eden. Schickele, as we have seen, recognises in Alsace the potential to be a means towards peace and harmony – a dream of an impossible Utopia, in the light of events unfolding as he wrote the play. The

[265] Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum.* Page 223.
[266] Brummert, Ulrike. 'Aufhebung von Grenzen.' Page 45.

Garden too is a place to which its former inhabitants long to return – an allegory of French and German claims on this territory – but which is also a source of bitter discontent. The reality for Hans is, as Schickele elsewhere describes it, 'ein himmlischer Garten der Qual'.[267] In stark contrast to the French image of Alsace, Hans refers to it as 'Der Sumpf unserer lieben Frau.' (Act II, i, p.29). This image of Alsace as a marsh of 'unserer lieben Frau', symbolised by Marianne/France, ties in with the associations of Hans's abode – der Schnakenloch. It recalls too the watery metaphor of Alsace as a lake, expected to reflect the image of the contending powers upon its banks.

Alsace's self-image differs then to the image constructed for it by France. Alsace, as described by Hans, suggests a stagnant rural backwater of France. This in turn suggests connotations of a sense of subordination with regard to a perceived superiority of France, which as we have seen was promoted for example, through the plays of the *Théâtre Alsacien*. For Alsace, it seems the garden in reality is not so idyllic. That France sees this Other (Alsace) differently to Alsace's own perception of Self highlights the sense of misunderstanding around the question of Alsace. The image of Hans, the archetypal Alsatian, bogged down in swampland, from which he cannot extricate himself easily, attacked by stinging flies on all sides, is a graphic image of the problematic of Alsatian identity, intensified as it is on the eve of war. This analogy of entrapment in the quagmire of dilemmas and choices echoes a similar feeling in Schickele's significantly entitled *Der Fremde*,[268] emphasising the sense of alienation of the Alsatian. Here we have an image of Alsace as a valley, hemmed in on all sides, but from which the protagonist Paul Merkel jubilantly departs 'hinaus aus dem Tal' to live in Paris. In the exclamation, 'Er war frei!'[269] there is a sense of relief and liberty in leaving this garden of dilemmas behind. Thus although Cavrel, in using the image of the garden to describe Alsace, highlights the similarity of thought between himself and Hans, it is also an image that symbolises differing perceptions of Alsace.

Cavrel's origins ('Ich stamme aus dem Süden.' Act II, i, p.30) further reinforce the analogy with Jaurès. Jaurès was born in the South, the Occitan region and remained in close contact with his native region. The South of France or *Midi* has its own regional specificities, for example, Occitan, a Provençal language. It is documented that Adélaïde Jaurès, the mother of Jean Jaurès, sung lullabies in Occitan to Jean and his brother Louis. Thus Jaurès, from an early age was conscious of 'Otherness', of the possibility of the coexistence of different cultures and languages within the boundaries of one country, and

---

[267] 'Hier kurz mein Fall. Geboren und aufgewachsen im himmlischen Garten der Qual zwishen Rhein und Vogesen.' The quotation is taken from the preface to the second edition of his essay, *Schicksal.* In: 'Schreie auf dem Boulevard', *Werke III.* Page 277.
[268] Schickele, René. *Der Fremde.* In: *Werke I*, pp.1013-1180.
[269] *Ibid,* pp.1060-1061.

that difference was not something one should fear or view as a threat. This can explain why Jaurès, unlike many of his countrymen, was open to Germany and admired its great intellectual tradition.[270] Rolland remarks in a diary entry for example:

> Madame Kautsky a conservé de Jaurès un souvenir ravi [...] La prodigieuse richesse du génie de Jaurès, sa curiosité et son savoir universels, étonnent toujours plus, quand on en entend raconter des traits. Lors d'une visite des Kautsky à Paris, Jaurès en les promenant au Bois, récitait des poètes allemands, qu'ils connaissaient moins bien que lui.[271]

Jaurès's Germanophile attitude and openness to a very different culture is reflected in Cavrel's exclamation: 'Ich bewundere dieses Volk! Ja, ich kann sagen, daß ich es liebe.' (Act II, i, p.31). Here we see no trace of that stereotypical trait of a sense of French cultural superiority towards Germany, which manifested itself evermore virulently leading up to the war. Jaurès, from 1905 onwards, emphasised the need for closer co-operation between France and Germany rather than maintaining diplomatic links with Russia: 'Il (Jaurès) affirmait qu'il était nécessaire de desserrer les liens avec la diplomatie russe; pour cela, il fallait commencer d'établir des relations pacifiques avec l'Allemagne'.[272] Germany, he argued, needed to be encouraged along the path to a more democratic form of government in order to solve the problem of Alsace-Lorraine peacefully: 'il (Jaurès) avait affirmé qu'il attendait une solution de la question Alsace-Lorraine du développement de la démocratie en Allemagne, et non d'une guerre nouvelle'.[273] In the play, Cavrel echoes this desire to cultivate stronger bonds with Germany and also, like Jaurès, is optimistic that the collective conscience of the working class would prevent the outbreak of war. He is a fundamental believer in this collective conscience, which would not permit another war between France and Germany.[274] Jaurès's belief that only through closer co-operation between France and Germany would these two nations lose their mistrust and suspicion of one another and come to realise that in fact they were not so different after all, is reflected by Cavrel: 'Die Völker werden sich mit ihren wirtschaftlichen und geistigen Interessen so durchdringen, werden sich so sehr

---

[270] Jaurès in fact spoke the German language very well, having learnt it from a young age in school. He was also well acquainted with German literature and philosophy. In February 1892, he defended his doctoral thesis 'Des Fondements du Socialisme dans Luther, Kant, Fichte und Hegel' at the Sorbonne, Paris.

[271] Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XXVII, 1919. Page 1734.

[272] Rabaut, Jean. *Jean Jaurès.* Page 179.

[273] *Ibid.* Page 179.

[274] 'Die Vorstellung [...] von dem den Menschen angeborenen Gerechtigkeitssinn, die sich in Schickelescher Formulierung im "Massengewissen" äußert, ist eine Grundüberzeugung des Humanisten Jaurès.' Brummert, Ulrike. 'Aufhebung von Grenzen.' Page 55.

an die Zusammenarbeit ihrer verschiedenartigen Kräfte gewöhnen, daß sich mit der Zeit auch das Verständnis für die gegenseitigen Lebensbedingungen und eine Nachgiebigkeit einstellen muß.' (Act II, i, p.31).

Here in Cavrel's speech, influences of *Jean-Christophe* and one of its fundamental themes, the promotion of Franco-German *rapprochement* through the protagonist's first encounters with France, are palpable, as identified by Duchatelet in his biography of Rolland: 'Il commence la préparation de la future trilogie française, *Jean-Christophe à Paris*, conçue comme un volume en trois parties [...] "Ce sera la vraie Allemagne et la vraie France qui prendront alors conscience de leur âme à toutes deux, – de leur âme fraternelle"'.[275] Although *La Foire sur la Place* itself, is for the most part a negative depiction of France, it is intended as a counterpart to the following volume, *Dans la Maison*, where Christophe through his friend Olivier is to discover more positive sides to this country, which he gradually begins to understand in all its many aspects, thus encouraging more co-operative and harmonious relations between the German protagonist and France. In *La Révolte*[276] the presence of two Frenchwomen of contrastive natures, ('les deux jeunes filles symboliseront "les deux France", "la France séduisante et superficielle" et "la France qui travaille"'[277]), anticipates the two faces of France revealed in *La Foire sur la Place* and *Dans la Maison*[278] and remind us of a similar binary opposition in Schickele's depiction of Klär and Louise, but as dichotomous analogies of German and French identity.

This suggests that Schickele's inspiration for his French characters draws not so much on the satirically portrayed characters themselves in *La Foire sur la Place*, as Rolland had assumed, but rather on its ideas and themes which contribute to the continuum of the whole novel series. The portrayal then of the French deputies in the play would indeed seem to owe more to the idea of Christophe's encounter with the Socialists – the confrontation of characters of differing nationalities who represent different viewpoints – than to the content of their discussion or individual depictions, as suggested by Romain Rolland. That Schickele does not refer specifically to the characters in this fifth volume but to the book in general in his letter to Rolland would seem to vindicate this argument.[279]

---

[275] Quoted in Duchatelet, Bernard. *Romain Rolland tel qu'en lui-même.* Paris: Albin Michel. Page 132.
[276] Rolland, Romain. *Jean Christophe.* Volume 4: *La Révolte.* First appeared in Charles Peguy's *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, 1906-1907.
[277] Duchatelet, Bernard. *Romain Rolland.* Page 128.
[278] Francis, R.A. *Romain Rolland.* Page 72.
[279] 'L'auteur de la foire sur la place...'. In: Meyer-Boghardt, Julie. '"Cher maître.": Die Korrespondenz zwischen René Schickele und Romain Rolland mit einigen ergänzenden Dokumenten.' pp. 101-102.

Jaurès's proposal to ensure political stability and peace was not greeted with enthusiasm by many French politicians, even by those who did not wish for a 'guerre de revanche' with Germany: 'On n'est pas pour la guerre, mais on est contre la paix de M. Jaurès'.[280] Even the Socialist fraction under the leadership of Paul Guesde, known therefore as the 'guesdistes', were sceptical of Jaurès's internationalist brand of politics, arguing that the German Social Democrats had claimed they would fight for their country in the event of war. '"Si l'Allemagne était attaquée, les socialistes allemands la défendraient, et si la France est attaquée, vous donneriez à entendre que les socialistes français la désarmeraient et la livreraient!" Why then should they, the French Socialists, leave France defenceless?' argued Guesde at the Socialist Congress in Nancy 1906.[281] If Jaurès's pacifism provoked outcry among the Socialists, reaction in conservative right circles was much more extreme, with some leaders of right-wing groups calling him a traitor and going so far as to write inflammatory articles calling for his assassination. Rolland has recorded the content of some examples of these articles in his war diary where, for example, Charles Maurras describes Jaurès as '"l'intermédiaire entre la corruption allemande et les corrumpus de l'anti-militarisme français"' and exhorts his readers '"de ne pas perdre de vue ce traître"'.[282] In another article, written just before the outbreak of war and in the days leading up to Jaurès's assassination, the tone is more violent. Here, Maurras identifies Jaurès wholly with the enemy: '"misèrable, d'ennemi public, d'infâme, de traître, d'individu qui trafique de son pays [...] Chacun le sait, M. Jaurès, c'est l'Allemagne!"'.[283] It was established that Raoul Villain, acquitted for the assassination of Jean Jaurès, had been influenced by such articles and, being of below average intelligence, had taken them literally.

In the play Hans learns of Cavrel's death through Starkfuß. Schickele distorts and exaggerates the details of Jaurès's death for his pacifist ideals to bring home more forcefully the full horror and brutality of this act carried out on a man who abhorred violence so much himself. Given the incitement of the right-wing press and the acquittal of Raoul Villain, Ulrike Brummert is right to suggest that these changes, highlight public responsibility for this assassination: 'Im Drama erweitert Schickele den Kreis der Akteure, erläßt ihn bestialisch von der Menge auf einer Anti-Kriegskundgebung zu Tode treten, was symbolisch die allgemeine Verantwortlichkeit für diese "Opferung"

---

[280] Auclair, Marcelle. *La Vie de Jaurès ou la France avant 1914.* Paris: Editions Seuil. Page 207.
[281] Rabaut, Jean. *Jean Jaurès.* Page 207.
[282] '1° *Action Française*, 21 mai 1913'. In: Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XXV, 1918. Page 1526.
[283] '3° Action Française (14 ou 18 juillet 1914)'. In: *Ibid.* Page 1528.

retabliert'.[284] Starkfuss describes how an anti-war group Cavrel is leading, collide with an angry pro-war mob:

> [I]n Paris haben sie für und gegen den Krieg manifestiert [...]Dabei ist ein Zug, den Cavrel führte, Arbeiter, gegen den Krieg, auf einen Haufen Pöbel gestoßen [...] sie kamen in eine Schlägerei, Cavrel fiel, es wurde auf ihm weitergerauft, seine Freunde wurden geworfen, und als der ganze nachstürmende Haufen endlich über Cavrel hinweggerannt war, erkannte man ihn erst nicht, so hatten sie ihn zerstampft. Sie schafften ihn nach Hause. Aber er kam tot an. (Act III, viii, p.77).

This gruesome description of his death transforms Cavrel into a martyr figure, sacrificed for his ideals. Rolland, too, sees in the death of Jaurès the death of a martyr for his pacifist beliefs. 'Ah! la mort de Jaurès n'est pas la plus lamentable. Il tombe du moins martyr de sa mission, de l'Evangile nouveau'.[285]

This idea is developed further in Brummert's explanation for Schickele's choice of the name 'Cavrel' in the play. 'Nomen est omen: cavre, cabra heißt auf okzitanisch das Zicklein'.[286] This suggests that Schickele regards Jaurès as a scapegoat who has borne the brunt of the attacks by those violently opposed to any left-wing, pacifist solution to improving relations with Germany. That Cavrel is a name of Occitan origin further cements the analogies already discussed between Jaurès and this character in the play. Schickele's emphasis on Cavrel's Occitan roots in the play distances him from any similarity with the Parisians satirised in *La Foire sur la Place*. Rather Cavrel, with origins far from Paris and whose concerns are for the working class, corresponds to another, more positive French stereotype in Rolland's work, that of the 'gens de province'. Rosenberg identifies these representatives of the other France as follows: 'Aber dem oberflächlich geschauten Frankreich steht ein zweites gegenüber, das seine Stärke bildet, jenes Volk der Arbeit, das sich um den Lärm der Mächtigen nicht kümmert, das sich die Mansarden in Paris und die Provinz bewohnt'.[287] Indeed the comparison of Cavrel with the 'gens de province' provides the cause for another tension between him and Louise, who is attributed the sophisticated Parisian image. Thus Schickele's obvious admiration for Jaurès in his essays has fed into the play, which models Cavrel on Jaurès's political outlook and reflects a consensus between Hans's and Cavrel's opinions regarding Alsace and Franco-German relations.

---

[284] Brummert, Ulrike. 'Aufhebung von Grenzen'. Page 55.
[285] Rolland, Romain. *Journal des années de Guerre.* Book I. 1st August, 1914. Page 32.
[286] Brummert, Ulrike. 'Aufhebung von Grenzen.' Page 55.
[287] Rosenberg, Felix. Franzosen und Deutsche in Romain Rollands 'Jean-Christophe'. Page 198.

The postulation that Aristide Briand, erstwhile friend and colleague of Jaurès, is represented in the second act by the character Simon is, as we shall see, corroborated by many parallels, both in terms of character and political views. However, in Simon's character there are traces too of the influence of Rolland's satirical portrayals of Achille Roussin, Lucien Lévy-Cœur and other salon Socialists in *La Foire sur la Place.* Just as Schickele's essays on Briand in *Schreie auf dem Boulevard* reveal a more critical attitude towards him than towards Jaurès, Simon acts as a foil to the more sympathetic treatment of Cavrel's character in the play. It is not surprising then to find that it is Simon rather than Cavrel whose character corresponds more closely to Rolland's negative portrayals of Parisian socialist parliamentarians, 'who pervert the republican ideal'.[288] We are told, for example, that Lucien Lévy-Cœur, who inspires antipathy in Christophe, joins the Socialist party, though not on any altruistic or ideological grounds, and is prepared to consort with the opposition in order to court popularity. '[I]l fallait que le socialisme fût bien sûr de réussir que Lucien Lévy-Cœur vînt à lui [...] Lucien Lévy-Cœur avait trouvé moyen d'être tout aussi bien vu dans le camp opposé, où il avait réussi à se faire l'ami de personnalités les plus anti-libérales, voire même anti-sémites, de la politique'.[289]

Briand, himself, passed through many shades of politics from Boulangism to Syndicalism[290] and then parliamentary socialism before finally acceding to personal ambition when he became minister for religion and education in 1906 in a radical (Centre/Left) government. In the following years his political career knew many successes – he led two governments before the outbreak of World War I – but it also led to a definitive split with the Socialist party, of which he was once Secretary General, and with Jaurès, who maintained that party unity should take precedence over personal political ambition. Jaurès was deeply critical of Briand's choice to accept a minister's portfolio in January 1905 against his advice, as he would endanger the unity of the Socialist party while furthering his own career: '[C]'est au nom de l'unification du Parti que Jaurès lui (Briand) intime de refuser'.[291] In Schickele's play the dialogue between Cavrel and Simon is sharp at times and their fencing of words reflects this tension which existed between Jaurès and Briand, as Briand's politics became more estranged from the doctrines of the Left. It was Briand's ambition that led him to affiliate with Jaurès in the

---

[288] R.A. Francis. *Romain Rolland.* Page 85.
[289] Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Page 206.
[290] Syndicalists believed that socialism could be more effectively and rapidly achieved through the direct action of unions rather than through politics. The general strike was the weapon they chose to wage war against capitalism. In Harvey Goldberg's *The Life of Jean Jaurès* (page 169) the author elucidates the attraction of the general strike for the syndicalists. 'A seductive simplicity attended the theory of the *grève générale*; in contrast to the rationalism and complexity of Marxism, it offered up a revolution swiftly, decisively self-made, without elections, deputies or parliaments.'
[291] Auclair, Marcelle. *La Vie de Jaurès ou la France d'avant 1914.* Page 460.

first place, recognising in him a potentially powerful ally who commanded universal respect in the Socialist party. However, Briand's loyalty was first and foremost to himself, and as Schickele writes in his essay, *Der Politiker Briand*: 'Jaurès ist der größte Optimist und der beste Mensch in ganz Frankreich. Als er die Fahnenflucht seines Freundes Aristide feststellte, war der schon lange über dem großen Berg'.[292] Rolland also harshly criticises Briand's lack of loyalty to one party and how his libertine attitudes have permeated his government: 'Gâchis, désordre, immoralité du gouvernement de Briand: son ignorance foncière, sa faiblesse, sa rouene molle et incertaine, qui joue de tous les partis et peut se servir de tous ou bien les trahir tous'.[293]

In attempting to explain French politics to Klär, Cavrel compares Simon's departure from the Socialist party with that of a pretty woman of no virtue who leaves her husband, ironically and unwittingly describing his own wife's behaviour soon afterwards: 'Wir haben eine Anzahl frühere Sozialisten, die aus der Partei ausgetreten sind, wie eine hübsche, aber wenig tugendhafte Frau, die auf Irrwege gerät, ihrem Mann davonläuft und sich eine eigene Wohnung einrichtet.' (II, *V*, viii, p.44). He continues this analogy of Briand and other former Socialists to this virtueless woman to imply that they are prepared to 'prostitute' their socialist ideals in order to further their careers but are unwilling to commit themselves to any one ideology or party line: 'und wie die erwähnte Dame dann wohl einen Salon eröffnet, wo die Leute aller möglichen Gesellschaftskreise verkehren, so operieren unsere Sozialisten mit allen möglichen Parteien, ohne sich auf eine festzulegen.' (II, *V*, viii, p.44). Of course this description could approximate to Hans too. However, such men behave like this out of self-interest to further their political careers, whereas for Hans his changing allegiances reflect an attempt to remain true to himself and his double cultural heritage.

The other ministers to whom Cavrel refers are most probably Millerand and Viviani, who also left the Socialist party to pursue their own careers at ministerial level, mainly under the Radical government, which, loosely described, represented the interests of the anti-clerical bourgeois. Goldberg ascribes the same view of these former Socialists to Jaurès: 'Three of the key ministers – Briand, Viviani and Millerand – still called themselves socialist but to Jaurès their presence merely demonstrated the poverty of radical leadership. They raised their own flag'.[294] Cavrel's criticism of Simon's readiness to fraternise with all types of politicians in order to gain more support for himself, echoes the behaviour of Achille Roussin in *La Foire sur la Place* who 'connaissaient leur sottise

[292] Schickele, René. *Schreie auf dem Boulevard.* In: *Werke III.* Page 407.
[293] Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XVIII. Page 1012.
[294] Goldberg, Harvey. *The Life of Jean Jaurès.* Page 401.

ou leurs roueries mieux que personne, mais cela ne l'empêchait pas de les soutenir, afin d'être soutenu par eux'.[295]

This scene in which the French deputies attempt to enlighten Klär on French politics portrays a milieu where shallowness and self-centredness appear to hold sway, as Simon informs Klär, 'Madame, die Sache ist sehr einfach. Unser bester Müllér ist Fortschrittler, weil er findet, daß die Mitglieder dieser Partei das beste Familienleben führen.' (Act II, *V*, viii, p.44). Schickele, in this stereotypical representation of the character Müller, deputy, businessman and Simon's financial patron, reinforces the most superficial and frivolous aspects of French identity, and whose flippant response contrasts with the more earnest nature of Klär's question:

KLÄR Die Herren sind wirklich all drei Abgeordnete?

MÜLLER: Liebe Nichte, ich bin es nur zum Spaß. Um einen guten Platz zu haben, wenn die Menagerie musiziert und die Herren Tierbändiger auftreten. Ich selbst rechne mich zu den Amphibien, die man in Paris mit einer Mischung von Bedauern und Bewunderung den »unverbesserlichen Provinzler« nennt. (II, *V*, viii, p.43).

Here we can see cause for Rolland's criticism with regard to Müller whose character would indeed seem to correspond closely to the satirical representations of egotistical politicians in *La Foire sur la Place* described as: 'Un opportunisme myope [...] au service de ce nihilisme jouisseur. Les grands intérets de l'avenir étaient sacrifiés à l'égoisme de l'heure présente [...] On voulait organiser sa vie et celle de la nation avec le mimimum de peine et de sacrifice'.[296] As Müller speaks in a detached fashion and with irony, what he says regarding his political career cannot perhaps be taken too seriously, particularly as his depiction at a soirée underlines this impression of the French politician's frivolity. Indeed it is difficult to know what Müller really believes in, a French stereotype behaviour which also comes into play in Rolland's novel and is regarded by Rosenberg as 'diese Angst des Franzosen, mit dem eigenen Fühlen hervorzutreten'.[297] Although Cavrel in explaining French politics speaks in an ironic fashion, he gives the impression of sincerity and intensity of feeling. His irony is more a symptom of his disenchantment with the disloyal behaviour of his comrades. The sense of alienation perceptible in Klär's reaction to these explanations emphasises the difference in

---

[295] Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Page 207.
[296] *Ibid.* Page 209.
[297] Rosenberg, Felix. Franzosen und Deutsche in Romain Rollands 'Jean-Christophe.' Page 200. This of course is meant to highlight how the Germans, in accordance with German self-image and promotion of their *Kultur,* are more sentimental in nature and unafraid to reveal their feelings.

outlook between Germany and France in their attitudes towards politics and in turn would justify Rolland's annoyance: 'KLÄR: Ich muß gestehn, wenn ich Französin wäre, fände ich das alles recht ungemütlich.' (Act II, *V,* viii, p.45). The influence of Christophe's more intense and negative impressions of French politicians in *La Foire sur la Place* is unmistakeable here.[298] Even if Schickele uses this scene in the play to reinforce the message of the Otherness of French identity, his over-emphasis on stereotypical French traits and caricature, particularly in the case of Müller, led to misunderstandings.

Differences of opinion that existed between Briand and Jaurès are symbolised in the play by the disparity between Simon and Cavrel's temperaments as well as in their political views. Simon is portrayed as being aloof and rather ironic. Unlike Cavrel, he says very little and appears calm and controlled. He listens silently to Cavrel's effusive eulogy of Germany and the mass genius of its people, only interjecting to make a short comment:

CAVREL: Die Deutschen sind ein großes Volk, und ich verehre die Größe, wo ich sie finde. Wir könnten stolz sein, ihre Freunde zu heißen. Und wir könnten sie brauchen.

SIMON (*immer ironisch*): Ihre Verehrung für die Größe ist ein Tribut , den Sie sich selbst zollen. (Act II, i, p.31).

Simon's attitude is reminiscent here of Lucien Lévy-Cœur's, described as representing 'l'esprit d'ironie et de décomposition, qui s'attaquaient doucement, poliment, sourdement'.[299] We are given the impression that Simon is a man who never rushes headlong into situations but waits and listens, revealing little of his own thoughts except through ambivalent and ironic comments. This would correspond with descriptions of Briand's character. Suarez, in his biography of Briand, informs us that he was a man who possessed 'une longue patience [...] et l'habitude de voir loin, bien au-delà de l'horizon proche'.[300] In Rolland there is reference to his ironic, sardonic disposition, 'lisant dans l'oeil goguenard de Briand l'ironie, le cynicisme'[301], which corresponds to descriptions of many of the Parisians Christophe encounters too: 'Ils avaient l'esprit sceptique'.[302] Briand

---

[298] '[D]ans ce milieu de politiciens et de snobs [qu']il fut ressaisi d'une aversion pour eux plus violente encore que naguère [...] Impossible d'entendre la musique ici: c'était une profanation'. In: Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Page 314.
[299] *Ibid.* Page 179.
[300] Suarez, Georges. *Briand, sa vie, son oeuvre. Avec son journal et des nombreuex documents inédites.* 6 Volumes. Paris: Plon, 1938 – 1952. Volume I. Page 8.
[301] Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XVI. July 1916. Page 848.
[302] Rolland, Romain. *La Foire sur la Place.* Page 197.

has also been described as 'ce prince de l'équivoque,'[303] which supports the portrayal of Simon in the play as a rather enigmatic character who avoids giving straight answers. For example when the Countess Sulz asks him for a photograph of his lover, his reply is ambiguous: 'Da Sie mir vielleicht behilflich sein können, sie zu finden, gern.' (Act II, i, p.33).

However, sometimes his cool irony gives way to exasperation with Cavrel's rather idealistic views and oratorical manner of speaking: 'Sind Sie fertig? Sie sprechen nämlich immer, als ob Sie eine Rede anfingen – wenn Sie nicht bereits mitten drin sind. Wissen Sie was Ihr Massengenie ist? Der Einfall eines Kirchenvaters.' (Act II, i, p.32). Nevertheless, Simon is also portrayed as a man who is loved by his friends and has no real enemies, as Louise reveals, (Act II, iii, p.35). Once the discussion veers away from politics, he appears less aloof and more amiable, expressing great interest in fishing for example, when Müller appears with some trout. This reference to fishing, although a small detail, further cements the analogy between Briand and Simon. It also illustrates how much attention Schickele pays to detail in constructing the character of Simon as representative of Briand and how well acquainted he was with the interests and lives of such political figures as Briand and Jaurès.[304] Schickele takes these references to Briand's/Simon's interest in fishing a step further. He uses the image of the trout, moving unpredictably through the water, to give rise to the analogy with Briand's/Simon's movements in political waters, choosing his moment to act carefully and always waiting for the right opportunity. As Müller describes it to Simon: 'Sie (die Forellen) schießen wie ein Torpedo. Dann stehen sie wieder regungslos gegen die Strömung. Eigentlich haben sie deinen Charakter.' (Act II, ii, p.34).

Further analogy can be drawn between Briand and the character Simon in their need for calm and retreat away from the hustle-bustle of political life. In the play Simon remarks to Cavrel: 'Ja, wenn Sie zum Beispiel jetzt vorschlügen, mir hierher ein Landhaus zu bauen, damit ich bis zu meinem Lebensende von der idealen Räuberei unseres Berufes ausruhte. Mehr verlange ich nicht.' (Act II, i, p.32). Briand, we are told by Suarez, rents the house near lac d'Enghien because of 'ce besoin de retraite, si fort en lui, dès qu'il se sent serré de près par la poussée des hommes.'[305] Simon also places little value on material wealth and remains poor, while his friends become millionaires, as Louise complains, (Act II, iii, p.35).

---

[303] Rebérioux, Madeleine. *La République Radicale? 1898-1914.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975. Page 137.

[304] Briand, Suarez informs us, rented accommodation near Lac d'Enghien on the outskirts of Paris in 1900 and surmises that, "La pêche sans doute l'avait attiré vers cette eau où baignent tous ses souvenirs d'enfant. Suarez, Georges. *Briand, sa vie, son oeuvre.* Volume I. Page 287. He later refers to Briand's love of fishing again, "Il pêchait à longueur de la journée."*Ibid.* Vol. I. Page 289.

[305] *Ibid.*

This corresponds to Suarez's description of Briand as having 'un certain détachement pour les choses matérielles'.[306]

However, both Simon's friends and foes have a certain fear of him also, as if some day, as Louise thinks, he will suddenly let his mask drop and his real nature will be revealed. Later on in the play he is referred to as a wolf. Thus there is an air of unpredictability surrounding Simon, as if he is waiting for things to occur that only he has foreseen long before anyone else. He sweeps aside Cavrel's idealistic speech on mass genius and belief in the mass conscience of the German people with the prophetic comment: 'Gott bewahre uns vor dem grauen Ungeheuer eines Massengenies.' (Act II, i, p.32). This echoes Schickele's preoccupation with the dangerous potential of mass mentality in Germany which Rolland recorded in his diary: 'Schickele parle du contraste qui existe entre chaque Allemand qui, pris individuellement, exprime à l'ordinaire des idées bonnes, humaines, paisibles, et ces mêmes Allemands qui, réunis en troupeau, pensent ce que le maître veut'.[307] Simon is a pragmatist, while Cavrel is an idealist. Both possess great leadership qualities and Müller believes that France can only be saved from war by one of them: 'Wenn man es (Frankreich) einmal retten soll, dann wird es wohl einer von den beiden hier versuchen müssen' (Act II, *V,* viii, p.45). He continues by weighing up the qualities of the two men but his belief is that it is Cavrel, who is the one who could inspire the people and prevent a war at the last moment. Cavrel's retort that he has played the role of Brutus too long to suddenly become a Caesar reflects how Jaurès sacrificed personal success and his friendship with Briand in order to maintain unity of the party.

The serious discussion of sensitive issues is principally left to Cavrel, Simon and Hans in this act. Müller, like General Kaufmann is a stereotype, highlighting the difference in outlook between the French, German and Alsatian characters. Although influences of the more negative descriptions in *La Foire sur la Place* of the Parisians, particularly concerning Christophe's encounters with the French deputies, are palpable in this act and the depictions of Simon and Müller's characters certainly both owe something to them, especially the descriptions of Achille Roussin and Lucien Lévy-Cœur, they seem to serve principally to emphasise the differences between French and German identity. Müller's minor role in the play and Simon's closer identification with Briand than to any specific character in *La Foire sur la Place* would support this view. Starkfuß and Dimpfel's comments on the French emphasise these differences too, in playing on the polarised representations of each nationality in the polemics of *Kultur/Zivilisation* clichés. If Hans is able to identify with both sides to some extent, his identity is also not fully comprehended. Louise, for example, in her use of the pronoun 'ihr', (Act II, i, p.27), in speaking to Hans of the Germans,

---

[306] *Ibid.* Vol. I. Page 8.
[307] Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Page 563.

subsumes his identity under theirs. Hans, repeating the 'ihr' in astonishment, is taken aback at this lack of comprehension regarding his identity. Cultural difference and lack of understanding is highlighted also in Hans's discussion with Louise on the stereotypical French sense of superiority where culture and language is concerned. He explains that Klär's absence from the picnic with the French guests is due to the alienating atmosphere she senses when attempting to speak French: 'Es ist ihr zu kalt bei Ihnen. Sie spricht natürlich nicht so gut französisch wie die anderen Herrschaften [...] niemand von Ihnen ist taktvoll genug, ihr die "Ausländerin" abzunehmen und deutsch zu sprechen.' (Act II, i, p.26). This contrasts with Hans's assertion that the Germans delight in any attempt on the part of the French to speak in their language: 'Aber Sie wissen alle, daß ein auch nur fremd gefärbtes Französisch in Ihren Augen entstellt, während Ihr unbeholfenes Deutsch Ihren Reiz in den Augen eines jeden Deutschen erhöht.' (Act II, i, p.27). Hans's insights here pertain to one of the core issues of the *Kultur-Zivilisation* debate – the German superiority /inferiority complex regarding the French in all matters cultural. Rosenberg alludes to a lack of resistance on the part of Germans to Parisian atmosphere, albeit to highlight how Christophe does not lose his sense of identity but rather uses French influences to improve on it: 'Die Pariser Luft formt ja die Widerstrebendsten nach ihrem Gefallen, und Rolland stimmt mit fast allen Beobachtern darin überein, daß weniger als jede andere eine germanische Seele widerstandsfähig dem gegenüber sei'.[308]

Here in this act Schickele opposes French and German concepts of their own and each other's identity, highlighting the differences between them and also the lack of comprehension on each side. Of course the image of Christophe combining the best of both countries' stereotypical traits is in keeping with Rolland's principal aim in this novel series, to promote the idea of a harmonious Europe where nations would rely on each other and promote their interdependence: 'Nous sommes les deux ailes de l'Occident. Qui brise l'une, le vol de l'autre est brisé. Vienne la guerre! Elle ne rompra point l'étreinte de nos mains et l'essor de nos génies fraternels'.[309] Schickele's sympathy towards such a view confirms that the significance of *La Foire sur la Place* was more in the context of the novel series *Jean-Christophe* as a whole, an important source for the allegorisation of Franco-German relations in the play. With a considerable part of the dialogue on politics in Act II conducted by Cavrel and Simon as well as Hans, German audiences received a rare opportunity to hear the viewpoints of French politicians which were non-revanchiste and the viewpoint of an Alsatian regarding France and Germany. The discussion also highlights Schickele's desire for Alsace to be a mediator between these warring nations.

---

[308] Rosenberg, Felix. Franzosen und Deutsche in Romain Rollands 'Jean-Christophe.' Page 210.
[309] (*JC:1562*). Quoted in Francis, R.A. *Romain Rolland.* Page 88.

Our treatment of the question of cultural identity in Alsace at this turbulent time has focussed principally until now on an analysis of Schickele's depiction of the characters and their relationships in this drama and in particular on the inner conflicts of the protagonist, Hans Boulanger and his attempts to come to terms with the outbreak of war. The message of political and personal tragedy continually resonates, drawing attention to Schickele's references to, and subversion of, *Kultur-Zivilisation* stereotypes in the internecine Franco-German conflict and the tragic consequences of this war in particular for Alsace. Given that a play with such potential to be misconstrued and provoke controversy appeared on stage whilst Germany and France were still at war, its reception and subsequent censorship will further enlighten us as to how the question of identity for Alsace was regarded and debated at the time by its contemporaries.

2.5. Censorship and Reception of *Hans im Schnakenloch*

In this section the censorship and reception of *Hans im Schnakenloch* will be examined in detail, with particular reference to the Berlin performances, for which extensive documentation is available, but also with reference to French reception, as well as its eventual banning in Austria and Germany. The principal aims of this analysis are to reveal the extent of the controversy generated by the drama and contemporary perceptions of Schickele's treatment of French, German and Alsatian identity. It must be remembered that in Wilheminian Germany, the press, the theatre and all other forms of written expression were closely monitored by the German authorities. If found to be offensive, for whatever the reason, they were censored. Michael Patterson in his book, *The Revolution in German Theatre 1900-1933*[310], describes theatre censorship of the time as 'rigorous' and Lenman in his doctoral thesis on censorship during this period describes Wilhelmine Germany as 'a country in which the law occupied a very prominent position'[311] and where 'laws governing the theatre were not only more restrictive but also more complicated than those relating to the press'.[312] Many plays were censored during this period for a variety of reasons ranging from *grober Unfug* – words or themes which were regarded as vulgar, offensive to the public or pornographic, to *Majestätsbeleidigung* – elements which were viewed as being politically subversive, manifesting a hostile or disrespectful attitude towards the Kaiser or the authorities. Constant correspondence was necessary between theatre directors, playwrights and the *Polizeipräsidium,* who were

---

[310] Patterson, Michael. *The Revolution in German Theatre 1900-1933.* Boston, London, Henley: Routledge and Kegan, 1981. Page 26.
[311] Lenman, RJV. *Censorship and Society in Munich 1890-1914 with special reference to "Simplicissimus" and the plays of Frank Wedekind.* Oxford: Doctoral thesis, 1975. Introduction.
[312] *Ibid.* Page 212.

responsibile for censorship, in an effort to retain as much content of a play, viewed as controversial, as possible. An example of this is to be found in the letters between Max Reinhardt and the *Polizeipräsidium* in 1906 concerning the censorship of Frank Wedekind's *Frühlings Erwachen* which was allowed to be performed at the 'Kammerspiele, Deutsches Theater', Berlin in November of the same year, only after Reinhardt had sent in expert statements made by such prominent figures as the literary historian, Prof. Erich Schmidt, and the Director of the Berlin National Gallery, Hugo von Tschudi, in favour of the play to reinforce his arguments about its literary merits.[313] The outbreak of war compounded these stringent practices with reasons of military and state security. As Kurt Koszcyck in *Deutsche Presse 1914-1915* states:

> Bei Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges versetzte Kaiser Wilhelm II das Reichsgebiet in Kriegszustand. [...] Zunächst in der Praxis und dann durch eine Entscheidung des Reichsgerichts vom 22. Oktober 1915 verfiel das Recht durch Wort, Schrift, Druck und bildliche Darstellung seine Meinung frei zu äußern, der Suspension.[314]

During wartime, Alsace-Lorraine, as an annexed territory, was subject to particularly severe restrictions, which led to the suspension of many freedoms, highlighting once again the ambiguity of its position within the German Empire:

> In Elsaß-Lothringen durfte jeder mindestens im Range eines Stabsoffiziers stehende Militärsbefehlshaber ohne vorherige Verkündung des Kriegeszustandes die Ausübung der vollziehenden Gewalt übernehmen. Über die Verhängung des Kriegeszustandes war die Entscheidung des Kaisers unverzüglich einzuholen.[315]

Alsace-Lorraine was therefore subject to stricter censorship laws and Koszyck informs us that during the war, for example, German authorities suppressed the circulation of all newspapers in the French language.[316]

Keeping in mind this attitude, one can imagine then the potential for suspicion with which Schickele, as an Alsatian writer and *Hans im Schnakenloch* could be viewed, even if at this time he was living far from the location of his drama and the particularly repressive measures being enforced there. At the time of writing the play he was living

---

[313] *Ibid.* Page 273.
[314] Koszyck, Kurt. *Geschichte der deutschen Presse.* Volume 3: *Deutsche Presse 1914-1915.* Berlin: Coloquium Verlag, 1972. Page 14.
[315] Koszyck, Kurt. *Deutsche Pressepolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg.* Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1968. Page 20.
[316] 'Im Elsaß waren ja außerdem sämtliche Zeitungen in französisicher Sprache untersagt.' In: *Ibid.* Page 260.

not far from Berlin, in Fürstenberg, Mecklenburg,[317] but in his *Vorrede* to the 1927 edition of *Hans im Schnakenloch* he describes how, nevertheless, circumstances were difficult for him then:

> In der kleinen, von argwöhnischen Patrioten beherrschten Stadt lebte damals keine Seele, die meiner mit Wohlwollen gedacht hätte, und als ich einmal von einem Durchbruchsversuch (Richtung Berlin) zurückkehrte, hatten sie mein einsam gelegenes Haus mit stürmender Hand genommen, Kasten und Kisten umgestülpt und nebenbei auch den Garten geerntet. Der Klügste von der Bande stellte flugs aus Briefen einen "Indizienbeweis" zusammen und übergab ihn der Berlinerkriminalpolizei.[318]

His Alsatian identity, coupled with his literary activity, would seem to have rendered him particularly vulnerable and subject to suspicion. In such a climate of suspicion and hostility he realized the potential his play had to be misconstrued and misinterpreted when he completed it in October 1914. As he wrote to Georg Heinrich Meyer of the Kurt Wolff publishing house on 3 November 1914: 'Leider wird man mein Stück in diesem Jahr ebensowenig aufführen können – fürchte ich – wie ein Theater 1813 etwa den 'Prinzen von Homburg' herausgestellt hätte'.[319] It is hardly surprising then that Schickele felt it would be more prudent to wait until after the war to permit his play to be circulated or performed. 'Es erschien zuerst im Januarheft 1916 der Weißen Blätter. Ich sagte im selben Heft, daß es während des Kriegs nicht aufgeführt werden solle'.[320] However, due to illness Schickele was unaware that the director of the 'Neues Theater' Frankfurt, having unsuccessfully attempted to contact him no less than three times, finally sought and obtained permission from the publishers to stage the play.[321]

Hans im Schnakenloch was first performed in Frankfurt in December 1916 and completed 98 performances in locations such as 'Kleines Theater', Berlin, in

---

[317] Schickele, René. 'Autobiographische Notizen.' In: *Werke III.* Page 839.
[318] Schickele, René. In: *Werke III.* Pages 10-11.
[319] Cited in Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum.* Page 221. Heinrich von Kleist's drama *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* was prevented from being performed in 1811 due to objections by Princess Wilhelm Hessen-Homburg who felt the honour of her family was compromised by certain scenes in the play. See Ernst von Reusner's epilogue in the Reclam edition of the play, 1968. Page 95.
[320] Schickele, René. 'Glossen.' In: Die *Weißen Blätter*, 3, I, 1916. Page 134.
[321] 'Aber der Dramaturg des Frankfurter Neuen Theaters hatte den Hans in den Weißen Blättern gelesen. Er schrieb mir, daß er es aufführen wollte. Ich war sehr krank und von der Außenwelt ausgeschlossen; er bekam keine Antwort. Er versuchte es ein zweites und drittes Mal, mit demselben Ergebnis, und dann erwarb er, ohne mein Wissen, das Aufführungsrecht vom Verlag'. Schickele, René. *Neues von Tage. Schickele über Hans im Schnakenloch.* In: *Straßburger Post.* Morning edition. 17 April 1917.

'Schauspielhaus' in Düsseldorf, in 'Deutsches Theater' in Cologne, in the 'Kammerspielen' in Munich and also in Vienna before being banned on its ninety-ninth performance in 1918 by the Austrian authorities. Germany soon followed suit. With the outbreak of the socialist revolution in November 1918, just after the war, censorship was officially abolished and the director Dr. Altmann hoped to stage *Hans im Schnakenloch.* However, it was banned once again, this time by the *Berliner-Arbeiter und Soldatenrat*, who denounced it as 'ein französisch gesinntes Propagandastück'[322] which could demoralise comrades returning home from the Western front.[323] As he explains in his preface to the 1927 edition of the play, Schickele did not attend the première of *Hans im Schnakenloch* in Frankfurt, ('Ich habe weder der Vorbereitung noch der Premiere einer Aufführung in Deutschland beigewohnt.')[324] which was performed uncensored and and appears to have received a positive reception. Adolf Lapp, for example, writes:

> Es ist ein Faktum von [...] historischer Bedeutung, daß dieses Stück vom "Hans im Schnakenloch"[...] von einem militarischen Zensor freigegeben und darauf mitten in Deutschland [...] in einer öffentlichen Theatervorstellung mit lautem Beifall und tiefster innerlicher Anteilsnahme gespielt und aufgenommen wurde.[325]

It was only when the play moved to Berlin that the censorship authorities began to take action. Schickele informs us of the difficulties the director Dr. Altmann encountered: 'Von Frankfurt ging das Schauspiel nach Berlin, wo Direktor Dr. Altmann es in einer idealen Bühnenfassung aufführte. [...] Direktor Altmann hatte ständig gegen die Zensur zu kämpfen, die alle paar Tage anrückte und neue Striche vornahm.'[326] However, as was often the case in Germany and Austria before 1918, the cuts made to the play protected it from being banned completely, as Schickele states: 'Dabei lag die Sache so, daß die Berliner Zensur das Stück mit ihren Strichen schützte'.[327] Before discussing the actual cuts made to the play by the Berlin censorship authorities in 1917, their attitude to the

---

[322] Source: *Hamburger Nachrichten.* Evening edition, 28 November 1918.
[323] Schickele, René. 'Vorrede von 1927.' In: *Werke III.* 'Der Rote Soldatenrat befahl die sofortige Absetzung des Stückes, weil – weil es "geeignet sei, das Empfinden der von der Westfront heimkehrenden Kameraden zu verletzen."' Page 12.
[324] *Ibid.* Page 12.
[325] Lapp, Adolf. 'Hans im Schnakenloch.' In: *März*, 11, 2, 13 January 1917, pp. 36–38. Other reviews are also positive in their critique of the Frankfurt perfomance. The *Vossische Zeitung*, 648, (19 December 1916), for example, reports that their theatre correspondent in Frankfurt found it 'sehr dichterisch und durch ergriffene Menschlichkeit hoch über Tendenz' and describes its reception 'vor erlesenem Publikum' as 'eine sehr warme'. The *Straßburger Post*, 956, (20 December 1916) describes the premiere as 'ein von Akt zu Akt sich steigernder Erfolg'.
[326] Schickele, René. 'Vorrede von 1927.' In: *Werke III.* Page 12.
[327] *Ibid.* Page 12.

play should also be examined as well as their debates with the military authorities over allowing its continued performance.

The play was permitted to be performed in Berlin by the *Polizei-Präsidium*. However, there was opposition to this decision not least by General Ludendorff, who in a well documented correspondence with the Generalintendant der Königlichen Schauspiele, von Hülsen-Haeseler, asked for a review of the police censorship approval of *Hans im Schnakenloch* for Berlin.[328] Ludendorff's grounds for suspicion, so he tells von Hülsen-Haeseler, were the play's alleged anti-German tendencies:

> Mehrfache Zuschriften weisen mich auf ein im Kleinen Theater zur Aufführung gelangendes Schauspiel 'Hans im Schnakenloch' hin und erheben aus vaterländischen Gründen Einspruch gegen die Aufführung dieses Stückes, das eine Verherrlichung des deutschfeindlichen Elsässertums darstelle. [...] Zur Erledigung der an mich gelangten Zuschriften wäre ich für eine kurze Mitteilung dankbar über Art und Inhalt des Stückes und welche Beweggründe die Zensur hatte, es zur Aufführung freizugeben.
> (Unterschrift: Ludendorff, General der Infanterie, I. Generalquartiermeister im Generalstab des Feldheeres.)[329]

This is a good example of the High Command seeking to override the normal censorship procedures. Von Hülsen-Haeseler now had to justify to Ludendorff why the play should continue to be performed or else order it to be banned. In a reply to Ludendorff he gives a brief outline of the main action in the play and adds:

> Der Ton ist durchaus anständig und ergreift weder für Deutschland noch für Frankreich Partei. Jeder tut halt das, was er als anständiger Mensch glaubt tun zu müssen. Trotzdem führt das Stück unbedingt zur innerlichen Abkehr vom Kriege, und ich begreife es sehr wohl, daß verantwortungsvolle Stellen die Frage aufwerfen müssen, ob es nicht besser gewesen wäre, die Aufführung des Stückes jetzt zu unterlassen![330]

---

[328] Houben, Heinrich Hubert. *Verbotene Literatur – von der klassichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Ein kritisch-historisches Lexikon über verbotene Bücher, Zeitschriften und Theaterstücke, Schriftsteller und Verleger.* Volume 2. Bremen: Karl Schünemann Verlag, 1928, pp. 508-518. For a similar account in French, which draws on Houben's research, cf. Charles Wolf. 'Le "Hans im Schnakenloch" de René Schickele et la Censure de la Guerre.' In: *Elsass-Land, Lothringer Heimat*, 16, June 1936, pp.171-172.
[329] In a letter dated 25 April 1917. In: Houben, H.H. *Verbotene Literatur.* Page 509.
[330] *Ibid.* Page 511.

It would appear then that initially von Hülsen-Haeseler was more inclined to withdraw the play, but, as he wrote to Ludendorff in the same letter, he was still waiting to hear from the *Polizei-Präsident* and his reasons for not banning it. A letter from von Glasenapp, *Polizeipräsident*, to Graf v. Hülsen-Haeseler recommends that the play be permitted to continue to be shown at the 'Kleines Theater', Berlin.[331] The letter is dated 5 May, 1917, already a few weeks after the performances of *Hans im Schnakenloch* had begun in Berlin. In what appears to be von Glasenapp's response to criticisms directed against the play by von Hülsen-Haesler, von Glasenapp bases his recommendation to allow the play to continue to be performed on the grounds that the director in compliance with the authorities, had cut all lines in the play regarded as unsuitable by the censor, which included for the most part discussion of the ongoing war. 'Der Inhalt [...] hat hier bei der zensurpolizeilichen Prüfung zu Bedenken keinen Anlaß gegeben, nachdem die Direktion ihrerseits im Textbuch eine Reihe von Streichungen vorgenommen hatte'. As a result of these von Glasenapp is able to interpret the play as being favourable towards German interests, as Schickele unambiguously emphasises the *deutschnational* tendency in his play:

> Maßgebend für die Zulassung des Stückes war hier die Erwägung, daß dasselbe, wenn es auch seinem Zweck entsprechend 'die Tragödie des Elsässers' darstellt [...] doch unzweideutig eine deutschnationale Tendenz zum Ausdruck bringt und demnach auch, im ganzen betrachtet, eine deutschnationale Wirkung hervorbringen muß.

Von Glasenapp's interpretation of the play and his goodwill towards it reflects the tolerance which contributed to the length of time *Hans im Schnakenloch* was permitted to be shown in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany. According to him the message of the play is that 'youth', represented by the young brother, Balthasar, feels German and his mother, representing the older generation, feels more drawn towards France. Hans, however, suffers the dilemma of not knowing where he stands and this is his downfall: 'In diesem Schwanken zwischen deutschen und französischen Sympathien und, in Parallele damit zwischen seiner deutschen Frau und einer von ihm geliebten Französin, geht "Hans im Schnakenloch" zu Grunde'. His saving grace, however, is that he declares he wishes to raise his son as a true German, as von Glasenapp informs Graf von Hülsen-Haeseler: 'Immerhin bekundet er [Hans] aber ausdrücklich den Entschluß seinen Sohn deutsch

[331] I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Richard Sheppard of Magdalen College, Oxford University, in drawing my attention to this correspondence in the Berlin Landesarchiv, reference: Rep. 30C, No. 6597.

erziehen zu lassen'. Judging from this letter, von Glasenapp appears to have been satisfied to allow the play to be performed as long as the cuts required were adhered to and did not suspect the play of any political subversiveness:

> Für Berlin würde meiner Überzeugung nach das Verbot mehr Unzufriedenheit und Schaden als Nutzen bringen und der Stellung des Polizeipräsidiums, die Geschmacksfragen nicht zu berücksichtigen, vielmehr nur die Interessen der öffentlichen Ruhe und Ordnung wahrzunehmen hat, nicht entsprechen.

Nevertheless, von Glasenapp's comments also reveal the problems Schickele's treatment of identity posed for the censorship authorities, particularly in relation to the ambiguous nature of Hans, but this is offset for them by Balthasar's German identity and the intention to raise the next generation as *deutschgesinnt*. However, this itself becomes problematic for any more balanced interpretation of the play.

On the basis of this letter from von Glasenapp, von Hülsen-Haeseler appears to have changed his mind and was satisfied to allow the play to continue its performances in the Kleines Theater. In a letter, dated 9 May 1917, to Ludendorff outlining the *Polizeipräsidium*'s reasons for not banning the play, von Hülsen-Haeseler concludes:

> [Ich] muß von einem nachträglichen Aufführungsverbote des Werkes Abstand nehmen; ein solches Verbot würde heute nach einer größeren Anzahl von gut besprochenen, mit lebhaftem Interesse und anstandslos aufgenommenen Vorstellungen weder in der Presse noch im Publikum verstanden werden und höchstens dazu dienen, nach den Gründen eines solchen Verbotes zu suchen und damit die Opportunität der Aufführung [...] unliebsam aufwerfen.[332]

However, Ludendorff was dissatisfied with this response and not content to let the matter rest there. He argues that any play suspected of containing anti-German tendencies should be banned regardless of its literary merit. If this was not desirable, he suggested that at least those lines which expressed anti-war sentiment should if possible be cut. He finishes as follows: 'Ist eine Änderung des Stückes nicht möglich in dem von der Obersten Heeresleitung gewünschten Sinne, muß dasselbe verboten werden'.[333] Although the censorship authorities in Berlin remained intransigent and the play was not immediately banned, on the 16 June, as performances of *Hans im Schnakenloch* were

---

[332] Houben, H.H. *Verbotene Literartur*. Page 513.
[333] *Ibid.* Letter from Ludendorff to von Hülsen-Haeseler, 19 May 1917, pp. 514-515.

drawing to a close for that season, the Berlin *Polizeipräsidium* were informed that Ludendorff requested the play to be dropped from the next season's schedule: 'In Verfolg der Meldung des Major Graf Hülsen, daß das Schauspiel "Hans im Schnakenloch" hier im kleinen Theater am 29.d.M zum letzten Male in dieser Spielzeit zur Aufführung kommen soll, wird ergebenst mitgeteilt, daß eine Wiederaufnahme des von dem I.Generalquartiermeister beanstandeten Werkes in der kommenden Spielzeit nicht mehr wünschenswert erscheinen kann'.[334] Such a direct command could hardly be ignored by the Berlin *Polizeipräsidium*.

Nonetheless, it would seem that this was not the only measure the *Oberkommando* took in order to ensure *Hans im Schnakenloch* would not appear on stage again. On 19 June 1917, an article appeared in the *Tägliche Rundschau* by a writer named Eugen van Santen, which severely criticised Schickele's play for its pro-French tendencies and insinuated that he had plagiarised his ideas from a French play, *Alsace*, written by Gaston Leroux and Lucien Camille in 1913. Van Santen's article, according to Houben, was in fact a conspiratorial attempt by the *Oberkommando* to turn the public and drama critics against the play and further ensure that it would not reappear during the next theatre season: '[D]amit die Zensurbehörde sich nicht wieder auf die einmütige Stimmung der Presse berufen konnte, erschien wie bestellt, in der "Täglichen Rundschau" vom 19. Juni ein "van Santen" gezeichneter Artikel, mit dem jetzt auch das vorschriftsmäßige "öffentliche Ärgernis" gegeben war'.[335] The play in question, *Alsace*, was well chosen because it does indeed bear some similarities to *Hans im Schnakenloch*. Both are set in Alsace and the protagonists – Jacques in *Alsace* and Hans in *Hans im Schnakenloch* – reveal ambiguous loyalties, caught between their love of their homeland and growing hostilities between Germany and Alsace/France; both are married to German women and both in the end choose France over their wives.

However, in *Alsace* strong pro-French tendencies are evident from the outset, which dominate the dialogue throughout the play. There is no attempt to remain impartial and German characters in the play are portrayed either as figures of ridicule (for example German pronunciation of French is mocked) or tactless, without any hope of ever understanding how to behave as sophisticatedly as the French or Alsatian characters. Others are portrayed in a very negative light, for example, the references to the German police searching homes and causing families to be separated, or in the depiction of

---

[334] *Ibid.* Page 516.

[335] *Ibid.* Page 517. Meyer postulates that the accusations of plagiarism against Schickele in the press conveniently enabled Ludendorff to repress performances of the play in Germany. She bases her comment on Houben's article. In: *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum.* Page 223.

Marguerite/Gretchen, Jacques' wife, who is hostile towards, Jeanne, Jacques' mother – a French patriot.

MARGUERITE C'est sa mère qui lui tourne la tête. [...] Je la déteste, cette femme-là! (Act II, viii, p.19).

Only *Teufel* is portrayed in a faintly ridiculous manner in *Hans im Schnakenloch* – all other German characters are portrayed in a more impartial manner. In *Alsace* intermarriage is a cause for deep concern and Jeanne, at great risk, returns from Paris to Alsace, in order to dissuade her son from marrying Gretchen.

JEANNE Non, non, mon petit gars, non! [...] Tu sais bien que tu nous ferais trop de peine. [...] Tu sais bien que ça n'est pas possible, une chose pareille, mon Jacques marié à une... Ah! Jacques! (Act I, xi, p.9).

This is not the case in Schickele's play, as we have seen, where Madame Boulanger is thankful that Hans married Klär. In contrast to that of Gretchen and Jeanne, the relationship between Klär and her mother-in-law is never one of antagonism. In *Alsace* it is also repeatedly emphasised that Alsace has not changed since the day it was annexed to Germany and longs for reunification with France, as the following dialogue between Suzie and Jeanne indicates:

JEANNE A l'Alsace, mon ami!

SUZIE A la France!

JEANNE C'est la même chose, ma petite Suzie, puisque rien n'est changé ici. (Act I, xi, p.9).

Such a view, we saw, was heatedly disputed by Hans in *Hans im Schnakenloch* in his discussion with General Kaufmann.

Given the socio-political climate in Alsace in the lead-up to the outbreak of war, it is not surprising that more than one author was inspired to write a play using an Alsatian family as a microcosm of the complicated situation in that region and as a framework in which to depict relations between Alsace, France and Germany or to discuss issues of cultural identity. Nor is it surprising that more than one author would use the idea of marriage between an Alsatian protagonist and a German to heighten

dramatic tension. However, this really is where the similarities begin and end.[336] The difference in quality of the two plays is vast. Whereas Leroux and Camille polarise German from French and Alsatian characters with no attempt at objectivity, Schickele succeeds in depicting the complexity in their relations in Alsace with subtle impartiality. The language used in *Hans im Schnakenloch* is poetic and poignant but never slips into sentimentality or hyperbolical rhetoric as it does in *Alsace.* As the title of his play indicates, Schickele's *Hans im Schnakenloch* is indeed far more influenced by the folksong that inspired its title. Similar to Hans in the folksong, Hans Boulanger is a restless and indecisive young landowner, prone to capricious behaviour. His property is not to be destroyed by fire but by warfare and like Hans of *Hans im Schnokeloch*, he too flees, not to America but to France, abandoning his family and wife.

Van Santen's article in any case was not left unchallenged. In the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*[337] the matter is discussed in great detail. In this article Van Santen is given the opportunity to respond to criticisms made by the "Meyrink-Schutzverbande" who defended Schickele from what they interpreted as an accusation of plagiarism:

> Vor einiger Zeit hat ein Herr E. v. Santen öffentlich behauptet, daß René Schickeles "Hans im Schnakenloch" ein Plagiat nach dem französischen "L'Alsace" von Gaston Leroux und Camille Dreyfus (*sic!*) sei. [...] Die Verdächtigung "Hans im Schnakenloch" sei eine plumpe Nachahmung [...] ist völlig unzutreffend. [...] Beide Arbeiten haben nicht mehr miteinander gemeinsam, als das elsässische Thema, beide unterscheiden sich voneinander wie zwei Welten.[338]

Van Santen replied in the same article, in which he denied using the word 'Plagiat' but rather the word 'Doppelgänger': '[Ich] habe auch nicht von Plagiat oder plumper Nachahmung gesprochen, sondern "Hans im Schnakenloch" einen Doppelgänger von "L'Alsace" genannt, da diese Bezeichnung ja mehr bei äußerlichen Ähnlichkeiten benutzt wird'.[339] However, having rejected that accusation, van Santen proceeded to criticise Schickele's play sharply: 'Ob nun ein Stück mit der Tendenz von "Hans im Schnakenloch" während dieses furchtbaren Kampfes auf eine deutsche Bühne gehört, darüber muß der Schutzverband schon jedem seine eigene Meinung lassen'.[340] Van

---

[336] Robertson makes a similar point in his comparative study of *Hans im Schnakenloch* with Charles Haenggi's dialect play, *D'Familie Steiner-Frenzel vu Winzbarge*: 'The works are representative both of the close thematic similarities and of the wide political divergences reflected in Alsatian literature of this period'. In: 'Art and Propaganda: Two dramatic Portrayals of Wartime Alsace.' Page 126.
[337] In: *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, 24, 13 September 1917. Evening edition 1. Supplement. Page 3.
[338] *Ibid.* Page 3.
[339] *Ibid.* Page 3.
[340] *Ibid.* Page 3.

Santen's criticisms of the play did find support, at least in the right-wing press, such as *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, in an anonymous article under the heading *Kunst und Leben*.[341] The author informs us that he wishes to decline commentary on the validity of the accusations directed against van Santen, regarding the question of Schickele and plagiarism, but echoes his opinion that such a play should not be shown in German theatres:

> [I]ch will mich nur zu der von van Santen aufgeworfenen Frage, ob ein Stück von der Tendenz des "Hans im Schnakenloch" während dieser furchtbaren Kämpfe auf eine deutsche Bühne gehört, mit kurzen Worten äußern. [...] Es handelt sich heute nicht darum, objektiv zu sein im internationalen Verkehr, subjektiv deutsch zu sein heißt die Forderung! Das Werk ist eine Ohrfeige in das Antlitz eines jeden Deutschen.[342]

The rest of the article continues in the same vein and castigates Schickele for his pacifist stance during the war, not least through his editing of the *Die Weißen Blätter*. The *Deutsche Tageszeitung* clearly sympathised with the pro-war, militaristic camp and provided a mouthpiece for both van Santen and the condemnation of *Hans im Schnakenloch*. Houben regards this as an insidious method of ensuring the play would not be performed again by endeavouring to turn critics against it.

However, Ludendorff and his cohorts' preoccupation with Schickele's play was not to stop there. It had always been believed that the play's prohibition in Vienna in the following year, which led to its complete interdiction in Germany, had been due to fears on the part of Viennese authorities, given the particular themes and the setting of the play, that it could lead to insurgence amongst ethnic minorities across the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Schickele believed this himself, having recorded in his diary on 8 February 1918: 'In Wien haben sie den "Hans im Schnakenloch" verboten [...] das Verbot wegen der Furcht vor tschechischen Demonstrationen'.[343] This was a standard cause for such prohibitions in Austria-Hungary during the war.[344]

Archival evidence, however, reveals that German authorities at the highest level were very much involved in influencing the Austrian authorities in making this decision.[345] Documents of the *k.k. Polizei-Präsidium* of Vienna, dated April 28 1917 and the Lower Austrian *Statthalterei* dated 12 June 1917 indicate that *Hans im Schnakenloch* was

---

[341] In: *Deutsche Tageszeitung*. 'Kunst und Leben.' 24, 10 October 1917.
[342] *Ibid.*
[343] Diary entry from 8 February 1918. In: *Werke III*. Page 1023.
[344] Spann, G. *Zensur in Österreich im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Vienna, 1972. Page 77.
[345] I am grateful to Dr. Gilbert J. Carr of Trinity College Dublin for drawing my attention to this material in Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, St. Pölten. Zensurakte 1918/413, XIV/197a 4.

permitted to be shown if it adhered to the Berlin cuts. The file contains a note marked *Pro Domo,* reporting on the plea of the director of the 'Josefstädter Theater', Dr. Beer, for the cause of staging Schickele's drama but does not advocate any particular views of the Austrian authorities regarding the play themselves.

> Directionsvertreter Dr. Beer hat unter anderem erklärt, daß das Stück in der Berliner Fassung zur Aufführung gebracht werden soll; er bittet daher nur um eine diesbezügliche Aufführungsbewilligung. Das Bühnenwerk, das in Berlin großen Erfolg gehabt hat, dürfte bei einer halbwegs guten Aufführung auch in Wien gesehen werden.[346]

Of significance here is that in matters of censorship common to both Germany and Austria, the military powers of both empires collaborated closely, as Spann indicates: 'Das Einvernehmen bezüglich Zensurfragen zwischen Deutschland und der Monarchie ging nicht nur über das Ministerium des Äußeren, sondern auch über die Heeresleitungen, da doch das AOK und die deutsche Heeresleitung im engstem Kontakt standen'.[347] Given these procedures regarding Austro-German censorship, it is no surprise that by January 1918, the German authorities became involved in the banning of the play in Vienna.[348] A visiting card from Rudolf Graf von Bassewitz, '*Legationsrat an der Kais[erlichen] Deutschen Botschaft, Wien*, Hotel Imperial', is included in the documents found relating to the Viennese authorities' treatment of the play, which reads as follows: 'Aufführungsbew[illigung] *Hans im Schnakenloch* (underlined in red) zurückgen[ommen]' – the date, 3/I, refers to 3 January, 1918. As a result of this intervention the following was noted by the Lower Austrian *Statthalterei-Präsidium*: 'Vienna (Präs.-Z. 413 1918/Miterledigt Pr.-Z 4.)' with the filing date recorded as 24 January 1918:

> Betreff..: Bühnenwerk: 'Hans im Schnakenloch' Aufführungsbewilligung.
> Pro domo: Am 21. d.M. hat bei der Statthalterei ein Vertreter der deutschen Botschaft (Legionsrat Graf Bassewitz) vorgesprochen und das Ersuchen gestellt, das Bühnenwerk 'Hans im Schnakenloch' bis auf Weiteres in Wien nicht zur Darstellung bringen zu lassen. Motiviert wurde dieses Ansuchen damit, dass gerade in der

---

[346] Ref: St. Z.1228 ex 1917.
[347] Spann, G. *Zensur in Österreich im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Page 244. AOK refers to *Armeeoberkommando*.
[348] Spann informs us that: 'Für die militarische Zensur war in Deutschland in sachlicher Hinsicht die Abteilung III b des Generalstabs im Großen Hauptquartier zuständig'. *Ibid.* Page 244. Ludendorff was Supreme Commander of the *Generalstab* from 1916 onwards.

gegenwärtigen Zeit eine Behandlung der Elsass-Lothringischen Frage auf der Bühne möglicherweise unliebsame Störungen zeitigen könnte. Das Stück wurde seinerzeit – nachdem es vorübergehend verboten war – durch längere Zeit in Berlin mit Erfolg auffgeführt. Für Wien wurde es auf Grund des damals requirierten Textbuches nur in der Berliner Fassung zur Darstellung zugelassen.

The instruction to the police headquarters in Vienna is then added:

> Ich finde die für das Bühnenwerk: 'Hans im Schnakenloch', Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen von René Schickele mit dem h.a. Erlasse vom 8. Juni 1917, Präs. Z 1228 erteilte Aufführungsbewilligung auf Grund des §5 der Ministerial-Verordnung vom 25. November 1850, R.G. Bl. Nr. 454, hiermit zurückzunehmen.

This decision, recorded on 23 January 1918, was upheld in July 1918 by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior, after an appeal by the theatre director.

Protests against the banning appeared almost immediately in the Austrian press. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, for example, laments its disappearance from the Viennese stage: 'Das Schlimmste ist das zweite Verbot. Es betrifft René Schickeles *Hans im Schnakenloch*, eine ausgezeichnete tragische Komödie' and speculating on the reason behind this, refers to the continued perfomances of the play in Germany: 'Rücksicht auf Deutschland kann das Verbot nicht veranlaßt haben, denn das Stück wird seit mehr als einem Jahr in ganz Deutschland gespielt'.[349] This automatic comparison to the German context highlights again the usual close co-operation between the two states regarding censorship during the war. Schickele notes in his diary: 'In den Wiener Zeitungen erscheint ein Protest österreichischer Dichter. Darunter Däubler, Schnitzler, Polgar, Wassermann, Werfel'.[350] However, despite protest the ban was not lifted and Germany soon followed suit. 'Dr. Altmann, der Direktor des *Kleinen Theaters*, teilt mir mit, daß der *Hans* schwarz auf weiß verboten worden sei'.[351] There is no documentary evidence of Ludendorff's personal intervention at this level but the role of the German government is undeniable. Just as the positive reception to the play in Frankfurt in December 1916, was influential in the decision to allow the play to be performed in Berlin, so the banning of the play in Vienna, resulted in its banning all over Germany too. Julie Meyer contends that another less well known possible reason for Ludendorff's personal involvement links his motives in banning *Hans im Schnakenloch* to a plan he had devised around April 1917, which would

[349] In: *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Morning Edition, (Vienna), 26 January 1918. Page 6.
[350] Schickele, René. Diary Entry, Bern, 8 February 1918. In: *Werke III.* Page 1023.
[351] *Ibid.* 15 February 1918. Page 1024.

involve Schickele in obtaining information through his French contacts on the possibility of a peace settlement in return for Alsace-Lorraine:

> Eine Ironie des Schicksals wollte es jedoch, daß der gleiche Mann in der obersten Heeresleitung, Ludendorff, von dem die Initiative zur Verdrängung des Stücks von der deutschen Bühne ausging, den Autor des verbotenen Stücks indirekt als Kontaktmann zur französischen Regierung zu benutzen versuchte, um deren Einstellung zu einem eventuellen Friedensangebot zu erforschen. Es ging um Deutschlands Verzicht auf Elsaß-Lothringen.[352]

If this was the case, although there is little evidence to support this theory, it is ironic that Schickele, the promoter of Alsace as a mediator between the hostile powers, should find himself thus manipulated by Ludendorff, at the head of the German army, for the purposes of testing the waters for an eventual agreement between France and Germany, using Alsace-Lorraine once again as a political pawn. It is true that Schickele's Alsatian identity and double cultural heritage, his excellent knowledge of French, his experience as a political journalist, his acquaintance with the French political scene and his long friendship with Salomon Grumbach, a French deputy, would make him an ideal candidate for such a fact-finding mission in one sense. However, these also would be the very reasons why Ludendorff could not fully trust him. Schickele's movements were indeed watched by the German authorities, who took pains to make him aware of the extent of their powers. Rolland records in his diary how Schickele suffered during the war under this immense pressure of being closely surveyed:

> [I]l (Schickele) raconte qu'en venant d'Allemagne, à la frontière, il a été conduit à un bureau où, sur la simple inspection de son passeport, on lui a lu tout ce qu'il avait fait depuis le commencement de la guerre, tous ses déplacements, ses rencontres en Allemagne, des choses que lui seul et quelques intimes croyaient connaître. Cette aventure lui a laissé une impression de l'écrasement.[353]

Schickele, of course, because of his Alsatian identity would have been regarded as particularly suspect by the German authorities in any case. However, Meyer argues that in light of Ludendorff's determined campaign against his play, it was his intention to intimidate Schickele before entrusting him with a mission:

---

[352] Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum.* Page 223.
[353] Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XII. 29 October 1915. Page 562.

> Daß dieser von der Zensur gekürzt und mit immer mehr Streichungen belegt, bis das ganze Stück wegen der 'inneren Abkehr von dem Krieg', die es hervorrufe, auf Betreiben Ludendorffs im Sommer 1917 endlich ganz verboten wurde, illustriert das Kalkül des Generals [...] Neben solch massiver Manipulation eines Stücks mit dem Ziel, den Autor politisch einzuschüchtern beziehungsweise verfügbar zu machen.[354]

It would seem that this mission was to be organised through the mediation of Count Harry Kessler who worked for the German Propaganda Cultural Attaché in Switzerland[355] and was thus there at the same time as Schickele in 1917-1918, as the latter indicates in his diaries from the period. Even if he knew about Kessler's activities at that time. 'nur der zweifellos aufrichtige Dienst beim Grafen Keßler, der sich teils in persönlicher Huldigung, teils in vaterländischen Betrachtungen [...] betätigt' (Bern, 5 January 1918), it is evident that Schickele was not aware of any plans involving him with the German authorities, although Kessler's words, recorded by Schickele, suggest that such plans may indeed have existed:

> Auf einmal bin ich mit K. [Keßler] zusammen in einem leeren Zimmer...Ein erregtes Gespräch ohne viel Sinn. Ich erinnere mich, daß er immer wiederholt: 'Ich stehe mit meinem Kopf für Sie ein' – und: 'Fallen Sie, so stürze ich mit.' Dies scheint mir bei jeder Wiederholung mehr übertrieben.[356]

As it turned out, historical events took their own course in any case and Germany was left with little room for manoeuvring peace settlements. Even if the German authorities intended to involve Schickele in some sort of mission, their plans never came to fruition. Kessler, along with Schickele, returned to Berlin after the war where they were both involved in the attempt to set up a Socialist Republic.[357] That Ludendorff may have had other motives in banning the play is plausible given that *Hans im Schnakenloch,* as we have gleaned already from von Glasenapp's correspondence, had not been regarded as sufficiently subversive or politically offensive to warrant an outright ban, since the many cuts made to the play rendered it sufficiently innocuous as far as the Berlin censorship authorities were concerned. However, evidence to support such a theory is scant.

---

[354] Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum.* Page 223.
[355] For reference to Count Kessler's activities in Switzerland in 1917, see Rolland. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XXIII, November 1917. Page 1360; also Book XXIII, December 1917. Page 1375.
[356] Schickele, René. Diary Entries: Berne, 5 January 1918, Zürich, 10 January 1918. In: *Werke III,* pp.1014, 1016. Schickele was visiting Zürich from Berne as the entry for 10 January 1918 begins, 'Morgens mit Annette Kolb im Zug nach Zürich'.
[357] See Rolland. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XXVI, pp.1684-1685.

Contrary to Ludendorff, many theatre critics of the day seemed to find much that was praiseworthy in Schickele's *Hans im Schnakenloch.* Before examining the reception of the play, however, the type of cuts made to the Berlin performances of 1917 and the reasoning behind them should first be discussed.[358] All four acts of *Hans im Schnakenloch* were affected by censorship. The censor's severity is most clearly felt, however, in the second act where the discussion on Alsace and the possibility of war really gets underway and where focus is on the views of the French politicians on Germany. The most substantial cuts, as we shall see, were made to speeches in this act, which refer either to the Franco-Prussian war or the likelihood of a new war in Europe which as we know by the end of the play breaks out. Having examined all the cuts to the play in the 1917 performance scene by scene, five main categories for the reasoning behind the heavy censorship of the play can be identified.

(i) War/politics:

Speeches dealing with the topic of war and politics which implied that Germany had initiated the war or were eager to engage in open hostilities against France and awaited any pretext to set its 'Mordmaschine' in action were cut. Such images comply with the French stereotypical portrayals, particularly of Prussia, as militaristic and aggressive. An example of a historically widely-held view that Germany had been preparing for war and was ready to begin hostilities, had been voiced by Hans: 'dieses Volk von hier bis an die russische Grenze, Kopf an Kopf, Hand in Hand ist eine einzige Kriegsmaschine, die nur mit einem Hebeldruck in Gang gesetzt zu werden braucht' (Act II, i, p.31). Much of Hans's opinion is cut in favour of emphatic, brief remarks, which would emphasise *deutschnational* traits and portray Germany rather as a strong protector of its territories than as a belligerent force, such as: 'Deutschland Elsaß-Lothringen umtauschen? Nie. Sie müßten es schon zurückerobern' (Act II, i, pp.30-31). Another cut made was to the implicit comment that France is trying to save itself from Germany, thus being portrayed as a victim of Germany's belligerence: 'CAVREL: Armes Frankreich! Nicht wahr, Madame? KLÄR: Wer von den beiden Herren wird nun Frankreich retten?' (Act II, *V*, viii, p.45). The fact that it is Klär, a German, who in conversation with the leading French politician Cavrel asks who will save France, is a sign of Schickele's *Unparteilichkeit*, which could have aroused consternation among German audiences.

Overtly pacifist speeches which dwelt on topics such as the horrors and folly of war and destruction of human life were evidently omitted to avoid the danger of encouraging a

[358] My thanks again to Dr. Richard Sheppard for referring me to the list of cuts to the 1917 edition (based on the 1915 edition of *Hans im Schnakenloch*) in the Berlin Landesarchiv under the reference *Belegexemplare, Rep 30c, Nr. 6597, René Schickele, Hans im Schnakenloch.*

sense of demoralisation in the German people. Thus Hans's lines in Act IV, scene i, p.81, which dwell on the misery created by war are cut: 'hinter diesem Wall seiner rauchenden, zusammengestürzten Dörfer, seiner tödlich verstummten Städte und schon zahlloser Leichen reckt es sich und hebt sein finster verzweifeltes Gesicht in den Feuerschein'. References to Alsace's political ambiguity, indicating too strong a preference towards France or disloyalty towards the German Empire are also eradicated, for example Madame Boulanger's comment on the German presence in Alsace is omitted as it would have been viewed as anti-German: 'Ihr wißt, ich hab' nichts gegen die Deutschen. Gelt nicht, Klär? Aber manchmal kommt's mir vor, als ob mehr geschrien würde, seitdem sie im Lande sind' (Act I, ii, p.7).

Emphasis on the love theme between Hans and Louise is increased at the expense of much discussion of French politics or nostalgic remembrances of Alsace's attachment to France. It seems the portrayal of illicit love was believed to be far less damaging to the public's morale than a thorough discussion on war, conforming to stage conventions of the time. For example a substantial part of Act II, i is cut so that it then focuses immediately on Hans and Louise. The scene then begins with Hans asking Louise: 'Sagten Sie nicht soeben, daß sie mich liebten?'. From the same motives, the beginning of Act II, iii, is cut. Here, originally Hans and Louise first discuss the French minister Simon's character. In the censored version the love theme is again emphasised at the cost of discussion on politics and politicians, particularly when referring to the French. Thus discussion regarding the war in Europe and political relations between France, Germany and Alsace was heavily cut and attention is steered from these sensitive topics to focus more on the *Ehedrama* and Hans's love affair with Louise. This shows how the problematic of Alsatian identity, particularly conveyed through Hans's dilemma faced with having to choose between France and Germany at the outbreak of war, was deemed too controversial, given the time and political context of the performances.

(ii) Offence to public/social moral values:

Views portraying a lack of propriety in the attitude towards women or marriage – apart from Hans's affair with Louise, which was necessary for the plot and considered less damaging to her character as she was in any case French! – were cut, as were loose references to religion, to the devil or comments indicating a lack of respect towards clergymen. When Madame Boulanger's reference to the figure of a naked woman in a painting in Act I, ii, p.11, is cut for example, it is presumably done so as not to offend the morals of the public, however slight the reference. Starkfuß's and the local priest Abbé Schmitt's comments on the power of the Catholic Church are cut to avoid offending

public morals with disrespectful remarks. Abbé Schmitt's argument that the Catholic Church was the true ruler of Europe, 'Dieses Europa haben wir geschaffen, aus den Trümmern des römischen Reichs aufgebaut [...] solange wir herrschten, gab es ein Europa und seitdem nicht mehr', (Act I, xv, p.23) would have been offensive for a largely Protestant population who prided themselves in belonging to a powerful German Empire engaged in a power struggle against other nations in Europe, but also for the Catholic Church which would not want to be seen in this light. Also the censoring of these lines avoided dissension within the German population as some parts of Germany were predominantly Catholic. In Act III reference to Klär's behaviour as Hans's wife was cut, no doubt construed as lacking in decorum and morally offensive, even when Hans is referring to the Abbé Schmitt's objections to his having 'im eigenen Haus eine Geliebte [...] selbst [...] wenn es die eigene Frau sei' (Act III, iii, p.62). To comply with *Kultur* images of the upright, correct and dutiful German, Klär evidently had to be shown in a more favourable light than Louise, the French mistress, whose associations with the *Zivilisation* cliché were to be further reinforced.

(iii) Disrespect towards family/figures of authority:

Comments indicating a disrespectful attitude towards older family members, e.g. father or mother, or any comments which seem to display disrespect towards the military or police force in Alsace, were omitted from the play. Towards the end of Act I, i, for example, substantial cuts are made, involving Hopla's impudent remarks to 'der Teufel', which would have been viewed as indicating resentment towards the official German presence in Alsace and their restrictive laws. Insulting nicknames such as 'Schwab' for the Germans and 'Wackes' (in this context for the Alsatians – most likely because of associations with the Saverne affair) were to be omitted also.

(iv) Casting German characters in an unfavourable light:

Any comments which rendered the German characters of the play weak were eradicated, as their strength of character and virtue were to be emphasised, again in accordance with positive *Kultur* auto-images . Thus much of Klär's speech (Act I, vi, p.15) to Hans which appeared to weaken her character is cut, as it displays her vulnerability to him. For example, rather than plaintively saying, 'Ich weine auch nicht. Ich strenge mich an zu bessern [...] Wie oft hast du nachts den Jungen herumgeschleppt, wenn er schrie. Häßlicher, wie er war, bin ich auch nicht, wenn ich weine', she now simply states: 'Ich weine auch nicht' which lends her a stronger, more dignified air.

(v) Dramaturgical (miscellaneous):

Some lines seem to have been omitted for no other reason than to reduce the length of the performance of the play, or in order to make sense and restore a sense of continuity in the play where cuts had been made for one of the four main reasons listed above.

What was the overall effect of these heavy cuts to *Hans im Schnakenloch*? Firstly the quantity of text was obviously greatly reduced, as almost one third of its length was cut,[359] producing a tighter, more condensed version of the original. Extensive alterations were made where whole scenes either disappeared or the remainder of cut scenes were reassembled together into new scenes either to make sense, or as Meyer points out, 'um das politische entschärfte Bühnengeschehen durch eine Betonung der erotischen Handlungskomponente wieder attraktiv zu machen'.[360] The cuts, as we discussed, did target the political discussion in particular, especially in Act II, and this allowed for greater emphasis on the love theme. The proportion then between the political and the personal themes was altered to the detriment of the former, but nevertheless, enough discussion on Franco-German relations, the war and Alsace's position remained for the play to continue being considered controversial in some quarters.

In von Glasenapp's letter to von Hülsen-Haeseler (5 May 1917), it is very apparent that the censor was highly sensitive to public reception of the play and influenced by this in the decision to allow a play through or be banned. Furthermore, the censorship authorities did not only monitor public reaction to a play in their own jurisdiction but kept in contact with censorship authorities in other jurisdictions where the play had been shown and were likewise influenced by public opinion and the censor's attitude there too. For example, von Glasenapp refers to the well-received performances in Frankfurt am Main as sufficient reason to allow its appearance in Berlin theatres. 'Als das Drama darauf in Frankfurt a.M. aufgeführt und in der Presse gut aufgenommen worden war, erfolgte auch hier die Genehmigung'.[361] Conversely, this would explain why the play was banned all over Germany a year later after being banned in Vienna – again the censor was reacting to the opinion of the authorities elswhere. Von Glasenapp also argues that the play should be allowed through in Berlin where its reception would be very different than in those politically sensitive areas of the empire bordering on France and of course in Alsace-Lorraine, where the censor was particularly stringent. In Berlin the audience would have a certain distance to the issues dealt with in the play. Von Glasenapp also

[359] The original version of the play contains approximately 3150 lines and of these 1015 were cut.
[360] Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum.* Page 224.
[361] See for example the review in the *Straßburger Post*, 956, 20 December 1916. Morning edition, front page. Also, the positive critique of the Frankfurt première in: *Vossische Zeitung.* 19 December 1916. Morning edition.

refers to reviews of the play taken from leading Berlin journals to allay von Hülsen-Haeseler's fears. Although these reviews sometimes diverged in their opinion on the literary merits of the play, nowhere did they seem to find any great fault with the political content of the play, according to him. He refers in particular to Julius Bab's review of the play in *Die Schaubühne*: 'Als ein solches ernst literarisches Drama war das Werk von Schickele schon vorher in der Zeitschrift 'Die Schaubühne' [Nr. 40 vom 3. Oktober 1916] seitens des Schriftstellers Julius Bab eingehend und anerkennend gewürdigt worden'. Bab's comments on the play were indeed laudatory ('Dies Werk funkelt von Talenten'), highlighting his own sympathy for this 'Tragödie des Elsässers'. It is, he concludes in his review, 'das weitaus bedeutende Bühnenwerk, das durch direkte Berührung des Kriegsschicksals bisher erwachsen ist'.[362]

However, if we examine reception of the performance of *Hans im Schnakenloch* in the 'Kleines Theater' on 29 March 1917, the reviews in Berlin newspapers are rather more mixed. Reviews range from lukewarm appraisal to enthusiastic accolades. This divergence of opinion goes beyond the customary subjectivity of theatre critics and highlights the potential ambiguity of the play. A closer look now at how the treatment of the Alsatian *Zwiespältigkeit* was received by German critics and audiences in Berlin should reveal how not just questions of Alsatian but also German and French identity were regarded at that time. Let us first look at audience reaction to the play. On the whole, the audience's reaction to the play seems to have been quite positive, although those critics who themselves were sceptical of the play and the ambivalent Hans tended to be more disparaging in their account of audience reception. The *Straßburger Post* for example, claims that the audience was by the end of the play completely uninterested in the fate of Hans: 'Die Unerbittlichkeit unserer zielbewußten Zeit vermag sich nicht mehr für derartige Halbheiten zu interessieren, daher ließ das Schicksal des Hans im Schnakenloch den Zuschauer völlig kalt'.[363] It is patent that this critic's own bias against Hans's lack of certainty has influenced his impression of audience reception. A more nuanced account of audience reaction in the *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* would at first appear to describe the response as friendly and compliments the audience on their unpartisan stance:

> [G]estern im Kleinen Theater mit aushaltender Aufmerksamkeit angehört und durch lebhaftem Beifall ausgezeichnet wurde, so daß man wohl von einem sehr

[362] Bab, Julius. 'René Schickele als Dramatiker.' In: *Die Schaubühne*, 12, 2, 40, 3 October 1916, pp. 311-315.
[363] In: *Straßburger Post*, 218, 30 March 1917. Midday edition.

freundlichen Erfolge sprechen darf, der auch die völlig vorurteilslose Gesinnung der Hörer manchen heiklen Dingen gegenüber, die da erörtert wurden, ehrte.[364]

However, reference to the 'aushaltender Aufmerksamkeit' of the audience implies that they had to make an effort to follow Schickele's play rather than enjoying it. Their unpartisan attitude suggests too that they were not critical enough of what the critic negatively describes as awkward topics in the play. Likewise Thyssen of *Germania*, a Catholic centre right newspaper, writes an ambiguous review of the play. He describes applause at the end as very lively but attributes this to the presence of many Alsatians in the audience. His use of qualifiers such as 'immerhin' undermine his following statement that such applause in his eyes was deserved as *Hans im Schnakenloch* was one of the few plays on the war to be taken seriously. His remark that the play should both be taken seriously and observed is again ambivalent: 'Der Beifall der Zuschauer nach den Aufzügen und zum Schluß war, namentlich infolge vieler Landsleute des Dichters, etwas sehr lebhaft. Aber immerhin verdient das Werkchen als einer der außerordentlich wenigen ernstzunehmenden Fassungen eines Kriegsproblems durchaus Beachtung'.[365]

However, the reviews of the characters in terms of their national identity are less dispassionate and ambivalent and this is reflected particularly in the critique of the actors' performances. It is striking that Leonore Ehn in the role of Klär and Lupu Bick in the role of Dimpfel, the German schoolteacher, were singled out for praise in nearly every single review, as was Paul Bildt in the role of Balthasar. 'Frl. Ehn als Hansens still, duldende Frau, Herr Bildt als Balthasar und Herr Lupick als weinseliger Oberlehrer Dimpfel waren die besten', writes Ernst Boerschel in the nationalist newspaper, *Kreuzzeitung*,[366] for example. Although it is of course quite possible that this praise was deservedly due to their acting skills, one wonders if the critics were not also more predisposed and sympathetic towards them because of their role as Germans in the play. Balthasar, in particular, is praised in more than one review for his steady *German* nature which is often opposed to the unstable nature of Hans and this is subsequently reflected in the reviews of the actors. The critic in *Berlin Lokalanzeiger* appears to even have blurred the division between Balthasar's character and the actor who played the role, particularly with regard to Balthasar's perceived triumph over Hans at the end of the play and the outbreak of war. Firstly he emphasises Balthasar's decidedly Germanic nature in positive terms. 'Fest und

[364] J.K. In: *Berlin Lokalanzeiger*, 35, 163. 30 March 1917. Morning edition. Page 4.
[365] Thyssen. 'Hans im Schnakenloch.' In: *Germania*, 152, 31 March 1917. Morning edition. Supplement. Page 5.
[366] Boerschel, Ernst. 'Aus den Theatern. "Hans im Schnakenloch." Schauspiel von René Schickele.' In: *Kreuzzeitung*, 30 March 1917.

sicher steht neben Hans der jüngere Bruder Balthasar, ein Deutsch-Elsässer, der in der Stunde der Entscheidung kein Schwanken kennt, wohin er gehört; der mit freudiger Entschlossenheit für Deutschland kämpft'. Further on he then reviews the actors and it is here that the distinction between actor and character is confused, Paul Bildt is compared more favourably to Gustav Rodegg who played Hans: "Besser war Paul Bildt mit seinem sich im Schlußakt völlig zum Mann aufraffenden Balthasar daran, und er nutzte die Gelegenheit, den älteren Bruder an innerer und außerer Kraft zu überrumpeln'. That Balthasar in particular is singled out for praise in many reviews is an indication that this 'Deutsch-Elsässer' is the German's ideal of the Alsatian people, unequivocally loyal in his allegiance to the German Empire.

Just as uniform as the praise of the German characters in the play were the criticisms directed against Eva Speier as Louise or the resounding silence with regard to her performance. 'Weniger glücklich war Eva Speier als verführerische Louise Cavrel', writes Thyssen for *Germania*. Alfred Kerr for *Der Tag*, whilst revealing a more sympathetic understanding for the character Louise, nevertheless significantly compares her interpretation by Eva Speier unfavourably with Leonore Ehn's interpretation of Klär.[367] In his critique of Klär the influence of the *Kultur* cliché is discernible: 'Die deutsche Frau war Leonore Ehn. Wundervoll. Ganz Weib und Liebe. Hier kam alles aus dem Herzen', but the reference to Louise as a frivolous Frenchwoman is written in a rather more ironic tone, 'Dahingegen schien die frivole Gallierin (man nennt das) verbesserungsfähig. Eva Speier. Warum hatte man sie so hergerichtet? – während sie in Wirklichkeit bedeutend leiser ist'. Such criticisms may well to some extent reflect the actress's limitations. However, given the political climate of the time, it is significant that the French female role receives the most negative criticisms or is simply ignored. Clearly only a comparison with these actors' performances in other plays could reveal how far these assessments were limited to the roles being criticised here. Certainly the reviews suggest a clear bias against the central unfaithful couple who sympathise with France in contrast with the almost unanimous praise of those actors in the roles of German characters. Gustav Rodegg as Hans received mixed reviews and it would suggest that critics were influenced by their reception of Hans's role in the play and his ambivalent character. The rather ambiguous commentary on Rodegg's performance, both positive and negative, in the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* is a typical example of this: 'Gustav Rodegg versuchte der unfertige, unselbständige Hans von Schnakenloch zu sein; kein leichtes

[367] Kerr, Alfred. 'René Schickele. Hans im Schnakenloch.' In: *Der Tag. Illustrierter Teil,* 76. 31 March 1917.

Stück Arbeit aber es gelang ihm. War er in manchen Momenten etwas zu saftlos, so gab er in anderen mehr, als Schickele gestaltet hat'.[368]

Quite a few critics express discontent with both the ambivalent nature of the play and its eponymous hero, Hans Boulanger, which does not portray clearly enough for them its political message nor align itself definitely with one side or another. Ernst Boerschel's review in the *Kreuzzeitung* finds Hans's outlook too equivocal and wonders if the audience is supposed to feel empathy towards this anti-war hero who deserts his wife and child, or is one supposed to experience *Weltschmerz* because of the war? He is frustrated with Hans's wavering character, but he does allow for Hans as an Alsatian to admire France. It is quite clear in the play that Hans believes that Germany would be the victor, yet, in the end he joins the French side. That such an indecisive character as the protagonist of a play with such an indeterminate message is shown during the war is ultimately frowned upon by Boerschel, whose pro-war and ultra-nationalistic stance would appear to have influenced his overall critique of the play.

Alfred Kerr also finds the play ambivalent. He wonders if Schickele is endeavouring to illustrate the non-partisan solutions of a more progressive humanity, but appears sceptical of the play's message as he understands it: 'Die Zweifelhaften kriegen eins ausgewischt? Unparteiische Lösungen besseren Menschentums finden Licht – hm?... Eine Zweideutigkeit ist mir das Ganze'. In this review he also distances himself from Schickele, who apparently had criticised Kerr for his unequivocal support of Germany in the war which may be the reason for his mixed reactions to the play, so he alludes: 'Ich stehe dort in keinem guten Geruch, weil ich, als die überrumpelten Geister sich schieden, *in dubio* die Partei Deutschlands nahm'. Kerr's interpretation of the main characters in the play is an example of the polarisation that the war imposed, as he appears to have over-simplified Schickele's treatment of the complex issue of Alsace in his criticism of Schickele's stereotypes: 'Der brave Bruder ist deutsch; die brave Frau ist deutsch. Jedoch der unbrave Bruder ist fränkisch und die unbrave Frau ist fränkisch'.[369] However, given the overall ironic tone of Kerr's review it is difficult to know if he is being purposely dismissive of *Hans im Schnakenloch* or is playing on Schickele's use of stereotype and challenging the reader to discover if there is more to the character depictions in the play. One could argue that his apparently over-simplified descriptions underscore Schickele's own emphasis on the political allegories his characters represented.

The nationalist newspaper *Deutsche Tageszeitung* is clearly more critical, however. It believes that one can only understand the play if one is sympathetic to the character of Hans. This, however, is then problematic, as in its opinion Hans is an obscure character,

[368] H.K. In: *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, 163, 30 March 1917. Morning edition.
[369] Kerr, Alfred. In: *Der Tag*. 31 March 1917.

not even half a hero, and should not be presented as representative of his people. In contrast other critics do not seem to view Hans's ambiguous identity in the play as problematic. The critic of the *Berlin Lokalanzeiger*, Max Meyerfeld of *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and Franz Servaes of the liberal-democratic *Berliner Morgenpost* all have explanations for the ambivalence of the play and sympathy for its main character. The latter regards Hans as an Alsatian Hamlet who internalises the external battle as a conflict of identity: '[I]nmitten steht Hans mit der schwankender Seele, ein elsässischer Hamlet, in dessen Innerem die Schlacht tobt'[370], whereas Meyerfeld surmises that Schickele's mind is in sympathy with Germany while his heart is with France, but that the one does not exclude the other. This anticipates similar analogies by Charles Fichter and Hans Wagener in describing Hans's relationships with Klär and Louise. Servaes reminds German readers that the question of identity is not a problem for them but that they should be aware of the difficulties facing Alsatians on this matter, particularly since it is with France that war is being waged. The lack of sympathy on the part of some critics for the crisis of identity treated in the play is, however, precisely why they took issue with its ambivalent nature. Many critics here appear to find it difficult to be sympathetic towards a character like Hans, presumably because they are unwilling to accept that the archetypal Alsatian was so indecisive. The general assumption that France was Germany's arch-enemy necessitated an unsympathetic response to the more equivocal portrayals of Franco-German relations in the play.

To conclude, it is evident that reviews of the production of the play did vary considerably depending on the stance of the critic and/or the newspaper for which he wrote. Likewise the critic's own personal taste in theatre would influence his appraisal of the production of the play. The fact that the play was on the whole well accepted by Berlin audiences was to some extent undoubtedly due to their sense of remoteness from an Alsace-Lorraine landowning family, but also because of the cuts. These mitigated any possibility of strong feelings of resentment or demoralisation being aroused in the audience and rendered the play more favourable towards Germany. Because the play deals with the sensitive issue of the sentiments of the people of Alsace-Lorraine, as typified by one family, on the eve of war, at a time when war was actually taking place, and before much disillusionment had set in, it is inevitable that it did not escape the censor, which was preoccupied mainly with the political comments on Alsace, France and Germany. The question is what effect did these cuts have in the end on the message of the play? The message would appear to have remained ambivalent and only those who were more familiar with Alsace perhaps, or more sensitive to the issues lying just beneath the

[370] Servaes, Franz. '"Hans im Schnakenloch." René Schickeles Schauspiel im Kleinen Theater.' In: *Berliner Morgenpost*, 89, 31 March 1917. Supplement, page 2.

surface, understood Schickele's treatment of cultural identity, the real impossibility for the Alsatian to choose sides in the war and the tragedy of having to do so nevertheless. As we have seen, the cuts favoured the love theme over the political – yet as even these relationships can be interpreted in a political light, the message was still discernible for those who wished to understand it. However, perhaps it is also due to the cuts that to some, the message of the play appeared ambiguous at a time when war demanded polarisation of allegiances towards France and Germany. Although the political content of the play was greatly reduced and this of course had an effect on German audiences' reception of the play, Schickele's message about 'die Tragödie des Elsässers', which is anti-war, appears to have still filtered through as is evident from the more positive reviews. It was understood by those who were perceptive enough not to confuse the ambivalent nature of Hans with Schickele's overall message of the play. In general, however, perceptions of *Hans im Schnakenloch* were diverse. Schickele himself tells us in *Das Literarische Echo* that: 'Je nach Publikum [...] erklären sie mich für einen Französling, oder sie sagen, [...] daß ich die Franzosen verunglimpfe'.[371]

Romain Rolland, whose negative reaction to the play was already referred to in connection with the extent of the influences of *La Foire sur la Place* on the depiction of the French deputies in Act II, certainly was one of those who did criticise Schickele for denigrating the French in his play. It seems that Rolland was already ill-disposed towards Schickele and regarded him with some mistrust before even reading *Hans im Schnakenloch*. He had undergone a change of attitude towards Schickele, as recorded in his war diary, since their first meeting in 1915[372], as a later entry in 1916 indicates.[373] He does concede, nevertheless, that Schickele's ambivalent behaviour may be attributed to his Alsatian identity:

> Guilbeaux me communique une lettre de René Schickele, qui s'est ému de certaines critiques de notre part, à lui rapportées par Mme. Rubiner. Il tâche de s'en justifier. (Je rappelle que son rôle m'a paru quelquefois équivoque. Mais je reconnais que la situation morale d'un Alsacien est particulièrement difficile...).[374]

---

[371] Schickele, René. In: *Das Literarische Echo. Halbmonatsschrift.* 1916/1917. Page 1098.
[372] 'Visite de René Schickele [...] Intelligent, très maître de lui, maniant les deux langues avec aisance et vivacité (il est Alsacien)'. In: Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XII, 29. October 1915. Page 561.
[373] *Ibid.* Book XIV, March 1916. Page 683. The reason for Rolland's change of attitude is indicated in the same entry: 'Quant à l'attitude de Schickele dans sa Revue, je l'ai louée dans un article de *Au-dessus de la Mêlée.* Mais depuis, j'ai dû convenir, avec Guilbeaux, que ses audaces étaient extrêmement mesurées, et qu'elles ne s'élevaient guère au-dessus d'un esthétisme assez noble, mais froid et sourd (en apparence) à la dangereuse actualité politique et sociale. Je ne lui fais pas un reproche de cette prudence; mais je ne saurais non plus en faire un titre à notre admiration'. Page 684.
[374] *Ibid.* Page 683.

However, he continues in the same entry:

> Cette lettre est un fameux charabia, et je suis surpris qu'un Alsacien lettré écrive aussi mal le français. Il est bien peu qualifié pour juger de l'art français. Je le trouve aussi fort naïf. Il s'est beaucoup pressé d'enterrer la France, dès les premiers jours de la guerre; croit-il qu'un Français aura plaisir à lire un drame construit sur cette donnée?[375]

Rolland seems here to almost suspect Schickele and his play of anti-French sentiment, based simply on Schickele's description of the play, as yet unread by Rolland[376] and who most certainly, it appears, had misinterpreted the ending where Hans chooses to fight on the losing side.[377] Rolland here reduces his interpretation of the play to being anti-French and pro-German without taking into consideration the role of the Alsatian caught in the crossfire of the hostilities and sees in Hans's sentiments an insult to the imperial power of France. Schickele's Alsatian identity also appears to have influenced Rolland in his negative reaction to the play. Indeed Rolland, who was allegedly such an impartial pacifist, does not appear to be entirely immune to prejudice. For example, it is perhaps no coincidence that his account of his first meeting with Schickele, where he notes Schickele's decidedly anti-Prussian stance and criticism of the Bavarian censorship, is decidedly more positive. Here, he praises Schickele's mastery of both the French and German languages – an advantage of his Alsatian heritage.[378] Since his doubts about Schickele's sympathies towards France, however, he is less impressed with his written expression in the French language and on this basis judges him poorly qualified to judge French art or culture. Rolland here could be accused of displaying a stereotyped French cultural superiority towards Alsace, in the light of which Schickele might have been viewed with ambivalence, regardless of allegiance to France or Germany. Rolland's clear pacifist stance is to the same extent undermined, as Schickele's was, by being open to misinterpretation and suspicion by French and Germans alike. As Joachim Storck points out: 'Die Wurzel des Rollandschen Mißverständnisses liegt aber darin, daß auch er wiewohl Kriegsgegner und voller Verständnis für "das [...]Deutsche", als autochthoner

---

[375] *Ibid.*

[376] 'Il m'écrit de Zurich, 1er mars 1916, qu'il serait heureux si son drame alsacien, *Hans im Schnekenloch*, (*sic!*) me disait quelque chose; qu'il l'a écrit avant que la nouvelle de la Marne eût pénétré en Allemagne, et lorsqu'il croyait sérieusement que la France allait recevoir le coup de grâce et mourir'. *Ibid.* Page 685.

[377] 'KLÄR: Du glaubst natürlich, die Franzosen würden siegen. HANS:Wenn ich nicht so vom Gegenteil überzeugt wäre, ginge ich ja nicht zu ihnen' (Act IV, xxi).

[378] Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre.* Book XII. October 1915, pp.561-565.

Franzose die *elsässische* Gespaltenheit, Zwiespältigkeit, nicht zugeben wollte oder konnte'.[379] Rolland was not alone in his negative reaction to the play on the French side, although it was not translated into French until 1940.[380] It also received scathing criticism in *Feuilleton du Journal des Débats* as late as three years after the war, which indicated how controversial the play was:

> [L]'ambition de M.Schickele de décrire le caractère alsacien avec toutes ses subtilités et toutes ses nuances aboutit, en somme, à une glorification de l'Allemagne et de l'Alsace allemande [...] En fait, rien n'est moins neutre, rien n'est moins objectif que cette pièce. La germanophilie dont elle est imprégnée est [...] répugnante [...] Quand la guerre éclate, Hans qui est dispensé du service, reste sur son domaine avec bonheur. La victoire allemande d'ailleurs, lui paraît absolument certaine.[381]

In *Mercure de France*, also written in 1920, its brief criticism of the play focuses only on the belief that France would lose the war: 'Schickelé a pu faire applaudir à Berlin son *Hans im Schnakenloch*, mais la suite des événements a montré qu'il avait mis son argent sur un mauvais cheval'.[382] The times and political context in which Schickele wrote the play undoubtedly distorted perceptions of his real concerns and intentions in *Hans im Schnakenloch*. It seems to have been perceived by the French as pro-German and/or as anti-French propaganda, based principally on Hans's opinion that France would lose the war – a belief which of course wounded national French pride.

2.6. Conclusion: *Ehedrama* or *Kriegsstück*?

The play is a tragic one with a serious message to convey about the effects of the First World War on the Alsatian people portrayed through the microcosmic world of the Schnakenloch estate and the inner turmoil of its protagonist. Schickele, with his insight into Alsatian identity and his political awareness, effectively succeeds in conveying this anti-war message. In his depiction of families and friends being rent apart, the war is portrayed as having particularly catastrophic consequences for Alsace and its people. However, in his *Vorrede von 1927*, Schickele claimed: '*Hans im Schnakenloch* ist in allerletzter Linie ein Kriegsstück, in erster ein Ehedrama in einer besonderen Landschaft,

---

[379] Storck, Joachim. 'Zum Verhältnis René Schickele – Romain Rolland.' In: *Elsässer, Europäer, Pazifist.* Page 246.
[380] Translated from the 1927 edition of *Hans im Schnakenloch* by Gidon, Blanche. *Jean 'du Nid de Moustiques'.* Paris: Les Oeuvres Libres, Libraire Arthème, Fayard, 1940.
[381] Muret, Maurice. 'Un Drame Pseudo-Alsacien. *"Hans im Schnakenloch"*'. In: *Feuillton du Journal des Débats.* 2 July 1920, pp.1-2.
[382] Albert, Henri. 'Lettres Allemandes.' In: *Mercure de France*, 31, 138, 521, 1 March 1920. Page 526.

"vom Herzschlag eines Dichters umklungen"'.[383] Are we to believe this statement? It is true that the relationship between Hans and his loyal, patient wife Klär constitute an important part of the plot as does Hans's affair with Louise, whose charm Hans cannot resist. Yet, given that this drama was written at the beginning of World War I and is set in an Alsace about to be embroiled in this war and once again destined to be the stage for bitter conflict between France and Germany, one cannot overlook the political content of this play. We have also shown the extent to which the relationships of these characters are construed as political allegories, or at least as differing responses to the constellations of cultural and sexual identity in the region in that period.

Schickele already tried to distance the play from the war in 1916, when he claimed: 'Ich habe den Hans *lange vor dem Krieg* in mir getragen, aber das Drama in der ersten Hälfte des Oktobers niedergeschrieben'.[384] This is more understandable given the contemporaneous war context. His statement in his 1927 *Vorrede*, however, when the war was long over, raises a number of questions. Why does he distance himself from the wartime and political themes of *Hans im Schnakenloch* in order to emphasise that it is an *Ehedrama*? One may expect such a comment to seek to evade censorship, but why does he maintain it as late as 1927? As shall be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, his continued ambiguous position at the time, living in Germany as a French citizen, and suspicions of his involvement in autonomism by the French authorities in Alsace, very probably influenced his decision to distance himself somewhat from the controversial political discussion on the war. His statement on the themes of his play in 1927 must, however, be viewed with some scepticism, given his intense preoccupation with Alsace in those tumultuous times, his war-time post as editor of the pacifist *Die Weißen Blätter*, and the appearance of *Hans im Schnakenloch* in the magazine's January 1916 issue.[385]

To what extent could one argue that the war only provides a backdrop for what Schickele claims is the real theme of the play: the relationship between Hans and Klär and the love affair between Hans and Louise? It is true that there are many scenes dedicated to the development of Hans's and Klär's relationship. However, in the end, news of war invades their privacy and it is the war that pervades the rest of the play and dominates all else. Personal relationships are subjugated to its cold impersonality and people are reduced to being either French or German, friend or foe, including the relationships between Hans and Klär and Hans and Louise. If, moreover, Hans and Balthasar, who simultaneously admire and resent one another, could be seen to represent two versions of

---

[383] In: *Werke III.* Page 13.
[384] In: *Das literarische Echo*, 1916/1917. Page 1098.
[385] In: *Die Weißen Blätter - Eine Monatschrift*, 3/1, 1916.

the deep malaise or split present in the psyche of every Alsatian regarding their identity, then one can conclude that all these interpersonal relationships in the play represent the complexity of political relations between Alsace and its two neighbours, not least due to ambivalent loyalties within Alsace itself.

Although Schickele emphasised that *Hans im Schnakenloch* is not really a *Kriegsstück,* the controversy it generated is a barometer of the sensitivity of the political climate in Europe during the war and demonstrates that it was, despite Schickele's denial, regarded as a play that dealt very much with the war. Furthermore, having a very active interest in politics, it is scarcely conceivable that he did not mean to convey a political message through this drama. Schickele's intentions, given the realistic war setting albeit a domestic one, are further borne out by his political writings, particularly where this ardent pacifist sees Alsace as having a central role to play as peacebroker in Europe. Although the personal theme, the marital relationship between Hans and Klär, in this 'besonderen Landschaft' is important, the war theme cannot be dismissed as being of lesser significance. However, it is the words 'in einer besonderen Landschaft' which are perhaps of greatest significance in the quotation from Schickele's *Vorrede von 1927.* It is the role of the Alsatian as personified by Hans, caught between France and Germany at war and what significance it has for him, his family, his relationships and his region, which is at the centre of this play. In this 'landscape' even an 'Ehedrama' remains political, in so far as it is the same Alsatian dilemma which finds expression elsewhere in his writings in the inter-war era.

Chapter 3: Alsace between the wars: Politics and Cultural Identity

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the development of Alsatian identity within the context of the inter-war period after its return to France, when it is the Rhine and no longer the Vosges, which officially marks the cultural divide between France and Germany, before discussing René Schickele's responses in essays and other non-fictional work to the changed situation. Although the focus here will be on issues of cultural identity, religion and class are also shown to have an important role to play in the Alsatian identity formation process. After the war, Schickele left Switzerland for Berlin to participate in the socialist revolution at first hand. On 9 November 1918 the Socialist Republic of Germany had been proclaimed, two days before the armistice, and Schickele was actively involved in the unfolding political events, as Kessler records in his diary: 'Der Kaiser hat abgedankt. Die Revolution hat in Berlin gesiegt [...] Von zu Hause ging ich, um Schickele zu treffen, in die Viktoriastraße zu Paul Cassirer, wo der "Bund Neues Vaterland" tagte'.[386] Such is Schickele's enthusiasm, eloquently captured in his essay, *Der Neunte November*, that, according to Kessler, he advocates the idea of revolutionizing his native Alsace with the hope that it may become part of this new socialist republic. 'Schickele warf den Gedanken auf, das Elsaß durch Matrosen zu revolutionieren, als rote Republik auszurufen und so für das deutsche Volk zu retten.'[387] However, the signing of the armistice and the entry of French troops into Alsace a few days later were to put an end to such aspirations. Schickele's proposals to revolutionize Alsace and 'save it for the German people' are of course to be interpreted within the context of this enthusiasm for the revolution and cannot be attributed to any nationalistic motives.[388] For Schickele, national borders were irrelevant, he was an advocate of a socialist community unrestricted by borders, as he was to write afterwards in 1919: 'Es gibt aber keine Ordnung, als die einer freiwachsenden Gemeinschaft, eines Sozialismus mit hellem, friedlichem Menschengesicht'.[389]

It is particularly in *Der Neunte November* that he shares with us his optimism and hopes for a new era in Europe, a new world order, in the immediate aftermath of the war: 'Jetzt, jetzt. Endlich. Jetzt! Die neue Welt hat begonnen. Das ist sie die befreite

---

[386] Kessler, Count Harry. *Tagebücher 1918 bis 1937.* Edited by Wolfgang Pfeiffer-Belli. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1996. Diary entry 9 November 1918. Pages 16 and 18.
[387] *Ibid.* Diary entry, 9 November 1918. Page 18.
[388] Finck is careful to point this out with regard to Schickele's proposals concerning Alsace. In: Finck, Adrien. *Introduction à l'oeuvre de René Schickele.* Page 69.
[389] Schickele, René. 'Schicksal'. In: *Werke III.* Page 281.

Menschheit! [...] Jetzt ist die neue Zeit da, die sozialistische'.[390] His ensuing disappointment with the failure of the November revolution is evident in the latter part of this essay where the euphoric tone of the first part gives way to one of wistful regret. 'Gestern war der Aufschwung. Gestern war die Verbrüderung [...] Gestern hätten wir, wenn so etwas möglich wäre, an diesem und einem Tag die Gemeinschaft der Menschen aufgerichtet'.[391] Schickele's constant use of the pronoun 'wir' in this essay places his actions and aspirations within a wider context which correspond to the ideals of his generation, that of the intellectuals linked to the expressionist movement, who wish to do away with the old world order, replacing it with a new system based on more democratic and humanitarian principles. With the failure of the revolution, Schickele disconnects from expressionism, with which he had been closely identified up to the end of the war. His distance from any one organised intellectual or political group in the following years as well as a new departure in the style of his literary writings from this period onwards[392] testify to this. As Robertson points out: 'one senses that, in acknowledging the failure of the revolution, Schickele also marks the conclusion of a chapter in his career [...] the search for a peaceful future in Europe would go on but it would be a solitary one'.[393]

After a subsequent brief involvement with Henri Barbusse's left-wing intellectual group, *Clarté*, in Paris, of which Schickele was a member of the founding committee, he, like many other intellectuals, including Romain Rolland, dissociated himself from this group, as its solidarity with Communism and Moscow became increasingly evident. He later criticises this direction the group takes under Barbusse's influence, in an article entitled, 'Ende und Anfang', where he writes:

> Einmal muß das wenig spaßhafte Spiel ein Ende haben, es hat sein Ende gefunden mit der Erklärung ex cathedra des Henri Barbusse [...] Eine geistpolitische Bewegung, von Dichtern, Erziehern, Gelehrten eingeleitet und mit beispiellosem Erfolg über die ganze Erde geführt, ist in eine Sackgasse eingebogen, aus der es keinen andern Ausweg gibt als die Umkehr.[394]

---

[390] Schickele, René. 'Der neunte November'. In: 'Wir wollen nicht sterben' *Werke III*. Pages 463 and 466.

[391] *Ibid.* Pages 467 and 468.

[392] 'Sein Werk, das sich nun auf das Essayistische und Erzählerische konzentriert, [...] entwickelt sich im Zeichen eines neuen Realismus'. Staiber, Maryse. '"Citoyen français und deutscher Dichter"'. In: Grund, Uwe and Scholdt, Günter (ed.). *Literatur an der Grenze. Der Raum Saarland-Lothringen-Luxemburg-Elsaß als Problem der literaturgeschictsschreibung. Festgabe für Gerhard Schmitt-Henkel.* Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei, 1992, pp.123-132. Here, page 126.

[393] Robertson, Eric. *Writing between the Lines.* Pages 96 and 103.

[394] Schickele, René. 'Ende und Anfang'. In: *Das literarische Echo, halbmonatsschrift für Literaturfreunde.* 23, 18, 15 June 1921, pp.1091-1095. Here, page 1092. For more on Schickele's views on *Clarté* see his essays, *Clarté, Ville-lumière, Kameraden* and *Eine Sache, die das Ideal heißt*, the latter which includes much of the content of *Ende und Anfang*, in *Werke III*, pp.499-514.

After the failure of the revolution and his disenchantment with *Clarté*, he realises that it will be necessary 'von vorn [zu beginnen]'.[395]

Schickele's disillusion with the failure of the revolution in Germany undoubtedly contributed to his acceptance of French citizenship, to which he was automatically entitled on Alsace's return to France[396], as the son of a French mother and Alsatian father, although he was never to return to live in his homeland. In reality, citizenship of one or other of these nations was irrelevant to Schickele, as is clear from an autobiographical note for Kurt Pinthus's expressionist anthology, indicating a certain scepticism due to disappointed hopes and the lost opportunity to introduce a new political order with pacifist socialism: 'Gestern deutscher, heute französischer Staatsangehöriger: ich pfeife darauf [...] Für mich gehören Grenzverschiebungen wie alle andern nationalen Transaktionen zum Börsenspiel. Ich bin nicht daran beteiligt, sie gehn mich nichts an'.[397] With the failure of the revolution, he returned instead to Uttwill in Switzerland in 1919, but economic instability and rising inflation in Germany just after the war rendered it impossible for him and his family to remain there.[398] In 1922, a disillusioned man,[399] Schickele moved to Badenweiler, a small town in the Black Forest, not far from Alsace[400] or Switzerland, situated since Alsace's return to France in 'eine Dreiländerecke', where he could at least draw satisfaction from the sense of being situated in the heart of Europe: 'Nach Avignon ist es nicht weiter als nach München, nach Marseille nicht weiter als nach Berlin. Hier habe ich mein Zelt aufgeschlagen'.[401] It is here in this Alemannic environment that he slowly begins to recover from the trauma of the preceding years. 'Und langsam aufwachend, bildete sich mein zerstörtes Inneres neu nach dem Bilde der Landschaft, die meine Wahrheit war, Wurzel und Krone des Lebens, sie und nichts

---

[395] *Ibid.* Page 1095.

[396] 'Als Altelsässer hatte ich mich nicht zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich zu entscheiden. Ich wurde von selbst Franzose, ebenso meine Kinder'. René Schickele to Paul Bock (journalist with *Berliner Tageblatt*). Letter dated 5 June 1928. In: *Werke III.* Page 1148.

[397] 'René Schickele'. In: Pinthus, Kurt. *Menschheitsdämmerung. Ein Dokument des Expressionismus.* Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1959, pp. 359-362. Here, page 360. First edition, Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1920.

[398] For an account of the circumstances surrounding Schickele's departure from Switzerland, see, Schickele, René. 'Ach! Euer Schweizerland – Abschied unter Sternschuppen.' In: *Die Grenze. Werke III.* pp.667-668.

[399] 'Als ich hier ankam war ich ein toter Mann'. Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Landschaft'. In: *Himmlische Landschaft. Werke III.* Page 551.

[400] Kasimir Edschmid recalls Schickele's criteria in the search for a new home at that time: 'Schickele suchte damals ein Haus. Nicht in Frankreich, nicht in Deutschland zentral, sondern so, daß er die Vogesen sehen konnte'. In: Edschmid, Kasimir. *Lebendiger Expressionismus. Auseinandersetzungen, Gestalten, Erinnerungen.* Frankfurt am Main, Berlin: Ullstein, 1964. Page 59.

[401] Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Landschaft.' Page 548.

andres.'[402]

Schickele was now a French citizen living in Germany, '*Citoyen français* und deutscher Dichter', as he describes himself;[403] a situation which effectively symbolises the ambiguity of his identity and double cultural heritage. There are many reasons why Schickele may have chosen to remain in Germany despite having adopted French citizenship after the war rather than return to a French governed Alsace. Not least was the practical reason that he wrote in German and thus his readership and his publishers were based in Germany. If he had returned to Alsace as a German writer, he would have effectively cut himself off from his source of income. That it was almost impossible to survive as a writer in the German language in French Alsace is argued by a circle of Germanophone writers in Alsace grouped around the literary magazine, *Der Eiserne Mann,* during the 1920s which was launched to give a voice to those for whom German was the principal mode of literary expression. This 'sacrificed generation', who like Schickele had been educated through the German language, felt alienated under French rule but were cut off from contact with Germany.[404] An understanding of this dilemma for Germanophone writers and of Schickele's professional reason in taking up residence in Germany is surprisingly acknowledged in the francophile *L'Alsace française*, as late as 1926 when the 'malaise alsacien' had intensified and Schickele was regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by the French authorities:

> Quand est venu l'armistice de 1918, on a vu partir pour l'Allemagne quelques personnalités littéraires, comme René Schikelé [*sic*], trop avancées dans la carrière pour rompre une vie déjà voué à la poésie allemande [...] L'Alsace ne peut fournir

---

[402] Schickele, René. *Ibid.* Page 552. See also his letter to Thea Sternheim, where he writes: '[I]ch selbst habe mich endlich von den Kriegsjahren und seinen Folgen erholt. Die letzte Periode, sozusagen der Schlußakt voll finsterster Melancholie war vielleicht das Schlimmste [...] Plötzlich wars geschehen. Worum ich mich so lange bemüht und gequält hatte, war wie weggeblasen, und seitdem geht es mir vortrefflich'. Letter dated 24 September 1924. In: Werke *III.* Page 1143.

[403] René Schickele to Paul Bock. Letter dated 30 May 1928. In: *Werke III.* Page 1147.

[404] 'Der heutige elsässische und lothringische Schriftsteller und Dichter ist übel daran: er sitzt quasi zwischen zwei Stühlen. Er gehört zu der "génération sacrée." Die französische Sprache meistert er nicht so, dass er mit seinen französischen Kollegen wetteifern könnte [...] Die Sprache der Jugend unserer heutigen elsässischen und lothringischen Schriftsteller war eben deutsch. Mit Politik und Patriotismus hat das nichts zu tun. Das ist eben einmal so. Mit den deutschen Schriftstellerkollegen und dem deutschen Leserkreis (rechtsrheinisch) stehen wir aber nicht in Verbindung. Somit sind wir isoliert. Infolge der Interessenlosigkeit unserer eigenen Bevölkerung und unserer Isolierung nach aussen hin, hält es schwer, für unsere Publikationen Abnehmer zu finden [...] Wenn er etwas erscheinen lassen will, dann muss er für die enormen Druckkosten selbst aufkommen. Die Folge davon wieder ist, dass nur der finanziell gut gestellte etwas veröffentlichen kann [...] Mäzene gibt es keine im Elsass'. Oberlé, Philippe. 'Die elsässische und lothringische Bevölkerung und ihre einheimischen Künstler.' In: *Der Eiserne Mann. L'Homme de Fer. Kultur-Literatur Kritik.* Strasbourg, 2, 1 November 1924, pp.26-27.

à un écrivain de perspectives encourageantes. Ici, plus qu'ailleurs, est vraie la parole: 'la littérature ne nourrit point son homme'. [405]

Schickele confirms this attachment to German literature himself a couple of years later in Pinthus's anthology: 'Immerhin gehöre ich zur deutschen Literatur'.[406] However, according to Edschmid, Schickele, as a committed pacifist, had another important reason in choosing to live in Germany. By doing so he retained the option to apply also for citizenship in Baden, thereby enabling his sons to avoid compulsory French military service: 'Durch den Versailler Vertrag war er Franzose geworden, hatte jedoch die badische Staatsangehörigkeit dazu erwerben können. Infolgedessen mußten seine Söhne nicht Soldaten werden, da es in der deutschen Republik keine Wehrpflicht gab'.[407]

Apart from these reasons, however, it seems that Schickele felt ill at ease in the new Alsace: 'Um es frei zu sagen: mehr als Grenze, Paß, Kontrolle fürchtete ich die erste Berührung mit meinen Landsleuten. Ja, gewiß, und es war auch meine Schuld, ich hatte den Kontakt mit ihnen verloren'.[408] This sense of alienation amongst his own people is again manifest in another of his prose essays in which he recalls his first extended visit back to Alsace and his family after the war, symbolised by the feeling of strangeness and constraint he experiences in speaking his mother tongue, French: 'Ich spreche mühsam französisch, mühsam, weil Sinn und Klang dessen, was ich sagen will, mir aufschreiend davon fliegt [...] Ich muß im Tiefsten übersetzen, um mit meiner Mutter zu sprechen'.[409] There was mistrust and suspicion of him in Alsace too, particularly by the French authorities, of which he was aware and which undoubtedly influenced him in his choice to live in Germany rather than Alsace. Even his brother Gustav suffered from Schickele's reputation after the war in Alsace, as Thomas Seltz, a U.P.R. deputy and Schickele's old friend and mentor, recalls: 'Mais quand Schickele revint en Alsace par la Suisse, il n'avait pas bonne presse. (Son frère, le professeur, eut a en souffrir...)'.[410] Rumours and lies were spread about him, accusing him of anti-French sentiment and working for German propaganda to cause unrest in Alsace. Indeed such rumours were so rife that Salomon Grumbach, his friend and Socialist deputy in the French parliament, felt it necessary to defend him publicly in a newspaper article:

---

[405] Bergner, Georges. 'Bonnes Feuilles – La littérature régionaliste d'Alsace en 1925.' In: *L'Alsace française,* 261, XI, 2 January 1926. Page 9. Bergner is quoting here from *L'Ami du Lettré*, 1926, an annual publication of a collection of literary columns from a selection of French daily newspapers.
[406] 'René Schickele'. In: Pinthus, Kurt. *Menschheitsdämmerung*, pp.359-362. Here, page 360.
[407] Edschmid, Kasimir. *Lebendiger Expressionismus.* Page 66.
[408] Schickele, René. 'Pariser Reise.' In: *Wir wollen nicht sterben. Werke III.* Page 491.
[409] Schickele, René. 'Du wunderschöne Stadt.' In: *Wir wollen nicht sterben. Werke III.* Page 496.
[410] 'Souvenirs sur René Schickele. (2). L'écrivain et le journaliste.' Interview de Thomas Seltz. In: *Elan.* 3, 5, 1959, pp.14-15. Here, page 15.

> Als ich kürzlich in Straßburg war, legte mir jemand eine im Januar in elsässischen Blättern erschienene Notiz vor, in der es hieß, René Schickelé [*sic*] sei 'ein Freund von Erzberger und habe mit diesem zusammen in der Schweiz eine Propagandabroschüre herausgegeben', die sich gegen die Rückkehr Elsaß-Lothringens an Frankreich wende [...] Die einzige Entschuldigung, die es für diejenigen gibt, von denen diese Verleumdungen ausgegangen sind, liegt in der Verwirrung, die der Krieg hervorgerufen hat [...] Die bittersten Stunden französischer Niederlagen habe ich zusammen mit ihm durchgekostet; – mit ihm zusammen auch habe ich die tiefe Freude empfunden, die uns packte, wenn französische Siege gemeldet wurden [...] mit seinem Herzen und seinem Verstand war er bei uns, die wir die Niederlage Deutschlands wünschten.[411]

However, in his defence of Schickele's reputation, Grumbach exaggerated his Francophile sentiments to the extent that he was in turn rendered suspicious in the eyes of the Germans. Grumbach's depiction of Schickele as a French patriot is countered the following year in an article by Kasimir Edschmid who wished to restore Schickele's reputation as being first and foremost a European above nationalistic polarisations.

> Grumbacher [*sic*], der aus der Schweiz heraus den Krieg bekämpfte, dämpft den französischen Aufruhr, indem er im Mühlhauser 'Republikaner' für Schickeles unantastbare Ehrlichkeit eintritt. Aber er zeichnet Schickeles Bild nicht als das des Europäers, sondern malt seine Gesinnung mit den Farben der Trikolore, den Farben, die nur den Durchmarsch der Elsässer auf dem Weg zum eigenen Volk umgeben. Das verdirbt seine Stellung wieder gegen Deutschland [...] Schält sich nicht aus so zwischen zwei Fronten hin- und hergehetzter Figur, aus solch zwischen den Heerlagern der Völker von Mißverständnissen umwölkter Person die europäische reine Menschlichkeit?[412]

Such polemics surrounding Schickele and his loyalties aptly illustrate the cultural dilemma of being Alsatian at this time, constituting a part of German and French Otherness, where appeasement in one direction instantly unleashed a backlash from the other side.

---

[411] Article entitled, 'René Schickele. Ein Beispiel – unter vielen!' In: *Der Republikaner – Le Républicain du Haut-Rhin*, 15 March 1919. The quotes from this article are taken from Bentmann, Friedrich. *René Schickele. Leben und Werk in Dokumenten*. Page 128.

[412] Edschmid, Kasimir. 'Dichter, Zeit, René Schickele.' In: *Die doppelköpfige Nymphe. Aufsätze über die Literatur und die Gegenwart*. Berlin: Paul Cassirer Verlag, 1920, pp. 47-55. Here, pp. 52-53.

Suspicions of his anti-French sentiments persisted, notwithstanding Grumbach's endeavours, even up to the time of the Colmar trial in 1928, when he was described as 'un ennemi notoire de la France' by the prosecutor. In a letter written in the same year it is evident that Schickele was upset by this attitude towards him. 'Sehen Sie, lieber Paul Bock, da herrscht über Elsaß-Lothringen ein General-Staatsanwalt, der mich in seinem Plädoyer einen "notorischen Feind Frankreichs'" und einen "badischen Schriftsteller" nannte – in einem Land, wo jeder zumindest meine Familie kennt.'[413] Schickele's surprising claim in the preface to the 1927 edition of *Hans im Schnakenloch* that the play was 'in allerletzter Linie ein Kriegsstück, in erster ein Ehedrama in einer besonderen Landschaft'[414] almost a decade after the war had ended, must be interpreted within the context of the controversy surrounding him in the late 1920s, and it does explain why he was at such pains to emphasise his pacifist and impartial stance towards the two nations and deny any preference for one nation above another.[415] The play, as we discussed in the preceding chapter, had already attracted bitter criticism from French critics, including Rolland, both during and after the war, for having expressed doubts about France's victory over Germany and, as Maurice Agulhon reminds us, 'retrospective controversies on 1914-1918 occupied [...] a prominent place in the 1920s in the press, books and in constant polemics'.[416] Thus, it is understandable that not only did Schickele feel it necessary to distance the play from the polemics of politics and war but also himself from any further potential controversies, given the continuing suspicions surrounding him in the tense political climate in Alsace after the war and worsening relations with France. Schickele's choice to remain in Germany as a French citizen rather than returning to French Alsace was to render him a target for criticism and misunderstanding in France, Germany and Alsace. Throughout the decade following the war, however, from his home in the 'Dreiländerecke' with its view of the Vosges Mountains, he did not forget his native Alsace and was a keen observer of the political and cultural developments unfolding there, which will first be discussed before we proceed to examining Schickele's analyses of the question of Alsace under French rule in his prose writings of that era.

Our study here is in part also a continuation of the ideas examined in Chapter One, where we focussed on the ideologically opposed French and German definitions of

---

[413] René Schickele to Paul Bock. Letter dated 30 May 1928. In: *Werke III.* Page 1147.
[414] Schickele, René. 'Vorrede von 1927', In: *Werke III.* Page 13.
[415] 'Was den Autor anlangt, so war von jeher alles, was er gegen Deutschland, was er gegen Frankreich vorbrachte, gegen ihn selbst, seine eigene Familie gesagt und niemals, niemals Feindschaft wider die eine oder andere Nation. Kasernenhofmenschen hatten darum auch den Eindruck, er schiele. Nein, er blickt gerade mit den zwei ihm angeborenen Augen. Er hat sie sich nicht ausgesucht, er kann sie nicht vertauschen, je nachdem seine Heimat ihre Herren wechselt. Er bringt es einfach nicht fertig'. *Ibid.* Page 13.
[416] Agulhon, Maurice. *The French Republic 1879-1992.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993. Page 191. Originally, *La République.* Paris: Hachette, 1990.

nationhood and culture and the development of a particularist Alsatian cultural identity during its annexation to the German Empire. These polarisarions of French and German concepts of nationality and culture, accentuated by the question of Alsace-Lorraine, were aggravated and intensified after the war[417], so that Alsace found itself again placed in an invidious position regarding its relations with both these nations. Return to France after almost fifty years of German rule was to signify enormous change both in terms of how this territory defined its relations with the *mère-patrie* and revalued its views regarding German criteria for nationhood, rooted in an ethno-cultural, federalist system. French perceptions, and especially also of those Alsace-Lorrainers, 'les optants', who, in 1872, had chosen to leave the annexed territories for France, were also to undergo much change in the inter-war period. Stereotypical images of an oppressed people on the other side of the Vosges, nostalgically dreaming of a return to France and its superior *civilisation* had become an integral part of the French national myth after the Franco-Prussian war. Such images and pre-conceptions were largely propagated by organisations such as *La Ligue des Patriotes* and cultivated by writers such as René Bazin, Erckmann-Chatrian, and Maurice Barrès. We find for example in Barrès's *Colette Baudoche*[418], set in Metz and written over a decade before Alsace-Lorraine's return to France, a tale abounding in stereotypical generalisations which draw heavily on *Kultur/civilisation* polarisations in depictions of both the Germans and the Lorrainers, the latter being portrayed as culturally superior to the Germans and staunchly loyal to the memory of France. As Barrès asserts to his French readers: 'la France là-bas, c'est le synonyme le plus fréquent de l'idéal'.[419] Those especially who had chosen the option clause of 1872 and had left Alsace, and subsequently their descendants, cherished a romanticised and nostalgic view of the lost homeland which had stirred every patriotic French citizen and affected French perception of the Alsatian people. Based on their sentimental accounts, French assumption that Alsace would be assimilated easily into the French Republic was wholly flawed.

After the war and the growing realization that such idealistic images of the lost provinces did not always concur with reality, these positive stereotypes were to be replaced with more negative images. Likewise, with the radical change from the initial

---

[417] References to *Kultur* and *civilisation* stereotypes are still manifest in Edouard Schuré's essay, written in 1928, on Alsace for example: '[S]i l'Alsace doit beaucoup à l'Allemagne, à sa science, à sa philosophie, à sa musique, elle doit à la France le réveil de sa conscience meilleure et ses impulsions créatrices par la chevalerie, l'humanisme et la Révolution. Si la France est restée aux yeux du monde la nation juste par excellence et la libératrice des peuples, c'est parce qu'elle a placé l'humanité au-dessus d'elle-même'. Schuré, Edouard. 'Le drame intérieur de l'Alsace.' In: *La Revue des Vivants.* Paris, 7, July 1928, pp.28-36. Here, page 36.

[418] Barrès, Maurice. *Colette Baudoche.* Paris: Plon, 1968. This novel is the second volume of the trilogy, *Les Bastions de l'Est,* which Barrès wrote between 1905 and 1921. *Colette Baudoche* was first published in 1909.

[419] *Ibid.* Page 19.

euphoric reception of the arrival of the French troops in 1918 in Alsace to the disappointment, resentment and increasing sense of alienation which were to mark Alsatian relations with the French during most of the inter-war period, it is evident that those who had remained in the annexed territories had harboured images of France which were more influenced by collective memory of life during the Napoleonic era and Imperial France than the realities of the Third Republic governed by Jacobinic principles. As an Alsatian historian of the time remarked: 'Ce qui frappe le spectateur en France, c'est l'unité de la nation [...] le retour de l'Alsace ne changera guère la face du visage national. La personnalité de la France est déjà trop formée pour qu'elle puisse être modifiée par un million et quelques centaines de mille d'Alsaciens et de Lorrains'.[420] Rather, Alsace was to be confronted with the expectation that it would conform to the principles of the Republic, 'une et indivisible'. In the face of this, Alsatian collective cultural identity was to reinforce itself in a more manifestly political and virulent form, during this period, in an attempt to create space for its particularist identity within such a homogeneous, unified construct.

Time and by implication historical events were consequential factors in the evolution of these auto- and hetero-perceptions of both Alsace and France, affected by the phenomenon of World War I and their subsequent uneasy co-habitation with one another.[421] This supports the view of Ernst Christoph Suttner who emphasises how the significance of time, and with it a reappraisal of values and definitions, play a significant role in changing perceptions of Other and the evolution of stereotypical positive images into more negative images. 'In manche "Bilder von den Anderen" wurde nämlich erst mit der Zeit durch den Bedeutungswandel der verwendeten Begriffe ein negativer, manchmal sogar verleumderischer Sinn hineingelegt.'[422] Stereotypical images associated with France such as rationality, universalism and a perceived superiority of culture, for

---

[420] Kiener, Fritz. 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' In: *La Revue des Vivants.* Paris, 7, July 1928, pp. 49-70. Here, page 50.

[421] Leerssen refers to this phenomenon as 'historically variable images' of the Other. Leerssen, Joep. 'Echoes and Images: Reflections upon foreign space.' In: Corbey, Raymond and Leerssen, Joep. (ed.). *Alterity, Identity, Image. Selves and Other in Society and Scholarship.* Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity. Amsterdam, Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 1991, pp.123-137. Here, page 129.
Corbey and Leerssen also inform us: 'Some historians have developed a historiographical theory which is based on the notion of the past as *changes* and *discontinuities* rather than individual situations and events'. They refer us in particular to 'Paul Veyne, [who] defines an historical event as an *événement différentiel*, i.e. an event which allows one to see a difference between two subsequent situations'. Introduction, p. x. Here, it is the war which can be identified as the *événement différentiel* which allows us to compare the change in auto-and hetero images of Alsace, France and Germany. Introduction, p. x.

[422] Suttner, Ernst, Christoph. 'Das Bild vom Anderen aus religionswissenschaftlicher Sicht.' In: Heuberger, Valeria, Suppan, Arnold, Vyslonzil, Elisabeth. (ed.). *Das Bild vom Anderen. Identitäten, Mentalitäten, Mythen und Stereotypen in multiethnischen europäischen Regionen.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998, pp.55-70. Here, page 55.

example, admired by the Alsatian people whilst under German rule, are transformed into negative attributes after 1918. Likewise, under German rule the Alsatian dialect is considered little more than a curious or charming *patois* by the majority of the French. However, after the war and Alsace's reassimilation into France, it is negatively regarded as *la langue des boches*, an affront to the French concept of nationhood which deemed linguistic unity an important component of its identity and associated language with patriotic sentiment. Indeed the language issue was to be one of the main bones of contention between Alsace and France throughout the inter-war period.

Hopes then that France would make concessions towards the recovered provinces which for almost half a century had been part of a more federalist system were to be often sorely disappointed throughout the inter-war period, so that the term 'le malaise alsacien' became synonymous with this era of Alsatian history.[423] To fully understand the reasons behind this 'malaise alsacien', it will be necessary to examine in further detail the relations between Alsace and France in the inter-war period before proceeding to an analysis of Schickele's commentaries on the political and cultural developments in Alsace at this time.

3.2. Politics and the Question of Identity in Inter-war Alsace

On the 22 November 1918 when the victorious French troops entered Strasbourg, they were greeted with euphoria. The people of Alsace were not only relieved to be liberated from the harsh military dictatorship imposed by the Germans from the beginning of the war, and the suspension of their civil rights under 'Kriegszustand' but were delighted also to find themselves on the side of the victors. Their elation and reception of the French is recalled by René Weiss in *Le Premier Voyage officiel en Alsace-Lorraine Française*:[424]

> [L]ors de l'entrée des troupes françaises, le 22 novembre, la ville avait été superbement pavoisée [...] lorsque le Général Gouraud, puis le Maréchal Pétain, le Maréchal Foch et nos grands soldats firent leur entrée dans Strasbourg, les emblèmes improvisés étaient comme par enchantement, sortis des demeures, ils flottaient aux fenêtres, aux balcons [...] Une pancarte porte: '*Vivent nos*

[423] 'L'expression, "malaise alsacien", est utilisée dès 1919 par la presse alsacienne pour caractériser les difficultés résultant de la réintégration de l'Alsace à la France.' Baechler, Christian. 'L'autonomisme alsacien dans l'entre-deux-guerres.' In: *Historiens et Géographes. Alsace, terre rhénane, porte de l'Europe*, 347, February 1995, pp.249-255. Here: page 249.

[424] Weiss, René. *Le Premier Voyage Officiel en Alsace-Lorraine Française, 8,9,10 Décembre 1918.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1919. René Weiss was head of the cabinet of the Municipal Council of Paris at the time.

Délivreurs!' et ce terme traduit bien le sentiment profond qu'éprouvent les Alsaciens d'avoir été délivrés par les armées françaises d'un joug odieux.[425]

The French troops' triumphant arrival symbolised the end of over forty years of Alsace's annexation to Germany and was a vindication for the humiliation of their defeat in the Franco-Prussian war.

In 1914, General Joffre, leader of the French army, had already made an important promise which his political counterparts were expected to fulfill if France won the war and 'liberated' Alsace: 'La France vous apporte, avec les libertés, le respect de vos libertés à vous, des libertés alsaciennes, de vos traditions, de vos convictions, de vos moeurs'.[426] The Alsatian population welcomed Joffre's famous words as a guarantee of good will from France.[427] If there were any doubts that their reintegration into France could be problematic, for the vast majority of the population, caught up in an atmosphere of exhilaration and excessive patriotic fervour, the arrival of the French troops and the pomp and ceremony of the weeks following the armistice 'fait momentanément oublier les arrière-pensées'.[428] Rather than reflecting on the import of these often to be regretfully repeated words of Joffre's, some sectors at least of the population in Alsace were anxious to reassure the French of their loyalty and 'purity' in remaining uncontaminated by an inferior German *Kultur*, as an article in the francophile *Journal d'Alsace-Lorraine*, entitled 'Notre Retour à la France' indicates:

> Mais n'allez pas croire que le peuple d'Alsace et de Lorraine ne soit pas resté pur; son histoire vous le prouve [...] Il se rappelle trop bien les glorieuses années passées au sein de sa vraie patrie, pour qu'une occupation allemande même de 50 ans ait pu avoir prise sur lui [...] Certes on s'habitua à vivre ensemble, on se côtoyait, mais il n'y eut pas assimilation.[429]

So what was the political effect of France's victory in Alsace? In November 1918, decrees were passed in Paris by the Centre-Right coalition, the *Bloc National*, led by Poincaré as President and Clemenceau as Prime Minister, to abolish Alsace's semi-

---

[425] *Ibid.* Page 82.
[426] Quoted in Vogler, Bernard. *Histoire Politique de l'Alsace.* Page 217
[427] Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques en Alsace jusqu'en 1945.* Strasbourg: L'Alsatique de poche, 1975. Page 171.
[428] Gras, Solange and Christian. *La révolte des régions d'Europe occidentale de 1916 à nos jours.* Paris: Presses Universitaries de France, 1982. Page 110.
[429] *Journal d'Alsace-Lorraine*, 131, 1, 21 November 1918. Front page.

autonomous administrative system set up in 1911 and to replace it with a dual administrative system, operating from Paris and Strasbourg. In reality, however, it would soon become apparent that the real decisions for the region were made in Paris, a situation which provoked the Alsatians, disappointed that French centralist administration failed to understand and allow for the particular problems and different realities of their region after so many years of life under German administration. Ironically, France was repeating the very same mistakes that the German Empire made at the beginning of the annexation, as indicated by Dreyfus in his study of political life in Alsace at this time: 'On rééditait en 1918 l'erreur commise par l'Allemagne en 1871: deux administrations parallèles – celle de Paris, [...] celle de Strasbourg réprésentée par le haut-commissaire – dont les attributions étaient devenues presque illusoires et sur qui pesait l'autorité minitueuse et tatillone du sous-secrétaire d'Etat'.[430]

However, during the honeymoon period of French and Alsatian union, which would last until December 1918, it was Alsace that had thrown away the opportunity to hold a referendum on questions pertaining to the manner of their return to France, as had been proposed in President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, deeming it superfluous. The former Alsace *Landtag*, which had become the *Conseil National* since 11 November 1918, though Clemenceau ignored its existence, had voted on 5 December unanimously in favour of 'la rentrée de l'Alsace et de la Lorraine dans le droit, le rattachement à la France indiscutable et définitif'.[431] During its last sitting, its president, deputy Canon Nicholas Delsor,[432] who formally dissolved the parliament, sealed Alsace's fate in his closing speech when he announced: 'Le referendum n'a plus raison d'être, il est fait'.[433] This dismissal of the idea of an organised referendum is reiterated in the presence of Poincaré and Clemenceau during their first official visit to Strasbourg on 9 December 1918, when the President of the Strasbourg municipal commission, Ungemach declares:

> Pour tous ceux qui assistant à l'inoubliable spectacle que présente Strasbourg en ce jour solennel, les paroles sont superflues. Vous avez vu la foule, vous avez entendu ses acclamations: le plébiscite, le voilà, éclatant, irrésistible. C'est donc pour

---

[430] Fonlupt-Esperaber, J. *Alsace et Lorraine, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain,* Paris, 1945. Page 27. Quoted in Dreyfus, F.G. *La Vie Politique en Alsace 1919-1936.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1969. Page 34.
[431] Strauss, Léon. 'Le malaise alsacien et le développement de l'autonomisme. La vie politique en Alsace dans l'entre-deux-guerres.' In: *Historiens et Géographes. Alsace, terre rhénane, porte de l'Europe,* 347, February 1995, pp.227-237. Here, page 227.
[432] Delsor, having replaced Dr. Eugène Ricklin, who was obliged by the French to cede his position, formally dissolved parliament to make way for the new administrative arrangements to be put in place by France.
[433] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 33.

d'autres que je dois parler, pour tous ceux qui n'ont pas le bonheur d'être avec nous.[434]

Poincaré, on behalf of the French Republic, accepts this unconditional return of Alsace to France, 'Comme le disait toute à l'heure M. le Maire de Strasbourg, le plébisicite est fait. L'Alsace s'est jetée, en pleurant de joie, au cou de sa mère retrouvée'.[435] Nevertheless, he reassures the Alsatians that: '[d]ans les Chambres françaises, tes représentants feront librement entendre au Gouvernement de la République les vœux de tes populations laborieuses. Sois assurée que la France entourera de sa plus vigilante sollicitude ses enfants retrouvés'.[436]

Not everyone, it must be stated, was reassured or satisified with this manner of settling the question of Alsace-Lorraine, which meant effectively cutting its ties completely with Germany. Already warning signs of potential difficulties in resolving the Alsatian question were in evidence prior to November 1918 but intensified when the end of the war and Germany's defeat were imminent. Heated debates took place on how best to resolve the question of Alsace-Lorraine and in the first weeks of November no fewer than three contending governments claimed they were the legitimate rulers in Alsace. The Germans in a last ditch attempt to retain Alsace-Lorraine had promised it full federal autonomy, setting up a new parliament on 5 October under Charles Hauss, leader of *Zentrum*. The validity of this government was disputed by Dr. Eugène Ricklin, President of the dissolved *Landtag*. In response he along with some of the party members of *Zentrum* set up his own *Nationalrat* or *Conseil National* which insisted that the future of Alsace-Lorraine should only be settled by an independent, international commission. German backing was also behind the call for a neutral Alsace-Lorraine and self-government, in an attempt to at least prevent France from claiming the lost *Reichsland*. Red posters appeared in the towns and cities of Alsace at the very beginning of November, declaring: 'Citoyens, nous ne voulons plus être un ballon entre deux nations et le lieu de prédilection de leurs combats [...] L'Alsace-Lorraine aux Alsaciens-Lorrains et rien d'autre'.[437] Dreyfus points out that such neutralist sentiments also had the support of some clergy who feared becoming part of a nation they regarded as atheist.[438] Schickele, as we saw earlier, had plans to return to Alsace to organise a socialist revolution there just after the events of 9 November, linking it to the socialist revolutionary initiatives taking place in Germany. On 10 November a Council of workers and soldiers was set up in Strasbourg, as part of the socialist mutiny spreading from Kiel. The full extent of

[434] Weiss, René. *Premier Voyage Officiel en Alsace-Lorraine française.* Page 92.
[435] *Ibid.* Page 106.
[436] *Ibid.* Page 110.
[437] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 32.
[438] *Ibid.*

Schickele's involvement is unknown, as Finck informs us: 'La manque de documents biographiques ne nous permet pas de suivre d'assez près toutes ses activités au cours des journées décisives de la "Révolution de novembre"'.[439] But the revolution in Alsace was short-lived in any case.[440] The arrival of the French army and the obvious desire of most of the population to return to France ensured that Alsace's destiny was to follow another path. Those, however, who did not share these patriotic French sentiments were concerned at the spontaneous manner in which Alsace decided on its future as part of a France which more than ever regarded Germany as its enemy, and which was decidedly anti-clerical in its policies, ready to impose a completely different administrative and judicial system which operated through the French language:

> Outre les immigrés allemands et les écrivains d'expression allemande, une partie du patronat souhaite ne pas se couper de l'Allemagne; les fonctionnaires redoutent la perte de leurs emplois et les ouvriers celle des lois sociales allemandes. Une partie du clergé se méfie de la République laïque.[441]

Yet, there was no organised dissent, once the French troops entered Alsatian territory, as the one person who possessed the necessary leadership qualities to represent those who did have misgivings and wished to settle the question of Alsace-Lorraine by referendum, Dr. Ricklin, had been interned by the French over the border near Kehl for a few months immediately after the armistice, for strategic political reasons.[442] For most like the Alsatian artist and politician Robert Heitz, it was only once the intoxication and the euphoria of the first weeks after the war had dissipated that it became obvious that life under French rule was to pose new problems. As Heitz writes in hindsight: 'Ce patriotisme français en vase close devait forcément nous réserver des réveils désenchantés'.[443] Already indications of the impending disenchantment were in evidence in Poincaré's address to the crowds in Strasbourg during the first official visit in December but there were few present in the emotionally-charged atmosphere who were perspicacious enough to pay heed to the real import of his words:

> Il y a dans une nation, d'autres principes de vie que la forme du gouvernement, la loi, le sol héréditaire, la langue elle-même: et ces principes de vie sont, avant tout,

---

[439] Finck. *Introduction à l'oeuvre de René Schickele.* Page 68.
[440] '[L]ors de l'arrivée des Français, dix jours plus tard, les Conseils seront dissouts.' In: *Ibid.* Page 148. 23f.
[441] Gras, Solange et Christian. *La révolte des régions.* Page 109.
[442] *Ibid.* Page 110.
[443] Heitz, Robert. *Souvenirs de jadis et de naguère.* Stammbach: R. Heitz, 1963. Page 89.

> la communauté des traditions et la volonté de maintenir la patrie [...] Avec nous [...] tu te rappeleras que nous avons chèrement payé ton retour à la demeure maternelle. Des centaines de mille de Français sont tombés sur les champs de bataille pour que se reconstituât l'intégrité de la Patrie.[444]

For France unity of the nation and homogenity of its citizens and culture took precedence above all else. Alsace, it was assumed, the war prize for which so many French soldiers had sacrificed their lives, would show its lasting gratitude through its loyalty and patriotic commitment to the French nation. It soon became apparent that Alsace, used to a certain degree of autonomy under German rule and in the years of annexation having developed a strong particularist culture, could not fulfill such demands.[445] As discussed in Chapter One, it was precisely because Alsace had been part of the German Empire that it developed its sense of its own 'Otherness' from the culture of its unwanted rulers. This particularism was tolerated under the German system of government where Alsace after the initial wave of resistance and protestation settled for the more accommodating philosophy of autonomism and had on the whole learned to come to terms with life as part of the Empire. In 1918 France was to discover that its belief that 'tout ce que la France offrait maintenant à l'Alsace était supérieur à ce qui existait pour la simple raison que c'était français'[446] would not be so unquestioningly accepted in Alsace. France, expecting Alsace to be grateful to be assimilated fully into its superior civilisation, therefore, was not prepared for the increasing discontent and criticism once initial enthusiasm had faded. Their union, based on preconceived notions and romanticised illusions, only led to disappointment and frustration. Misconceptions on both sides indicated that the years ahead would be difficult.[447] France soon realized then that the attempted wholesale, immediate assimilation of Alsace into the French nation was going to be problematic, and with time its endeavours to dominate this minority group were to meet with growing resistance, provoking Alsace to reassert its own identity even more firmly in the face of the threat of its suppression. Whereas France had anticipated the merging of these identities to form one Self, or rather the subsumption of Alsatian identity under French identity, what persisted was the Alsatian sense of identity, that

---

[444] Weiss, René. *Premier Voyage Officiel en Alsace-Lorraine française,* pp.109-111.
[445] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 35.
[446] Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques en Alsace.* Page 173.
[447] 'La nouvelle orientation politique et nationale du "pays", les maladresses commises de part et d'autre ont démontré que la tâche n'est pas si facile qu'on le croyait. Cinquante années de séparation n'ont pas été sans laisser de traces profondes.' Knittel, Jean. 'L'âme alsacienne.' In: *La Revue des Vivants.* Paris, 7, July 1928, pp.71-78. Here, page 74.

'Other' of French hegemonic culture, which represented a potential threat to the French sense of identity.

Even more so than these 'Français de l'Intérieur', as the French were, and indeed still are, called in Alsace – a term which serves to highlight the sensibilities of the Alsatians vis-à-vis their own strongly developed regional identity and sense of alienation from their fellow French citizens on the other side of the Vosges – it was the attitude of some of those who came back to their native homeland or their descendants which provoked the most resentment. This group known as 'les revenants', formed another division in Alsatian society, their name serving to distinguish them from those Alsatians who had remained in the annexed territories, revealing how the years of annexation affected those left behind, so that now there was a gulf of misunderstanding between them and those who regarded themselves also as Alsatian. These 'revenants' were even more resented than the French: 'Parmi ces nouveaux arrivants les "*Indigènes*" étaient particulièrement irrités par l'arrogance de certains "*revenants*": optants de 1871 ou leurs descendants, qui se posaient à la fois en martyrs du patriotisme et en experts des questions alsaciennes'.[448] The indigenous population expected these 'revenants' at least to have some sensitivity in their dealings and attitudes in Alsace. However, it became apparent that 'les Alsaciens, qui en 1870 avaient émigré, ne se rendait pas compte que, sous le régime allemand, une Alsace nouvelle était née'.[449] In *Hans im Schnakenloch* we saw in General Kaufmann an indication of this lack of comprehension on the part of an optant for the change in the state of affairs in Alsace and in its people's mentality since the annexation. There were mutual disappointments as the Alsatians had expected more sympathy and understanding from these 'revenants' regarding their situation and the optants were not prepared for the changes wrought in the homeland. Manifestations of this resentment towards the 'revenants', were expressed early on. For example, Camille Dahlet published an article, entitled 'Les Revenants', on 11 September 1919, in *La République*, organ of the newly formed Republican Radical party, a moderate left-wing party, where he criticises those who return for their haughty and arrogant attitude.[450]

The decision of these optants to leave the annexed territories in 1871 had in fact far-reaching consequences for Franco-Alsatian relations, as many of those who left formed part of the francophile bourgeoisie, the educated leaders of their communities. During the annexation the power of the Churches grew, in particular the Catholic Church, as their priests and vicars became the new leaders and defenders of Alsatian traditions and culture, which, as Dreyfus points out, was to increasingly detach them from what they

[448] Strauss, Léon. 'Le malaise alsacien.' Page 229.
[449] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique.* Page 9.
[450] *Ibid.* Page 41.

perceived as anti-clerical France.[451] For example, the *Ligue catholique d'Alsace* was set up in 1921 by the Bishop of Strasbourg, Mgr. Ruch, and was an instrument of revolt for Catholics aided by a well organised and prolific press and their political party, the U.P.R. (Union Populaire Républicaine). It could mobilise the region into action efficiently and rapidly against any intended government measures the Catholic Church disagreed with. However, it must be stated that Ruch constantly underlined that such revolt was non-political but purely along religious lines and concerned all Catholics in France: 'Toute l'action ultérieure de l'évêque de Strasbourg sera marqué par la volonté de maintenir le lien entre catholiques alsaciens et catholiques français'.[452] Nevertheless, as tensions increased between Alsace and France, Ruch's policy was not always supported by all members of the Catholic church nor by some lower clergy, a situation which echoes the disparity that existed in Alsace during the annexation between the attitudes of higher and lower clergy towards Alsace's political rulers. As we will see later, this had an important role to play in the development of autonomist sentiments in the region and highlighted the significant role religion played in maintaining Alsace's particularist identity.

France found then, after 40 years of separation, an Alsace dominated by clericalism and used to a certain degree of self-government since 1911. Now they were to be reintegrated into a centralist, secular France where all the important decisions affecting Alsace would be made in Paris. Despite efforts by Alsatian deputies to suggest ways in which Alsace's reintegration into France could be facilitated, none of their proposals were seriously heeded, as even the slightest sign of decentralisation was regarded as being in breach of Republican ideals and a threat to national unity. Heitz cites one particular cause for disillusion with France in Alsace – the changes in their administrative system:

> Je ne veux pas dresser ici le bilan de nos déceptions, de la pagaïe créée par une administration primitive ('autrefois tout était *verboten*, maintenant tout était permis' déclarait publiquement une vieille ganache promue Commissaire de la République: M. Maringer), par des bureaucrates tatillons, mesquins et dépourvus de toute générosité.[453]

Not only in the area of administration would the differences in mentality become obvious and create tension but also in the inter-related questions of education, religion and

---

[451] Dollinger, Philippe (ed.). *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos jours.* Toulouse: Univers de la France, Privat, 1979. Part II: 'Quelle Alsace française? (1918-1939).' Dreyfus, F.G., Chapter 1: 'Le malaise politique' pp.99-133. Here, page 100.
[452] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939 – du 'Reichsland' à la République jacobine.* Paris: Editions Ophrys, 1982. Page 339.
[453] Heitz. Page 90.

language which were to cause the deepest resentment and led to the most indignation over 'ces paroles d'honneur cyniquement reniées, ces promesses grandiloquentes non tenues'.[454]

Attempts to homogenize the differences in their education systems were to prove one of the greatest stumbling blocks in Franco-Alsatian relations, involving both the issues of religion and language. With the introduction of the Ferry Laws in France in the late 1870s and 1880s, which excluded religious instruction from State schools, the separation of Church and State was definitive. In Alsace, on the other hand, in matters pertaining to religious status and its role in education, the Concordat and Falloux Law[455] abolished under the Ferry Laws remained in place and were not tampered with by the Germans during the annexation. Confrontation on religious issues was avoided, however, in the early stages of French rule due to the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and France under the *Bloc National* and the special status accorded to religion in Alsatian schools was allowed to remain in place for the time being. This was a significant concession to the particular situation in Alsace. It highlights again the powerful role of religion, and in particular of the Catholic Church, in the region and its significance for Alsatian identity formation, setting its people apart from lay French tradition. As Eugéne Philipps points out: 'Aux yeux de beaucoup d'Alsaciens, le statut religieux local avait valeur de symbole'.[456]

In linguistic matters the French government's attitude was different and it was very insistent on the introduction of French at all levels and areas of society so that 'le problème linguistique allait se situer au coeur du débat'.[457] With regard to education, protest was sparked off with the introduction of the 'méthode directe' proposed in a circular by the appointed education commissioner, Charléty in January 1920. The 'méthode directe' effectively meant using French as the main language of instruction from the first day in the classroom. German too was to be taught in primary schools to the higher classes but was never to supersede French as the dominant language. This in itself was a cause for protest. However, it was the other point in Charléty's circular which caused the most discord, namely that children beginning school were to be taught solely

---

[454] *Ibid.* Page 91.

[455] The Falloux Law of 1850 decreed that religious instruction be obligatory and divided schools along confessional lines.

[456] Philipps. *Les Luttes Linguistiques.* Page 210.

[457] *Ibid.* Page 173. Also Dreyfus informs us that: 'Entre 1921 et 1924, il n'y a pas de jours où la question de la langue ne fasse l'objet d'articles violents'. In: Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 67.

through French. Their contact with German as a foreign language would only commence a few years later, in the fourth year of school.[458] One can imagine the consternation these new pedagogical methods created, particularly when one takes into account that many children in Alsace had never spoken a word of French before attending school under their new French rulers. Their mother tongue was the Alemannic dialect and High German was used for written expression. As Philipps informs us, German was the predominant language in Alsace at the beginning of the twentieth century and by 1918 could be considered the unique language of the majority of the people.[459] For the French, nevertheless, the Republican principle of one language and one nation was to be applied with vigour, in order to eradicate this most manifest sign of Alsace's link to Germany and German culture. The perpetuation of the polemics of *Kultur* and *civilisation* which had preceded the war are particularly in evidence here in the question of the language of instruction in Alsace where its particularist culture and identity were to be sacrificed to nationalist ideology.

Succeeding French governments attempted to introduce the French language as early as possible into the school systems but the most significant and worrying outcome of this 'méthode directe' was the marked cultural and intellectual decline in Alsace, which the academic Kiener remarked on with concern in 1928.[460] Reports revealed that under this new system of education, Alsatians were unable to speak and write properly in any language.[461] A large majority of the population was not against the teaching of French, which most parents in fact regarded as a necessary acquisition, but they also wanted more time dedicated to German too, especially in the first years at school. Even those who in principle agreed with the direct method recognised the flaws in pushing the idea of 'le français d'abord'.[462]

The abrupt changes in the education system naturally gave rise to comparisons between the former German and contemporary French methods of dealing with the issues

---

[458] See Philipps for a detailed discussion on the debate surrounding Charléty's proposals. *Les Luttes Linguistiques*, pp.186-201.

[459] *Ibid.* Page 167. Baechler more specifically informs us: 'En 1910, le français est la langue maternelle de seulement 3.8% des habitants du Bas-Rhin et 6.1% des habitants du Haut-Rhin. Une très large majorité de la population ignore le français'. In: Baechler. 'L'autonomisme alsacien dans l'entre-deux-guerres.' In: *Historiens et Géographes*, 347, February 1995, pp.249-255. Here, page 249.

[460] '[I]l est juste de craindre [...] qu'après quelques années, n'ayant plus de contacte avec les milieux qui parlent bien la langue nationale, les jeunes gens et les jeunes filles ne perdent l'usage du français, de sorte que, ne sachant non plus suffisamment l'allemand, ils seront séparés de toute culture et que toute aspiration intellectuelle leur sera rendue impossible.' Kiener, Fritz. 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' pp.49-70. Here, page 54.

[461] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 68.

[462] Kiener, for example concedes this: 'Le but était louable [...] mais là aussi on est allé trop vite; on n'a peut-être pas assez tenu compte que, du fait de l'introduction de la langue nationale, un bilinguisme devait se former.' Kiener, Fritz. 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' pp.49-70. Here, pages 53 and 54.

of education and language in Alsace. Phillips informs us: 'La comparaison, il faut en convenir, n'était pas à l'avantage de la France'.[463] Germany had followed a principle of choosing as the language of instruction the predominant language spoken in the different areas of the *Reichsland*, whether it was French or German. German had been taught in all schools from a certain level under German rule but the number of hours dedicated to French had been noticeably more generous in contrast to Charléty's recommendations for the number of hours dedicated to German. It was this markedly favoured position of French, even in uniquely German-speaking areas, which gave rise to protest: 'Beaucoup d'Alsaciens ne comprenaient pas pourquoi on n'appliquaient pas aux dialectophones le même principe pédagogique que les Allemands avaient appliqué aux francophones.'[464] At the *Conférence d'Alsace-Lorraine*, a meeting convoked in 1914 to discuss future policy in the region by the French in those parts of Alsace-Lorraine they had secured from the beginning of the war, the question of language and education had been considered at length. Then, it had been suggested that in the case of primary and secondary schools although French was to be the main language of instruction, German was to occupy a prominent position on the curriculum. There had also been laudable intentions to promote a policy of bilingual instruction at Strasbourg University, at least in certain courses.[465] With French victory, however, these aims were never carried out and it was instead Charléty's proposals that were adopted and rigorously applied despite great protest from the indigenous population. The intolerant attitude of the French regarding the use of German in the civil service, the legal system and schools was to cause huge unrest and discontent. From one day to the next, the people of Alsace were expected to renege this part of their cultural heritage and become fully assimilated French citizens. The years of the annexation were to be blotted out and Alsatians were expected to behave as if the 48 years since 1870 had never occurred or had had any effect on their self-perception. The *Bloc National*, not wishing to create a situation whereby the Alsatians would begin to regret the loss of some aspects of German rule, did make concessions in some matters of education. Non-secular state education, for example, was not enforced as in the rest of France.

Religion in Alsace was very much intertwined with the question of education and occupied an important place in the curriculum. The clergy, particularly the Catholic clergy, wielded great influence not just in political but also in educational matters since the time of the annexation. This highlights the interaction of religion and culture in the

[463] Phillips. *Les Luttes Linguistiques.* Page 189.
[464] *Ibid.* Page 191.
[465] *Ibid.* Page 183.

vindication of a particularist Alsatian identity. The *Ligue catholique*, as defender of Catholic interests in the region, therefore was also involved in the question of the teaching of German and later protested against secularisation of schools. Protestants, too, supported these latter views as their religious practice was bound up with the German language. Prior to Alsace's change of regime, there had been little interference with the rights and privileges of religious institutions there since the 1880s, once Bismarck's oppressive *Kulturkampf* had abated and diplomatic relations had been re-established between Germany and the Vatican in 1882. Under French rule the openly anti-clerical stance by the SFIO (*Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière*) and Radicals who were to come to power as the *Cartel des Gauches* in 1924, for instance, shocked sectors of the Alsatian population and rendered them fiercely resistant to any change in religious statutes. Religion in Alsace constituted an integral part of the population's identity where a well-organised, politically and culturally engaged clergy, particularly amongst Catholics, had the support of most of the population, as Kiener points out.[466] This religious tradition along with the linguistic and educational questions were to become the main hallmarks of Alsatian 'Otherness' in the face of France's homogeneous cultural identity.

Another cause for deep dissatisfaction which also provoked deep rifts in the Alsatian community can be attributed to the *Commissions de triage*, a special tribunal set up by the French in Alsace in November 1918 to punish or expel any undesirables. The rulings and decisions of this arbitrary tribunal affected the whole population of Alsace, which had been separated into four different categories according to their bloodline, then marked on identity cards. Card A was granted to those reintegrated with full rights into France and concerned those who had possessed French citizenship before the annexation and their descendants. Schickele belonged to this group. Card B was given to those who had one ancestor of a nationality other than French. Card B holders were in some cases also granted full French citizenship. Those who obtained Card C were descendants of parents born in either an allied or a neutral country and finally, Card D was given to those born or descendant from parents born in enemy territory, regardless if they had been born in Alsace during the years of annexation. Accordingly as one proceeded from categories A to B, C and D, civil rights diminished. This last category, D, of course applied to many Germans who had moved or had been born in Alsace and were now expelled in a manner

---

[466] Kiener, Fritz. 'La religion en Alsace est enracinée fortement dans l'âme de la population et les directives données par les curés sont beaucoup plus fidèlement suivies chez nous qu'ailleurs [...] Le curé alsacien s'est de tout temps, distingué par sa passion pour le peuple et par l'intérêt qu'il portait aux oeuvres sociales [...] On fait bien de ne pas évaluer trop bas son autorité. Son talent d'organisation est de premier ordre. Il est dévoué à une cause commune. Il a derrière lui une grande partie du pays.' 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' pp. 49-70. Here, page 55.

which amounted to an ethnic cleansing of the population in Alsace to rid it of all German or Germanophile elements. Harsh regulations accompanied these expulsions: luggage of those expelled was limited to thirty kilos, thus many personal belongings had to be left behind, and each person was restricted to a specific sum of money. The expulsion of this unwanted 'Other' by the French across the Rhine bridge was accompanied by the insults and jeers of a hostile crowd. Eye-witness reports of this exodus over the bridge to Kehl recount the anguish of those forced to leave Alsace and their homes.[467] The number of Germans forced to leave these territories at that time is estimated to be about 150,000.[468] However, those too who were eligible for reintegration with full rights into France were not always immune to retribution from the *Commissions de Triages* if perceived as having served their former German rulers too assiduously or allegedly demonstrating Germanophile sentiments.[469] Dr. Ricklin, as we saw earlier, was one such victim of this arbitrary system, interned for a few months near Kehl, in French occupied Germany, immediately after the war. When these commissions had run their course by October 1919, Alsace was left bereft of many intellectuals as many of those forced to leave were university professors or those who had held important administrative positions. This tactless, chauvinistic behaviour on the part of the French government to speed up the assimilation process in order to achieve a truly homogeneous and unified Republic through such legally dubious means[470] drew the criticism of figures such as Robert Redslob, Dean of the Faculty of Law in Strasbourg University, who wrote: '[J]e dois avouer en toute humilité que j'ai rien compris à cette procédure'.[471] The *Commissions de Triage* marked one of the most painful aspects of Alsace's return to France, creating an atmosphere of fear and mistrust. Apart from those expelled were those who like Schickele chose to leave of their own accord either for professional reasons or because they strongly opposed the change of regime in Alsace. Dr. Robert Ernst, son of an Alsatian Protestant pastor and later *Oberbürgermeister* of Strasbourg under the Nazis, opted to live in Germany after 1918 for the latter reason, where he set up a society of *Altelsässer*, ostensibly in aid of those who had been expelled from the *Heimat* but which also had connections with the *Verein für Deutschtum im Ausland* based in Berlin and

---

[467] 'Ich habe 1919 in Diedenhofen am Bahnhof mit eigenen Augen diese armen Gruppen beobachtet, wie sie ihre Habseligkeiten in einem Stück Tuch zusammengebunden, weinend und jammernd die Abfahrt des nächsten Zuges abwarteten, der sie "über die Kehler Brücke" aus einem wohnlichen Heime ins schwarze dunkle Nichts bringen sollte.' Dumser, Jean. *Bekenntnisse eines waschechten els.-loth. Autonomisten.* Nancy: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1929. Page 38.

[468] Vogler, Bernard. *Histoire Culturelle de l'Alsace.* Strasbourg: Éditions La Nuée Bleue. Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 1993. Page 384.

[469] For commentary on penalties imposed by the *Commissions de Triages* see, Strauss, Léon. 'Le malaise alsacien...'. In: *Historiens et Géographes*, pp. 227-237. Here, page 229.

[470] 'Ces commissions épuraient sans appel, sans communication de dossier, sans assistance d'avocat.' Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 42.

[471] Robert Redslob's article appeared in *Le Temps,* 17.4.1929. Quoted in: *Ibid.* Page 42.

Freiburg which sought to promote a German Alsace from the 1920s onwards. Ernst's magazine, *Elsass-Lothringen Heimatsstimmen*, launched in the early 1920s, was linked too to initiatives to stir up agitation in Alsace, and was later implicated in the controversial Colmar Trial in 1928.[472]

With the aim to improve the situation in Alsace and defend the concerns of the population, Alsatian political parties formed or re-established in preparation for the first legislative elections under French rule in 1919. The main consideration was to try and improve conditions for the region, to combat the centralisation of French politics and gain recognition for the special nature of Alsatian culture which cherished its Germanic language, particular customs and traditions. These were issues that no party could afford not to include on their agenda, with the exception of the Socialists, the only party with links to the Socialist party of the *Intérieur*. Three of the parties existing under German rule were reconstituted: the Catholic party, formerly *Zentrum*, now calling itself the *l'Union Populaire Républicaine* (U.P.R.) and also known as the *Elsässische Volkspartei*; the Republican-Democratic party, under German rule known as the Liberal-Democrats composed of bourgeois, liberals and Protestants, under the leadership of Frédéric Eccard and Charles Frey, which shared similar views to the U.P.R.; finally, the Socialist party re-organised too in February 1919. The Socialist party was the only Alsatian party linked to an 'interior' party, proclaiming its attachment to the SFIO and favouring both secularism and centralism. A new party, the Radical party, appeared also in 1919, which was anti-clerical and pro-assimilationist. Camille Dahlet, journalist and a close friend of Schickele's, later the inspiration behind the character François Kern in Schickele's trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein*, was initially one of the more prominent figures in this party but was to gradually distance himself from its programme, finding his views coincided more with those of the autonomists. The Radical party was a party guided by strongly Protestant principles.[473]

The Catholic party, the U.P.R., was the main party in Alsace, counting members of the clergy among its ranks, one of the most prominent being Abbé Xavier Haegy, a well known political figure during the annexation and *Zentrum* deputy in the *Reichstag*, 1913-1918. Although the U.P.R. emphasised its attachment to France, it sought reforms in the administrative system which would have a healthy regard for regional concerns and campaigned also for bilingualism. It called too for the retention of particularism in judicial and social matters as well as the maintenance of the non-secularised school system and the Concordat. It did not however look for complete autonomy nor wish

[472] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 70.
[473] *Ibid.* Page 75.

France to become a federal state.[474] The Republican-Democrats rejected Parisian centralist policy, supported a policy of bilingualism for the region and although not against the introduction of Church-State separation, believed that the legislation in effect in the rest of France would have to be adapted in light of Alsace's particularist culture.[475] Together the U.P.R. and the Republican-Democrats formed a coalition under the name *Bloc National*.[476] The Socialists, favoured by the French administration, had at their disposal much support from the *Intérieur*[477] and their political programme responded to the concerns of the working class in larger, industrial towns such as Mulhouse, where the vote for the Left was more influenced by anti-clerical sentiment than by social issues.[478] Three parties in Alsace presented candidates for the elections. The *Bloc National* (the U.P.R. and Republican-Democrat coalition), the Socialists and finally, the Radicals, solely in the department of the Bas-Rhin.

All three parties wished to affirm their attachment to France in these first elections, as Dreyfus informs us: 'Ainsi les éléctions de 1919 marquaient bien le retour de l'Alsace dans la communauté française'.[479] There was, however, a higher level of abstention from these elections than from those under German rule.[480] This it would appear was for religious reasons, as the highest levels of abstention were mostly from the Protestant communities. Catholics, on the other hand, were exhorted by clergy from the pulpit to vote as their religious duty, highlighting the extent of the political engagement of the clergy. The results of these elections in 1919 reveal a definite split in opinion between rural Alsace, which mainly supported the *Bloc National*, and the cities and large towns, where the Socialists had most support.[481] It reveals too just how important issues of class and religion were in influencing attitudes towards France where the Alsatian working class were obviously more supportive of lay French tradition. This divided them from the largely rural population in Alsace, highlighting the complexity of the question of Alsatian identity, split along religious, social and cultural lines. The victory of the *Bloc National* in Alsace echoed the victory of the coalition of the Right on a national level also, under the presidency of Poincaré.

---

[474] *Ibid.* Page 38.
[475] *Ibid.* Page 39.
[476] *Ibid.* Pages 38-39. Despite the name of their coalition, neither the U.P.R. or the Republican-Democrats were attached to political parties in Paris. See Vogler, Bernard. *Histoire politique de l'Alsace.* Page 224.
[477] For more commentary, see Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 40.
[478] Dollinger, Philippe (ed.). *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos jours.* Page 105.
[479] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 50.
[480] For the statistics of the results of these elections, see *Ibid.* Pages 43-4.
[481] In 1919 the Socialists received 36% of the votes in the Lower Rhine department, with the *Bloc National* gaining 53%, and 37% in the Upper Rhine department where the *Bloc National* received 62%. In: Dollinger. *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos Jours.* Page 104.

To compensate for mistakes made in 1918-19 in handling the Alsatian question, this government appointed Alexandre Millerand High Commissioner of Alsace at the end of 1919 and immediately set about establishing local councils which would deal with local issues and gained some special privileges and exceptions for Alsace. However, when in January 1920 he proposed to set up a regional council of Alsace-Lorraine he was criticised both by the Left and the Right in Paris for going too far; by the Right because of their policy of centralisation and nationalist sentiment and by the Left because they opposed decentralisation and special treatment for this territory in matters of religion and education. The powers of Millerand's councils were gradually eroded throughout this period by simply linking them up to administrative services in Paris. Increasing numbers of French bureaucrats were re-located in Alsace and local issues and problems were no longer prioritized. This increasing influx of bureaucrats and teachers was to aggravate the situation in Alsace, causing problems not just on a linguistic level but often also because of the 'colonial' attitude of these new bureaucrats, who received higher salaries than their Alsatian counterparts as compensation for having to move to Alsace, a policy which also applied to the colonies. Furthermore, hopes of advancement were dashed for many Alsatian civil servants, hindered by the compulsory use of French and unfamiliarity with French laws, and there was anxiety that their 'droits acquis', statutes which dealt with methods of salary payment, career advancement and pensions, would disappear under the new administrative system.[482]

However, although Alsace had problems adapting to French rule, there was no manifest desire to return to Germany either. Rather the population endeavoured to improve their lot under French rule, despite the growing disillusion.[483] The unstable economic and political situation in Germany after the war and the ensuing drop in trade between Germany and Alsace ensured that Alsace did not harbour any desire for rapprochement with their former rulers.[484] This is underlined in the local elections, preceding the general elections of 1924, by the minimal support for a relatively new and ephemeral party, founded by Claus Zorn von Bulach in 1922. Known as the *Elsässische Partei* or *Parti Alsacien*, this party had separatist aspirations and the support of Dr. Ernst in Germany.[485] Overall the elections of 1924 showed a swing to the Left in Alsace, even if its *Bloc National* still retained more seats in the National Assembly. The rise in support

---

[482] Strauss, Léon. '*Le Malaise alsacien...*'. pp.227-237. Here, page 229.
[483] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 64.
[484] Germany at this time was trying to build up its own industries after the war and products from France were boycotted until occupation of the Ruhr region ended. Furthermore the Mark had dropped in value, thus exports there were risky. For more detail on the economic situation between Alsace and Germany, see *Ibid.* Page 61.
[485] Zorn von Bulach only received 301 votes out of 3453 in local elections in Niederbronn, for example. In *Ibid.* Page 71.

for the Left can be attributed in part to the advent of the Communist party in Alsace in 1922, who were critical of 'imperialist' French policy in Alsace.[486] The Radicals did poorly in these elections, so the Socialists received the majority of votes.[487] This success of the Left in 1924 is also reflected at national level when the *Cartel des Gauches*, a Radical-Socialist coalition, acceded to power, determined to create a strongly centralist, secular France. In his inauguration speech, 17 June 1924, Edouard Herriot, the new Prime Minister, declared that he would be abolishing the post of High Commissioner in Alsace and Lorraine and would eradicate the last differences in legislation by introducing Republican legislation in its entirety to Alsace-Lorraine,[488] including the abolition of the Concordat and the Falloux Law. The prospect of the clergy losing their special position in Alsatian society and their influence on the population, provoked fierce opposition to this speech, particularly from the Catholic Church, who envisaged the removal of the Concordat, the introduction of laicisation, expulsion of religious orders and abolition of the regional Commission. Even those deputies, such as the Lorraine deputy Robert Schumann, whose French sentiments were above suspicion of any kind, warned Herriot that his intentions would cause trouble in Alsace-Lorraine.[489]

Indeed, despite the swing in support for the Left in Alsace, Herriot's ministerial address caused outrage, especially in the Catholic daily newspapers of the region, some going so far as to announce the beginning of a new *Kulturkampf*[490] or the return of a new Bismarck.[491] The bishop of Strasbourg, Mgr. Ruch, published a letter on 22 June 1924 to all the clergy in the diocese as well as to all Catholic organisations exhorting them to protest as strongly as possible to the *Cartel des Gauches*'s intentions. A huge demonstration took place in Strasbourg in July 1924 triggered by Mgr. Ruch's letter whose content Baechler describes as 'un véritable déclaration de guerre'.[492] Protestant circles were no less critical of Herriot's intentions. As a result of these protests Alsace was assured that the Concordat would remain in place but questions pertaining to religion and language in the educational system remained burning issues. Tension had escalated by 1925 when Mgr. Ruch through the *Ligue catholique d'Alsace* organised

---

[486] Gras, Solange and Christian. *La Révolte des régions.* Page 111.
[487] For an in depth analysis of the results of the 1924 elections, see Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en France*, pp.72-80.
[488] 'Le gouvernement est persuadé qu'il interprétera fidèlement le voeu des chères populations enfin rendues en France en hâtant la venue du jour où seront effacées les dernières différences de législation entre les départements recouvrés et l'ensemble du territoire de la République.' In: Dollinger, Philippe (ed.). *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos Jours.* Page 111.
[489] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 82.
[490] *Elsässer* 18 June 1924. Front page. In: Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* Page 337.
[491] *Elsässer Kurier* 19 June 1924. Page 2. In: *Ibid.* Page 337.
[492] *Ibid.* Page 338.

demonstrations against secularisation, a school strike and a referendum on the question of religious status in schools. This referendum, organised in April 1925, manifested the strong wish of the Alsatians to retain their own school system with its particular religious status. Not only Catholics but also Protestants voted in favour of this. Despite reassurances from a by now alarmed Herriot that the legislative assimilation would not be carried out without much discussion and a respect for people's rights, his speech had sparked off widespread distrust and anger. When Painlevé succeeded Herriot in 1925 he discreetly dropped the question of secularising Alsace. However, Herriot's speech was not the only reason for such angry reaction, which was the culmination of the Alsatian population's growing disillusion with French policy since the end of 1918, which had begun to manifest itself more emphatically by 1923, as Heitz recalls: 'Quatre ou cinq ans après les triomphales journées de novembre 1918, l'Alsace était profondément écoeurée, prête à toutes les aventures'.[493]

3.3. The Rise of Autonomism

Almost a year after Herriot's ministerial declaration, on 9 May 1925, an independent weekly newspaper appeared in Saverne entitled *Die Zukunft* which in its first issue declared it campaigned for 'la défense de la patrie alsacienne-lorraine et le droit des peuples'. It called for autonomy, defence of freedoms and preservation of the region's language, declaring German should be spoken in schools, in administration and in the courts of justice. Its slogan was 'Für die Heimat, Recht und Frieden!'.[494] This marked the beginnings of the autonomist movement proper in Alsace. *Die Zukunft's* programme was at first essentially cultural, where defence of the *Muttersprache* was a predominant issue. When Dr. Eugène Ricklin, one of the main influences behind *Die Zukunft*, succeeded Emile Pinck as director of the paper in 1926, he politicised the programme, in calling for a status of autonomy for Alsace comparable to that in 1911.

Why did *Die Zukunft* and the autonomist movement come into existence just at that time? Herriot's speech had undoubtedly been the spark that ignited a fire, which had long been smouldering up to 1924, a malaise that had steadily increased since Alsace's return to France. By the 1920s the euphoria of the aftermath of the war had been well and truly quelled by the insensitive treatment of the Alsatians by the French. Seven years after Alsace's return to France, the cumulative effects of the *Commissions de Triage*, forced expulsions, the language, school and administrative issues and unkept promises had caused growing anger and frustration – '"l'illusion tricolore" de novembre 1918'[495] had

[493] Heitz. *Souvenirs de jadis et naguère.* Page 91.
[494] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien* 1890-1939. Page 351.
[495] Strauss, Léon. 'Le malaise alsacien...'. pp.227-237. Here, page 227.

vanished. French policy under both the Left and Right had done little to fulfill General Joffre's promise of 1914 to the Alsatian population and reassure them that their language, traditions and culture would be preserved. Increasingly, they felt treated like an unwelcome 'Other' in the French nation and experienced an ever growing need to strongly affirm their own particularist identity against French cultural hegemony. In addition the various initiatives of protest already undertaken by Catholic organisations and Mgr. Ruch, had made the Alsatians realize that their resistance to French assimilation could be channeled into a well organised and effective front of opposition to government measures. Indeed, as Christian and Solange Gras point out: 'la question religieuse sert de tremplin aux autonomistes'.[496] Furthermore, Dr. Ricklin was a respected political leader in Alsace, closely associated with the protection of the rights of his people and defender of its particularist identity during the years of annexation to the German Empire. His internment after the war by the French did not render him particularly benign towards the regime changeover and he had formed connections with those elements in Alsatian society who were dissatisfied with French government and wished to alter the situation. He remained convinced that the solution to the question of Alsace-Lorraine more than ever was to be found in granting a certain level of autonomy to the recovered provinces, an idea which he ceaselessly promoted and, which after Herriot's speech, found significantly increased support.[497]

By December 1925 *Die Zukunft* was selling 22,000 copies which increased to 35,000 by Spring 1926[498], an indication of the extent of the malaise in Alsace.[499] Henceforth, *Die Zukunft* was recognised not just as a newspaper but also as a political and cultural movement. In each issue of *Die Zukunft*, revolt against French government measures was preached without, however, going so far as to call for separation from the French state. Autonomism was to provide a link between diverse groups in Alsace and it attracted a cross-section of the population, finding many supporters amongst Catholics, Protestants and Communists, for example.[500] Links were formed between *Die Zukunft* and the Radical newspaper *La République* too under the influence of Camille Dahlet, the main representative of autonomist leanings in the Radical party. Many suspected that there were German links particularly through financial aid, which as Baechler informs us proved to be correct,[501] but as Dreyfus postulates, there was certainly also support from

---

[496] Gras, Solange and Christian. *La révolte des régions*. Page 128.
[497] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace*. Page 93.
[498] See Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939*. Page 352.
[499] *Ibid.* Page 352.
[500] Gras, Solange and Christian. *La révolte des régions*. Page 128-9.
[501] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939*. Pages 405-406. See also, Dumser, Jean. *Bekenntnisse*. Pages 62-63

French citizens too, unhappy with Herriot's anti-clerical policies.[502] The rise of autonomism was treated in a sympathetic manner, particularly by Catholic circles in France, as a means of criticising the Left-wing government. A series of articles on the question of Alsace at the end of January, 1926 in *Le Figaro*, for example, clearly attributes blame for unrest in the region to government policy and the errors of the French centralist political and administrative system rather than to a desire on the part of the autonomists for closer links to Germany: '[L]e mouvement autonomiste ne traduit aucunement, nous le savons, un oubli des douleurs de l'occupation allemande. Il a grossi en entraînant un flot de déceptions irritées vers l'issue mal définie d'une libération à l'égard des sottises du gouvernement central.'[503] Most specifically targeted is the *Cartel des Gauches*'s anticlericalism as the reason for the growing dissatisfaction.[504] Under the guise of enlightening the reader on the understandable malaise in Alsace in adapting to French concepts of statehood and the centralised nature of the Republic, which were in conflict with the Alsatian experience of the German federalist notions of nationhood, it is clear that the *Le Figaro* and its adherents saw in the autonomist developments in Alsace a perfect opportunity to criticise and destabilise a government they opposed in Paris.[505]

In his controversial memoirs on the autonomist movement, Dumser identifies two circles within the *Zukunft* movement: one autonomist proper centred around Ricklin but also one with separatist aspirations, supported by Dr. Robert Ernst and his associates in Germany:

> Der Strassburger Korrespondent der *Heimatsstimmen* von Dr. Ernst skizziert in der Nummer vom März 1926 diesen andern Kreis scharf und deutlich, indem er schreibt: "[...] *Die Zukunft* war der Alarmruf, der notwendig war die schlafenden Massen zu wecken. Nun aber warten die Massen, dass ein Führer Befehle erteilt, dass er sie führt, die Fahne voraus dem grossen Ziele entgegen. Und dieses Ziel steht nicht im Rahmen Frankreichs! – Es sind längst Kräfte am Werk, die auf die Loslösung Elsass-Lothringens aus den Fesseln von Versailles hinstreben".[506]

---

[502] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 93.

[503] 'Pour l'Alsace et la Lorraine. Le devoir de tous.' *Le Figaro.* 29 January 1926.

[504] [L]a folie fut de vouloir procéder à une "assimilation" par la voie du laïcisme. Pour l'Alsacien, catholique, protestant, israélite [...] la tradition religieuse est une base essentielle de culture et de civilisation'. In the article, 'Pour l'Alsace et la Lorraine. Le malentendu général.' *Le Figaro.* 27 January 1926.

[505] [O]n aperçoit bien vite qu'il y a un malentendu foncier et, pour le moment, irréductible entre deux conceptions de l'Etat. Pour les Alsaciens, de tempérament à la fois très traditionaliste et très moderne, l'idée d'Etat et surtout l'idée de République ne se séparent pas d'un régime effectif de décentralisation. A leurs yeux, la centralisation paperassière, telle qu'on la conçoit à Paris, représente un régime arrière, un régime de tracasserie administrative et de faiblesse gouvernementale, un régime d'irresponsabilité et de rendement presque nul.' *Ibid.* 27 January 1926.

[506] Dumser. *Bekenntnisse*, pp.60-61.

However, it appeared the *Zukunft* movement was to yield rather to Ricklin's influence than to that of the separatists and he in particular endeavoured to win the support of Alsace's most influential party, the U.P.R..[507] The *Zukunft* movement attracted the left-wing branch of the U.P.R. more concerned with regionalist issues and reassured by the leadership role of Ricklin, a devout Catholic, than the right-wing branch, the nationalists, who adhered rather to Mgr. Ruch's views on prioritizing unity between French and Alsatian Catholics. Abbé Haegy, a leading figure amongst the U.P.R. regionalists, was to become one of the main proponents of the autonomist movement within the U.P.R., his overriding concern being to prevent the spread of laicism and preserve a Catholic Alsace. As director of Alsatia publications and administrator for the Catholic press, where he often contributed articles himself under the pseudonym Alsaticus, he used these tools of communication effectively to defend his notion of an autonomous, Catholic Alsace. For Haegy it was better to have an autonomous Alsace than a lay Alsace, even if, as Dreyfus informs us, this would entail enlisting the support of certain German milieux or forming alliances with Communists who wished to defend the rights of the *Heimat* and *Volk*.[508] In an interview with the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Haegy discusses Alsace's relations with France, and he emphasises the significance of Alsace's troubled history in rendering the Alsatian people incapable of a deep patriotic feeling for France, albeit remaining loyal French citizens. Their strongest sentiments and sense of identification are rather with their *Heimat*, but as Haegy is at pains to point out, this incapacity to display active patriotic feeling for France should not be interpreted as a sign of hatred towards France, just as they do not hate Germany or Switzerland.[509] Haegy's statements undoubtedly were intended to reassure the French that although Alsatian sentiments were first and foremost for their *Heimat* there was no intention to separate from the Republic nor was their reluctance to display hatred towards Germany to be misinterpreted as a sign of any disloyalty to France.

In an effort to conciliate the nationalist wing of the U.P.R. who did not always agree with *Die Zukunft*'s virulent criticisms of the French government, the official U.P.R.

---

[507] 'Ce mouvement s'efforce très tôt d'élargir son influence au sein de l'UPR en s'emparant d'un des organes proches du parti, *L'Elsässische Volksbote,* pour en faire un quotidien défendant des thèses régionalistes plus avancées que celles du programme de 1919.' Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien* 1890-1939. Page 352.

[508] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 97.

[509] 'Nous ne haïssons pas la France comme noue ne haïssons pas la Suisse [...] ni l'Allemagne. Nous sommes des citoyens loyaux. Mais demander un patriotisme actif de tous les alsaciens ce serait leur demander quelque chose de mensonger car l'histoire déchirée de leurs pays a détruit un tel sentiment. L'alsacien n'éprouve des sentiments véritablement forts que pour sa Heimat. Les Français de l'Intérieur ne le comprennent souvent pas.' Interview with Abbé Haegy in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, (no date given), excerpts of which were published in *L'Alsace Française.* 31 March 1930. Page 179.

stance was, however, cautious vis-à-vis *Die Zukunft*, earning them in turn criticism from that movement, so that in 1926 *Die Zukunft* began directing attacks against French Catholicism in order to break down the unity of action between French and Alsatian Catholics forged by Herriot's declaration.[510] This in turn led the nationalist wing of the U.P.R. to condemn *Die Zukunft*[511] with the result that some Catholics began to oppose the autonomist movement, especially too as it appeared to be moving away from religious issues progressively and revealing signs of anti-clerical elements at times in its defence of, and alliances with, anti-Catholics. These divergent opinions regarding *Die Zukunft* were already by 1926 beginning to indicate rifts within the U.P.R. and in turn in Alsatian society, leading to very conflicting attitudes towards autonomism.

The writer, Edouard Schuré, originally an Alsatian optant who remained in France and had propagated the image of an Alsace of Celtic origins,[512] discusses, for example, how the autonomist phenomenon reveals the existence of two Alsaces, one patriotically French, the 'other', regionalist, autonomist and particularist. He describes the autonomists as a minority group with secret connections to a revengeful Germany, and regards them as a growing threat to France.[513] Proponents of French propaganda in Alsace warned that the *Zukunft* movement was a threat and a phenomenon of interest beyond the borders of Alsace and France, not to be underestimated, as Edmond Vermeil, history professor at Strasbourg University argues in a tendentious article published in the Strasbourg francophile, nationalist magazine, *L'Alsace française*.[514] Vermeil, indicating that he is privy to secret meetings in Zürich between Alsatian autonomists, German pacifists, Austrians and Rhineland federalists[515] without, however, furnishing his readers with any evidence for such a claim, speculates that not only was Alsatian autonomy obviously supported in Germany but quite probably also in Great Britain, as a means of preventing further war between France and Germany, and by the Vatican too, which would not be averse to the establishment of a confederation of Catholic states along the

---

[510] 'Elle (la *Zukunft*) [...] souligne l'opposition entre un catholicisme alsacien profondément enraciné dans le peuple et un catholicisme français qui s'est accomodé des lois laïques.' Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* Page 359.

[511] *Ibid.* Page 355.

[512] Phillips, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques.* Page 174 and 345, footnote 198.

[513] Schuré, Edouard. 'Le drame intérieur de l'Alsace.' In: *La Revue des Vivants.* Paris, 7, July 1928, pp.28-36. Here, page 29.

[514] Vermeil, Edmond. 'L'autonomisme alsacien et ses horizons européens.' In: *L'Alsace Française. Revue Hebdomadaire d'action nationale*, 6, 13, 27 March 1926, Strasbourg, pp.249-251.

[515] 'Le jour même [...] avait lieu à Zürich, si je suis exactement renseigné, une réunion à laquelle assistaient les principaux chefs du féderalisme rhénan, des pacifistes, des Autrichiens et des autonomistes alsaciens, tout un ensemble des personnalités assez connus.' *Ibid.* Page 249.

Rhine no longer under the influence of secular France and Protestant Germany.[516] In a much later article by Jean-Claude Streicher on suspicions surrounding Schickele's involvement in these alleged autonomist initiatives in Zürich, which the French authorities later conceded most likely did not take place after all,[517] Vermeil's article is in particular singled out for criticism for spreading unfounded rumours about the autonomist movement and held up as an example of the French military services' use of the press and the University of Strasbourg as a mouthpiece for French propaganda against autonomism.[518]

However, anti-autonomist sentiment in some quarters did not deter the *Zukunft* movement from intensifying its calls for a more autonomous Alsace and in a new initiative led by Ricklin and Jean Keppi, leader of the Haguenau branch of the U.P.R., which grouped together all those who wished to take further action to defend the traditions and culture of Alsace-Lorraine, the *Heimatbund* manifesto was launched on 5 June 1926 in Strasbourg. The manifesto appeared in the press on the 7 June, signed by a total of 102 people of varying backgrounds and by Catholics and Protestants alike. More than 50 per cent of these signatories were engaged in intellectual and liberal professions.[519] Baechler informs us that 23 of the signatories were well-known members of the U.P.R. although none were parliament deputies or in any leading positions within the party.[520] In a strongly worded text which was very condemnatory of French policies of assimilation in the region,[521] the *Heimatbund* called for the provision of a broad range of regional powers, in order to protect the culture and traditions of the people of Alsace-Lorraine. The promotion of a regional identity distinct from a French one is firmly asserted in the *Heimatbund* manifesto, as is evident from its language with its references to 'Unsere Rasseneigenschaften', 'das elsass-lothringische Volk', 'tiefe Verwurzelung im

---

[516] 'Il est probable, en effet, que l'Angleterre et le Vatican le favorisent. L'Angleterre chercherait, tout d'abord, pour sa propre sécurité et pour parer définitivement au danger d'une guerre future, à interposer une Confédération d'Etats neutres, une sorte de Ligue du Rhin nouveau modèle, entre l'Allemagne et la France, de manière à empêcher pour jamais la prépondérance continentale de l'une et de l'autre [...] Rome, enfin, soutiendrait ces aspirations encore multiples et confuses, de manière à forger, avec l'Autriche, la Bavière, l'Alsace, le Palatinat et la Rhénanie, une chaîne ininterrompue d'Etats catholiques.' *Ibid.* Pages 250-251.

[517] 'La conclusion à toute cette affaire, c'est Paul Tirard qui le tire. "L'enquête effectué par nos agents en Suisse, dit-il, permet de tenir pour peu vraisemblable qu'une conférence de cette nature a eu lieu à Zürich. Toutes les personnes mises en cause par Edmond Vermeil ont refusé ses assertions."' Letter from Paul Tirard to Aristide Briand, 8 March 1926. Streicher, Jean-Claude. 'René Schickele "Autonomiste"'. *Rot un Wiss,* 76, 1982. Page 3. Paul Tirard was High Commissioner of the French occupied sectors of the Rhineland in the aftermath of the war.

[518] *Ibid.*

[519] See Richez, Jean-Claude. 'Heimatbund.' *Encyclopédie de l'Alsace.* Volume VI. Strasbourg: Editions Publitotal, 1983, pp.3809-3810. Here page 3810.

[520] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* Page 364.

[521] 'Wir wissen nunmehr, dass die Assimilationsfanatiker es auf Wesen, Seele und Kultur des elsass-lothringischen Volkes abgesehen haben.' Full text in: *Die Heimat, Revue Régionaliste d'Alsace et de Lorraine,*6, Sélestat, June 1926. Reproduced in Vogler. *Histoire Culturelle de l'Alsace.* Page 391.

Heimatboden' and 'wir als nationale Minderheit'.[522] The influence of the U.P.R. is palpable in sections of the text identifying religious rights and Christian values as part of Alsace's cultural identity and in its insistence that the decisions of parents rather than the State should be prioritized in matters of education. However, these latter points regarding religious principles led to Camille Dahlet's dissociation with *Heimatbund*.[523] The Communists did not sign the manifesto either on the same grounds as Dahlet but neither too did the committee director of the U.P.R. who opposed it rather because of its aggressive stance against the French government and its potential to divide the party into irreconcilable camps.[524] Given that supporters of autonomism such as Dahlet or the Communists refused to sign the *Heimatbund* manifesto indicates that there were dissenting views within the autonomist camp too on the best way to set about achieving their aims, particularly with regard to the question of religion. This highlights the rifts of opinion in Alsace on what exactly constituted Alsatian identity and culture, influenced as it was by religion, social class and culture. The manifesto, therefore, was a reflection of the extent of dissatisfaction in some circles in Alsace but was not representative of all those who supported the principle of autonomism. Its significance lies principally in the fact that it encapsulated all the elements necessary to develop a national Alsatian political programme.[525] This demonstrates that initiatives were being taken to affirm Alsatian identity in an increasingly politicised and aggressive manner towards France, although never going so far as calling for separation.[526]

However, if the *Heimatbund* manifesto did not call for the separation of Alsace from France, the situation in Alsace was closely followed and analysed in Germany by those *Altelsässer* with separatist ambitions such as Dr. Robert Ernst and partisans of the views expressed in *Elsass-Lothringen Heimatsstimmen*, where the *Heimatbund* was hailed

---

[522] *Ibid.* Page 391.

[523] 'Wenn auch die weitgrösste Anzahl der Teilnehmer religiös durchaus positiv eingestellt war, so wollte man doch der "Minorität", deren Sprecher Herr Dahlet gewesen war, nicht vor den Kopf stossen [...] Obwohl man nun Herrn Dahlet im weitgehensten Masse entgegenzukommen suchte und bezüglich des religiösen und kirchlichen Statuts an die letzte Grenze des Möglichen ging, erklärte sich der Herr doch noch nicht einverstanden und unterzeichnete aus dem Grunde das Manifest nicht.' Dumser, Jean. *Bekenntnisse*, pp.69-70.

[524] *Encyclopédie de l'Alsace*, Volume VI. Page 3810. See also Baechler for commentary on the *Heimatbund* and the U.P.R. where he postulates that it was Ricklin's intention to force a split between the right and left wings of the the party to enable the autonomists to join forces with the more strongly regionalist section. Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939*, pp.364-365.

[525] Richez, Jean-Claude. 'Heimatbund.' *Encyclopédie de l'Alsace.* Volume VI, pp.3809-3810. Here page 3810.

[526] The manifesto, although clearly bitter in tone with regard to French policy, calls for autonomy within the boundaries of France. 'Wir sind die Überzeugung, daß die Sicherung und lebendige Auswirkung der unverjährbaren und unveräusserlichen Heimatrechte des elsass-lothringischen Volkes und die Wiedergutmachung all des Tausenden und Abertausenden unter uns zugefügten Unrechts nur garantiert sind, wenn wir als nationale Minderheit *die vollständige Autonomie im Rahmen Frankreichs erhalten.*' In: *Die Heimat, Revue Régionaliste d'Alsace et de Lorraine,* 6, Sélestat, June 1926. Reproduced in Vogler. *Histoire Culturelle de l'Alsace*. Page 391. My italics.

as 'den ersten organisatorischen Ausdruck der elsaß-lothringischen Autonomiebewegung'.[527] It has since been shown that Ernst was, indeed, even financially involved with the autonomist movement,[528] but his magazine emphatically denied this, insisting rather that it was both their right and duty to sympathise and morally support those Alsatians fighting to retain their cultural identity, traditions and way of life in the *Heimat*. 'Unser Recht und unsere Pflicht ist es, inneren Anteil zu nehmen an dem schweren Kampfe, den unsere Volksgenossen in der Heimat um die Erhaltung ihrer Sprache, ihrer Kultur, ihrer religiösen Traditionen, ihrer fortschrittlichen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Errungenschaften führen.'[529]

Nationalist Catholics in Alsace, on the other hand, believed a solution could be found to ease Franco-Alsatian tensions without going so far as autonomism. However, when on June 11 1926, the Minister for Justice, Laval, took action against the signatories of the *Heimatbund* manifesto by suspending them from their posts, this provoked widespread anger in the Catholic press who regarded it as an infringement on freedom of expression in Alsace. However, if Laval's actions were condemned, this did not dissuade the official party line in the U.P.R. from dissociating itself from the *Heimatbund*, but did pressurise the party to respond in some way. The U.P.R. therefore issued a statement regarding its attitude towards the *Heimatbund* on 14 June, both condemning it, and yet acknowledging at the same time that some of its views were similar to those of the regionalist U.P.R. programme. The statement mainly focused its criticism on the wording used in the manifesto, in particular the reference to the Alsatian people as a 'nationale Minderheit'[530] but criticised also the measures taken by the government as repressive and called on it to face up to the reality of 'le malaise alsacien'. Overall, the party's statement on the *Heimatbund* manifesto indicated that the U.P.R. position was not clear cut, reflecting the different strands of opinion within this influential party. However, positions amongst Catholics were radicalised when in late 1926 Bishop Ruch condemned *Zukunft* and the *Heimatbund* and insisted on the unity of Catholics in all France, warning that 'une Alsace, "maîtresse de ses destinées", ne ferait pas forcément la politique souhaitée par les catholiques et oppose la devise "Gott allein über alles" au "Elsass über

---

[527] 'Der Zusammenbruch der französischen Politik in Elsaß-Lothringen. Eine Bilanz.' *Elsass-Lothringen Heimatsstimmen*. 1, 20 January 1928, pp.7-13. Here, page 8.

[528] 'D'octobre 1925 au 31 mars 1927, l'Auswärtiges Amt a versé un total de 689,578 marks pour la propagande politique et culturelle en Alsace. D'avril 1927 à au 31 mars 1928, les versements se montent à environ 510,600 marks. Cet argent a passé par les mains de Robert Ernst qui l'a réparti entre divers intermédiaires ou remis personellement aux bénéficiaires. Il était surtout destiné à la presse autonomiste.' Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939*. Page 405.

[529] 'Der Zusammenbruch der französischen Politik in Elsaß-Lothringen. Eine Bilanz.' *Elsass-Lothringen Heimatsstimmen*, 1, 20 January 1928, pp.7-13. Here, page 12.

[530] 'Les termes de "minorité nationale" ne pouvaient que choquer le pouvoir parisien et l'opinion française.' Gras, Solange and Christian. *La révolte des régions*. Page 129.

alles" des autonomistes'.[531] Ruch feared that not only would autonomism divide Catholics, and lead to alliances with Communists, but also that autonomism would betray Catholic aspirations to maintain the Concordat and confessional schooling and uphold Catholic beliefs.[532] By the beginning of 1927, the U.P.R. appeared to have broken links with the *Heimatbund* in expelling Keppi from the party and those sympathetic towards autonomism in the U.P.R. were obliged to toe the party line in order to retain party unity.[533]

However, further initiatives were increasing the influence of autonomism through other channels. Two autonomist newspapers appeared in Alsace, the *Volksstimme*, a daily newspaper initially under the direction of Jean Dumser in Sarralbe from September 1925, before being transferred to Strasbourg in December 1926, and published under the autonomist Erwinia publications, directed by Ricklin, Joseph Rossé and Abbé Fasshauer, where it began to express more radical views, especially from 1927 onwards, after the trial of Dumser, when the paper 'n'hésite plus à denoncer "l'impérialisme français" et à invoquer le droit du peuple alsacien à l'autodétermination'.[534] An even more radical bimensual newspaper, *Die Wahrheit*, directed by Claus Zorn von Bulach, appeared on 19 February 1927, described by Claude Lorentz as 'un recueil de tracts incendiaires francophobes prônant un autonomisme radical voire l'indépendance de l'Alsace et de la Lorraine'.[535] Furthermore, Camille Dahlet decided to leave the Radical party, feeling his beliefs were now more in sympathy with the autonomist movement and together with Georges Wolf, also a former member of the Radicals, they launched a new political party on 25 September 1927[536], the *Elsässische Fortschrittspartei*. Their party signalled a new tendency in autonomism, which focused on social and linguistic issues but excluded religion from the programme, although Dahlet's attitude towards the Catholics was described as 'neutral oder wohlwollend'.[537] Closely linked to the *Heimatbund*, although he abstained from signing the manifesto, Dahlet wished to facilitate Alsace's reintegration into France, where respect would be maintained for Alsace's particularist culture. Another new party formed on 25 September 1927, the *Parti autonomiste d'Alsace-Lorraine* or *Elsass-Lothringischer Heimatbund*, later to evolve into the more radically autonomist *Landespartei*. Originating from the *Heimatbund*, this party was set up and led

---

[531] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* Page 378.
[532] For the counter argument by Ricklin and his supporters that the Concordat could only hope to be maintained through autonomist legislation, see *Ibid.* p. 379, footnote 262.
[533] 'Elle ne peut pas s'engager franchement aux côtés des partisans du *Heimatbund* avec lesquels elle se trouve pourtant en complet accord politique.' *Encylopédie de l'Alsace.* Volume VI. Page 3810.
[534] Lorentz, Claude. *La Presse Alsacienne du XXe Siècle. Répertoire des Journaux parus depuis 1918.* Publications de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg. 1997. Page 439.
[535] *Ibid.* Page 441.
[536] *Ibid.* Page 341.
[537] J.Z. 'In Memoriam. Camille Dahlet.' In: *Europa Ethnica*, 21, 1, 1964, pp. 60-62. Here, page 61.

by Karl Roos, who claimed it campaigned for an autonomous Alsace within the framework of a United States of Europe and would enable Alsace to be the mediator between France and Germany. Roos was later to join forces with Claus Zorn von Bulach and finally with Dahlet to publish a common autonomist newsaper *Elsass-Lothringer Zeitung* in December 1929, known more commonly as the ELZ.

By the end of 1927 the French government, regarding these initiatives as a threat to the integrity of the Republic, began to take repressive measures against the autonomists. In November 1927 the three autonomist newspapers, *Die Wahrheit*, *Die Zukunft* and *Die Volksstimme* were all banned under controversial circumstances when a law from 1895 was applied, permitting the French government to ban papers appearing in a foreign language. This immediately gave rise to widespread protest, including by the U.P.R., and Robert Schumann argued that in Alsace-Lorraine newspapers in the German language were not considered a foreign language.[538] Indeed the vast majority of newspapers in Alsace between the wars, including Francophile newspapers, appeared in the German language.[539] If the government could suppress these newspapers appearing in German, it effectively meant that nearly all the Alsatian press could be targeted in the same manner. The application of this law by the French highlights the gulf of misunderstanding over the language issue and the government's determination to quash any signs of independence, even at the risk of further alienating the Alsatian population. A month later, on Christmas Eve, house searches were made throughout Alsace of those suspected of having subversive connections with Germany and regarded as posing a threat to the Republic and on 30 December 1927, twelve arrests were made, followed by thirteen further arrests up to March 1928, including Ricklin's. However, those best described as regionalists were often confused by the French authorities with those supporting a more radical form of autonomism or even with a minority who were truly separatist. In general throughout Alsace there were varying degrees of sympathy with autonomism, so that one could identify it as incorporating three main groups who demanded varying degrees of independence and recognition of their cultural identity.[540]

The most radical group, the separatists, wished for the return of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. Their main support came from rural areas with a Protestant majority where links with Germany had been strongest or by those sectors of the commnity who did not speak French, for example, civil servants fearing the security of their positions as they

---

[538] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 117.

[539] For a detailed description of each newspaper published in Alsace during this period see Lorentz, Claude. *La Presse Alsacienne du XXe Siècle.*

[540] '[L]'autonomisme. Terme impropre s'il en fut [...] ce mot recouvre en fait trois réalités bien différentes. Il y a les séparatistes, les autonomistes proprement dits et les régionalistes.' Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 268.

were at a disadvantage under French rule, having a lack of knowledge of both the language and the French judicial system. This group, under the leadership of Karl Roos, became progressively more infiltrated by the Nazis in the 1930s. Also that section of the Communist Party in Alsace who opposed the Treaty of Versailles and campaigned for the right of minorities to self-determination can be counted amongst the separatists. Their support came mainly from workers in the department of Bas-Rhin.

The second type of autonomists were the autonomists 'proper', who originally germinated from August Schneegans' autonomist movement in late nineteenth-century Alsace. A considerable number supported their aims and although they still constituted a minority group, it was a more significant one. It was a bi-polar movement split along secular and Catholic lines – the secular section fronted by Camille Dahlet and the Catholic section by Abbé Haegy. What united both sections was their desire for an autonomous state of Alsace within the framework of the French Republic, with its own parliament which would govern on local issues. The preservation of Alsatian traditions and official recognition of their region's bilingualism was of paramount concern to the autonomists. In addition the Catholic autonomists campaigned for the maintenance of religious and educational laws. They did not entertain the notion of a reunion with Germany.

Thirdly, the majority of Alsatians could be classified as regionalists. They were often party members or supporters of the U.P.R and were hardly distinguishable from the autonomists in their objectives. Their overriding aim was to retain their traditions and particularist culture, which during the period of annexation had made them distinct from the Germans. They were uniform in their wish to maintain schools directed along confessional lines and did not want to secularise their region. Lay French tradition was alien to regionalists, which not only comprised of Catholics but also liberal Protestants and Jews. Alsace's reintegration into France, they believed, should be eased by granting it a special governing authority which would limit the centralist influences of the bureaucracy. They held that this was not incompatible with remaining part of the Republic, so that it even had some sympathy from a 'revenant', such as Fritz Kiener, who cautions his French readers towards tolerance with regard to Alsatian regionalism, the result of hundreds of years of troubled history.[541]

Nowhere is the French government's lack of understanding of these differences in shades of autonomism more highlighted than by the Colmar trial which opened on 30

[541] 'Le régionalisme en Alsace [...] c'est une réalité qui s'est formé durant quelques centaines d'années d'une histoire difficile. C'est la forme de la résistance alsacienne: c'est d'ailleurs par ce moyen que l'Alsace a résisté à l'Allemagne. Respectez-le, car vous lui devez l'Alsace.' Kiener, Fritz. 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' In: *La Revue des Vivants,* 7, July 1928, pp.49-70. Here, page 66.

April 1928 and continued until 24 May, and not only received close attention in France but also international coverage. Standing on trial were fifteen autonomists accused of plotting against the State. Seven others who were searched for had fled to Switzerland or Germany. Regionalists and separatists were treated indiscriminately as the same group, which outraged many Alsatians who supported autonomy to protect their cultural identity and religious practices but not from any disloyalty to the French state. Nevertheless, as the trial progressed, these differences, officially unrecognized by the French authorities, which rendered the whole process a travesty, were to gradually become evident.[542] The prosecution wished to prove that links existed between the autonomists and certain circles in Germany who were funding seditious propaganda to campaign for the return of Alsace and accused the autonomists of intelligence missions for Germany and plotting against the State. However, the trial was badly managed and the prosecution criticised for the fallibility of its arguments, as the police were unable to furnish conclusive evidence without risking the security of their information sources.[543] In the end all that emerged was that Germany had financed some autonomist activity, with only insubstantial evidence available to support this, and that Joseph Rossé, a former school teacher, was the instigator behind disruptive civil servant strikes and had been untiring in his criticism of French educational policies in the region, in particular with relation to French language teaching methods.[544]

Further discontent with the trial was caused by the composition of the jury, criticised by a prominent left-wing U.P.R. deputy Michael Walter for not being representative of the Alsatian population in its exclusion of much of the working class and rural inhabitants, since knowledge of French was a prerequisite.[545] Again this highlights the problematic in Franco-Alsatian relations with regard to the question of language and it was to increase an already existent social division in Alsatian society between certain Francophile bourgeoisie and the rest of the population.[546] The trial certainly served to forge strong feelings of unity in Alsace amongst the rest of the population, reinforcing the

---

[542] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 134.
[543] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939*, pp.404-406.
[544] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 134.
[545] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* p. 407. Kiener too points out the lack of true representation of the population in the jury composition. 'La composition du jury donne à réfléchir. Sur 7 paysans et vignerons qui figuraient sur la liste 6 ont été refusés, de sorte que, sur les 12 jurés, il n'y en a eu qu'un. Un fait non moins grave est qu'aucun représentant de la classe ouvrière n'y figure. La plupart des jurés sont des rentiers, des employés de banque et de fabrique, des directeurs de fabrique et des entrepreneurs, bref des gens ne représentant qu'une infime partie de l'Alsace. Et, sur ces 12, il n'y en a eu que 7 qui ont prononcé le verdict de condamnation.' Kiener, Fritz. 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' Page 59.
[546] *Ibid.* Page 59.

sense of identification with others in their own community and further alienating them from the French.[547] Even the Radicals heaped criticism on the French government in the aftermath of the trial, as articles in their newspaper *La République* indicate: 'Der Colmarer Prozess ist die Krönung zehnjähriger Irrtümer. Einem Blitz gleich warf er ein grelles Licht auf die mangelhaften Verwaltungsmethoden, die bei uns herrschen'.[548] Lack of evidence against the autonomists and in particular the French prosecution's recourse to questionable witnesses, either recruited from the police or untrustworthy spies, were particularly castigated.[549] Criticism in *La République* continues: "Nach acht Tagen Prozessverhandlung war man weit abgekommen von der eigentlichen Schuld der Angeklagten und stand im schönsten politischen Tendenzprozess. An positiven Beweisen mangelte es [...] Keiner darf seiner politischen Meinungen oder seines religiösen Glaubens wegen verfolgt werden'.[550]

This contrasts with French commentary on the Colmar Trial, with *Le Figaro* highlighting the complexity of the situation, unprecedented and difficult to comprehend with apparent alliances between Communists, Catholics and German nationalists.[551] The reports on the Colmar Trial in *Le Figaro*, once sympathetic towards autonomism, reveal a negative attitude towards the arrested autonomists, as is evident from the tendentious descriptions of Ricklin and biased oversimplifications of his views. 'L'homme, on le devine, est au fond un violent [...] Le caractère de cet homme , il a fini par le montrer: c'est un autoritaire, un violent et un ambitieux; un haineux aussi [...] Il a voulu être le chef d'un gouvernement.'[552] However, Ricklin's opinions on Alsace's return to France, on Germany, the 'malaise alsacien' and what alternatives he had envisaged for Alsace after the war, which are reported verbatim by *Le Figaro*, do not reveal intentions to threaten the unity of the French Republic so much as regrets on the manner in which Alsace returned to France and the wish to protect Alsatian cultural identity.[553] Ricklin is

---

[547] '[L]e procès a un résultat positif, c'est d'avoir renforcé d'une manière remarquable chez les Alsaciens le sentiment d'appartenir à une même communauté, quel que soit leur parti et leur profession, et cela jusque dans certains milieux de la bourgeoisie. On a dit fort justement que les Alsaciens n'ont jamais été aussi unis dans la lutte contre l'injustice et dans la défense de leurs droits.'*Elsässer Kurier.* 26 May 1928. Reproduced in French in Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* Page 405.

[548] *La République,* 37, 147, 27 May 1928. Front Page.

[549] 'Die Missbilligung stellte sich erst ein im Laufe des Prozesses, als man gewahr wurde, dass die Anklage statt mit konkreten Beweisen, lediglich mit Mutmassungen operierte, dass ihre Zeugen sich nur aus der Polizei rekrutierten und vor allem Dingen, dass sie sich eines Schwarmes niederster Spitzel bedient hatte, von denen man ruhig behaupten kann, dass ihre Gesinnung für jeden käuflich gewesen wäre.' 'Nach Colmar. 'Die Montierung eines politischen Prozesses.' In: *La République.* 31 May 1928. Page 2.

[550] *Ibid.*

[551] 'Le Procès des Autonomistes Alsaciens'. *Le Figaro.* 2 May 1928.

[552] 'Le Procès des Autonomistes Alsaciens.' *Le Figaro.* 3 May 1928.

[553] 'Je trouvais alors, et je le maintiens, que le retour pur et simple de l'Alsace à la France était le plus grand malheur. Personne parmi nous ne voulait revenir à l'Allemagne.' *Ibid.*

not afraid to assert that the Alsatian language and culture is Germanic in origin and that the Alsatians do not wish to regard the Germans as a hereditary enemy as do the French.[554] Ricklin's anger against 'les revenants', a recurring and widespread feeling against the 'other' Alsatians, who were not regarded as forming part of Alsatian collective identity, is dismissed by the journalist as the rancour of one who had chosen to remain in the service of Germany. His dismissive tone suggests that those who had remained in Alsace after the annexation had proven by this decision to be less loyal citizens of France than those who had opted to leave.[555] In his final speech, Ricklin's sentiments on Alsatian patriotism highlight the preoccupation of the autonomists with the same, persistent issues – protection of their culture, religious rights and language, and he explains in similar fashion to Abbé Haegy, how their particular history has made them wary of nationalism, i.e. loyalty to any *patrie* but their own Alsatian one:

> On n'est pas patriote en un jour: nous étions Allemands, nous sommes maintenant Français: on ne peut pas tout de même nous imposer le patriotisme comme un dogme [...] Mais on ne change pas dans un jour: nous avons été élevés dans la langue allemande, dans la culture allemande [...] On a voulu exterminer notre langue, nous prendre nos libertés et nos droits religieux. C'est un attentat et c'est moi qu'on accuse de complot. Mon crime, c'est d'avoir trop aimer la petite patrie.[556]

In the end, very moderate sentences were handed down. After a twenty day trial, most of the accused were acquitted and four autonomists[557] were found guilty, with certain extenuating circumstances, of attempting to overthrow the French government. They were sentenced to one year's imprisonment, 5 years' residence outside Alsace and payment of costs of the case.[558] Yet, as Dreyfus points out, the sentence was in itself an

---

[554] '[N]ous n'avions aucune haine contre les Allemands, aucune. Ils étaient de notre race, de notre sang; nous n'avions aucune raison de voir en eux l'ennemi héréditaire, commes ils voulaient que le fussent pour eux les Français. Si ces deux peuples étaient réunis, ils marcheraient en tête de la civilisation.' *Ibid.*

[555] '"J'en rends responsible, non la France, mais les Alsaciens venus de France, qui se vengeaient de ceux qui avaient fait leur devoir." "Leur devoir" c'était donc pour lui de rester pendant la guerre au service de l'Allemagne. Y aurait-t-il donc pour le docteur Ricklin et pour d'autres deux sortes d'Alsaciens: ceux qui, après 1870, n'ont pas voulu rester en terre germanisée, et ceux qui ont accepté la conquête: deux Alsaces hostiles l'une à l'autre avec des idées, des tendances différentes; les uns qui ont pleuré la patrie perdue, les autres qui ont admis le joug prussien.' *Ibid.*

[556] 'Le Procès des Autonomistes Alsaciens.' *Ibid.*

[557] These were Dr. Ricklin, the ex-Abbé Fasshauer, Dr. Rossé and M. Schall.

[558] As reported in *The Times* under the heading 'The Alsace Trial', 26 May 1928. Page 13.

irregularity and not appropriate to the accusations made.[559] Kiener describes the verdict as a compromise solution.[560] However, those sentenced were speedily pardoned when two of them, Dr. Ricklin and Dr. Rossé, were elected to the Chamber of Deputies by the Alsatian electorate in the elections of 1928 as a sign of solidarity and anger with the French government. Rossé, Schall and Fasshauer received a presidential pardon on 14 July and Ricklin on 23 July, who was obliged to wait longer as he had launched an appeal to his original sentence. Those who did not appear on trial were later acquitted and granted an amnesty signed in 1931 by Laval.

The immediate reaction to the outcome of the trial is reported in *The Times*, 25 May 1928, which was following the Colmar Trial closely, under the heading 'End of Alsace Trial – Four sentenced to imprisonment' and reported how 'a scene of great disorder broke out in the court'.[561] The spontaneous reaction of the public to the verdict demonstrates the high feelings and sensitivity that surrounded this case as well as the deep discontent and anger felt by many in Alsace. There were mixed reactions in the Alsatian press, which had been very prudent and cautious at first but as the trial progressed their sceptism became more evident.[562] German newspapers in general were critical and, according to *The Times* their comments at the outcome, while anti-French, were not particularly pro-Alsatian, arguing that the Alsatians should be able to retain their Germanic culture. 'Apart from this the Germans are able to contemplate with a certain amount of detachment the desperate efforts of France to assimilate her recovered provinces.' *The Times* reports on German opinion that reasons of prestige had motivated the verdict, 'in spite of the failure of the prosecution to make out any case at all for the plot allegation'. Germans are also said to have taken local protests as 'evidence that a big French blunder has widened the gulf not between France and Germany but between France and her recovered provinces'.[563] Ernst's *Heimatsstimmen* published an article from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, some months after the trial, which criticises the procedures

---

[559] 'Ce verdict avait quoi à surprendre. Ou bien les accusés étaient réellement coupables de complot entre la France et méritaient alors, selon le code, la peine de déportation (articles 87 et 89 paragraphe 1), ou bien le complot "n'a été suivi d'aucun acte commis ou commencé" et la peine est alors celle de détention (article 89 paragraphe 3); l'emprisonnement d'un an n'est applicable que "s'il y a eu proposition faite et non agréée de former un complot". La condamnation ne semblait guère conforme à la loi.' Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 136.

[560] 'Il fallait [...] à mon avis, acquitter ou avoir le courage de pousser un procès d'opinion jusqu'à ses dernières conséquences et envoyer tout ce monde à Cayenne. On a préféré un compromis.' Kiener, Fritz. 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' Page 57.

[561] *The Times.* 25 May 1928. Page 14.

[562] Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* Page 393.

[563] Article in *The Times,* entitled 'German Comment. An Attitude of Detachment.' 26 May 1928. Page 12.

used by the French authorities as dictatorial.[564] The mismanagement of autonomist activity by the French authorities highlighted their distrust and misunderstanding of these people and their region in a dramatic manner where the Alsatians appeared to be treated with almost the same level of antipathy as the Germans, France's enemy. The Colmar trial if anything reinforced the autonomist movement and added to the list of grievances against French attitudes to Alsace.[565] Indeed it seems that German press opinion, as *The Times* suggested, was correct in surmising that the gap had widened between France and Alsace – both parties, it was clear, viewed each other with suspicion and even hostility.

The incomprehension of successive French governments and their awkward treatment of sensitive issues in Alsace pushed many from regionalism into a more autonomist position or even into supporting separatism. Left-wing parties that favoured centralisation saw their support dwindling in direct proportion to the rising discontent and continuing malaise in Alsace after 1924. There was a marked decline in the popularity of the Socialist party, who were now regarded as principally anti-clerical and pro-assimilation. Alsatian communism, on the other hand, mainly preoccupied with campaigning for Alsace to govern itself, even had the support of some of the Catholic clergy: 'Curious political alliances between Alsatian Catholics and Communists angered both the Left and Right in France, and a movement that tried to promote a federal solution of the Alsatian question was in French eyes suspect of merely being a blind for German fostered sedition.'[566] Dreyfus, however, provides the explanation for this 'curious alliance': 'On peut comprendre la réaction des électeurs catholiques qui préfèrent voter pour un communiste incontestablement autonomisant et modérément anti-clérical, plutôt que pour un socialiste laïciste, partisan de l'assimilation à outrance.'[567] Growing support for the autonomists eventually led to a split between the P.C.F. (Parti Communiste de France) and those dissident Communists who fraternised with the U.P.R. and autonomist groups, as Solange and Christian Gras indicate: 'Il existe désormais deux communismes en Alsace, un communisme dissident et un communisme orthodoxe [...] abandonner l'autonomisme serait se couper des masses; l'alliance avec les cléricaux n'a rien d''immoral' puisque l'autonomisme s'oppose [...] à l'Etat capitaliste'.[568] Although the

---

[564] *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 70, 26 December 1928. Evening edition. Quoted in: *Elsass-Lothringen Heimatsstimmen*, 2, 10 February 1929, pp.80-82. Here, page 80.

[565] 'L'interdiction de la presse autonomiste à l'aide d'une loi sur la presse de langue étrangère, l'arrestation puis la condemnation d'autonomistes, sans qu'il soit donné de preuve convaincante de leur culpabilité, provoquent une grave crise de l'opinion alsacienne, que les milieux autonomistes vont mettre à profit pour imposer la tactique du front alsacien.' Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939*. Page 428.

[566] Brogan, D.W. *The Development of Modern France (1870-1939)*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1967. Page 621.

[567] Dreyfus. Page 124.

[568] Gras, Solange and Christian. *La révolte des régions*. Page 132.

main branch of the Communist party continued to regard the Treaty of Versailles as an Imperialist treaty and called for the right to self-determination of Alsace to decide on its own future, it did not approve of the alliance with the U.P.R., which was against its political doctrine.[569] However, for the dissident Communists, it proved a successful union. The Communist Charles Hueber was elected Mayor of Strasbourg in 1929 due to alliances with the U.P.R., for example.

The Colmar trial acted also as an impetus to the U.P.R. to revise its opinions and decide on a new course of action, more sympathetic to autonomism, which became apparent after the cantonal elections of 1928.[570] This latest autonomist crisis eventually led to a rift in the U.P.R., where tensions between those who were prepared to cooperate with communists and autonomists and form alliances in the coming elections to maintain religious status in Alsace, clashed with those who disagreed with this, amongst them Mgr. Ruch. A splinter group, calling itself A.P.N.A. (Action Populaire National d'Alsace), formed in December 1928 out of the ranks of the nationalist branch, which emphasised Alsace's position within the framework of France and was supported by the bourgeoisie.[571] However, A.P.N.A. had limited success, which for the most part depended on the popularity level of individual candidates, nor did it always have the support of the clergy, in spite of the fact that it was a Catholic party. Most people voted rather for the U.P.R., which continued to play a major role in political life in Alsace and to appeal to a broad section of the population, enjoying the support of workers and of rural populations. Unlike the Democrats and A.P.N.A. it was not regarded as a bourgeois party. The political situation was both more complex because of the arrival of A.P.N.A. into the political arena and was at same time clearer now that the U.P.R. could identify itself wholly with the religious wing of the autonomist movement.[572] Support for A.P.N.A. was significant in the sense that it revealed the complexity of a certain section in Alsatian society which could identify itself as strongly French and strongly Alsatian at the same time and highlighted yet again the significant role issues of class and religion played in determining differing nuances of Alsatian identity.

Those parties which included autonomism on their agenda consolidated their forces under their common aim regardless of other ideological differences. 'C'est que du côté autonomiste on n'arbore d'autre drapeau que précisement, l'autonomisme; cléricaux,

---

[569] *Ibid.* Page 131.

[570] 'Les élections ont mis en évidence le fossé qui sépare l'aile gauche de d'aile droite de l'UPR. Les deux ailes se sont partout affrontées avec violence et sans ménagement.' Baechler. *Le parti catholique alsacien 1890-1939.* Page 412.

[571] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 272.

[572] '[L]'U.P.R. prend figure de mouvement populaire et autonomisant, en face de l'APNA nettement nationale sur le plan politique, mais timorée sur le plan socio-économique.' *Ibid.* Page 142.

anticléricaux, communistes oublient sous ses plis leurs programmes inconciliables.'[573] A far more radical type of autonomism evolved which was decidedly anti-French. Dahlet, for example, in a passionate speech during a parliamentary session in Paris, went as far as accusing the French of imposing a dictatorship regime in Alsace and infringing their civil rights.[574] In the first issue of the autonomist paper, the *Elsaß-Lothringer Zeitung* or *ELZ*, on 7 December, 1929, which represented the views of Karl Roos' *Landespartei* and Wolf's and Dahlet's *Fortschrittspartei,* they called on all those who wished to fight for their cultural identity to join them regardless of their religious and philosophical beliefs:

> Fortschrittspartei und Landespartei vereinigen sich, um gemeinsam den Kampf um die bedrohten Volksrechte zu führen [...] Sie rufen die heimattreuen Elsass-Lothringer auf, über alle Unterschiede der religiösen und philosophischen Auffassungen hinweg sich ihnen anzuschliessen zum Kampf für die Heimatrechte und für Völkerfrieden! Der Zentralismus ist unser Feind![575]

However, the *ELZ* under the influence of Karl Roos and René Hauss began to manifest Nazi tendencies from the 1930s onwards and Dahlet, who strongly opposed Nazism, eventually resigned as political director of the newspaper, disagreeing with this direction it was taking. He gradually distanced himself from extremists within the autonomist movement and proved to be more a supporter of the politics of Stresemann and Briand, the Pan-European initiatives of Coudenhove-Kalergi and the League of Nations.[576] Henceforth Dahlet is associated with a more moderate form of autonomism, which is anti-Nazi but which remained, nonetheless, critical of French policy.[577]

The popularity of the U.P.R. increased and it became the leading party in Alsace in the 1930s, playing an increasingly significant role until the outbreak of war. It gained the votes of workers, disillusioned with the Socialist party, and had the support of the vast majority of the Catholics, who made up almost two-thirds of the Alsatian population. The

---

[573] Kuhlmann, Eugène. *Le Gaulois.* 28 March 1929. Quoted in *Ibid.* Page 146.
[574] '[S]i supprimer plus d'une douzaine de journaux, si perquisitionner dans cent à deux cents domiciles à travers l'Alsace, si jeter en prison quelques douzaines d'Alsaciens, qu'on est obligé de relâcher pour la plupart, parce qu'ils ont été trouvés innocents, si supprimer la liberté de réunion, si faire charger la foule sur les places publiques de Strasbourg par la cavalerie, si faire fouiller des gens en pleine rue, si semer la terreur parmi tout le pays par un régime de basse police et d'agents provacateurs, si bloquer même des tracts électoraux [...] si tout cela n'est pas de la dictature, je voudrais bien savoir ce que ce serait si, un beau jour, on introduisait la dictature en Alsace." Dahlet, Camille. Parliamentary session, 29.1.1929. Reproduced in *L'Alsace française.* 10 February 1929, pp.114-119. Here, page 115.
[575] 'Aufruf an alle heimattreuen Elsass-Lothringer.' In: *ELZ*, 1, 7 December 1929. Page 1.
[576] 'Dahlet souhaite la fin des Etats-nations et la formation des "Etats Unis d'Europe". Il compte sur la Société des Nations pour défendre les droits des minorités nationales.' Gras, Solange and Christian. *La révolte des régions.* Page 131.
[577] Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 259.

U.P.R. became more national-oriented again as autonomism began to be increasingly associated with separatist aims to detach Alsace from France and forge stronger links with Germany, which was to lead to a definitive rupture in 1933. The 1934 elections in Alsace showed the U.P.R. to be the outright winners, marking a defeat for the autonomists now that they no longer had U.P.R. support.[578] As Nazism had become increasingly widespread in Germany and Hitler had come to power, the U.P.R. reinforced its support for France, particularly as a growing number of reports of violent anti-clericalism under Nazis filtered in. There was growing awareness of a real threat from Germany where propaganda concerning claims on Alsace on cultural grounds was intensifying, based once again on primordial arguments of race and language.

The Communists remained hostile towards France and only in October 1936 did their leader Thorez declare that with the threat of fascism, Alsace should remain part of France. Two distinct types of autonomism emerged in the 1930s – a Catholic autonomism which was very moderate, pro-France, anti-German and anti-Nazi , closer to regionalism than real autonomism. The second group of autonomists were linked to Nazi Germany, opposed to French rule and Republican, democratic principles. Two pro-German extreme right-wing movements appeared on the political scene in Alsace in the late 1920s, Hermann Bickler's *Jungmannschaft*, a group of young autonomists established to recruit new members for the Nazi movement in Alsace which was linked to political and cultural movements in Germany and financed by German industrialists. Similar to the *Hitler Jugend*, the *Jungmannschaft* wore a brown costume, were concerned about questions of ethnic identity and ridding Alsace of foreigners. They were divided into groups led by a *Führer*. Joseph Bilger's party, the *Bauer und Arbeiter Union*, while denying links with any fascist groups, proclaimed itself to be anti-Semitic, anti-capitalist and proponents of principles based firmly on family and Christian values and an autonomous Alsace. This party also encouraged links to Germany at least on an economic level, but was mostly concerned with defending the rights of farmers. The *Landespartei* joined forces with Bickler's party and was infiltrated by the Nazis from 1931 onwards.

As the Nazi threat loomed larger the Alsatian question of autonomy finally subsided and the vast majority of the Alsatian people turned towards France.[579] From 1919 up to the 1930s, however, 'le malaise alsacien' and attempts to assimilate the Alsatians into the French community had proved to be a consistently problematic issue. Alsace's experience of both the Right and Left in power showed that it had not been able to rely on either side to defend its cultural and religious interests. However, these Franco-

[578] For the election results, see *Ibid*, pp.220-221.
[579] Dollinger, Philippe. *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos jours*. Page 132.

Alsatian tensions appeared insignificant in the face of the Nazi aggression,[580] but the rapprochement with France came too late, as Alsace was again forced to change nationality after Nazi occupation and this time, paradoxically, to resist complete Germanisation and cultural assimilation into Germany.

3.4. Schickele and Inter-war Alsace

The aforegoing historical account will serve as a background to our discussion of René Schickele's trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein*, as well as of his other prose writings of the inter-war period. Particularly in those published in his essay collections *Die Genfer Reise* (1919),[581] *Wir wollen nicht sterben!* (1922),[582] *Himmlische Landschaft*, (1933)[583] and *Die Grenze* (1933)[584], he shares with us his views not just on his own malaise during this time, but also on 'le malaise alsacien' under French rule, with especial reference to linguistic and cultural matters as well as the question of autonomism. Combined with his conviction that Alsace's double cultural heritage must be preserved, is an evident concern with regard to French hegemonic attitudes towards Alsatian cultural identity so that, '[w]ie Schickele vor 1918 dazu neigte, mehr das Französische zu betonen, zu verteidigen, weil damals das Französische gefährdet war, so trat er nach 1918 stärker für das Deutsche ein'.[585] Despite Schickele's isolation from organised intellectual movements after the break with expressionism, which coincided with his dashed hopes for a new pacifist and socialist Germany and the subsequent disillusion with *Clarté*, his essays underline too a continuing preoccupation with the intertwined issues of politics and culture, in particular the question of Franco-German rapprochement after the war and the development and expansion of his ideas on 'geistiges Elsässertum' which 'became Schickele's personal mission in the years from 1922 until 1932'.[586] As he points out, regardless of Alsace's change of rulers, the border mentality between East and West prevails: 'Die Grenze ist geblieben, wie sie immer die Grenze war, ob das Elsaß im Handel der Parteien nach Osten

---

[580] 'Devant la menace hitlérienne, la population alsacienne dans son ensemble fait bloc autour de la France, tout en regrettant la faiblesse et l'instabilité des gouvernements.' Dreyfus. *La Vie Politique en Alsace.* Page 268.

[581] Schickele, René. *Die Genfer Reise.* First published by Paul Cassirer. Berlin, 1919. Here, all quotes cited from *Werke III.*

[582] *Wir Wollen Nicht Sterben.* First edition, München: Kurt Wolff, 1922. Here, all quotes cited from *Werke III. Die Genfer Reise* and *Wir Wollen Nicht Sterben*, together with *Schreie auf dem Boulevard* form a collection, that Schickele refers to as *Die Trilogie seiner Zeitbücher*, which depicts 'das Erlebnis der Zeit und den Kampf um die Erlösung aus der Zeit'. Preface to *Wir Wollen Nicht Sterben.* In: *Werke III.* Page 458.

[583] Schickele, René. *Himmlische Landschaft.* First edition, Berlin: S. Fischer, 1933. Here, all quotes cited from *Werke III.*

[584] Schickele, René. *Die Grenze.* First edition Berlin: Rowohlt, 1933. Here, all quotes cited from *Werke III.*

[585] Finck, Adrien. 'René Schickele und das "geistige Elsässertum"'. In: *Land un Sproch. Les Cahiers du Bilinguisme*, 13, 2, 1983, pp.9-10. Here, page 9.

[586] Robertson, Eric. *Writing Between the Lines.* Page 105.

oder nach Westen geschlagen ward'.[587] This border, since the war marked by the Rhine, is an external topographical symbol of an inner psychological border, the divide between French and German *Weltanschauungen* and their continuing distrust of one another, which must first be overcome to ensure future peace, not only between these rival nations but in all Europe. As Schickele writes: 'Das Problem dieser Grenze ist das gemeinsame, heimliche Problem der beiden großen Völker. Es geht um die wahre Vertrauensfrage. Hier an der Grenze fällt die Verständigung am schwersten. Hier muß sich zeigen, wie tief sie geht'.[588] The idea of a special mediating role for Alsace and its people, the *Grenzmenschen* between these two cultures, in order to ensure European harmony therefore, is prevalent in many of his writings from this era: 'Ce qui surnage, c'est la mission (alsacienne) du médiateur: la réconciliation franco-allemande, l'européanisme pacifiste', according to Adrien Finck.[589]

Schickele promotes the idea that Alsace's past history has moulded its people into natural brokers of peace between France and Germany, as the tensions between the two nations have been internalised and experienced on an individual level in Alsace: 'Hier war die Reibung zwischen den Völkern, auch ohne ihr Zutun, von jeher am stärksten und ist es noch – spielt doch das Drama hier im Innern eines und desselben Menschen!'.[590] There were other Alsatians who opposed this view, highlighting yet again the polemics surrounding Alsace and its identity not least within the region itself, who believed that Alsace's past, so intensely affected by *Kultur/civilisation* polarisations, was the very reason hindering the Alsatian people from being the ideal Europeans.[591] However, Schickele himself epitomises this image of the Alsatian as ideal mediator, having grown up in a bilingual environment, inheritor of a double cultural heritage and promoter of a peaceful Europe.[592] Through his essays his profound knowledge and understanding of both Germany and France is much in evidence as well as his interest in the

---

[587] Schickele, René. 'Schicksal'. Preface to second edition of 'Schreie auf dem Boulevard.' In: *Werke III*, pp.277-281. Here, page 279.
[588] Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Grenze.' In: *Werke III*, pp.999-1007. Here, pp.1005-6.
[589] Finck, Adrien. *Introduction à l'oeuvre de René Schickele.* Page 79.
[590] Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Grenze.' Page 1005.
[591] Jean Knittel, for example, argues: 'S'il n'avait pas tant souffert, hésité, lutté, s'il ne se sentait pas instinctivement dans une position de défense, il serait dès maintenant l'Européen rêvé, l'homme prédestiné à servir de médiateur, un element de rapprochement enfin. Mais, sur son sol, depuis des siècles deux civilisations sont en lutte, l'une claire, nette, filtrée, l'autre en pleine évolution, expansive ayant des vélléites de conquête un peu brutale. De cette lutte, l'Alsacien ne tire pas grand profit, son passé l'handicape, les difficultés résultant de la nécessité de s'adapter tantôt à l'est, tantôt à l'ouest le paralysent, il se sent incompris et ayant vécu sa vie propre pendant très longtemps, il ne peut trouver son chemin qu'avec peine'. Knittel, Jean. 'L'âme alsacienne.' In: *La Revue des Vivants.* Paris, 7, July 1928, pp.71-78. Here, page 74.
[592] 'Als "Sohn Frankreichs" wird der Elsässer ausdrücklich bezeichnet, der zugleich aber, als ein Dichter deutscher Zunge, zum Mittler zwischen beiden Kulturen und Nationen legitimiert wird'. Storck, Joachim, W. 'Ein alemannischer Rebell. Zum hundersten Geburtstag von René Schickele am 4.8.1983.' In: *Das Markgräflerland,* 1, 1984, pp.3-18. Here, page 6.

contemporaneous events unfolding in his native Alsace.[593] In *Erlebnis der Grenze* he refers to the border between France and Germany as his 'persönliches Schicksal', where Alsace 'ist vor allem der Prüfstein für die Aufrichtigkeit des Verhältnisses zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich'.[594] For Schickele the border was not a dividing line between cultures and nations but signified rather a bridge between cultures, a meeting point facilitating exchange and the union of differing but complementary national identities which was to be the basis for a peaceful Europe.[595] In *Wir Wollen Nicht Sterben*, he expresses this vision of European unity, based on Franco-German *entente*, through a symbolic interpretation of the Alemannic landscape he inhabited:

> Das Land der Vogesen und das Land des Schwarzwaldes waren wie die zwei Seiten eines aufgeschlagenen Buches – ich sah deutlich vor mir, wie der Rhein sie nicht trennte, sondern vereinte, indem er sie mit seinem festen Falz zusammenhielt. Die eine der beiden Seiten wies nach Osten, die andre nach Westen, auf jeder stand der Anfang eines verschiedenen und doch verwandten Liedes, und so war es Europa, das offen vor mir lag.[596]

Schickele uses the metaphor of a book to refer to Europe, whose open pages representing the lands East (Baden) and West (Alsace) are bound together by the Rhine to form one harmonious entity. East and West also symbolises Germany and France whose different cultures both contribute to the history/story of Europe.

In *Himmlische Landschaft*, a collection of essays which are an ode to the Alemannic landscape, Schickele's preferred image of the garden reappears in 'Erlebnis der Landschaft', its natural, harmonious unity serving to highlight the artificial nature of political borders 'im großen gegründeten Garten zwischen Vogesen und Schwarzwald, der so eins und unteilbar ist, daß die politischen Grenzen deutlich als eine Fiktion erscheinen'.[597] The Alemannic landscape was emblematic of the pacifist ideas in his

---

[593] Salomon Grumbach bears testimony to Schickele's steadfast interest in Alsace in an open letter to his friend, published in *La Revue des Vivants*. 'Sans que j'ai eu l'occasion de te parler, j'ai su cependant que, dans la solitudue du travail, ton coeur, ton cerveau resterait en Alsace, que rien ne t'échapperait, que de temps en temps tu ferais un saut à Strasbourg ou dans les Vosges, et que tu remporterais de ces voyages les impressions confuses, troublantes que laisses actuellement tout séjour dans nos plaines et nos vallées.' Grumbach, Salomon. 'Une réponse et quelques réflexions.' In: *La Revue des Vivants*. Paris, 7 July, 1928, pp.79-86. Here, page 79.

[594] Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Grenze.' Page 1001.

[595] '"Grenze" bedeutet für ihn Brücke, Medium des Autausches, Vebindungsglied zweier sich ergänzender nationaler Individualitäten, ja sie erscheint ihm als Basis einer höheren geistigen und menschlichen Einheit.' Storck, Joachim, W. 'Ein alemannischer Rebell.' Pages 8 and 9.

[596] Schickele, René. 'Rundreise des fröhlichen Christenmenschen.' In: 'Wir wollen nicht sterben.' *Werke III*, pp.455-544. Here, page 532.

[597] Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Landschaft.' In: 'Himmlische Landschaft.' *Werke III*. Page 549.

writings, a topographical representation of the peaceful coexistence of differing cultures and a harmonious Europe.[598] As Robertson indicates: 'The concept of a single Alemannic land united by a common cultural and linguistic heritage on either side of the Rhine, rather than one divided by opposing political regimes, is a natural corollary of Schickele's earlier "geistiges Elsässertum"'.[599] Schickele's promotion of ideas such as that of France and Germany united rather than divided by the Rhine, was in sharp discord with the views of some of his contemporaries, still influenced by the legacy of the war, such as Fritz Kiener, for whom it was more reassuring to believe that, '[l]e Rhin est un fossé, un abîme qui sépare l'Alsace et l'Allemagne. La frontière française, sur ses bords est résistante et sûre'.[600] This discord illustrates how Schickele, this 'Vorkämpfer der europäischen Idee',[601] was often misunderstood or his ideas regarded as utopian at the time.

Nevertheless, his contemporary Edschmid does promote the idea of Schickele as the ideal European, an impartial observer, opposed to violence above all else and advocate of a peaceful Europe, regardless of patriotic loyalty and nationalisms:

> Er nahm keine deutsche Partei. Aber auch keine französische. Er trieb eine europäische Politik [...] Schickele war nicht für einen französischen Sieg, er war überhaupt für keinen Sieg, weil er nur ein Imperium des Geistes liebte und jede Gewalt bekämpfte, sei sie für Wilhelm den Zweiten oder für Lenin.[602]

In his eulogy of Schickele's *Die Genfer Reise*, Edschmid underscores how Schickele's Alsatian roots have influenced these pacifist and political ideas: 'Seine Taktik, sein menschlich sichtbarer Weg ist der seines Landes'.[603]

However, Schickele was not isolated in his aspirations for a new peaceful Europe after the war. Other more political initiatives were being launched which would seek to promote his vision of a world without violence, a Utopia which could now, he believed, become a reality and be undertaken as a serious enterprise: 'Ich hoffe auf eine Revolution gegen die Bestie, und das kann keine Revolution sein, die die Bestie gegen die Bestie

---

[598] Storck expresses a similar view when he writes: 'Die Landschaft also ist ihm die erste Erscheinungsform seiner Heimat. Aber sie speigelt sogleich auch einen geistigen Raum wider, einen Raum der imaginären Bezüge, die über alle äußeren Grenzen hinausgreifen und ein größeres Ganzes miteinbeziehen. Dieses geistige und geographische "Ganze" wird von Schickele schon am Ausgangspunkt seiner Reise, die wir zugleich als seinen geistigen Lebensgang begreifen können, genannt; es heißt: Europa.' Storck, Joachim, W. 'Ein alemannischer Rebell.' Page 5.
[599] Robertson, Eric. *Writing Between the Lines.* Page 105.
[600] Kiener, Fritz. 'L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar.' Page 64.
[601] Staiber, Maryse. '"Citoyen français und deutscher Dichter"'. In: *Literatur an der Grenze.* Page 126.
[602] Edschmid, Kasimir. 'Dichter – Zeit – René Schickele.' In: *Die doppelköpfige Nymphe.* Page 52.
[603] *Ibid.* Page 53.

losläßt [...] Einmal müssen wir Ernst machen mit der Utopie. Heute sage ich. Sofort'.[604] He was (initially at least) an enthusiaistic supporter and member of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Union launched in 1924, for example, which promoted similar pacifist ideals, based on the idea that Franco-German harmony was the key to peaceful relations in Europe. Briand's acceptance of the Presidency of the Pan-European Union was for Schickele an encouraging sign that a new era in Franco-German relations was dawning and that France had found in Briand a leader who would encourage a more European oriented foreign policy:

> Daß Briand Paneuropäer ist, wissen wir, seit dieser Mann den Mut fand, das Ehrenpräsidium der Paneuropa-Union zu übernehmen und bei jedem Anlass paneuropäische Ideen zu verkünden [...] Es ist von größter Bedeutung für die europäische Zukunft, daß gerade Frankreich, gerade die Macht, die am wenigsten auf das übrige Europa angewiesen ist, diese Initiative ergriffen hat.[605]

Schickele's new-found enthusiasm for Briand may seem surprising when we recall his sardonic portrait of the same man as a primarily self-interested politician in the first of the *Zeitbücher*, 'Schreie auf dem Boulevard', which we discussed in the previous chapter. In the inter-war period Schickele revised his opinion of Briand, whom he regards, along with Gustav Stresemann, Germany's Foreign Minister, 1923-1929, and thus Briand's counterpart, as Europe's hope for peace. He attributes this positive change in Briand to the war, the great *événement différentiel*:

> Der Krieg hat dann alles verändert: die Sozialisten und Aristide Briand. Sie werden alt und weise. [...] Der Blick, der heute über das liberale Westeuropa schweift, bleibt an Aristide Briand haften als an einer großen Gestalt [...] Eines Tages werde ich meinen Essai über Briand, der eine Satire ist, zu Ende schreiben. Am Tag, da Briands Werk sein Ende erreicht, werde ich die Leier stimmen für den Abgesang. Und es wird ein Hymnus sein auf jenes verschollene Wort, das beinahe ein Gott war: Fair play.[606]

---

[604] Schickele, René. 'An die Freunde.' In: 'Die Genfer Reise.' First edition, Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1919. Here, *Werke III*, pp.446-447.
[605] Schickele, René. Preface to Gaston Riou's *Europa mein Vaterland*. Translated from French by Marguerite Wolf. Leipzig, Strasbourg, Zürich: Heitz and Co., 1929, pp.vii – xviii. Here, pages ix and x.
[606] Schickele, René. 'Briand, Valeriu Marcu und ich', In: *Die Literarische Welt*, 11, 3, 1927. Page 3.

Further indications of attempts to create more harmonious relations between France and Germany and ensure peace in Europe included the foundation of the League of Nations in 1920 which would defend the rights of national minorities, the signing of the Locarno Treaty in 1925[607] and the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 which outlawed war as an instrument for resolving political tensions between nations. For Schickele these pro-European and pacifist initiatives were vital if Europe was not to slip back into the barbarity and chaos that had marked the previous decade, as he asserts on the eve of the 1920's in his essay *Schicksal*:

> [D]ie Notwendigkeit einer Verständigung zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich [ist] im selben Maße gewachsen, wie sich mit jedem Schlag und Gegenschlag im Verlaufe des Krieges und mit jeder Zuckung der Nationen und Klassen im nachkriegerischen Europa die Alternative zugespitzt hat: gemeinsamer Untergang oder gemeinsamer Neubau, Abdankung vor der Barberei, in die Not und Verzweifelung uns stürzen könnten, oder gemeinsame Übernahme der Führung in Europa aus dem Chaos in Ordnung.[608]

Here too are in evidence Schickele's fears of other possible threats represented by the extreme left-wing, i.e. Communism and right-wing movements which could jeopardise Europe's stability. In his observations on Franco-German unity and a peaceful Europe, however, the question of Alsace continually resurfaces. In the same essay he emphasises that improved Franco-German relations are not only indispensable for peace in Europe but essential too in eradicating the unrest in Alsace: 'daß die Deutschen und die Franzosen nur zusammenhalten brauchten, damit – nun endlich Ruhe ins Land käme und außerdem mehr Sicherheit in die europäischen Verhältnisse'.[609]

It is particularly in his essay *Das Ewige Elsaß*,[610] from the collection *Die Grenze*, that Schickele analyses and comments on the 'malaise alsacien' with his characteristic irony and discernment. Yet, this essay reveals also his strong attachment to his homeland and concern regarding the fate of his countrypeople, which opens with the line: 'Ich

---

[607] Amongst the terms laid out in the Treaty of Locarno was agreement to settle the borders between France and Germany for all time which was opposed by some adherents to the *Heimatbund* who felt this would mean the erasing of Alsace-Lorraine into a now internationally approved unified French state.

[608] Schickele. 'Schicksal.' *Werke III.* Page 281.

[609] *Ibid.* Page 280.

[610] 'Das Ewige Elsaß'. In: 'Die Grenze', *Werke III*, pp.589-620. An earlier, slightly different and shorter version of this essay appeared under the title, 'Meine Elsaässer' in *Die Neue Rundschau*, 1, 1927, pp.241-260. Excerpts also appeared in French in *La Revue des Vivants*. Paris, 7, July 1928. Pages 37-48.

fürchte, ich werde nie müde werden, von meinen Elsässern zu erzählen'.[611] Nonetheless, he is aware that criticisms have been directed against him from more Francophile Alsatians, as further on in the same essay Schickele refers to a remark made by the prominent Alsatian Dr. Pierre Bucher[612] to a common acquaintance: 'Schickele war immer ein guter Elsässer. Aber jetzt brauchen wir gute Franzosen'.[613] For the French, Bucher represented the ideal Alsatian citizen who throughout the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine had kept the memory of France alive through his magazine *La Revue Alsacienne illustrée.* He was closely associated with Barrès too, who was to use Bucher as the role model for his protagonist in the novel *Au Service de l'Allemagne.*[614] Bucher's comment on Schickele reflects the expectations of France which were discussed earlier, which demanded nothing less of the Alsatians than wholehearted acceptance of their French heritage to the exclusion of their Germanic dialect and traditions. Schickele was indeed, as Bucher correctly described him, a good Alsatian, which meant that he refused to comply with these French expectations – just as *Hans im Schnakenloch* he could not renege on his French cultural heritage prior to and during the war.

In order to illustrate the significance of this cultural heritage and reinforce his arguments, which highlight the particularist cultural identity of Alsace, neither fully French nor German but an intermix of the two, Schickele outlines in the first part of *Das Ewige Elsaß* an account of Alsace's history and the origins of her people, based on ethnic minority studies by Professor Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (1864-1936) of Basel University.[615] He casts back to the third century, when, as he informs us, the land between the Rhine and the Vosges mountains was indisputably ruled by Alemannic tribes until the fifth century. The area was then invaded by Frankish tribes who settled there and intermingled with the Alemanns.[616] This Frankish-Alemannic heritage was still manifest in the present day Alsace. However, another influence came gradually from the South –

---

[611] *Das Ewige Elsaß.* Opening lines of essay. Page 589.
[612] For a biography of Pierre Bucher, see Gisèle Loth. *Un rêve de France. Pierre Bucher, une passion française au coeur de l'Alsace allemande 1869-1921.* Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue/DNA, 2000.
[613] 'Das Ewige Elsaß.' Page 606.
[614] 'Bucher servira de modèle au héros de Au Service de l'Allemagne (1905).' In: *Encyclopédie de l'Alsace.* Vol. 2. Page 911. However, even Bucher was to criticise the intolerance of French policy in the inter-war years, as Philipps points out, 'Même un homme comme le docteur Pierre Bucher ne put s'empêcher de constater avec quelque amertume: Je crains que la France ne veuille broyer l'Alsace pour lui imposer la moule français."' Philipps, Eugène. *Les Luttes Linguistiques.* Page 210. Quoted from Mague, Pierre. *Le particularisme alsacien 1918-1967.* Paris: Presses d'Europe, 1970. Page 39.
[615] 'Vor mir liegt das Gutachten des Basler Germanisten Hoffmann-Krayer über die Frage: "ob und wieweit für die Bevölkerung des Elsasses der Begriff der Minderheit innerhalb des französischen Staatskörpers angewendet werden kann" [...] Ich halte mich an Professor Hoffmann-Krayer'. In: 'Das Ewige Elsaß.' *Werke III.* Pages 590 and 591.
[616] 'Ich beginne, wie der Basler Professor, im dritten Jahrhundert nach Christus. Da durchbrechen die Alemannen den obergermanishen Limes und stoßen bis an den Oberrhein vor [...] Aus dem Norden kommen Franken und vermischen sich mit den Alemannen.' *Ibid.* Page 591.

that of the Church and through it, the spirit of Roman culture. With the conversion of the pagan Franks and Alemanns there was cultural harmony in this region between the Vosges and the Rhine for centuries which reduced tribal differences to insignificant detail. Christianity was at that time a unifying, rather than a divisive force. Rome's culture, the teachings of the Church, was spread through the spoken language of this region, Alemannic, still widely spoken in inter-war Alsace and definable as a truly German dialect. Thus, according to Schickele, during a golden age Alsace harmoniously combined two very different cultures through her Latin, Christian ideology and Germanic language and traditions: 'Unsere Alemannen nehmen die Taufe an. Dieser Tropfen Wasser macht erst einmal und für lange Zeit alle, die er berührt, zu Brüdern, schafft eine Kulturgemeinschaft'.[617] In his account of the peaceful co-existence of these different tribes and cultures during Charlemagne's era, Schickele alludes to Novalis's fragment *Die Christenheit oder Europa.*[618] Here, Novalis nostalgically harks back to 'schöne glänzende Zeiten, wo Europa ein christliches Land war, wo *Eine* Christenheit diesen menschlich gestalteten Welttheil bewohnte; *Ein* großes gemeinschaftliches Interesse verband die entlegensten Provinzen dieses weiten geistlichen Reiches'.[619] Schickele's own idea of 'geistiges Elsässertum' and utopian vision for Alsace and Europe subscribed to this undoubtedly idealised view of that period of history and the evocations of a golden European era in Novalis's *Europa.*[620] It is in particular in *Das Erbe an Rhein* that he develops these ideas further where they will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

For Schickele then, Alsace should once again aspire to an ideal lost through secularism and the division of peoples into nations. Alsace and its rich heritage embodied the possibility to harmonise seemingly irreconciliable cultures which could be regarded as the testing ground for lasting peace between France and Germany. This cultural and linguistic plurality, as we have seen, was central to his vision for Alsace's mediating role in Europe. Equally, if Alsace's potential as a symbolic centre for Franco-German *entente* was not encouraged and fostered, then tension and conflict would continue to exist both within Alsace, between its two neighbours and in Europe. With regard to the question of culture and language, it must be emphasised that Schickele did not oppose Alsace's

---

[617] *Ibid.*

[618] 'Man denke an das schöne Fragment von Novalis: *Europa.*' *Ibid.* Page 592.

[619] 'Die Christenheit oder Europa. Ein Fragment.' (1799). In: Novalis. *Werke, Tagebücher und Briefe Friedrich von Hardenbergs.* Volume 2. *Das philosophische-theoretische Werk.* (Mahl, Hans-Joachim ed.) Munich, Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1978-1987, pp.732-759. Here, page 732.

[620] Essig informs us for example: 'Wenn das Herrschaftssystem Karls des Großen "in universaler Weise", wie behauptet wird, die germanischen Stämme mit den galloromanishen Völkerschaften zusammenfaßte, so geschah das zumindest nicht in friedlicher Weise, sondern in jährlichen Kriegszügen'. Essig, Michael. *Europäische Identitätsfindung. Das Reich als europäische Vision.* Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Verlag, 1999. Page 85.

reattachment to France and indeed encouraged Alsatians to learn to speak to French and become good French citizens: 'Gewiß sollen die jungen Geschlechter Französisch sprechen, von Frankreich wissen, was die anderen Franzosen wissen sollen, mit einem Wort Franzosen sein'.[621] However, he argues in *Das Ewige Elsaß* that this should not be at the cost of their German heritage, which they should also retain. In any case he surmises that it is pointless to even try and reject this part of their heritage as the Alsatian root always breaks out[622] and it is, as he reiterates several times throughout this essay, a double root. 'Die elsässische Wurzel wird immer von neuem ausschlagen, aber bedenkt wohl: es ist eine doppelte Wurzel.'[623] The image of a double root entwined and embedded in the land of Alsace conveys the idea of a double cultural heritage whose two strands are inextricably linked to form a firmly entrenched, unique cultural identity.

He expresses this same idea of a double cultural heritage elsewhere, for example in *Erlebnis der Grenze*[624], where he writes: 'wer den Willen und die Ausdauer hat, die Grenze zu erleben, wird sie in sich überwinden wollen [...] Der heutige Elsässer will sich nicht nur als französischer Staatsbürger fühlen; er soll Frankreich lieben lernen, ohne Deutschland zu vergessen, und das heißt wohl: dem Deutschen in sich treu bleiben'. These writings vindicate Bucher's comment on Schickele, as now to be a good Alsatian, as Schickele defines it here, was not recognised as being compatible with being a good French citizen but the inverse in inter-war Alsace, where on the border with France's former enemy, it was particularly important that its inhabitants should show their unswerving loyalty to France by complete rejection of any links with Germany. As our analysis of the political situation in Alsace during the inter-war years has shown, it was a region regarded at best with misguided nostalgia or equivocation but more frequently, particularly since the rise of autonomism, with suspicion and hostility by French authorities. Rather than being a means of healing division, as Schickele hoped, the people of Alsace were expected to maintain and reinforce borders and divisions by having little or no contact with Germany and its inhabitants.

Schickele sharply criticises this unreasonable attitude and the hypocrisy of the French. Whereas the French had complete freedom to travel to Germany whenever they wished and many cultural links existed between Paris and Berlin, Alsace was to remain a

---

[621] 'Das Ewige Elsaß.' Page 620.
[622] As indicated at the beginning of 'Das Ewige Elsaß' (page 589), this idea originally comes from Maurice Barrès who, contrary to Schickele, regarded the roots of Alsatian culture as solely French. Schickele subverts the intended meaning of Barrès's words to promote the idea of a double-rooted culture.
[623] *Ibid.* Page 593.
[624] 'Erlebnis der Grenze.' *Werke III.* Page 1005.

reserve of hatred between the two countries.[625] He illustrates as an example how a well-known German historian and academic of the time, Dr. Wirth, was received with great hospitality in all the best houses in Paris, yet Ricklin, an old friend of Wirth's, had to stand before the court in Colmar and deny any acquaintance with him.[626] Rather than the Alsatians feeling compelled to deny the truth, the French, he believes, should be made aware of the reality of the Alsatian situation. This is just one incident which highlights the discrimination against the Alsatians with regard to relations with Germany, in the very region, Schickele's argues, where links with Germany should be strongest. He continues in this essay by criticising the fact that the border has always been decided upon by France and Germany at the cost of Alsace. Before the war all those living at the border were regarded as Francophiles, now since the war they were rebuked for being too Germanophile. In reality, however, they are both, but nationalist antagonisms did not allow for this duality of allegiances.

Schickele, in particular, sharply castigates the French for their policies concerning educational matters. As we have seen, both the *Bloc national* and the *Cartel des gauches* introduced controversial and unpopular measures particularly regarding language through the 'méthode directe' in educational policy in Alsace, in order to bring it into line with the rest of France as quickly as possible. In *Das Ewige Elsaß*, Schickele uses the metaphor of a snake shedding its skin to symbolise how the Alsatians are 'shedding' their Alemannic heritage. To hasten the process, the French are effectively 'beating the snake' by using the 'méthode directe'. He wryly remarks that as this process has been applied not just in schools but in all areas of the administration too, no-one has escaped the 'beating' and both young and old bear the bruises: 'Allmählich jedoch fing diese verdammte direkte Methode an weh zu tun, groß und klein lief mit blauen Flecken herum'.[627] Schickele suggests here that the process of becoming more Frenchified should be a slow and natural process for the Alsatians which cannot be forced. Schickele's objections to French educational and language policy arose not from their aim to ensure that young Alsatians would have to learn French, in order to speak and write it at least as well as they spoke the dialect and wrote German; on the contrary he believed that it was important that future generations of Alsatians integrated well into France without, however, losing their

---

[625] '"Ich will nicht, daß das Elsaß eine Reservation des Hasses zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich bleibt. [...] Denn wir empfinden nicht so, wie man von uns verlangt."' 'Das Ewige Elsaß.' *Werke III.* Page 617.

[626] 'Wem aber grauste es nicht vor dem plötzlich sich öffenden Abgrund der Lüge, wenn er hört, wie [...] der Dr. Ricklin, bei allen Heiligen schwört, er habe seit dem Kriege mit keinem Deutschen in Verbindung gestanden, nicht einmal durch einen gelegentlichen Postkartengruß, mit keinem Deutschen, nicht einmal mit seinem frühern Kameraden und pazifistischen Gesinnungsgenossen Dr. Wirth? Er hätte es auch beileibe nicht wagen dürfen! Herr Wirth geht in Paris aus und ein und diniert mit französischen Ministern.' 'Erlebnis der Grenze'. *Werke III.* Page 1003.

[627] 'Das Ewige Elsaß'. *Werke III.* Page 607.

Alsatian particularism. What he does fear, a fear shared by other commentators of the time as we saw, is the growth of a double 'unculture' in Alsace, if Alsatians do not master the French language and at the same time lose contact with German. These fears are articulated in particular in a letter to his namesake, Canon René Schickele,[628] where he blames the educational system imposed in Alsace for the increasing scarcity of representatives who could truly be described as embodying the Alsatian double cultural heritage:

> Heute schon wüßte ich keine zwanzig Menschen in der Heimat zu nennen, die von französischer oder deutscher Kultur *gleichzeitig* so durchdrungen wären, also den Idealtyp des Elsässers darstellten. Dabei ziele ich nicht auf das Talent dieser Menschen, sondern auf ihre Bildung...Die Verwaltung scheint aber darüber anders zu denken. Sie hat aber auch das Gegenteil von dem erreicht, was sie bezweckte. Kulturell führt ihre Methode zu einer Doppel-Unkultur primitivster Art.[629]

In schools the French language was now the dominant language, but the younger generation still had close contact to their Alsatian dialect in the home through their families. He identifies the main threat then as one to his generation, educated under German rule, who speak, write and think principally in German – this generation should not be sacrificed to French nationalist ideology. For Schickele 'ein solcher Seelenmord ist unannehmbar'.[630] Due to the predominance of French particularly in the secondary schools he believes there is no need for the French to fear German dominating any longer. German now needs to be protected and one needs to ensure that those educated under the German system should not be banished to an intellectual wasteland.

What then did Schickele envisage as Alsace's cultural role if he believed it was so crucial to foster both languages and cultures? Once again, in this letter he reiterates his belief in the Alsatians' potential to be natural mediators or brokers between France and Germany to a much higher degree than the French or Germans themselves. Those educated under the German system as well as the coming generations under the French system should be viewed as a valuable resource to France. However, Schickele was realistic enough to realize that it was not enough to possess potential alone. This potential

---

[628] René Schickele to Canon René Schickele. Letter dated 3 January 1931. In: *Werke III,* page 1154. Excerpts of this letter are reproduced in 'Aus einem Brief' in Finck, Adrien (ed.). Schickele, René. *Überwindung der Grenze - Essays zur deutsch-französischen Verständigung.* Kehl: Morstadt Verlag, 1987, pp.84-87.
[629] René Schickele to Canon René Schickele. *Überwindung der Grenze.* Page 85.
[630] *Ibid.*

had to be nurtured under the right conditions and according to high standards in order to develop to its full extent the Alsatian's position as mediator:

> Der Elsässer enthält die Vorbedingungen für einen 'ehrlichen Makler' zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland von Geburt in höherem Grad als ein geborener Deutscher oder Franzose. Aber auch nur die Vorbedingung. Er muß sie entwickeln. Er muß sie sogar hoch entwickeln, wenn er seine geistige Ausnahmestellung als Stamm, die er beansprucht, rechtfertigen soll.[631]

He cannot comprehend why the French do not draw on this precious resource instead of trying to destroy it: 'Warum sollte Paris zu seinem Schaden hartnäckig versuchen, diese Masse geborener Vermittler auszurotten, statt sie für Frankreich dienstbar zu machen'.[632] He proposes that the French educational authorities should instead incorporate special subjects in the curriculum in Alsace to foster and develop knowledge of the German language and culture – to encourage rather than to discourage well-informed relations between France and Germany through the medium of Alsace-Lorraine.

> Warum sollten nicht die höheren Schulen in Elsaß-Lothringen ein prädestiniertes Material hochzüchten und eine wachsende Schar von jungen Leuten sammeln, denen der geschulte Blick aus dem Fenster auf das nahe Deutschland Dinge lernen würde, wie sie ihre Kameraden aus dem Innern oft gar nicht oder mühsam und spärlich zum Bewußtsein kommen.[633]

He develops this idea further by calling for an 'intellectual laboratory or testing ground' to be established at the University of Strasbourg where students could specialise in comparative ethnological studies. Schickele's ideas on this matter were not wholly new. As we have seen, the *Conférence d'Alsace-Lorraine* had proposed similar ideas regarding the instruction of German from primary to university level. Barrès too envisaged a special educational policy which would take into consideration Alsace-Lorraine's particularist culture and history, it would seem, when he wrote: 'Il faut une génération magnifique d'Alsaciens et de Lorrains. La France doit vous donner un instrument [...] C'est pourquoi il faut qu'il y ait à Strasbourg une prodigieuse université'.[634] Barrès's intention, however, is not to create a centre of intercultural exchange between France and Germany with

---

[631] *Ibid.* Pages 86-87.
[632] 'Das Ewige Elsaß'. *Werke III.* Page 619.
[633] *Ibid.*
[634] Barrès, Maurice. *L'Oeuvre de Maurice Barrès. Mes Cahiers*. Volume XIX . Philippe (ed.). Paris: Plon 1968. p. 57.

Alsace acting as facilitator, but a triumphalist bastion of French culture on the border with Germany. No trace of the influences of German culture and language would remain or be promoted within the University framework. "L'Alsace ne doit pas enseigner aux Allemands la France, et aux Français, l'Allemagne. C'est sembler dire que c'est en Alsace que doit être le débat des deux civilisations. Ah! certes non. Cet éternel débat, nous le reporterons plus avant le Rhin. L'Alsace enseignera la France aux Allemands, volontiers, mais on n'y trouvera plus d'Allemagne'.[635] Barrès's proposal, which highlights the polemics surrounding the thorny issues of language, culture and education in Alsace, effectively suggests using the University of Strasbourg as a channel for the propagation of French nationalist discourse. That this was to a certain extent realized, was indicated in an article by Streicher, which criticised the university professor Edmond Vermeil's bias against autonomism.[636]

Streicher's article, however, is principally concerned with the question of Schickele's alleged connections, or rather lack of them, to autonomism. Schickele, as already discussed, was certainly regarded with suspicion by the French authorities, a fact borne out again when Streicher seeks to dismiss any notion of Schickele's association with autonomist plots linked to Germany. Streicher furnishes us with excerpts from a letter written by a high level French administrator, Paul Tirard to Briand, citing information received on Schickele from the French Consul in Zürich, revealing that Schickele had been the focus of French intelligence investigations. 'Sur René Schickele en particulier, le Consul de France à Zurich écrit les lignes suivantes: J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que M. René Schickele est un écrivain fort connu en Allemagne. Il appartient à une famille extrémement patriote. Son père et son oncle, Chanoine à la Cathédrale à Strasbourg, se firent remarquer pendant l'annexion allemande par leurs sentiments français.' The same letter, however, continues by highlighting, in contrast to his father and uncle, the ambivalent nature of Schickele's allegiances to France and Germany. The results of these investigations, whilst unable to prove that Schickele had been involved in any anti-French activities, appear to find his uncertain patriotic loyalties, his choice to live in Germany after the war and marriage with a German citizen,[637] as warranting enough suspicion for the Consul to advise at the end of his letter: 'il me paraît

---

[635] Book XLIII, In: *Ibid.* Page 351

[636] Streicher, Jean-Claude. 'René Schickele "Autonomist".' In: *Rot un Wiss*, 76, 1982. Page 3.

[637] 'Mais René Schickele, élevé en Allemagne, où il a remporté ses succès litteraires, marié à une Allemande qui exercerait une grande influence sur lui et habitant presque exclusivement en Allemagne, ne partage pas, bien qu'il soit fait réintégrer dans la nationalité française, tout-à-fait la même mentalité...D'après certains de mes interlocuteurs, il se considérait comme un répresentant de la culture française en Allemagne et chargé de la mission de rapprocher les deux nations. D'après des autres, il souffrirait de la dualité de sentiments résultant de la divergence entre ses liens de famille et ses attaches avec l'Allemagne.' *Ibid.*

certain que les autorités françaises en Alsace doivent être abondamment renseignées sur une personnalité aussi notoire'.[638] Schickele was obviously aware of official disapproval of his ill-definable allegiances, as is evident from his autobiographical contribution to Pinthus's expressionist anthology, but he does not appear to have been unduly concerned by such attitudes, at least not at the beginning of the 1920s: 'von jeher und gar erst im Krieg, stehe ich in schlechtem Ruf beim livrierten Gesindel diesseits wie jenseits des Rheins. Die Psychologen darunter enthüllen mich jahraus, jahrein als einen "unsicheren Kantonisten", obwohl ich es nie abgeleugnet habe. Gott erhalte mir meine Unsicherheit!'.[639]

However, against the backdrop of the growing 'malaise' in Alsace and the rise of autonomism in the late 1920s, the description 'notorious' is again directed at Schickele, when the general prosecutor at the Colmar Trial, M. Fachot, accused him of being a notorious enemy of France. This accusation was witnessed by his friend Salomon Grumbach, who was to write afterwards:

> [U]n jour, dans un coin de la salle de la Cour d'assises, à Colmar, écoutant le réquisitoire du Procureur général Fachot [...] "Vous étiez, accusé, en rapport avec les écrivains allemands connus comme ennemis notoires de la France, avec le Badois René Schickele [...] 'Le badois René Schickele [...].' Oh, cher ami, dans la vallée de la Bruche, les arbres ont dû pleurer, et Mutzig ta ville a dû prendre le deuil.[640]

Schickele, as we saw earlier in his letter to Paul Bock, was disturbed by the accusation. That he also refers to it in his essay *Erlebnis der Grenze,* originally the text of a speech given at a convention of Rhineland poets in July 1928, some months after the conclusion of the trial, highlights his anxiety to clear his name of any anti-French activity and defend his reputation. 'Trotzdem hat der Generalstaatsanwalt in Kolmar mich einen notorischen Franzosenfeind genannt.'[641] Grumbach too protests his innocence, asserting that Schickele would never become involved with autonomist plots: '[Q]ue René Schickele soit du complot – [...] laissez-moi rire. Lui qui [...] n'a jamais fait la moindre concession à des

---

[638] *Ibid.*
[639] 'René Schickele'. In: Pinthus, Kurt. *Menschheitsdämmerung. Ein Dokument des Expressionismus.* Page 360.
[640] Grumbach, Salomon. 'Une Réponse et quelques Reflexions.' In: *La Revue des Vivants*, 7, July 1928, pp.79-86. Here, page 80.
[641] 'Erlebnis der Grenze.' *Werke III.* Page 1002.

conceptions mesquines, il serait tombé dans la marée de ce chauvinisme local qui s'appelle l'autonomisme alsacien?'[642]

However, in the same *Une Réponse et quelques Réflexions*, a reply to Schickele's essay, *Légende et Réalité*,[643] which appeared in the same issue of *La Revue des Vivants*, Grumbach highlights why Schickele may have been misinterpreted as anti-French and pro-autonomist in his views:

> [C]eux des Français qui ne te connaissent pas ou ne te connaissent que mal, souffriront de l'impitoyable ironie avec laquelle tu traites certains aspects des questions d'Alsace, et ils se diront: 'Ah non, ce ne'est pas un ami de la France.' [...] Des protestations contre la confusion inexcusable que tu commets en plaçant presque sur le même plan l'autonomisme, le paneuropéanisme, le pacifisme, le désir de rendre le rapprochement entre la France et l'Allemagne durable, fertile [...][644]

Already, French critics of *Hans im Schnakenloch,* and as we saw, even pacifists such as Rolland, were negatively disposed towards Schickele and suspicious of his sympathies during the war. The attacks on his reputation after the war again raise the question of Schickele's allegiances, highlighting how, regardless of the change in government, Alsatians such as Schickele, who insist on their double cultural heritage, continue to be a target for criticism. Grumbach cautions him too that those in France who were either not at all or poorly acquainted with his works could easily be led to believe that he was a member of the autonomist movement. Although Schickele's language of expression was German, his writings were undoubtedly discussed and read by German speakers in Alsace, including those who were pro-assimilationist and worked for the French propaganda press.[645] In this way his opinions may have filtered through, and indeed been distorted, in France. Even five years after the Colmar Trial by which time Schickele had moved to the South of France, it appears that he was still regarded with some wariness by the French, as he ironically comments on their attitudes towards him in a letter to Benno Reifenberg:

---

[642] Grumbach, Salomon. 'Une réponse et quelques réflexions.' Page 80.
[643] Schickele, René. 'Légende et Réalité.' In: *La Revue des Vivants.* Paris, 7, July 1928, pp.37-48. This was a French translation of excerpts of *Meine Elsässer* which had appeared in *Die Neue Rundschau,* 1, 1927 and was later to be published as 'Das Ewige Elsaß', in *Die Grenze,* 1932.
[644] Grumbach, Salomon. 'Une réponse et quelques réflexions.' Page 81.
[645] The Radical party's newspaper, *La République*, for example was pro-French but continued to print in German up to 1939. See Lorentz, Claude. *La Presse Alsacienne du XX Siècle.* Page 340.

> Man muß nämlich wissen, wie harmonisch die französische Propagandapresse im Elsaß mit der Sicherheitspolizei zusammenarbeitet [...] Ich selbst werde im Elsaß und in Paris immer höchst freundlich behandelt, man begnügt sich damit, mich und meine Arbeit zu "neutralisieren" – nachdem der Versuch mißglückt ist, mich zu kaufen, indem man mich durch Herrn Lucien Minck, Herausgeber der *République* und eines französischen geschriebenen Blättchens aufforderen ließ, ihm dem Vorabdruck eines elsässischen Romans zu überlassen [...] Sie haben nichts gegen mich, die Herren, sie wollen nur nicht, daß das Elsaß, wie es zweifellos ist, und wie ich es sichtlich ohne Voreingenommenheit darstelle, in Frankreich bekannt wird, einfach weil es ihnen nicht in den Kram paßt, und zwar ebensowenig in den nationalistischen Kram als in den anti-klerikalen.[646]

Schickele's close friendship with Camille Dahlet, as we saw a prominent figure in the autonomist movement and an outspoken critic of French policy in the region at the time, did not help allay any French suspicions.[647] That Schickele, in his essay *Leben ohne Inquisition* written in 1928 in the middle of the autonomist crisis in Alsace, reserves biting criticism of the French handling of affairs during the Colmar Trial, may also have contributed to views of him as an autonomist sympathiser:

> Alles, was sich für einen politischen Prozeß aufbieten ließ, von der tollsten Polizeimache bis zum Prophetenwort des immer noch hoch angesehenen, weil integern Poincaré [...] war herbeigeschleppt und zu einer Riesenmaschine zusammengesetzt worden. Bald aber gab es nur noch eins zu enthüllen, nämlich die phantastische Anklagemaschine selbst, die sich als jene altmodische Gebetmühle mit Windbetrieb herausstellte, gegen die Don Quichote heroisch anrannte (mit dem Unterschied, daß Don Quichote ein guter Kerl war...).[648]

---

[646] René Schickele to Benno Reifenberg. Letter dated 1933. In: *Werke III*, pp.1184-1186. Here: page 185.

[647] In an article entitled, 'Neue Erkenntnisse über das Verhältnis Schickeles zum elsässischen "Autonomismus"', Maryse Staiber discusses Schickele's own distance from the autonomist movement, despite his long-standing friendship with Dahlet and respect for his views. She refers too to Schickele's association with the Colmar writer Morand Claden (a pseudonym for Albert Schmitt) who in August 1940, thus after Schickele's death, revealed himself as a supporter of the most extreme form of separatist autonomism and of Nazism, bringing Schickele's name also posthumously into disrepute, 'daß damit auch Schickele selbst in Frankreich mehr denn je als "Autonomist" in Verruf kam'. Schickele, however, appears to have been unaware of the latter's true political sentiments. In: *René Schickele aus neuer Sicht*, pp.266-273. Quote from page 273.

[648] Schickele, René. 'Leben ohne Inquisition.' In: *Werke III*, pp.993-998. Here, page 995.

However, this essay, although very critical of French policy, is more an honest and observant appraisal of the events he witnesses from his vantage point at a certain distance from his *Heimat.* Schickele's intention here, as elsewhere when he writes about Alsace, is to shed light on the question of its cultural identity and to disabuse his readers' beliefs in the contradictory myths surrounding his homeland, an intention which is evident from the outset of his essay: 'Die Dinge im Elsaß scheinen sehr verzwickt, doch im Grunde sind sie einfach. Nur hört man selten, *wie* einfach sie sind.'[649] Schickele's promotion of Alsace's particularist identity was always within the context of a European framework and bound up with his hopes for a united Europe. Autonomism with its focus narrowed to the protection of 'la petite patrie' was too limited in scope for him, as Fink argues: 'Er konnte nicht "Autonomist" sein , wenigstens nicht im engen Sinn des Worts, besonders nicht im heimat- und volkstümelnden Sinn; Schickeles Lösung des 'elsässischen Problems' konnte nur eine europäische sein. Der Elsässer soll 'Vertreter eines geistigen Reiches' sein'.[650] A contributory factor towards accusations and suspicions against him too was that although in his essays Schickele does distance himself from autonomism, he also expresses an understanding for apolitical, pacifist Alsatians who feel they have to support autonomism in order to protest against unjust treatment by the French. In *Das Ewige Elsaß,* for example, he writes: 'Wenn man einen völlig unpolitischen Elsässer fragt, warum er bei den Kammerwahlen wieder für einen Autonomisten gestimmt habe [...] so wird der Mann folgendes antworten: 'Ich will, daß die Jagd auf den "boche" aufhört. Denn der "boche", den sie jagen, das bin ich und nicht der jenseits des Rheins [...] Wir sollen den Deutschen verabscheuen und also auch das Deutsche in uns. Das muß ein Ende nehmen!'.[651] In Schickele's reference to 'das Deutsche in uns' we gain an insight into his views on the question of the interdependence of Self and Other in relation to Alsatian and German identity. It is clear that for him Alsace is perceived both by Germany as forming part of Self-identity, yet also as an Other, just as much as it is perceived as part of Self-identity and an Other by France. His arguments for the preservation of the German part of Alsatian identity concur with those of the autonomists, even if the latter tend to avoid referring directly to the 'German within them' but discuss instead the manifestation of this component of the Alsatian identity in relation, for example, to language and self-government issues.[652]

---

[649] *Ibid.* Page 993.
[650] Finck, Adrien. 'René Schickele und das "geistige Elsässertum"'. In: *Land un Sproch. Les Cahiers du Bilinguisme*, 13, 2, 1983, pp.9-10. Here, page 10.
[651] 'Das Ewige Elsaß.' In: *Werke III.* Page 617.
[652] See for example the first edition of *ELZ,* 7 December 1929.

This, however, is as far as Schickele's sympathies extend and one could only attempt to compare a similar outlook between him and autonomists' call for recognition of Alsace's cultural particularism and French tolerance of the Germanic part of Alsatian identity. In *Erlebnis der Grenze*, for example, he argues that the concept of autonomism would not have arisen if the Alsatians had been permitted to speak and behave naturally. 'Wer im französischen Elsaß hätte je von Autonomie gesprochen, wenn man die Leute hätte reden und beten lassen, wie ihnen der Schnabel gewachsen ist?'[653] That any French person can study German, receive German friends and travel to Berlin without fear of arrest or denunciation has fuelled anger and increased support for autonomy. Yet, in *Das Ewige Elsaß* he states clearly that he does not believe that autonomy is the solution for Alsace: 'Weil ich nicht an die Quadratur des Zirkels glaube, glaube ich nicht an die Erreichbarkeit des autonomistischen Zieles.'[654] The likelihood of France ever decentralising was in his eyes, very remote and even more improbable that France would begin with Alsace. Obtaining autonomy then would be at best a very slow process, at worst a futile one. Schickele suggests instead an alternative which would aid Alsace in achieving recognition of its particular cultural status, 'ohne der "einen und unteilbaren Republik" etwas von dem ihren zu nehmen' (again a reference to the reciprocity of Self and Other identities, where here it is France's homogeneous Self-identity, which Schickele suggests may be perceived as undermined by Alsace's assertion of its full cultural heritage).[655] Alsace should deconstruct the myths and legends surrounding her culture and history so that the French would realise Alsatians do speak an Alemannic dialect, not only since the annexation but for centuries, and should be permitted to continue speaking it. Alsace in the past shared a common heritage with Germany and these links should be allowed to remain, without France equating Alsace's loyalty to its Germanic heritage with disloyalty to its new *patrie*. Only when France recognised the true Alsace and took into account that this region had been part of Germany for over forty years would the support for autonomist and separatist movements dwindle. As we saw, political leaders in Alsace, such as Abbé Haegy, Dr. Ricklin and Camille Dahlet had already endeavoured to enlighten the French on these matters with little result, given the continuing tensions in Franco-Alsatian relations up to the 1930s. It is very clear from Schickele's suggestions, however, that he feels most of the tension in Alsace arises out of

---

[653] Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Grenze.' In: *Werke III*, pp.1003-1004.
[654] Schickele, René. 'Das Ewige Elsaß.' In: *Werke III*. Page 618. In the earlier version of this essay, Schickele expresses this view in a slightly different manner which emphasises rather that autonomy would not succeed because of French centralist policy, 'So wie die Dinge heute liegen, vom Standpunkt des heute herrschenden jakobinischen Zentralismus gesehen, bedeutet das die Quadratur des Zirkels'. In: *Meine Elsässer*. Page 259.
[655] 'Das Ewige Elsaß.' In: *Werke III*. Page 618.

French misunderstandings about Alsace's cultural identity as well as anger over double standards with regard to relations with Germany.

Schickele does not solely blame the French for the upheaval and discontent in inter-war Alsace. His own people too are partly to blame for the situation Alsace finds itself in, he believes. He criticises the Alsatians for welcoming the French into their region so unconditionally in the euphoric aftermath of the war, recalling how differently they had behaved with the Germans by manifesting resistance to the annexation. Through their *Protestler* attitude towards Germany they had gained special rights and privileges and 'hatten sich eine recht ansehnliche Zahl Rechte und Freiheiten in ihrem Korb angesammelt'.[656] Schickele effectively uses a biblical analogy to describe the hasty actions of the Alsatians in November 1918, comparing them to the twelve foolish virgins, waiting by the cathedral door for the bridegroom all night, who waste the oil for their lamps which should have been burning when he arrived. The consequences have been drastic for Alsace. 'Alle die schönen Rechte und Freiheiten rollten auf die Straße mitsamt dem Korb und verschwanden unter dem rasselnden Trommeln der einziehenden Armee, und die ironischen Trompeten schrien die Torheit meiner Elsässer zum Himmel, für sie aber war es berauschende Musik.'[657] Schickele's exasperation with this fatal short-sightedness in his essay is an expression of his frustration that the Alsatians behaved so naively and impetuously. However, he searches for excuses for their behaviour, 'Fragt man nach den Gründen der Begeisterung beim Einzug der Franzosen, so könnte ich ein volles Dutzend anführen, davon die meisten von beträchtlichem Gewicht'[658] and he concedes that such behaviour was understandable at the time: the war was finally over, Alsace was on the side of the victors, having suffered greatly the previous four years under a harsh military dictatorship imposed by the Germans, when all their civil rights had been temporarily suspended.

Although it is obvious through his essay writings of the inter-war period that Schickele remained very attached to his *Heimat* and his vision of a pacifist mission in Europe always included an important role for Alsace, he was never to return to his native homeland. This undoubtedly influenced him in his writings lending him a certain detachment with regard to unfolding events there and enabling him to comment critically on the Alsatian situation. His visits back to Alsace were fleeting, to see friends and family or even just to visit old haunts, as he recalls in his last and unfinished work, written in French in exile in the South of France and symbolically entitled *Le Retour*: 'Parfois le mal du pays me reprenait comme une fièvre et je partais sur-le-champ pour Strasbourg.

---

[656] *Ibid.* Page 594.
[657] *Ibid.* Pages 594-595.
[658] *Ibid.* Page 595.

Quand j'arrivais tard dans la journée je n'allais voir ni ma famille, ni mes amis, un tour dans la ville, et je m'en retournais. Nous nommions ces visites le quart d'heure d'Antée'.[659] Despite these impulsive returns to Alsace prompted by nostalgia, Schickele realized he was unwilling to remain for too long in his native land and become embroiled in its ongoing conflicts. 'Jetzt aber, nicht wahr? jetzt war der Krieg zu Ende, und da drüben lag meine Heimat. Ich konnte sie wiedersehen, Eltern, Geschwister, Spielkameraden [...] Nein ich konnte nicht. Da drüben wütete ein Flohkrieg. Ich wollte nicht. Verbannte mich an die andere Grenze'.[660] His reference to a 'Flohkrieg' is reminiscent of *Hans im Schnakenloch* and the perennial problematic of cultural identity in Alsace. It implies too that in the aftermath of the Great War and grand European politics, Alsace was now enmeshed in provincial political struggles, in which he did not wish to become involved.

Yet, if Schickele felt he could not return to Alsace, nor did he feel, in retrospection, that he really belonged in Germany, as he reflects in his diary in exile from his adopted home in Sanary-sur-Mer: 'Im Grunde habe ich Deutschland stets nur "von außen" gesehn statt "von innen", so lange ich denken kann, und dies trotz aller Bemühungen, mich ihm einzuverleiben. Man wird nur einmal geboren'.[661] Schickele's sense of being an outsider, the 'other', never fully belonging in either France or Germany, yet inheritor of both cultures, highlights yet again the problematic of his identity caught between the polemics of nationalist rivalries. Nevertheless, it seems he had harboured hopes to return to live in his native land at some later stage, as he confides to his brother Gustav in a letter from Badenweiler: 'Ich sehne mich schrecklich, da drüben zu einem Haus mit Garten zu kommen – was dann auch geschehe. In ein paar Jahren, denke ich, bin ich soweit, und meinen Fünfzigsten feiere ich bestimmt im Land'.[662] These were plans for a future when Schickele hoped, in vain as history was to prove, that tensions in Alsace would have subsided and relations between France and Germany improved.

3.5. Conclusion

Schickele in his prose writings reveals an Alsace in crisis in the inter-war years, attempting to vindicate its particularist cultural identity. He draws on a rich source of knowledge on a wide range of topics ranging from history to politics and literature, both in

---

[659] Schickele, René. 'Le Retour. Souvenirs inédits.' *Werke III*, pp.779-833. Here, page 809.
[660] 'Pariser Reise.' In: 'Wir wollen nicht sterben.' *Werke III.* Page 492. Later, he was to remark again on his contradictory feelings towards his homeland, when living in the South of France: 'Ich lebe in mehr als eine Weise im Exil; französischer Staatsangehöriger und deutscher Dichter, im Elsaß wurzelnd, ohne dort leben zu können (ein Krähwinkel, wie alle Militärprovinzen!)'. René Schickele to Svend Borberg (Danish literary critic). Letter dated 1 October 1936, In: *Werke III.* Page 1237.
[661] Schickele, René. Diary entry 8 May 1933. In: *Werke III.* Page 1117.
[662] René Schickele to Gustav Schickele. Letter dated 22 February 1925. In: *Werke III.* Page 1144.

France and Germany, to enlighten his readers on the controversial issues which affected his fellow Alsatians in the uneasy years following reassimilation into the centralist French Republic. His views on Alsace as cultural mediator between France and Germany prior to 1914 are taken a step further after the war, where he now regards Alsace's role as significant for peace in Europe. Europe must learn to overcome its divisions, each European must learn to overcome the border mentality within themselves which did not signify a loss of their own cultural heritage. What Schickele tries to demonstrate is that it is possible to retain one's own culture outside nationalist definitions of identity and live in a more fluid European space without fixed borders. Nowhere is this more evident than in Alsace, symbol of the synthesis of a double culture, which Schickele identifies as the cornerstone of peace in a supra-state Europe. Europe since the war had shown that Germany and France's relationship had a bearing on the whole continent's future.[663] In the epic trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein* written throughout the 1920s and into the early 1930s, Schickele expresses many of the views to be found also in his essays, where again his ideas are shaped by the experience of living on and between the borders of two cultures, the synthesis of a double cultural heritage, which was not, as Schickele saw it, divided but united by the Rhine.

[663] '[D]as Elsaß ist vor allem der Prüfstein für die Aufrichtigkeit des Verhältnisses zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich, und dann bin ich davon durchdrungen, daß dies Verhältnis entscheidend ist für die Zukunft des Kontinents.' 'Erlebnis der Grenze'. In: *Werke III.* Page 1001.

Chapter 4: Das Erbe am Rhein: questions of cultural identity and politics in an inter-war narrative

4.1. Introduction

Schickele's essays, diaries and letters of the inter-war period are a testimony to his concern regarding the problems and challenges facing Alsace in the vindication of its double cultural heritage under French rule and in developing its potential to act as a broker for peace in a Europe destabilised by the Great War. In his trilogy, *Das Erbe am Rhein*[664], described by Thomas Mann as a 'Standardwerk elsässischer Landschaft und elsässischer Seelenlage',[665] these same concerns continue to be core issues and are integral to the trilogy's thematic structure. Indeed, Schickele's incorporation of intertextual references to his essays in *Das Erbe am Rhein*[666] highlights the extent to which the contemporaneous issues of cultural identity and political tensions in Alsace are focussed on in the trilogy. Conversely, the trilogy serves as a testing ground for Schickele's views on Alsace which resurface in those prose writings published during or after the appearance of each volume of *Das Erbe am Rhein*. As Woltersdorff points out, it is in particular the protagonist Claus von Breuschheim who serves as a mouthpiece for Schickele's ideas, which reappear in later essays.[667]

In its intermingling of historical fact and fiction with regard to the political and cultural situation in Alsace and Franco-German relations, *Das Erbe am Rhein* is reminiscent of *Hans im Schnakenloch*. The themes of the trilogy are redolent too of his wartime drama. Both works address questions of contemporary politics and identity and focus on the fortunes of one Alsatian family and in particular on a protagonist representative of the Alsatian dilemma. Moreover, the appearance of the 'verbesserte und

---

[664] The trilogy comprises of the volumes *Maria Capponi* (originally the two-volume *Ein Erbe am Rhein*), *Blick auf die Vogesen* and *Der Wolf in der Hürde*, published between 1925 and 1931. Any quotes from these volumes will be indicated in the chapter by their respective title abbreviations, MC, BV and WH and refer to the 1983 Fischer editions of *Maria Capponi* and *Blick auf die Vogesen* and the 1931 Fischer edition of *Der Wolf in der Hürde*.

[665] 'Zur französischen Ausgabe von René Schickeles "Witwe Bosca".' *Reden und Aufsätze 2*. In: Thomas Mann. *Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden*. Volume X. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag. 1960. Pages 761-766. Here, page 762.

[666] Ossowski indicates this too with regard to the essay, *Das Ewige Elsaß* in particular, when he writes: 'Die in Schickeles Essay schroff umrissenen Probleme, mit denen sich die Elsässer nach 1918 konfrontiert sahen, stehen auch im Mittelpunkt der Trilogie'. In: Ossowski, Miroslav. 'Eine europäische Provinz. Die Vision vom geeinigten Europa in René Schickeles elsässischer Trilogie *Das Erbe am Rhein*.' In: *Euphorion*, 89, 1995. Pages 428-437. Here, page 430. With regard to the *Der Wolf in der Hürde* Stefan Woltersdorff demonstrates how 'in die 1931 erschienene Endfassung auch einige journalistische Texte aus den Jahren 1914-28 aufgenommen worden sind'. Woltersdorff, Stefan. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft. Elsaßmodelle in Prosatexten von René Schickele (1889-1932)*. Peter Lang, Bern. 2000. Page 395.

[667] 'Offenbar fungiert Claus Breuschheim als "Testsprecher" des Autors, der verschiedene Positionen "probehalber" formuliert, bevor sie dann in Schickeles Elsaß-Aufsätze der späten zwanziger Jahre (teilweise) übernommen werden.' *Ibid.* Page 358.

endgültige Ausgabe'[668] of *Hans im Schnakenloch* in 1927, coincided with the publication year of the second volume of the trilogy, *Blick auf die Vogesen,* refocusing attention on the play against the backdrop of Schickele's development of the Alsace theme in his novelistic work. Schickele's belief in the continuing relevance of the play's themes long after World War I is evident in a diary entry from the mid 1930s, where he ruminates:

> Wieviel Tote sind über das Elsaß geritten! Und sein Schicksal ist im Grund das gleiche wie gestern. Noch immer kommt jedem ehrlichen Elsässer sein Dasein fragwürdig vor. Die Zeit, für die mein Schauspiel ein Dokument sein soll, ist noch lange nicht begraben. Das Vorzeichen allein ist geändert.[669]

Many critics of Schickele's work have remarked on the thematic similarities between the trilogy and play.[670] However, these comparisons have until now only been fleetingly referred to, when a more detailed comparison could throw further light on the evolution of Schickele's opinion on Alsace and questions of cultural identity in the region spanning the period from the eve of World War I to life under French rule until the late 1920s. In our study of the trilogy, therefore, comparative references to *Hans im Schnakenloch* will be included throughout this chapter.

The trilogy's title *Das Erbe am Rhein* – a reference both to Alsace's double cultural heritage and geographical position as the land by the Rhine – highlights just how pivotal in these novels is Schickele's belief in his 'mission' to promote Alsace, the *Grenzland*, as a natural mediator between France and Germany, in other words, 'in the continued propagation of "geistiges Elsässertum"'.[671] As we saw in the previous chapter Schickele rejects the idea of the Rhine as a divisive boundary, replacing it instead with the image of the Rhine as a symbol of unity connecting the lands it officially divides. *Das Erbe am Rhein* then examines the problematic of Alsatian identity confronted in the inter-war period with the new political situation where the border symbolised by the Vosges has dissolved to its west, uniting it politically with France, and has been replaced with the Rhine border to its east. Alternative potential political configurations for Alsace are also the subject of discussion and analysis in the trilogy, such as the dissolution of borders

---

[668] Schickele, René. 'Vorrede von 1927.' In: *Werke III.* Page 12.
[669] Diary entry, 6 or 7 May 1934. In: *Werke III.* Page 1104.
[670] For example Brummert writes: '*Hans im Schnakenloch*, in den ersten Kriegswochen abgefaßt, thematisiert die Tragik des Elsaß, die tatsächliche Zerrissenheit der elsässischen Menschen in der historisch gegebenen Situation [...] Die Konstellationen des *Erbe am Rhein* werden präfiguriert.' Brummert, Ulrike. 'Aufhebung von Grenzen. Zur deutsch-französischen Vermittlerrolle von René Schickele und Jean Jaurès.' In: *René Schickele aus Neuer Sicht.* Pages 45-64. Here, page 55. Similarly, Wagener points out: 'Thematisch ist der Roman [...] mit dem Drama *Hans im Schnakenloch* verwandt.' Wagener, Hans. *Europäer in Neun Monaten.* Page 154.
[671] Robertson. *Writing Between the Lines.* Page 107.

both to its east and west, thereby situating Alsace within a supra-national construct. This triangular constellation of France, Germany and Alsace, although again at the centre of political discussion in *Das Erbe am Rhein*, as it was in *Hans im Schnakenloch*, is now examined here within a wider European context. Thus, we can speak of Schickele's vision having broadened in the trilogy to envisage Alsace not just as a means of peace between France and Germany but also, in transcending east-west borders, as playing a key role in Europe. Conversely, as the title of the trilogy's third volume *Der Wolf in der Hürde* implies, the trilogy too discusses the notion of a more self-contained or hermetic Alsace, as an enclosed space ('die Hürde') between borders either partially or fully closed both to east and west. This, as we saw, is what the autonomist movement in Alsace advocated to differing degrees in response to increasing concerns regarding threats to Alsatian identity and traditions under French rule particularly from 1925 onwards. To what extent each of these political constellations is discussed varies in each volume of the trilogy, depending both on their narrative time frame and also on the backdrop of political events which occurred either before or at the time of writing each volume. The trilogy's title is reminiscent of the title of the militaristic song *Die Wacht am Rhein*.[672] It is probable that Schickele intended the paradoxical play on the titles' similarity in order to highlight the trilogy's subversion and rejection of the type of nationalist sentiment expressed in this anthem which was immensely popular at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. The trilogy's supra-national message of Franco-German harmony along the Rhine is in direct contrast to the song's repeated refrain to maintain the Rhine as a symbol of division between the two nations ('Lieb' Vaterland magst ruhig sein / Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein!').[673]

Schickele began writing the trilogy in Badenweiler in the mid-1920s and finally finished it in the early 1930s just before his voluntary departure to the South of France. It was a time, as he reflected in retrospect, which he regarded as one of the happiest periods of his life.[674] It was also a creative and productive phase when Schickele would appear to have lived almost in seclusion, cut off from the outside world to dedicate himself to writing. 'Hier lebe ich ja wie ein Mönch, zwischen dem Wald und dem Schreibtisch', he informs his brother Gustav at the beginning of 1925 whilst writing *Ein Erbe am Rhein/Maria Capponi*.[675] However, the political and social commentary in his essays, as

---

[672] The poem 'Die Wacht am Rhein' was composed by Max Schneckenburger in 1840. It was later set to music by Karl Wilhelm in 1854.
[673] Wilhelm, Karl. *Die Wacht am Rhein.* Handwritten manuscript. Darmstadt, 1870.
[674] '[W]ar nicht doch unser Waldrand das Paradies!' René Schickele to Annette Kolb. Letter dated 24 November 1937. In: Bender, Hans. *Briefe im Exil.* Page 310.
[675] René Schickele to Gustav Schickele. Letter dated 22 February 1925. In *Werke III.* Pages 1144-1145. Here, page 1145.

we saw earlier, and in the trilogy too, undermines any impression that he led a wholly hermit-like existence. His astute observations of events of the time both in Alsace, the Weimar Republic and Europe at large, reveal his unflagging interest in current political and cultural matters, even if he no longer actively participated in radical, intellectual political movements since his departure from *Clarté*.

Julie Meyer suggests that Schickele's isolationist position and corresponding departure from radical literary forms of expression in the aftermath of war to suscribe to what she describes as his new 'Kulturkonservatismus' was prompted by 'Angst vor der Traditionslosigkeit der deutschen Republik'.[676] However, Günter Holtz, in a commentary on *Erlebnis der Grenze*[677] and Schickele's warning against the justification of violence as a legitimate means to achieve political ends, challenges Meyer's contention and postulates that during the Weimar period Schickele reveals 'weniger Angst vor Traditionslosigkeit als vielmehr vor Traditionen, [...] die aus der Geschichte der europäischen Revolutionen leben'.[678] Schickele was referring in this context to the growing threat of radical right- and left-wing groups in the Weimar Republic who condoned violence as means to accede to power. We have seen that Schickele's hopes for a peacefully established new socialist order in Germany in November 1918 had been dashed and it is true that he was initially sceptical of the Weimar Republic which did not go far enough in satisfying the aspirations of pacifist left-wing idealists of the November revolution. However, with time he was to reconcile himself to the fledgling democracy, especially from the more stable Stresemann era in the mid-1920s onwards,[679] to become one of its staunch supporters, as Edschmid recalls: 'Er wie ich, wir hingen sehr an der Republik'.[680] Schickele's acceptance of the invitation to become a member of the newly formed *Sektion für Dichtkunst der Preußischen Aakademie der Künste* in November, 1926, thus taking his place amongst the ranks of contemporary writers of such prominence as Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Hermann Hesse and Arthur Schnitzler,[681] is evidence of this choice to support the German democracy and its institutions, just as it was too a sign of his official recognition as an acclaimed writer in the Weimar Republic. Given that Schickele was a French citizen, his nomination to this German academy in the aftermath of World War I was an unusual

---

[676] Meyer, Julie. 'René Schickele und Romain Rolland.' In: *Elsässer, Europäer, Pazifist.* Pages 94-125. Here, page 96.
[677] Schickele, René. 'Erlebnis der Grenze.' In: *Werke III.* Pages 999-1007.
[678] Holtz, Günter. 'Das Erbe am Rhein. Mythos, Glaube und europäische Vision im Werk René Schickeles.' In: *Recherches Germaniques*, No. 21, USHS, Strasbourg, 1991. Pages 161-176. Here, page 164.
[679] 'Il se produit chez lui une sorte de réconciliation avec la République de Weimar, qui prend tous son sens à l'heure de la "politique de Locarno", de Stresemann et de Briand, les deux prix Nobel de la paix en 1926.' Finck. *Introduction à l'oeuvre de René Schickele.* Page 81.
[680] Edschmid, Kasimir. *Lebendiger Expressionismus.* Page 62.
[681] Wagener, Hans. *Europäer in Neun Monaten.* Page 139.

honour, highlighting yet again the ambiguity of his position, caught between France and Germany.

The trilogy, which was to be his *opus magnum*, marks a new departure in terms of Schickele's literary style during this era, following the break with expressionism and left-wing intellectual movements and his retreat to the Badenweiler 'Waldhaus' far from urban centres. He had turned to a style of writing that was, as many commentators remarked, essentially conservative,[682] contrasting sharply with his previous novel, *Benkal der Frauentröster*, published already twelve years earlier. A truly expressionist novel, *Benkal* had been hailed for its avant-garde, experimental style.[683] Now in the 1920s, rather than continuing to explore new forms of literary expression, his appraisal of experimental, avant-garde artistic forms reveals rather a more sceptical attitude, as is evident in an interview from 1926 when he remarks disparagingly: 'Die Snobs [...] glauben, die Zeit ändere sich, wenn die Schriftsteller den Artikel weglassen oder wieder einsetzen, wenn die Maler in Kuben malen oder nach dem Augenschein [...] Das sind Moden, die mit ungeheurem Geschrei abgelöst werden, ohne daß davon mehr übrigbleibt als eine zweifelhafte Aufregung'.[684]

Indeed, Schickele's trilogy would seem hardly to acknowledge the contemporary crisis regarding the novel in the 1920s triggered by the debate around the works of authors such as Proust[685], Joyce and Döblin. It is clear, however, that Schickele, who read widely, was well acquainted with French and German contemporary novelistic works, as is borne out by his (admittedly scant) references to both the works themselves or their authors in his

---

[682] Jean-Jacques Schumacher remarks that: '[E]ine beträchtliche Wandlung der Erzählform hatte aus dem Avantgardisten und kühnen Experimentierer des *Benkal* einen traditionellen Romanschriftsteller gemacht, der literarische Außenseiter betrat als angehender "Klassiker" die gute Stube der bürgerlichen Literatur'. Jean-Jacques Schumacher. '"Französisch nach der heiteren Durchsichtigkeit seiner Form" (Thomas Mann). Zu René Schickeles Romanwerk in den zwanziger Jahren.' In: *René Schickele aus Neuer Sicht.* Pages 111-126. Here, page 118.

[683] Kurt Pinthus, for example, writes: 'Schickele ist durchaus zu jenen wenigen zu zählen, welche den Stil einer neuen zukünftigen Erzählkunst schaffen, einen Stil, der jene traditionsbeladene, dichterisch abgeklärte Epik ablösen oder zumindest ihr parallel laufen wird.' 'Zeitgenössische Rezension' in *Die Weißen Blätter*, 1914. Page 130. Quoted in Bentmann, Friedrich. *Leben und Werk in Dokumenten.* Page 84.

[684] 'René Schickele kommt aus Paris und erzählt.' Interview with Arthur Ernst Rutra. First published in *Die Literarische Welt*, Berlin, 18 August 1926. Cited here in *Ibid.* Page 163. Schickele's viewpoint is reiterated in the trilogy when Sidonia remarks to Dr. Hubert Adam: 'Wir leben in einer Zeit des rasenden Dilettantismus' (BV 285).

[685] Schumacher does observe, however, that Schickele like Proust uses an observation in the present to trigger a flow of memories. 'Gewöhnlich genügt, wie bei Proust, eine in der Gegenwart beobachtete oder empfundene Einzelheit, um die Anregung zur Suche nach der Vergangenheit zu geben.' Schumacher, Jean-Jacques. *Das Romanwerk von René Schickele. Thematik und Entwicklung (1907-1937).* Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Paris, 1960. Page 118. Bentmann also identifies Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* as an influence on Schickele. Bentmann, Friedrich. *Leben und Werk in Dokumenten.* Page 159.

prose writings.[686] The trilogy appears, however, to have drawn more on nineteenth-century novel influences, as Schumacher points out: 'Der Autor des *Erbe am Rhein* schreibt in den zwanziger Jahren, als existiere die "Krise des Romans" überhaupt nicht, ihm erscheinen die traditionellen Formen der Erzählkunst, "im Sinn der realistischen Schule" des 19. Jahrhunderts und deren Nachfolger wohl am tauglichsten, um sein Anliegen darzubieten',[687] a view borne out by Schickele's laudatory references to nineteenth-century authors such as Jean Paul and Adalbert Stifter in Germanophone literature and Stendhal and Honoré Balzac in France in his essays on literature, such as 'Nach Ostern' and 'Eine Regenwoche' in *Die Grenze.*

It seems too that Schickele's disregard for new forms of novelistic writing was overshadowed by other literary preoccupations such as the promotion in Germany of a traditional genre more usually associated with France: '[E]s handelt sich noch immer um das Fehlen eines "deutschen Gesellschaftsromans"'.[688] Furthermore, Schickele's objective to introduce a typically French genre into Germany is, as he informs us in the same essay, driven by an inherent desire as an Alsatian for cultural harmony between the two nations:

> Von französischer Bücherschaft wechsle ich zur deutschen hinüber. Und schließlich bin ich wiederum bei dem elsässer Gesellschafts- und Nationalspiel angelangt, dem Vergleich unsrer ungleichen Eltern Deutschland und Frankreich. Wir sind besessen davon, es ist unsre liebe Not und Zwangsvorstellung. Sie entspringt dem Bedürfnis nach der Synthese [...] und auch aus dem Bedürfnis nach der endlichen Befriedigung unserer eigenen, zwiespältigen Natur.[689]

The stylistic form of *Das Erbe am Rhein* can be viewed as influenced by such concerns and could be interpreted, therefore, as a medium too for 'geistiges Elsässertum', a conventional literary form used as a vehicle for a more unconventional idea. Since French stylistic influences are very palpable in *Das Erbe am Rhein*, as many critics have commented, it supports the argument that the trilogy sought to harmonise French and German literary traditions through form and language. Thomas Mann, for example,

---

[686] See for example Schickele's essay 'Nach Ostern' first published in *Die neue Rundschau*, 1, 1929, Pages 695-699. Here, in *Werke III.* Pages 625-629. Also the triptych 'Eine Regenwoche' in 'Die Grenze', *Werke III.* Pages 644-663.

[687] Schumacher, Jean-Jacques. 'Zu René Schickeles Romanwerk in den zwanziger Jahren.' Page 119. Robertson refers to Schickele's 'great affection for Balzac' evident in his essay 'Nach Ostern', in: *Werke III.* Pages 625-629. Robertson, Eric. *Writing Between the Lines.* Page 108.

[688] Schickele, René. 'Eine Regenwoche – Schmökern in alten Büchern". In: *Werke III.* Page 647.

[689] *Ibid.*

describes the trilogy as 'französisch nach der heiteren Durchsichtigkeit seiner Form'[690] in his prologue to Schickele's later novel *Die Witwe Bosca.*[691] More recent critics such as Schumacher suggest that *Das Erbe am Rhein* owes something also to the influence of the French political novel. 'Denn auffallender als er es sich zugibt reihte sich Schickele damit in jene Tradition ein, die in Frankreich tatsächlich reichhaltiger und bedeutender war als in Deutschland, will sagen die Tradition des *politischen* Romans.'[692] Schumacher makes especial reference in this context to Maurice Barrès, who had exercised influence over a whole generation of writers, including Schickele. However, Schickele's response to Barrès, the political writer, was one motivated by opposition and he is at pains to point out that the trilogy is intended as a counterpart to Barrès's *Bastions de l'Est*, in particular with regard to its political orientation: 'In dieser Trilogie sehe ich ein Gegenstück zu den nationalistischen "Bastions de l'Est" von Maurice Barrès – allerdings ohne die politische Ideologie, die dieses Werk belastet.'[693] Elsewhere, Schickele's criticism of Barrès's trilogy is more virulent, when he condemns in particular *Colette Baudoche* as '[das] dümmste Buch, da[s] je der Chauvinismus gebar', describing it as a 'Haßgesang an der Grenze'.[694]

Bentmann identifies a more positive French influence on *Das Erbe am Rhein* in Romain Rolland's *Jean-Christophe.*[695] However, if Bentmann refers to *Jean-Christophe* as a French novelistic cycle, it is clear that Schickele, in a eulogy of Romain Rolland's life and works on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in 1926[696], celebrates it as a European work. 'Es ist kein deutsches und kein französisches, es ist ein europäisches Werk – wie, nebenbei gesagt, jedes Werk und jede Tat, die sowohl für Deutschland wie für Frankreich Gültigkeit hat.'[697] This designation of literature following in the tradition of *Jean-Christophe* as European is undoubtedly a reference to his intentions for *Das Erbe*

---

[690] Mann, Thomas. 'Zur französischen Ausgabe von René Schickeles "Witwe Bosca".' *Reden und Aufsätze 2.* In: *Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden.* Vol. X. Pages 761-766. Here, page 762.
[691] Schickele, René. *Die Witwe Bosca.* Ullstein Taschenbuch, Frankfurt am Main. 1985. First edition, S. Fischer, Berlin. 1933.
[692] Schumacher. 'Zu René Schickeles Romanwerk in den zwanziger Jahren.' Page 120.
[693] 'René Schickele kommt aus Paris und erzählt.' Bentmann. *Leben und Werk in Dokumenten.* Page 163.
[694] *Werke III.* Page 942.
[695] 'Es ist zweifellos angeregt worden durch die damals vielbeachteten französischen Romanzyklen: Romain Rolland, "Jean-Christophe".' Bentmann, Friedrich. *Leben und Werk in Dokumenten.* Page 159.
[696] See Margeret Rogister's critical commentary on Schickele's *Romain Rolland – Eine Rede,* which demonstrates that Schickele's speech was 'in part, at least, an enthusiastic piece of plagiarism' of Stefan Zweig's monograph on Rolland entitled, *Romain Rolland: Der Mann und das Werk*, published in 1921. However, she does concede that: 'Originality is there also, but it is to be found rather in revelations about himself and his own political attitudes'. In: 'Romain Rolland: One German View' *The Modern Language Review.* Vol. 86, April, 1991. Pages 349-360. Here, page 349.
[697] Schickele, René. 'Romain Rolland. Eine Rede.' In: 'Die Grenze.' *Werke III.* Pages 681-699. Here, pp. 693-694.

am Rhein at the time, and his aspiration that it too would be acclaimed as a European work with relevance for both France and Germany.[698] As we have already discussed, Rolland's *Jean-Christophe* had also inspired Schickele when writing *Hans im Schnakenloch* and his depiction of French characters in German Alsace. That the message of *Jean-Christophe* continued to inspire him in the 1920s is a sign of how unwavering Schickele was in his own literary mission of 'geistiges Elsässertum' and promotion of Franco-German harmony as the cornerstone for peace in Europe after the war.

As Dietmar Liesar argues, and as is evident from our discussion on the number of possible influences on the trilogy, *Das Erbe am Rhein* is clearly not restricted to one particular narrative tradition.[699] This highlights the difficulty in categorising Schickele's trilogy, drawing as it does on a range of conventional literary styles ranging from the epic to the nineteenth-century novel, from the French political or social novel to the *Bildungsroman*. The *Bildungsroman* element of the trilogy is represented by the development of the central character, Claus. His maturation process and growing self-knowledge, in other words his *Erziehung* is a distinctive feature of this literary genre. Thomas Mann, in his 1923 essay 'Geist und Wesen der deutschen Republik' identifies this genre as the manifestation of a stereotypical trait of German *Kultur*, that of *Innerlichkeit*.[700] The tradition of *Innerlichkeit* with its emphasis on subjectivity and the deepening of experiences on an individual level contrasts with the universalist traits of French *civilisation*, as discussed in Chapter One. Schickele's combination of this essentially German genre with that of a style influenced by French literary tradition reflects both his non-adherence to any one particular artistic movement or distinct national literature and his attempt to unite them. It is presumable that Schickele was motivated by other considerations in his choice of using conventional novelistic genres,

---

[698] Schumacher identifies Rolland's work as an influence on the trilogy too. 'Zu René Schickeles Romanwerk in den zwanziger Jahren.' Page 115. Tuckermann alludes to *Jean-Christophe* as a probable influence on the 'Vorfassung' to *Blick auf die Vogesen*. In: *La Trilogie Romanesque: Genèse, Forme et Message de 'Das Erbe am Rhein.'* Typewritten doctoral thesis, USHS, Strasbourg, 1990. Page 178.

[699] Liesar, for example, identifies at least three: '[W]enigstens drei idealtypishe Ausprägungen neuzeitlicher Erzählkunst namhaft zu machen, die in Schickeles *opus magnum* ihre je spezifische Verwirklichung erfahren. Es sind dies die Traditionen des Entwicklungs-, des Familien- und des Zeitromans'. Lieser, Dietmar. 'René Schickele: Natur und Politik in der elsässichen Trilogie *Das Erbe am Rhein.*' In: *Literarisches Schreiben aus regionaler Erfahrung. Westfalen – Rheinland – Oberschlesien und darüber hinaus*. Schöningh, Padeborn 1996. Pages 252-266. Here, page 252. Tuckermann too describes the trilogy as 'un roman d'évolution dont il reprend plusieurs caractéristiques'. In: *La Trilogie Romanesque: Genèse, Forme et Message de Das Erbe am Rhein.* Page 585.

[700] 'Die schönste Eigenschaft des deutschen Menschen, auch seine berühmste [...] ist seine Innerlichkeit. Nicht umsonst hat er der Welt die geistige und hochmenschliche Kunstgattung des Bildungs- und Entwicklungsromanes geschenkt.' Mann, Thomas. 'Geist und Wesen der deutschen Republik.' *Reden und Aufsätze 3.* In: *Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden.* Volume XI. Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1960. Pages 853-860. Here, page 854.

not least, as we saw, by his apparent scepticism of contemporary avant-garde forms he regarded as dilettante and transient.[701] However, our principal aim here has not been to give a detailed analysis of the various literary styles to which the trilogy subscribes but rather to identify them in order to highlight how even the form of the trilogy is emblematic of Schickele's cultural heritage. Shaped by French and German influences, this work could best be described as 'ein europäisches Dokument der zwanziger Jahre'.[702] Essentially then, Schickele's preoccupations with politics and cultural identity in inter-war Alsace and its place within a wider European context have a significant impact on the trilogy both in terms of style and themes.

Before embarking on a discussion of the trilogy's themes, it is useful to be aware of its evolution. As this has already been discussed by Regine Tuckermann[703] and more recently by Stefan Woltersdorff[704] in detail, we will confine ourselves to some necessary remarks on the title and different volume editions. Schickele first published a two-volume novel entitled *Ein Erbe am Rhein* with the Kurt Wolff Verlag in Munich in 1925, the reworked version of which evolved into *Maria Capponi,* published in 1926. Tuckermann demonstrates how the first part of *Maria Capponi*, save for some minor detail, corresponds to the first volume of *Ein Erbe am Rhein*, whereas the second volume of this original version comprises of only some sections of the second and third parts of *Maria Capponi.*[705] This reworked volume was followed by *Blick auf die Vogesen* in 1927, with the same publishers, who described the first two volumes as part of a heralded trilogy with the now less ambiguous title *Das Erbe am Rhein*. The change from indefinite to definite article in the title clarified the confusion caused by the use of 'Ein', which could be interpreted as a reference to both an inheritor or inheritance.

However, owing to difficulties between Schickele and the Kurt Wolff Verlag which have been assiduously documented by Tuckermann[706], Schickele subsequently moved to the Fischer Verlag, which reedited the first two volumes of the trilogy between 1930 and 1931, as well as publishing the third volume, *Der Wolf in der Hürde*, also in 1931. The trilogy was reprinted again in the collected works, *Werke in drei Bänden* in 1959 but, as Stefan Woltersdorff points out, this edition does not reproduce the first editions in their

---

[701] Robertson argues that Schickele purposely chose a more conventional genre in order 'to transcend literary fashion [...][and] have the opportunity to establish a lasting international reputation'. Robertson, Eric. *Writing between the Lines.* Page 107. This was part of a general trend in the 1920s and 1930's.

[702] Storck, Joachim. 'Ein alemannischer Rebell.' Page 9.

[703] Tuckermann Régine. *La Trilogie Romanesque.* See in particular, Part 1, II, 'La Genèse', pages 135-169.

[704] Woltersdorff, Stefan. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft.* Pages 126-131.

[705] Tuckermann. *La Trilogie Romanesque.* Pages 135-143.

[706] *Ibid.* Part 1, I, section 3, 'La relation avec les éditeurs'. Pages 66-87. In particular, page 75.

entirety and omits some passages.[707] The more recent 1983 Fischer editions are by contrast faithful to the first Fischer editions.[708] Therefore all references to the trilogy in this chapter refer to the 1983 editions with regard to *Maria Capponi* and *Blick auf die Vogesen* and to the original 1931 edition in the case of *Der Wolf in der Hürde*. In a letter to Adolf von Hatzfeld, Schickele neatly summarises the principal ideas in each of the three volumes:

> Der Aufbau der Trilogie? *Maria Capponi*: Liebe, du und ich, "und sonst gar nichts". *Blick auf die Vogesen:* Vom Individualismus zur Gemeinschaft, Heimat, Familie. *Der Wolf in der Hürde:* Auflösung der bisherigen Gemeinschaft durch soziale Umstände, hauptsächlich aber durch die Angst – die Tragödie der Angst.[709]

These leitmotifs outlined by Schickele serve as a guide in the following discussion of the trilogy. The themes of identity, culture and politics shall provide the framework for an analysis of the main characters and Schickele's use, and subversion of, stereotype. His alternative concept of *Heimat* and the undermining of its more traditional definitions, the symbolic role of Nature, as well as references to the real backdrop of events in Alsace and Europe in the narrative shall also be discussed in order to better understand Schickele's treatment in a fictional work of questions of politics and identity in the interwar period.

4.2. Identity and Characters

4.2.a. Family relations and questions of identity

Das Erbe am Rhein is centred round the von Breuschheim family, represented by three generations, comprising the protagonist Claus, his father Balthasar and his son, Jacquot, who symbolise the family's past, present and future. Ernst, the adopted older brother of Claus, will be discussed separately in the next section with reference in particular to their fraternal relationship. The von Breuschheims' strong sense of family identity is shaped both by a consciousness of their ancestral history and an awareness of the importance of family continuity if their traditions and heritage are to be preserved and passed on. Schickele deliberately chooses a noble family precisely because notions of tradition, lineage and heritage are so strongly bound up with the aristocracy. As he wrote in 1931: 'Aus einem ähnlichen Grund weshalb ich die Breuschheim "erfand", machte ich

---

[707] Woltersdorff. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft.* Pages 17-8.
[708] *Ibid.* Page 365.
[709] René Schickele to Adolf von Hatzfeld. Letter dated 3 January 1932. In: *Werke III.* Pages 1161-2. Here, page 1162.

sie zu Baronen: die *bewußte* Dauer der *Familie,* mit anderen Worten die Tradition, ist recht eigentlich der Sinn des Adels [...] Nur kann eine Familie 1000 Jahre adelig sein (wir haben solche Familien im Elsaß), tausendjährige Künstler-, Gelehrten- und Abenteurerfamilien gibt es nicht'.[710] Furthermore, the Breuschheims are landed nobles of Alsace, actively participating in the running of their estate, which roots them to their ancestral homeland in both a physical as well as an emotional sense, where Schickele envisages their heritage as a symbol of a particularist Alsatian identity that has existed for centuries: 'die Familie, die ich brauchte, sollte das tausendjährige seiner selbst bewußte Elsaß verkörpern, wenn auch nur in einigen, wesentlichen Zügen'.[711]

Physical manifestations of this sense of identity and the family heritage are exemplified, for instance, by the stone statues of the von Breuschheim ancestors kneeling at the gate to the Breuschheim property, the founders of the castle and sentinels of centuries-old family tradition: 'Da war das Schloß. Am Eingang knieten die beiden steinernen Gestalten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, ein Breuschheim und seine Gattin, die Erbauer des Schlosses' (MC 34). Claus is struck by the significance of this ancient gateway to the Breuschheim estate on his return to Alsace from Römerbad. The statues kneeling with hands folded in prayer and the view of the family chapel and vault on the estate suddenly appear to him as powerful symbols of the age-old rites of passage for generations of the Breuschheim family: '[A]ls er wieder auf die alten Steingesichter und die gefaltenen Hände sah, eröffnete sich Claus ihre höhere Bedeutung, die war als ewiges Gebet an der Pforte zu dienen, durch die alle Breuschheim von der Taufe in ihr Haus und zum Grabgewölbe in die Kapelle getragen wurden' (BV 36).

The strong identification of the family with their local environment is indicated too by the name of the nearby village, Breuschheim. Schickele was presumably either inspired by the name of the river Bruche, which flows through Mutzig, where he himself grew up, hence the suffix '-heim' added to the German version of the river's name, or perhaps by the name of the actual village, Breuschwickersheim, located not far from Strasbourg. In *Hans im Schnakenloch,* the Boulanger family, again a family of landed gentry, are very much integrated into their local region also, as the folkloric Alsatian name of their estate, Schnakenloch, indicates. This would suggest at first glance that in both the play and the trilogy the families possess a strong sense of identity which is rooted in their close connection to land and rural life rather than to towns or cities. Yet, as we have seen, Hans is widely travelled and has studied abroad. Claus, his counterpart in the trilogy, moves with ease from Alsace to more cosmopolitan centres such as Venice, Nice, Paris, Geneva

[710] René Schickele to Canon René Schickele. Letter dated 31 January 1931. In: *Werke III.* Pages 1153-1156. Here, page 1154.
[711] *Ibid.*

or London. Schickele's portrayal of the Alsatian family highlights, therefore, both their strong sense of regional identity and a consciousness of their location within a broader cultural European context. Furthermore, the family past of the Breuschheims is linked not just to their seat in Alsace but also outside the region, as they have family connections in both France and Germany. Claus's uncle Léo[712], for example, is a French general who normally resides not far from Paris, and his mother comes originally from Rheinweiler in Baden. It is clear that Schickele intends the Breuschheims to serve as an analogy for a particularist Alsatian identity which is not just regional but cosmopolitan. The fact that the Breuschheims are nobles facilitates this depiction of a family both proud of its traditions and local identity yet open to international influences. 'Ich wollte in der Familie Breuschheim das Schlechteste und das Beste im Elsässer verkörpern, gleichsam die Potenz des Elsässertums, mit den freien Wegen in die Welt, ohne die ich mir ein "europäisches" Elsaß freilich nicht vorstellen kann.'[713]

Thomas Mann's renowned turn of the century family novel *Buddenbrooks*[714] serves as an interesting analogy here in discussing notions of family and identity. In *Buddenbrooks* the eponymous family are imbued with a strong sense of identity and pride in the prestigious position in society that they enjoy in their hometown of Lübeck. The Buddenbrooks are in particular proud of their family history, externalized by the use of symbols such as the journal which records all significant family events over the years, like births, deaths and marriage. When Tony goes to live in Munich with her second husband, Permaneder, she bemoans the fact that no-one there realizes the significance of the Buddenbrooks name and the weight it carries. Thus, family identity for the Buddenbrooks is formed both by time and how their family and traditions have evolved over the years, as well as by space, where only in familiar surroundings can they be assured that they will be recognised in the manner in which they wish to be perceived. Likewise, time and place shape both the Boulanger and Breuschheim family identities. However, whereas in *Buddenbrooks*, questions of identity are bound up with the pressures of fulfilling family duty in a conservative bourgeois milieu, it is a problematic double cultural heritage in a particular political context which complicates the issue of identity for the Schnakenloch and Breuschheim inhabitants. In *Hans im Schnakenloch*, for example, we witness the eventual break-up of the family because of the immense

---

[712] In *Maria Capponi*, Léo, the French general is introduced as a cousin of Claus'ss (MC 36) and the son of 'Onkel Albert-Léo' (MC 146). However, inexplicably in *Blick auf die Vogesen*, Albert-Léo simply disappears from the narrative and Léo the French general is now referred to as Claus'ss uncle and Balthasar's brother (BV 30).

[713] René Schickele to Canon René Schickele. Letter dated 31 January 1931. In: *Werke III*. Page 1154.

[714] Mann, Thomas. *Buddenbrooks. Verfall einer Familie.* S. Fischer, Frankfurt am Main. 1974. First published in 1901.

pressures brought to bear on it from external political influences, caused by Franco-German nationalist rivalries and demands for unswerving allegiance to one or other contending nation. The younger generation of the Boulangers are sacrificed to this belligerent nationalism and ultimately to war. Hans's and Balthasar's generation suffer the same fate as the previous generation – they are pawns in a conflict between France and Germany, who use Alsace as a battleground. This repetitive cycle of the same tragic mistakes leaves the spectator/reader with bleak prospects of hope for peace in the region in the future. In *Das Erbe am Rhein* the narrative focuses principally on the ensuing inter-war era in Alsace and how against this backdrop life continues for the Breuschheim family with the changeover to French rule. It is through Claus von Breuschheim that our perceptions of this inter-war situation are most influenced.

Claus is the central figure of the trilogy where he adopts the role of narrator in both *Maria Capponi* and *Wolf in der Hürde*, although in the third volume his voice fades more into the background to allow the story of other characters to unfold, only to reappear at certain moments.[715] However, even in *Blick auf die Vogesen* where the narration is in the third person, it is clearly often influenced by Claus's point of view, where we continue to be privy to his thoughts and perceptions.[716] The timeframe of the trilogy begins in spring, 1922 in *Maria Capponi*.[717] Claus, in writing a letter to Maria, triggers off a flood of reminiscences and family anecdotes which transforms into the narrative of the trilogy. 'Ich versuche, mich aus den Trümmern einer Welt herauszuarbeiten, mit nichts als einer kleinen Feder. Die Arbeit begann, als ich zu meiner eigenen Überraschung hinsetzte, um an Maria zu schreiben, und jetzt muß ich fortfahren – bis zu irgendeinem Ende' (MC 66). This retrospective narration, ending with the first volume and encapsulating over a hundred years with accounts of family history during the Napoleonic era, references to the First World War and the initial years of life in inter-war Alsace, is above all else an evocation of Claus's experiences from early adolescence and as a young man both in Alsace and abroad.

In *Blick auf die Vogesen*, the story progresses in a more linear fashion, beginning with Claus's return to Alsace after a two-year rather solitary existence, with only his young son

---

[715] '[S]tellt sich Claus als Chronist der Ereignisse vor, der dann freilich, fast auktorial erzählend, überall hinter der Handlung verschwindet, um in einigen Kapiteln, in denen er handelnde Person ist, als Ich-Erzähler hervorzutreten'. Holtz, Günter. 'Das Erbe am Rhein. Mythos, Glaube und europäische Vision im Werk René Schickeles.' Footnote 20, page 166.

[716] Woltersdorff points out how the narration in *Blick auf die Vogesen* is identifiable in part with Claus, 'Zwar wird der Ich-Erzähler des ersten Teils nun durch einen Er-Erzähler abgelöst, doch der "Nullpunkt" aus dem erzählt wird [...] ist auch weiterhin teilweise identisch mit Claus Breuschheim'. Woltersdorff. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft.* Page 363.

[717] An explicit reference is made to this year at the beginning of *Blick auf die Vogesen* where time has advanced by only a few weeks since Claus first sits down to write a letter to Maria at the beginning of *Maria Capponi*. 'Es war das bittere Jahr 1922' (BV 18).

Jacquot and dog Barry for company, in Römerbad in Baden.[718] As the title indicates, this volume focuses its attention on Alsace. The timeframe spans three years, from 1922, approximately two days after Claus receives Maria's telegram in Römerbad, to the year of the *Cartel des Gauches*'s victory in the elections of 1924.[719] *Blick auf die Vogesen* concentrates then on inter-war Alsace under French rule and the deepening malaise of the population up to the time that the left-wing coalition under Herriot enter government in June 1924. That the timeframe of the novel is separated by only a few years from its actual publication date in 1927, when the autonomist crisis had intensified, possibly accounts for the switch to the third person narrator, distancing the author even further from Claus's often forthright criticisms of the French regime.[720] In *Der Wolf in der Hürde* it is Silvio Wolf who is most closely associated with political events in Alsace and the rise of autonomism and here in this volume Claus resumes the role of narrator, albeit as a rather absent one. The narrative of *Der Wolf in der Hürde*, centred principally round the relationship of the eponymous Silvio Wolf and Aggie Ruf, skips three years from the end of the narrated time in *Blick auf die Vogesen* to begin in the year 1927[721] and finish approximately a year and a half later in May 1928, as a letter from Aggie to Claus towards the end of the novel indicates, the date too of the Colmar Trial.[722] However, in *Der Wolf in der Hürde*, allusions to the dates or chronology of certain historical events do not always correspond to their actual occurrence. The Colmar trial, for example, is in the narrative described as taking place some days after Aggie's death, therefore, at the beginning of June (WH 551-2, 553). Nevertheless, the narration of political events during the period 1927/8 faithfully reflects the intensely strained relations that really existed between France and Alsace during that period and the much-increased support for the autonomist movement. Although Claus's presence is not very conspicuous in this volume, his values and beliefs are positively accentuated through the antithetical portrayal of the ambitions and deeds of his polar opposite, the opportunistic and cynical Silvio Wolf.

---

[718] 'Seit dem Tod meiner Frau bin ich immer allein gewesen [...] Es war Winter, Sommer und wiederum Winter. Dann sollte es Frühling werden' (MC 9). This indicates that Claus lived in Römerbad from the winter of 1920 to spring 1922.

[719] The last passage in *Blick auf die Vogesen* refers to the *Cartel des Gauches*'s victory in May 1924, 'In der Woche nach Ostern wurde auf die Äcker zwischen den Entwässerungsgräben Sommergetreide gedrillt. Der Monat danach brachte der Linken in den Wahlen den vollen Sieg' (BV 345).

[720] Parallels are often drawn between Schickele and Claus von Breuschheim where the extent of biographical influences on *Das Erbe am Rhein* have been commented on, for example in: Finck's *Introduction à l'oeuvre de René Schickele,* page 85 and Tuckermann's *La Trilogie Romanesque*, page 19.

[721] Although, as Woltersdorff points out the timeframe in *Der Wolf in der Hürde* remains somewhat ambivalent and suggests that Schickele was less concerned with historical accuracy in this volume, perhaps in order to discuss the question of Alsace freely without being restricted by such constraints. Woltersdorff. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft.* Page 397.

[722] 'Bei meiner Rückkehr nach Breuschheim lag ein Brief Aggies auf meinem Tisch, der Umschlag trug den Poststempel: "Cadiz, 20.V.28."' (WH 501).

Like Hans Boulanger, Claus's name is a reflection of his double heritage, comprising not just Latin and Germanic elements, reflected in the Latinised spelling of his first name and German surname, but also of male and female elements,[723] where the middle name Maria is both evidence of his Catholic heritage and allows him to identify with Maria Capponi, his 'Bronze-Idol' (MC 141) and her Latin heritage. Schickele appears to have been inspired both in his choice of first name for his protagonist and the von Breuschheim's noble family heritage by Baron Claus Zorn von Bulach and the von Bulach's aristocratic background, described by Finck as 'une des plus anciennes familles nobles alsaciennes'.[724] However, Schickele, who knew both Claus and his brother during his schooldays is keen to emphasize that apart from some superficial detail Claus Zorn von Bulach and his brother have little in common with the Breuschheim brothers.[725] Claus Zorn von Bulach was an impulsive character who cared passionately about the Alsatian dialect and culture as his colourful, if rather naïve, autobiographical writings reveal[726] and Schickele appears to have been both amused and intrigued by his former school-fellow's involvement in affairs in inter-war Alsace.[727] However, it is clear that the similarities end with their first names and family background. Claus von Breuschheim, as we shall discuss in detail in a later section on the political themes of the trilogy, has an entirely different vision for Alsace than that promoted by Claus Zorn von Bulach who, as we saw in the last chapter, was actively involved in radically separatist autonomist initiatives.

Claus is presented in three different stages of his life in *Das Erbe am Rhein*: as an adolescent, a young, rather impetuous man[728] and as an older and wiser father, whose ideas have matured. This evolution of our hero, in true *Bildungsroman* tradition, is the thread which links the three volumes, where Claus acts as observer and narrator of both political and personal events. The interplay of the political and personal is closely bound up with the destiny of the Breuschheim family and the cultural heritage it endeavours to preserve and

---

[723] '"Ich heiße Claus", sagte ich. "Claus, Maria, Raymond."' (MC, 80)

[724] Finck. *Introduction à l'oeuvre de René Schickle.* Page 84.

[725] '[G]ewiß – ich bin mit Claus und Mattern Bulach zur Schule gegangen, [...] aber sie haben, bis auf einige ganz äußerliche Merkmale, nichts mit meinem Claus, meinem Ernst Breuschheim gemein.' René Schickele to Paul Bock. Letter dated 5 June 1928. In: *Werke III.* Pages 1148-1149. Here, page 1148.

[726] Claus Zorn von Bulach. *Aus meinem Leben.* 1926. *Erinnerungen aus meinem politischen Leben.* 1928. Published privately by the author. Finck refers to his memoirs as 'un pot pourri d'une franchise parfois naïve, formulant des accusations souvent violentes'. In: *Introduction à l'oeuvre de René Schickele.* Page 84.

[727] Finck indicates Schickele's amused interest in von Bulach during the 1920s: 'L.E. Schaeffer nous apprend que Schickele, à cette époque, demandait souvent: "Que fait notre Claus?" Il ne semble pas qu'il y eu des relations personelles.' Finck. *Ibid.* Footnote 26, page 149. Quoted from: Schaeffer, Louis-Edouard. 'Claus von Breuschheim.' In: *Der Eiserne Mann.* Strasbourg, 15 May 1926. No page number given.

[728] 'Sicher zählte er seine einundzwanzig Jahre, eher etwas mehr als weniger, und benahm sich gedankenlos wie ein Knabe' (MC 177). 'Ja, das war Claus Breuschheim, hochgeschossen in den Jahren, sogar etwas gebückt, ein Mann jetzt und doch noch ein Kind' (MC 178).

transmit. Here too, as in *Hans im Schnakenloch*, we witness how even within the family in Alsace there is little respite from politics. The development of Claus's character and his interpersonal relations will be examined, with reference to the continuing problematic of Alsatian cultural identity under French rule, following the method adopted in our discussion on *Hans im Schnakenloch*, given the thematic similarities of these works. Thus, we will first discuss the fraternal relationship of Claus and Ernst, as well as intra-family relations, before progressing to an analysis of the significance of Claus's relationships with the female characters, Maria, Doris, Viviane and Ada.

4.2.b. The fraternal relationship

It is clear that Schickele intended the differences in temperament and character of the various members of the Breuschheim family to serve as an allegory for the dualities inherent in the Alsatian identity.[729] Nowhere is this more in evidence than in the fraternal relations between Claus and Ernst, an echo of the dichotomies in Hans's and Balthasar's relationship in the play. Claus is the true descendant of the von Breuschheims but grew up regarding Ernst, the older adopted son, as a brother: 'Ernst und Claus waren als Brüder aufgewachsen und auch von aller Welt so genannt worden' (BV 28). However, Claus has also always been aware of how different Ernst is by nature, 'im Vergleich zu den "wir"!'[730] (BV 28). We learn that from an early age Ernst was ambitious, desiring to be successful in all his undertakings ('"Null Fehler. Recht gut. Erster Platz."' MC 148) and even as a child was aloof and formal in manner, eschewing the company of the local village boys with whom Claus was quite happy to mingle.[731] Claus, by contrast, as his father remarks on his return to Breuschheim from Römerbad, was 'heute noch ein Lausbub [...] Ernst war mit fünf ein Weltmann' (BV 32). Along with the rest of the family, Claus appears to have been somewhat in awe and admiration of this brilliant older brother whose successes accompanied him into adult life and flourished under the German regime.[732]

Ernst, similar to Balthasar Boulanger, 'schwärmte für Deutschland' (BV 32) and both are eager to actively demonstrate their loyalty to Germany. Ernst distinguishes himself in

---

[729] 'Ich wollte in der Familie Breuschheim das Schlechteste und das Beste im Elsässer verkörpern [...].' René Schickele to Canon René Schickele. Letter dated 31 January 1931. In: *Werke III*. Page 1154

[730] The 'Wir' is defined as follows: '"Wir", das waren Vater, Mutter und Claus, drei gutartige, etwas bequeme etwas verwöhnte Menschen, die Männer phantastisch, die Mutter fromm, vom Gebet umhegt, liebenswürdige Naturen alle drei' (BV 28).

[731] As Balthasar points out to Claus: 'Während du nämlich mit den Bauernbuben spieltest, belegte er das Dorf mit dem großen Interdikt und zeigte groß und klein die Baronsschulter' (BV 32). This again reminds us of the differences between Hans and Balthasar in the play, where Hans is sociable and extrovert but Balthasar appears to be a more introverted and solitary figure.

[732] 'Je größer er wurde, desto mehr Glanz und Bewegung' (BV 32).

the German army during the war: 'Er war Rittmeister bei den Pasewalker Kürassieren [...] sein Name war in den Kriegsberichten genannt worden' (MC 278). Claus, on the other hand, like Hans, is pacifist by nature[733] and disillusioned by the futility and barbarity of the war after two years in the trenches, he succeeds in being transferred to Switzerland for the rest of its duration (MC 282). Ernst's wholehearted identification with Germany pleases Mutter Breuschheim, who is herself German, and it is at her behest, we learn, that Ernst, and not Claus, is to be the future inheritor of the Breuschheim property (MC 257). This state of affairs in the Breuschheim family where 'man den Kuckuck im Nest zum Kronprinzen macht' (MC 257) is evidently an allegory for German-Alsatian relations during the years of Alsace's annexation, when the Germans effectively dispossessed the indigenous population of control of their own land. Claus, as a young man, on the eve of war, does not seem disconcerted by Ernst's supersession but appears rather to have accepted this settlement of the question of inheritance as a *fait accompli* (MC 257). His attitude can be interpreted as the pragmatic resignation of the Alsatian people, in this instance after over forty years as part of the German empire, grown accustomed to the idea that their land is always ruled by outsiders, 'Es ist unser Schicksal, fremden Herren zu dienen' (BV 31).

However, the war and the ensuing defeat of Germany destabilize this status quo. Ernst, too, is destabilized both by the war experience, the collapse of the German Empire and Alsace's subsequent unification with the French nation. His response to the new situation is in one sense reminiscent of Balthasar Boulanger's attempt to repress one part of his dual identity and to support the ruling regime wholeheartedly. However, given Balthasar Boulanger's steadfast and dutiful nature, it is unlikely that he would have reacted in the same manner as Ernst to the changed situation by suddenly becoming a French patriot. Like many Alsatians at the time, Ernst changes allegiances literally overnight.[734] The villagers recount how they witness him one night burying his German uniform, once a mark of his success but now a badge of shame. Symbolically in burying his uniform, he buries with it an inherent part of his identity. Furthermore, the burial of his uniform in an obscure corner of the graveyard, reserved for those who have committed suicide, is a portent of his own tragic death (BV 29). Ernst rejects the German part of his identity out of fear due to the climate of suspicion and severe reprisals of the time in the immediate aftermath of war, and instead 'versäumte [...] nie zu versichern, wie er sein

[733] 'Zum Soldaten war ich nicht geboren, nein, das gewiß nicht [...] Offen heraus ich liebte die Uniform nicht, der Soldatenstand schien mir die verzwickteste und bösartigste aller menschlichen Einrichtungen, und der Soldatenstand erriet wohl meine Abneigung' (MC 179).

[734] 'Überall, in jedem Städtchen, in jedem Dorf schlich nachts so ein reuvoller Geist auf den Friedhof, um ein Stück Leben von sich zu verscharren, hundert Familien entdeckten beim Morgenkaffee im zerknitterten Besiegten von gestern ihren frisch gewaschenen, neuen Herren' (BV 30).

Leben lang auf die Franzosen gewartet habe' (MC 286). With the aid of their uncle Léo, the French general, Ernst now dons a French officer's uniform and assumes a new identity, reflected in Léo's reference to him as 'Ernest' the French version of his name (MC 283). Léo's involvement in Ernst's identity change, and in particular in facilitating his entry into the ranks of the French army[735], symbolises France's desire to assimilate Alsace wholly and rid it of its Germanic elements.

Claus on the other hand questions himself honestly to see how he feels about the change of regime when the French troops enter Alsace. Significantly he uses a mirror for this cross-examination, his Self and his reflection symbolising the two components of his identity in dialogue, 'Hin und wieder stellte auch ich mich vor dem Spiegel auf, in der Absicht, mich ernst zu prüfen. Wie stand es um mich? War ich nun ein Franzose oder war ich es nicht? Denn – hatte ich mich vor dem Krieg für einen verhinderten Gallier gehalten' (MC 280). Claus realizes that just as he had cherished his French cultural heritage under German rule, he does not wish to renege on his German heritage under French rule. He dissociates himself from those Alsatians, who like his brother, have become ardent French patriots and whose behaviour at first provokes in him incredulity but soon turns to bitter scorn, (MC 285-6). Regardless of his brother's disapproval Claus maintains his friendship with the journalist and later autonomist candidate, François Kern, for instance, who was an outspoken critic of affairs in inter-war Alsace. François Kern characterises Schickele's childhood friend Camille Dahlet,[736] whose prominent role in inter-war Alsatian politics was discussed in the preceding chapter. Similar to Claus, Kern, as his Franco-German name suggests, is representative of those Alsatians wishing to preserve both components of their double cultural heritage.[737]

Claus, in hindsight, recognizes the potential dangers that had existed in Ernst's temperament even as a child.[738] Ernst's characteristics once so admired become problematic in the changed political climate after the war. If Ernst in his youth had appeared focused and successful, these early impressions of him also reveal a lone figure who was driven and inflexible, unable to contemplate failure or reveal any weakness, and a disturbing tendency to be extreme in his views. His French patriotism takes on ever-

---

[735] 'Mit Onkel Léos Hilfe war er im Umsehn Reserveoffizier geworden' (BV 30).
[736] 'Camille Dahlet (den François Kern aus *Blick auf die Vogesen).*' René Schickele to Paul Bock. Letter dated 30 May 1928. In: *Werke III.* Pages 1147-1148. Here, page 1148.
[737] Fichter points out: 'Il est évident que le personnage de Kern est stylisé, mais l'esprit est celui du vrai Dahlet: son noyau (Kern) est français (François). Dahlet comme Kern sont de parents pro-français. Dans la fictions et dans la réalité, ils évoluent courageusement vers l'autonomisme, par cohérence personelle'. Fichter, Charles. 'René Schickele et l'autonomisme alsacien des années 20.' In: *Elsässer, Europäer, Pazifist.* Pages 126-143. Here, page 141, footnote 27.
[738] 'Claus erkannte die Drohung, schon in der Gebärde des Kindes und er lächelte nicht mehr, als allmählich andre, ernsthaftere Ereignisse in seinem Gedächtnis aufstiegen, die das Vorhandensein der Drohung bestätigten' (BV 29).

more fanatical proportions, affecting those around him in a negative manner. His direction of the family car factory, whose brand name he significantly changes from 'Alsatia'[739] with its autonomist connotations to the more patriotic 'Nouvelle France'[740], leads to deep discontent when he bans the use of German amongst the workers, 'das hirnverbrannte Verbot, in der Fabrik deutsch zu sprechen' (BV 42), a reflection of the intolerant view of the French authorities in Alsace with regard to the language issue and their introduction of the 'méthode directe'. Finally, we learn that he closes the factory completely due to unspecified political reasons: 'Und dann auf dem Gipfel der ökonomischen Zwangsläufigkeit, schloß der Herr Stiefsohn aus politischen Gründen die Fabrik' (BV 48). His unpopularity in Breuschheim village is reflected in the workers' derisive nickname for him as 'le boche repenti' (BV 42). Ernst is also the founder and leader of the right-wing 'Rheingarde' a paramilitary style organisation composed of extremist elements, united in their opposition to all things German in Alsace. 'Die Rheingarde war ein feiner Verein gegen die deutsche "Kültur", in den jedoch Leute aufgenommen wurden, die ihren Mangel an vornehmer Lebensart durch ein Übermaß von Patriotismus zu ersetzen wußten.' (BV60). Ernst proclaims to identify himself wholly with the Rheingarde ('Die Rheingarde, das bin ich.' BV 67). The Rheingarde's political orientation is inspired by the Italian leader Strata, a reference to Mussolini, and his politics 'der "starken Hand"' (BV 214). Ernst greatly admires Strata ('leider heiße ich nicht Strata' BV 68) whom Lord Berrick had years previously in Venice astutely predicted to be 'ganz der falsche Bonaparte' (MC 303). The Rheingarde, and the political salon its members frequent in Breuschheim hosted by Ernst and Anne-Marie, are anathema to Claus (BV 85), highlighting how different his outlook is from his brother's, whose views are governed by a narrow, reactionary definition of French nationalism.

Following the change of government in Alsace, Claus encounters growing hostility, due to his refusal to actively participate in overt displays of French patriotism: 'Jedesmal, wenn ich in Straßburg war, bekam ich Streit' (MC 290), 'Ich (nicht etwa Ernst) bildete eine ständige Rubrik in den Zeitungen, deren Geschäft noch immer in der Deutschenverfolgung bestand' (MC 291). Both Claus and his father Balthasar are viewed with suspicion by the *Commission de Triages*, mockingly referred to by Claus as a 'Narrenrat' and 'Revolutionstribunal in Krähwinkel' (MC 285-6), which wishes to know 'was uns veranlaßt habe, deutsche Frauen zu heiraten' (MC 287). The political situation leads to increasingly tense relations between the two brothers and within the family in

[739] 'Alsatia' as we saw in the last chapter, was the name of a publishing house directed by Abbé Haegy of the U.P.R. whose publications were sympathetic towards autonomism.
[740] 'Früher hatten die Kraftwagen unter der Marke "Alsatia" ihren Weg in die Welt genommen, jetzt lieferte das Werk "Nouvelle France", die sich bei den automobilkundigen Franzosen rasch beliebt gemacht hatten' (MC 294).

general, as the views of Ernst and his wife Anne-Marie diverge further apart from those of the rest of the family.[741] Eventually Claus decides to leave Alsace and the family for a time to go and live in Römerbad with Doris.

However, Ernst's radical change of allegiance from Germany to France gradually takes an increasingly unbearable toll both on himself and the Breuschheim parents. Two years later as Claus, now a widower, awaits a response from Maria Capponi in Römerbad, he receives letters from family and friends in Alsace urging him to return home to Breuschheim. His former schoolfriend, Dr. Hubert Adam warns, 'Mach, daß du heimkommst! Alles verkracht bei euch, von den Nerven deines Bruders bis in Stall und Kontor' (MC 322). The changes in the family members and their behaviour that Claus notices on his return, reflect the changes that have taken place in Alsace in the space of a few years since its return to France and its growing disillusion with its new rulers' policies. Balthasar, we learn, has aged much and is angered by Ernst (BV 34), whereas Mutter Breuschheim remains in bed, unable to cope with the tense atmosphere that now reigns in their home (BV 55). Claus adopts the role of peacemaker in the family, ('Ich werde den Frieden erstellen im Haus' BV 35), and it is hoped that his presence will ease the frictions, as his mother's relieved, 'Jetzt bist du da!' (BV 38), indicates.

Ernst had previously suffered a nervous breakdown during the war but had appeared to be cured.[742] However, Mutter Breuschheim attributes Ernst's intolerant behaviour, which she describes as 'böse', to this war-time experience and repeatedly reminds the rest of the family that he is no longer himself, but an ill man (MC 290), in other words that his sense of identity has been altered by political forces beyond his control. This illness is again referred to in a discussion between Hartmann and von Kieper where Ernst's fanatical behaviour is now described in terms of an addiction.[743] Hubert Adam, however, initially regards him as 'ein verschämter Neurastheniker' (BV 104) and partly ascribes his behaviour to bad character (BV 262, 284) but when Ernst first attempts to commit suicide attributes his state of mind also to 'einen nationalen Gewissenskonflikt' (BV 262). Balthasar refers to a destructive element in him, 'Weil Ernst alles zerstörte, es lebt eine wahre Zerstörungswut in ihm' (BV 263), which Claus has also noticed but refers to more accurately as self-destructive, 'Er wütete mit einem nach innen gekehrten Fanatismus –

---

[741] 'Das Zusammenleben mit Ernst und Anne-Marie gestaltete sich immer schwieriger, am meisten verstimmte uns, daß die Eltern darunter leiden mußten' (MC 290).

[742] '[W]ar mit einer schweren Nervenerschütterung in ein Sanatorium gebracht worden [...] Er setzte es durch, daß er in die Garnison geschickt wurde. Es schien als ob er geheilt wäre' (MC 278).

[743] (Hartmann): '[D]ie Politik hat ihn verdorben [...] Er besäuft sich mit Politik.' (Kieper): 'Seit wann trinkt er denn?' (Hartmann): 'Seitdem er mit seinem Schmiß Reserveoffizier geworden ist [...] der Schmiß ist an allem Schuld' (BV 196).

oft dachte ich, als ob er sich selbst bestrafen und quälen wollte' (MC 290). These references to Ernst's (self-) destructive behaviour reveal a more extreme and pathological version of Hans's behaviour in the play, a symptom of the Alsatian inner crisis of identity. Indeed, Claus too admits to a tendency towards self-destructive behaviour in the form of a longing for illness as a means of escape from reality which is somewhat reminiscent of another modern anti-hero, Hans Castorp in Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg*:

> Ich dachte über den "kranken Punkt" in mir nach, jene morbide Schwäche, die mich zuweilen befiel und aller Lebenskraft beraubte, so daß ich mich nach Krankheit und Behütetsein sehnte, nach einem Liegestuhl am Rande des Todes, wenn ich wirklich einmal krank war, die Krankheit mit Wollust genoß! (MC 241).

In the political climate of the time it is difficult to avoid the 'malaise alsacien', however, Claus never succumbs to the levels of morbidity and anguish that afflict Ernst, as despite adversity he refuses to reject his Germanic heritage and maintains an inner equilibrium that Ernst lacks.

Ernst's behaviour is similar in respects to another tragic figure in the trilogy, Sidonia[744], whose fanaticism is not motivated by politics but religion, and their fates warn against the dangers of extremism of any kind. Sidonia, the younger sister of Mutter Breuschheim, once a beautiful woman whom Claus as an adolescent had worshipped ('beichtete ich Maria, daß ich Sidonia liebte' MC 94), is terribly transformed by excessive religiosity[745] triggered by her shock and grief at witnessing the suicide of her lover in Venice before the war. 'Sie ist durch das Fegefeuer gegangen, soweit sie konnte, sie hat die Welt in Flammen gesehn und sich hineingestürzt' (MC 64). Sidonia in her later years leads the life of an ascetic or cloistered nun, shunning company and devoting her time to constant prayer in what she perceives as her unremitting battle against Satan (BV 40). Her isolated life in Rheinweiler, 'lebendig begraben' (BV 40), renders her over time a strange and hag-like figure who frightens the locals in Rheinweiler in her rare appearances outside the castle. She appears to possess almost uncanny powers of premonition, and as Holtz points out, is strongly associated with predictions of death in particular.[746] Only when she has a message, or in particular a warning, to deliver to the

---

[744] Schickele was possibly inspired in the portrayal of her character by Johann Wilhelm Meinhold's gothic novel, *Sidonie von Bork, die Klosterhexe*, first published in 1847/8, the tale of a once beautiful young woman who becomes a feared old hag and is eventually executed for witchcraft. In the trilogy Grether Fritz, Sidonia's former servant, refers to her fearfully as 'Herrin Sidonia von Rheinweiler, d[ie] "Hex'" vom heiligen Herzen Jesu' (BV 39).

[745] '[I]hr vordem schönes Gesicht haben wilde Gebete versengt und verwüstet' (MC 63).

[746] 'Die Sprache des Erzählers nennt ihren Namen immer in Verbindung mit Todesvorstellungen.' Holtz, Günter. *Das Erbe am Rhein. Mythos, Glaube und europäische Vision*. Page 171

family in Breuschheim does she contact them or make an appearance there and then only at night, causing Claus to refer to her after one such nocturnal visit as 'ein Gespenst [...] oder Irre' (BV 209). Her gift of 'seeing' links her to Ernst in an increasingly ominous way, through letters and secret visits which reveal her intuitive understanding of his true frame of mind in switching his loyalties so radically from Germany to France[747] and in her allusions to his death which are heavily couched in a mystical religious language (BV 276-282). After Mutter Breuschheim's death and Ernst's subsequent suicide attempt, leading to his incarceration first at Hubert Adam's clinic and then in a psychiatric hospital, it is Sidonia he wishes to see. She is the one, 'vor dem er schwach sein durfte' (BV 278) and who understands that Ernst's illness stems both from his repressed longing for Germany and his deep trauma in losing his last link to that country with the death of Mutter Breuschheim" 'Er sehnt sich nach Deutschland wie das Kind nach der Mutter' (BV 286). However, she exercises a dangerous influence over his already unstable mind,[748] alluding, in her almost hypnotic incantations, to visions of his death and 'resurrection' (BV 282) and before her departure elicits a promise from him to come to her in Rheinweiler on Easter Sunday, a date whose symbolic import is evident.

Ernst fulfills this promise in a tragic manner when he commits suicide in an open pit on the Breuschheim property, in the 'offenes Grab' as Sidonia had predicted, 'aus dem der Rheingardist in der Zwangsjacke auferstehn sollte' (BV 282). In Ernst's suicide letter to Claus, '[i]n Ausdrücken, die an Sidonias helldunkle Phantasien erinnerten' (BV 331), he expresses the wish that his body be delivered across the Rhine on Easter Sunday to Sidonia, who would bury him in Rheinweiler: 'über die Grenze wünschte er allein fahren' (BV 332). It is only in death that Ernst at last finds an escape from his deep crisis of identity which had persecuted him. His persecution is crowned by the tauntings and jeers of the Breuschheimer villagers who hound him in the moments before his death.[749] The end to this persecution is symbolised by one of his final requests to Claus to change the name of the village street in Breuschheim from the French, 'Rue du Général Breuschheim' to 'Der Hatz ein End' (BV 331). Claus realizes that it was politics and the hatred it engendered not just between France and Germany but also between the French and German elements within Ernst's psyche, that had driven him to suicide: 'Dieser Mann starb nicht wie andre sterben. Euer Haß hat ihn gemordet' (BV 336). It is the consequences of Alsace's political switchover which prove fatal to Ernst, leading to the

---

[747] 'Schreckensnächte, wo er in einem Atemzug, Deutschland verflucht und vor Sehnsucht gewimmert hatte, einmal nur dort aufatmen zu dürfen, dort wenigstens zu sterben' (BV 312).

[748] As a pyschiatrist informs Anne-Marie, 'Ich halte die Baronin Rheinweiler für viel kränker als Ihren Gatten, ihren Einfluß für unerwünscht' (BV 308).

[749] 'Inzwischen lief Ernst durch die Nacht, stürzte, lief. Sie jagten ihn! Er hörte hinter sich ihre Schreie, ihr Gelächter, vor allem ihre Pfiffe' (BV 323).

shattering of his identity and ultimately its eradication with his death, as the absence of his signature in the letter indicates, 'Auch die Unterschrift fehlte' (BV 332).

Through Ernst's death, Claus finally feels reconciled to his brother, 'der endlich ganz sein Bruder geworden war' (BV 328), and we realize that, similar to Hans and Balthasar, they are after all 'keine feindliche Brüder'. It is Claus alone who receives a letter from Ernst, written just before his death, and it is Sidonia on the other side of the Rhine whom he chooses in the end to accompany him to his final resting place in Germany, rather than Anne-Marie who had planned for them to move to the South of France (BV 311). This is significant as it reveals that ultimately Ernst is incapable of reneging completely on the Germanic part of his Alsatian identity nor could he contemplate beginning a new life in which neither Germany or Alsace would have any part. Yet, he is fearful of Anne-Marie's disappointment and rejection of him even if at the same time he realizes he can no longer live up to her high expectations of him (BV 325). Anne-Marie, issuing from the Francophile bourgeois milieu in Mulhouse, is an ambitious woman[750] who encourages Ernst in his French patriotic activities and goads him on in his fanatical rejection of Germany. The Germanic elements of the Breuschheim heritage are for her wholly alien, 'Mutter, Sidonia, Deutschland: lauter Fremde für Anne-Marie!' (BV 312). Their relationship can be regarded as an analogy for the increasing unease amongst the population of Alsace by France's continual demands to demonstrate their loyalty both by an excessive patriotism to the Republic and by rejecting their links to Germany and German culture. Anne-Marie's outsider status within this Alsatian family is highlighted by references to her only by her first name after her marriage, as Woltersdorff points out,[751] indicating her refusal to assume the Breuschheim name or identity, and it is also suggestive of the Breuschheim's fundamental non-acceptance of her.[752]

Her position contrasts starkly with that of Mutter Breuschheim, initially too an outsider, but who is wholly absorbed into the family through her marriage to Balthasar and in particular through her role as mother as her name indicates.[753] Her mother-role even extends to non-members of the family such as François Kern, underlining his affinity with the Breuschheims and their shared cultural heritage: 'Und ein wenig habe ich heute auch meine Mutter begraben' (BV 296). We never learn Mutter Breuschheim's first

---

[750] 'Ihr Ehrgeiz war groß, das Elsaß ein kleines Land [...] Entschlossen, ihrem Ernst die rechtmäßige Krone zu erfechten, wo es auch sei, sprang sie mit entfalteter Fahne in jeden neuen Tag' (BV 55).
[751] '[B]ezeichnenderweise vom Erzähler nur bei ihrem Vornamen, jedoch nie bei ihrem neuen Familiennamen genannt wird'. Woltersdorff. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft.* Page 382.
[752] Claus refers just once to her connection with the Breuschheim name and then only at a remove, following her maiden name, 'die Anne-Marie Hartmann, verehelichte Breuschheim' (BV 54).
[753] Mutter Breuschheim is considered to be a more 'authentic' Breuschheim than Ernst, the future heir, 'So war die Art der Breuschheim – der echten, der drei (oder der vier, wenn Jacquot mitzählte), und auch Ernst' (BV 61).

name, she is referred to solely by her married surname, reminiscent of Mutter Boulanger in the play, emphasising her assimilation into the Breuschheim family and her corresponding appropriation of an Alsatian identity.[754] The sparsely detailed portrayal of her character, focussing on only certain aspects of her identity, indicates her stereotypical role in the novel, not just as a mother figure but both as a representation of Germany, as Ernst perceives her,[755] as well as of a Germanic influence on the Breuschheim/Alsatian cultural heritage, which is passed on to her son, Claus. Her national identity is somewhat ambiguous although we know she is of German origin, having grown up in Rheinweiler in Baden (MC 62). We are given conflicting information regarding which language she speaks, for example, with Claus at one instance informing us, that as a child, 'ich war gewohnt, mit meiner Mutter deutsch zu beten' (MC 75) but later seems to recall 'damals sprach man nur französisch im Haus' (BV 73), indicating her tolerant attitude towards both the French and German cultures. Balthasar refers to her ambiguously too as being 'eine halbe Deutsche' (BV 32). The fact that Mutter Breuschheim is from Baden and thus shares an Alemannic heritage with the Alsatians explains this ambivalence and the ease with which she integrates into the Breuschheim family and adopts their traditions and customs. As we have seen, Schickele propagates an idealistic view of Alsace and Baden as one land, in essays such as *Erlebnis der Landschaft.*[756] This vision of a unified 'alemannische[s] Rheinland'[757] is also taken up in the trilogy and will be discussed in a later section in more detail.

The contrasting manner in which Anne-Marie and Mutter Breuschheim integrate into the Breuschheim family suggests an analogy to how successful or not the Germans and then the French have been in their relations with the Alsatian population. However, such an analogy seems to be affected by the inter-war context in which Schickele wrote the trilogy when he is more critical of French policy in Alsace and retrospectively depicts Alsatian relations with Germany in a more positive light. Mutter Breuschheim is portrayed as a positive force in the family, compared by Claus to a light, who finds the house gloomy without her habitual presence: 'die gute stille Lampe ihres Gemüts [...] Ohne dies wandelnde Licht war es düster und beklemmend im großen Haus' (BV 55). It is she who brings together guests from England, France and Germany to celebrate Balthasar's birthday in Alsace in a harmonious atmosphere, not unlike that of Countess

---

[754] 'Balthasars Frau verliert beim Schritt über den Rhein nicht nur ihren Familiennamen, sondern offenbar auch ihren Vornamen und damit ihre bisherige Identität [...] 'Die "Verelsässerung" der "Mutter" ist [...] bereits im ersten Band der Trilogie weit fortgeschritten.' Woltersdorff. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft.* Pages 346 and 367.

[755] 'Und doch, wie vielen war es gelungen, sich am Grab der Mutter zu erschießen, Millionen, im Krieg!' (BV 325).

[756] In: 'Himmlische Landschaft.' *Werke III.* Pages 547-553.

[757] Ibid. Page 549.

Sulz's garden party in the play, a clear allegory for Schickele's utopian vision of Alsace's potential role as mediator: 'Hartmann, Kieper und Lord Berrick, die drei Männer, die sich eben noch in Paris bekämpft hatten, hier wandelten sie im gleichen Gang, denkbar einig, von allen Sorgen entlastet' (BV 197). Anne-Marie, by contrast, creates division and upset by her intolerant attitude and in particular her anti-German sentiment which manifests itself in her obvious resentment of Doris's presence in the Breuschheim home and in French Alsace. Doris has now become the unwelcome Other in an Alsace which is expected to identify itself wholly with France:

> Seitdem es hieß, die Franzosen würden den Krieg gewinnen, fühlte sie sich zwar als Mülhauser Patrizierin und Tochter eines weithin bekannten Franzosenfreundes Doris reichlich überlegen, und im Grunde ihres Herzens hatte sie sie auch schon ausgetilgt: für sie war es nur mehr Dorisens Schatten, der im Morgendämmer des französischen Elsasses umging. (MC 279).

Ernst is caught between these polar opposites,[758] Anne-Marie and Mutter Breuschheim or analogously between France and Germany after the war, and his relations worsen with the family as a result of the strain of this situation and its negative impact both upon himself and those around him. His alienation from the rest of the Breuschheims is evident in Balthasar's explicit reference to him both as Claus's step-brother[759] and in his exclusion of Ernst from the 'wir' which constitutes the collective family identity: 'Dein Stiefbruder muß aus dem Haus. Er – oder wir!' (BV 28). Claus too begins to query Ernst's increasingly spurious position as future head of the family after the war: 'der "älteste Sohn", der "Stammhalter der Breuschheim" (was er in Wirklichkeit gar nicht war)' (MC 279). It becomes clear that Balthasar no longer wishes to recognize Ernst as future heir[760] and deeply resents his insistence on the family having to make a choice between Germany and France. 'Nur als ein ganzer Deutscher oder aber als ein ganzer Franzose soll unsereins dem lieben Gott unter die Auge trete dürfe, jedoch unter keine Umständ als solch ein Zwitter von einem Elsässer. Das ist verbote. Hast g'hört? Verbote!' (BV 33). His overriding sentiment after Ernst's suicide is not one of sadness or regret but of angry bitterness over the manner of his death and refusal to be buried 'mit Ehre und Anstand'

---

[758] '[E]in Pendant zu seiner ehrgeizigen französischen Frau, die ihn zur nationalistischen Aktivität bewegt, ist seine Mutter.' Ossowski. *Eine europäische Provinz* . Page 434.

[759] 'Es war das erstmal, daß Claus von Ernst Breuschheim ausdrücklich als von seinem Stiefbruder reden hörte' (BV 28).

[760] 'Nur nicht solch ein Zwitter von ei'm unechte Sohn, der die Familie vertrete und in ihrem Namen regiere will' (BV34).

which he feels have somehow sullied his wife's memory.[761] '"Nein, er hätte besser getan, vor ihr zu gehn!" beschließt er mit Härte' (BV 339). Claus is disconcerted at first to find Balthasar's attitude so altered towards Ernst on his return from Römerbad, noticing too the changes it has wrought in him: 'Lieber Gott, was war aus dem alten Baron Breuschheim geworden!' (BV 34). The strife between father and step-son is solely attributed to Ernst, as Balthasar is described in positive terms and as usually on good terms with others ('Balthasar hatte nie Feinde gekannt.' BV 34).[762]

As the gap in the family widens Claus and his father draw closer, reflected both in their shared responsibility in the running of the estate: 'Von nun an sah man Claus mit seinem Vater unterwegs. Bei Regen und Sonnenschein [...] stiefelten sie über die Felder oder standen auf einem der aufgeweichten Wege und beaufsichtigte die Arbeit der Menschen und Maschinen' (BV 45) and in references to the similarity of their appearance, 'Der Junge war dem Alten aus dem Leib geschnitten' (BV 45). In true *Heimatkunst* tradition their principal activity consists in cultivating their land, a physical manifestation of their heritage, handed down from father to son, which illustrates their rootedness in their local environment ('Die lieben Bauern, Vater wie Sohn' BV 85), unlike Ernst who devotes his time to politics and industry (BV 47-48), activities not traditionally associated with the Breuschheims and lacking a sense of steady continuity.

Claus, in continuing these farming activities in the tradition of his forefathers, not just reinforces his sense of belonging to a particular place in a physical sense but also to his place in the lineage of the Breuschheim family. Ernst, as an adopted son in a family where the emphasis on tradition and ancestry is so pronounced, does not enjoy the same sense of security as Claus or his son Jacquot, who have naturally inherited their solid family history. Claus possesses a far more secure sense of identity than Ernst who attempts to change his identity with each new political regime, indicating an inherent uncertainty and lack of assurance despite the fact that he grew up as heir to the Breuschheim estate. It is these insecurities which lead him to endorse whatever regime is in power and accounts for his ambitious drive for success and recognition at whatever personal cost and his ensuing despair. In attempting to suppress one part of his identity, he is no longer certain of who he is and his life becomes meaningless. Significantly

[761] 'Das furchtbarste aber: dieser letzte Tod legt sich wie ein häßlicher Abdruck über jenen andern, bedeckt ihn mit Schande, drückt auf die reinste menschliche Hülle das Siegel der Schmach' (BV 339).
[762] Schickele draws again on the von Bulach family, this time on the father of Claus and Mattern, Hugo Zorn Von Bulach, for inspiration in depicting Balthasar's character, combined with certain traits borrowed from his own father. 'Dagegen erinnert Vater Breuschheim sicher an den alten Bulach, abgesehen von Zügen, die ich meinem Vater entliehen habe.' René Schickele to Paul Bock. Letter dated 5 June 1928. In: *Werke III.* Pages 1148-1149. Here, page 1148. For more detail on Hugo Zorn von Bulach and his family and their influence on the trilogy, see Finck, *Introduction à l'oeuvre.* Page 84.

Ernst and Anne-Marie have no family: 'Ich habe keine Kinder, und wir werden auch nie welche haben' (MC 293). This can be attributed to Ernst's lack of a valid heritage to pass on to the next generation, for he does not remain true to himself and his double cultural heritage as an Alsatian, as he himself indicates at one point: 'Seitdem ich versuche, im welschen Kleid der gleiche zu sein wie im deutschen, lüge ich, lüge ich [...] vielleicht bekommen wir deshalb kein Kind' (BV 312). It is also another important contributory factor for Anne-Marie's poor integration into the family, as, unlike Mutter Breuschheim, she does not assume the role of mother of the next generation of Breuschheims. It should be stated here that Schickele's depictions of this state of affairs in the Breuschheim family appear to genuinely adhere to *Heimatkunst* motifs of tradition, rootedness to the land, heritage and lineage without any attempt to subvert them and would seem to subscribe to an almost *kitsch* view of the life of landed aristocrats in Alsace. It highlights how the portrayal of provincial family life can be problematic and misinterpreted as a discourse similar to that of popular right-wing proponents of folk-culture of the time. However, the wider cosmopolitan scope of the trilogy and Schickele's own left-wing views undermine this possibility.

Jacquot is regarded as the common descendant of the whole family as he is the sole grandson and future inheritor of the estate: 'Jacquot gehört uns allen – um so mehr, als er keine Mutter mehr hat' (BV 180). However, given the tensions in the household between 'die echten drei Breuschheim' (BV 32), representative of a true Alsatian heritage and Ernst and Anne-Marie, 'Monsieur Entweder und Madame Oder' (BV 34) there is a conflict of interest over Jacquot who becomes a symbol of Claus's and Ernst's brotherly rivalry. Ernst and Anne-Marie try to influence Jacquot in their way of thinking, which Claus notices with growing anxiety: 'Jacquot stand sichtlich unter ihrem Einfluß. Begann er doch schon in seinem aufgefrischten Französisch patriotische Redensarten zu gebrauchen' (BV 73). Jacquot adores Anne-Marie, just as Claus had adored his Tante Sidonia. Claus knows that Jacquot speaks in French simply to please his aunt, just as Claus spoke in German to please Sidonia.[763] Symbolically, it is a reflection of Alsace's relations with Germany and France and how the focus shifts from one nation to the other between one generation and the next: 'Eine neue Generation begann das alte Spiel' (BV 73). Claus feels he is battling for Jacquot's identity with Ernst and Anne-Marie, 'Mitunter fürchtete Claus, sein Stolz könne den fragwürdigen Kampf um die Seele eines Kindes nicht länger ertragen' (BV 213) and he hopes that they will accept Hartmann's

[763] '[Ü]ber Nacht hatte Claus nur noch in der deutschen Sprache nach den Worten gesucht, um jene Augen zu preisen, die Augen Sidonias' (BV 73).

offer to move to Paris (BV 214). However, Jacquot reveals that he is not so easily swayed by Ernst and Anne-Marie's opinions and endorsement of French policy in Alsace when, despite their evident disapproval, he denounces the French police for their brutal treatment of a young socialist on the Place Kléber in Strasbourg. 'Der Krawall auf dem Kléberplatz hatte ihn zum Rebellen gemacht, er sollte es bleiben: ein Rebell gegen gemeine Unwissenheit und Hoffart, die sich anmaßten, seine Heimat blind zu beherrschen' (BV 213). Although Claus considers at first sending Jacquot away from Alsace to protect him from Ernst's and Anne-Marie's pernicious influence ('Nach den großen Ferien schicke ich ihn nach England.' BV 181), he later revises this opinion. Rather he realizes it is imperative he assume his own responsibility as father to protect and guide Jacquot who should after all remain in Alsace to inherit his full cultural identity: 'Der jüngste Breuschheim sollte im Land wachsen, ein Baum unter Bäumen, vor dem Augen seines Vaters, von ihm behütet und bewehrt' (BV 213).

In retrospect, it is evident that Schickele was still optimistic at the time of writing *Blick auf die Vogesen* that with the next generation existed hope Alsace could overcome its internal divisions and play a role in easing political tensions, both within the region as well as between France and Germany. In *Der Wolf in der Hürde,* as we shall see, his modification of this view is coupled with a growing pessimism regarding the situation in Alsace and initiatives for peace in Europe. Already the tragedy of Ernst's death casts a shadow over this family and reflects how in the trilogy as in *Hans im Schnakenloch* family relations in Alsace are politicised with tragic consequences.[764] Claus is now the sole inheritor of Breuschheim but has a strong faith in the steadfastness of the Alsatian family and its identity. 'Die elsässische Familie überdauert viele Katastrophen, aufgebaut wie sie ist im Sturm der Menschen und Elemente [...] von der Wechselflut der fremden Eroberer umschaukelt, woraus das Erbe immer wieder auftaucht' (BV 75). As with Ernst, Claus too finds his identity can be problematic in the given political circumstances and, as we saw, encountered hostility because of his views. Unlike his brother, however, he does not seek a solution in attempting to deny part of his heritage and dichotomize his identity but rather seeks harmony and synthesis, reflected both in his recourse to nature as a unifying and healing force and by his relations to women.

4.2.c. Claus and the female characters

If Ernst's split in identity is contextualized within a political framework, the inner tensions of Claus's identity are reflected in his personal relationships and in particular

[764] 'L'histoire alsacienne, une fois de plus, se concentre dans la tragédie familiale.' Finck. *Introduction à l'oeuvre.* Page 87.

symbolized by his polarized love for two women, who play an important role in his life: Maria and Doris. As in *Hans im Schnakenloch*, we encounter both an endorsement and undermining of female and national stereotypes in the trilogy. Here again, the protagonist is married to a German woman but seduced too by the charms of a woman of Latin heritage, this time Italian rather than French. Claus's juxtapositional reminiscences on his relations with Maria and Doris, vivid in his memory long after their physical absence from his life[765], illustrate both the profoundly dichotomous nature of his feelings for both women and how, at the same time, he inextricably associates one with the other: 'Und so oft ich die Arme öffnete, um Doris entgegenzueilen, trat, mit einem luftigen Schritt, Maria dazwischen und wollte spielen' (MC 207).

By entitling the first volume of the trilogy, *Maria Capponi*,[766] Schickele indicates not just the significance of Maria's character in the narrative, but how she serves also as an allegory for the Latin component of Claus's double cultural heritage, the 'Erbe am Rhein'. Claus first meets Maria on a train bound for Venice at the age of fourteen (MC 64), in the early stages of adolescence and his journey into adulthood, when his identity has not yet been fully formed and is still open to influence. Hitherto, in his limited experience of the world, restricted to German Alsace, Baden and Switzerland, Claus's young and beautiful Aunt Sidonia from Rheinweiler has been the object of his pre-pubescent affections.[767] His voyage to Italy and encounter with Maria mark not just his initial exposure to Latin culture and cosmopolitan society in fin-de-siècle Venice, but the beginnings too of his awakening sexuality and maturation (MC 77). This process of transference in his affections from Sidonia to Maria anticipates his oscillating attraction to women of different nationality and, analogously, the indecisive nature of his sense of identification with the Germanic and Latin cultures.

Maria's unequivocal sense of her Latin identity is made clear from the outset. Unlike Claus, whose names, as we saw, are a reflection of his inherent dualities, Maria has just one name and, therefore, a unified identity: 'Ich heiße Maria. Maria Capponi. Ich habe nur einen Namen'(MC 80). Her name too is a reference to Catholicism, strongly

---

[765] '"Maria" - und gleich darauf: "Doris!" Das waren die Namen der beiden Frauen, die er im Leben geliebt hatte, und die eine war tot, und von der andern wußte er nur, daß sie ihn nicht mehr liebte' (BV 14-15).

[766] Jean-Marie Gall suggests that the character 'Maria Capponi' was inspired by a former love interest of Schickele's, Anita Traboldi, whom he met during his student days in Strasbourg, 1902/03. 'Il fit la connaissance de Anita Traboldi, une jeune chanteuse dont le père était paysagiste et la mère Romaine. Une courte et intense liaison s'en suivit [...] René Schickele ne parvint cependant pas à oublier complètement Anita Traboldi [...] L'influence de la jeune Italienne s'étendit jusqu'au premier roman de l'*Erbe am Rhein*. La concordance des voyelles de Anita Traboldi et Maria Capponi en fait foi.' 'Nouveau Regard sur René Schickele.' *Revue Alsacienne de Littérature*, No. 57, 8, 1997. Pages 81-84. Here, page 84.

[767] Claus identifies Sidonia with his mother, her older sister, '"Du Morgenstern!" dachte ich. "Du riechst nach frischer Wäsche und sogar ein wenig nach der Mutter."' (MC 77).

associated with Latin culture, and like Claus, she has been brought up in a Catholic tradition.[768] Claus notices during the first meeting in Venice that, 'Mit der Religion ließ sie nicht spaßen' (MC, 92) and 'Auch mit der Moral ließ sie nicht spaßen' (MC 99). Their common religious heritage, an allusion to the prominent role of the Catholic Church and strong Catholic tradition in Alsace, is highlighted during a subsequent visit to Breuschheim by the Capponis, when Claus remarks on the close bond between their mothers. 'Die Marchesa und meine Mutter schwatzten sich innig aneinander, man traf die eine nicht mehr ohne die andre [...] Die Damen beichteten und komunizierten gemeinsam' (MC 142/3).

However, the Catholic connotations of Maria, whose name alludes too to a familiar female stereotype of the virgin, are intermingled with pre-Christian associations and increasingly undermined by sensual connotations. On first seeing Maria in the train with her brother, Bob, Camilla and the latter's husband, Claus immediately identifies them with figures from Greek mythology, inspired by the voyage to Italy. Italy and Greece are so strongly associated in his mind through mythology that they are for him interchangeable: 'das also war Italien, war Griechenland! Denn so, wie ich sie als Zwillingsschwestern kannte, galten sie mir gleich' (MC 76). Claus has learned about Roman and Greek mythology from his house tutor, Abbé Simon, so that along with Catholic instruction, the ancient pagan myths become part of his cultural heritage too and he receives a broad, humanist education. This is symbolised by his possession of a prayer book, inherited from his great-grandfather in Rheinweiler, the humanist Ulricus, covered in designs of mythological figures (MC 67). At various moments in his life, Claus associates Maria with Kassiopeia, whose star resembling an M-shape when upside-down, appears to him as a sign in the skies: 'vor mir im Himmel hing das weitgezogene M der Kassiopeia. Und da beschloß ich, an Maria Capponi zu schreiben' (MC, 39). The reference to the upside-down position of the Kassiopeia (W/M) is symbolic of Claus's inversion of the Catholic associations with Maria.[769]

Claus already senses the future turmoil that Maria's presence in his life is to occasion after his first evening in the Hotel Danieli spent in her company. His heady feelings of adolescent love are shot through with an undercurrent of apprehension, as he notes, that despite his predominantly happy mood, 'überfiel mich der Feuerschein einer fern lodernden Angst. Dann klopfte das Schicksal in meinen Adern Alarm' (MC 88). Here

---

[768] Holtz indicates that Maria, 'stellt schon durch ihren Vornamen die Verbindung zur religiösen Heimat Claus Breuschheims her'. Holtz, Günter. *Das Erbe am Rhein. Mythos, Glaube und europäische Vision.* Page 168.

[769] 'Am Himmel steht nämlich das Initial der ersten Geliebten als Sternbild: Es ist das W der Kassiopeia, gleichsam christlich auf den Kopf gestellt.' *Ibid.* Page 168. See also (MC 200) for references to the Kassiopeia and Maria.

too, Claus looks in the mirror as if seeking confirmation from his reflection that he has undergone a transformation since meeting Maria: 'Erstaunt betrachtete ich mich im Spiegel [...] und sann dem Wunder nach, das mit mir geschehen war' (MC 88). His mirror-image relays back a consciousness of another 'Self' or part of his identity within him that up to now has been latent, but which in Maria's proximity and in the exotic atmosphere of the South awakens. As their relationship develops, Claus's perception of Maria becomes increasingly governed by erotic and sensual associations. She is for him a 'Sonnenflirt' (MC 233), an idealised female figure consigned to the realm of sunshine and idyllic Southern landscapes.[770] He associates her with brightness, warmth and passion and there are many references to her in relation to the light and sun ('In unser beider Körper war keine einzige dunkle Stelle' MC, 9), to the extent that she becomes synonymous with the sun: 'Er drehte sich um und erblickte die Sonne [...] So stark and glühend war die Gegenwart Maria Capponis über die Erde gebreitet' (BV 15).

Pantheistic, sensual images of Maria are interwoven with biblical reference, symbolic of Claus's impressions of Latin culture as an intermix of hedonism and Catholicism ('die Sonne [...] blendete mich gleich einem Feuerbusch, worin Maria erschien, nackt, wie ich sie einmal vor langer Zeit gesehn' MC 217). The exotic Otherness of 'die wilde Maria Capponi' (MC 15) exerts a fascination over him and he worships her as an idol of sensual love ('Mein Bronze-Idol' MC 141), a subversion of the virginal connotations of her name. Even as an adolescent, Maria is far worldlier and more sophisticated than the young, naïve Claus: 'Man sieht, Maria kannte das Leben' (MC 99) and, similar to Louise Cavrel, she is confident of her charm and self-assured in love.[771] However, even though Claus is in love with Maria, he does not marry her, preferring instead to cast her in the role of eternal lover (MC 143) and wishes to confine their relations to passionate meetings in the South: 'Ich will sie in Venedig wiedersehn' (MC 144). Outside of this meridional realm, Maria's charm fades for Claus and she loses her appeal, as her visit to Breuschheim soon after their first meeting in Venice proves: 'Unter unsern Verwandten und neben der alle Luft verdrängenden Mutter Marias glich mein Bronze-Idol in fataler Weise den andern weißgekleideten Mädeln' (MC, 140). The more Germanic environment drives a wedge between them, and Claus feels uneasy in her presence when she is in his homeland: 'Aber Maria und ich kamen uns nicht näher. Im Gegenteil wir würden uns fremder und fremder' (MC 143). The growing sense of alienation between them in Breuschheim suggests the inherent differences in their

[770] Maria is aware that Claus only loves her when in the South: 'Und in deren Bereich soll ich verbannt bleiben?' (MC 233).

[771] 'Nun, so hat ein gewisses, kleines Mädchen mich nicht nur geküßt, sondern [...] mich armen kleinen Jungen ausdrücklich noch küssen gelehrt' (MC 211).

temperaments and ill-boding for their relationship. It indicates that their love, unable to flourish in Alsace, is unrealistic.

However, when Maria and Claus meet in Nice just before the outbreak of war, Claus feels drawn towards her again. Playful banter takes place between them, as Maria is now married and Claus engaged to Doris. Despite Maria's declaration that 'wir müssen uns alle daran gewöhnen, daß ich nunmehr verheiratet bin' (MC 212), they embark on an illicit relationship and become lovers. Maria's behaviour is reminiscent of Louise, who is also unfaithful to her husband, and she appears to be the stereotypical *femme fatale,* (MC 234-5). Schickele compares her too to another *femme fatale* figure in his writings, who was also discussed earlier in relation to Louise, when he describes Maria as 'die italienische Kusine der kleinen Lo [...] de[r] Gegenstand ewiger deutscher Sehnsucht'.[772] This is borne out by Claus's accusations that she uses her charms to taunt him ('mich immer nur gereizt hast' MC 234) and her character would appear to be influenced by certain *civilisation* clichés with reference to sensuality and lack of commitment. Maria is aware that she and Claus 'wären ja doch kein gutes Ehepaar geworden!' (MC 236). She teases him about his engagement to Doris and his 'infidelity' to her, although she herself is married ('Ich meine, daß du mir schon wieder untreu warst' MC 233). Despite her apparent light-hearted attitude to marriage, Claus wonders if Maria is not perhaps resentful of his imminent marriage to Doris: 'Wir lachten uns die ganze Zeit töricht an, nicht ohne einander dabei sorgfältig zu mustern [...] Irgendwie war es ihr ernst, wenn auch nicht mit ihrer scherzhaften Pose so doch mit etwas anderem, was sich dahinter versteckte, und woraus ich deutlich einen Vorwurf, ja eine Art von Strafe herausfühlte' (MC 212).

However, like Louise, Maria subverts and rejects the role of *femme fatale*. Similar to her French counterpart in the play, she tells Claus: 'Ich habe nie einen andern Geliebten gehabt' (MC 321) and reproaches him for expecting her to simply remain his idealised lover and muse, without committing himself to her.[773] Just before they part for good, she reveals to him how she has really felt throughout the years they have known one another:

> Es war all die Jahre ein ungleiches Spiel. Du hast meine Liebe nicht erwidert. Vielleicht liebst du Doris wie ich dich liebe [...] Ich habe die Rolle der Kleinen, immer bereiten immer munteren Geliebten gespielt, weil du es nicht anders haben

[772] René Schickele to Julius Meier-Graefe. Letter dated 17 June 1931. In *Werke III.* Pages 1158-1160. Here, page 1158.

[773] 'Oder hast du gemeint, Claus, ich würde bis zu meinem Tode unverehelicht durch deine Träume wandeln, als Angestellte sozusagen?' (MC 321).

> wolltest und diese Rolle hast du geliebt, nicht mich [...] o wie habe ich Doris gehaßt, der dein Herz dennoch und in jeder Stunde gehörte, Doris und auch dich, Claus. (MC 321).

In this dialogue between them we discern her awareness and resentment of having played nothing more than a stereotypical role as lover in Claus's life and her jealousy of his perceived wholehearted commitment to Doris. It highlights too how until now our image of Maria was principally influenced by the subjective view of Claus as narrator. Her parting words highlight just how little Claus has understood Maria's temperament and that it remains alien from his own, as a previous comment of hers had already implied ('"Nein", sagte sie ruhig, "nicht gefunden und also auch nicht verloren."' MC 236).

Claus wishes Maria to continue in the role of lover without ever really seriously contemplating commitment to her. His love for Maria is essentially a projection of narcissistic tendencies, where his desire for her is subverted by a (self-)destructiveness, similar to Hans's, in an attempt to liberate himself from an inherent malaise and restlessness in his temperament: 'Sie muß mein sein, schrie es in mir, das ist's, und ich wußte nicht, wollte ich damit eine Qual vernichten oder den Gipfel des Glücks erstürmen – wollte ich sie auslöschen und mich erhöhen, um "frei zu sein"[...] Aber eins ist gewiß: nicht an Maria dachte ich – nur an mich' (MC 241-2). Claus's attempt to be 'free' by negating Maria's presence can be regarded analogously as a desire to be liberated from the problematic of the Alsatian dual cultural heritage, the Germanic and Latin influences, and as a search for an inner synthesis of identity, which is impossible in the contemporary political climate. His desire for freedom appears to stem from tensions that occasionally arise between them and at times he finds Maria too possessive, accusing her of being 'habgierig [...] Du möchtest alles allein haben' (MC 233). Claus also views Maria's attitude towards him, on occasion, as almost threatening, causing him to feel that their relationship is futile, just as Hans fears Louise's wrath when their affair ends: 'Marias Bosheit hatte sich prachtvoll ausgewachsen [...] Es war das Ende' (MC 180) and he senses the underlying tensions in their embraces, 'welch urmächtiger Streitfall unter unsern Umarmungen begraben lag' (MC 234). Only in his solitude after Doris's death, in need of comfort, does he consider marriage with Maria[774] and cherishes hopes to return to Alsace with her, but this turns out to be a utopian dream – their alliance never takes place. He is honest enough to admit that if Doris were alive it is unlikely he would have attempted to renew contact with Maria: 'Aber nein, wenn Doris noch lebte, so hätte ich

[774] Maria, as Robertson points out is 'a potentially cathartic figure, a "healer" in whom Claus seeks comfort after the death of his wife Doris'. Robertson, Eric. *Writing between the Lines.* Page 114. However, she never fulfills this potential.

vermutlich keinerlei Grund, Maria zu Hilfe zu rufen [...] Doris und mir, uns fehlte nichts und niemand, als ich sie verlor' (MC 7). In reality he knows he and Maria have no future together. Unlike Doris, Maria remains essentially an exotic stranger, alien to Claus's temperament and the traditions of Alsace: 'Eine braunhäutige Amazone, eine Fremde, die man im Walde fand, und die man im Walde verließ' (MC, 42-3). Analogously, Claus's views suggest that, in retrospect, Alsatian-German union, before the war and Alsace's subsequent separation from Germany (symbolised by Doris's death), seems to have been harmonious and complete.

However, Claus's infidelity to Doris with Maria during his engagement and marriage undermines these later nostalgic recollections of a wholly happy union with his German wife. Claus himself is aware of the fallacy of his memories regarding Doris and Maria, as he cautions the reader at the very beginning of his narrative: 'doch bin ich mir der Lückenhaftigkeit meiner Erinnerungen bewußt' (MC 7). His frivolous attitude towards marriage with Doris can be interpreted as an allusion to negative stereotypical French aspects of his nature: 'als Bräutigam, ein Liebhaber, der noch mit keinem ernsten Gedanken der Ehe nahegetreten' (MC 178). Unlike Claus and Maria, whose evolving relationship is pervaded by sensuality and passion in the warmth of Southern climates, he and Doris meet 'hoch im Norden' (MC 178) in Cologne, where Claus has been stationed during military service as a young man. They decide to marry almost immediately: 'wir waren uns in die Arme geflogen, ohne etwas von einander zu wissen' (MC 178). Thus, the Claus-Doris relationship is bound almost from the outset by matrimonial laws and duty. This stark contrast with the Claus-Maria relationship indicates that if his love affair with Maria is characterized by hedonism, warmth, passion and emotion, his relationship with Doris is an echo of Hans's relationship with his German wife Klär,[775] a marriage of reason.

The polarisation of Claus's relationships with Maria and Doris is reflected in the disparities between both their physical appearances and characters. Maria's stereotypical Italian/Southern looks are suggestive of her sensual, passionate nature and her exoticism for Claus[776], whereas descriptions of Doris as the 'hellhäutige[n], helläugige[n] Tochter des Rheins' (BV 17), are redolent of a stereotypical German/Nordic appearance, allusions to her placidity, cooler temperament and a more gentle nature. Doris appeals to the Germanic part of Claus's temperament, and thus he identifies her with the more serious aspects of his life: 'In meinem Leben, im Hellen, unter den Dingen, die zählten, hatte es

[775] Schickele in his preface to the 1927 edition of *Hans im Schnakenloch*, declares: 'Der Autor bleibt von der Auferstehung seiner Klär und ihres Hans, dieses Schlemihls, überzeugt'. In: *Werke III.* Page 13.

[776] 'Von dem Mädchen sah ich vorerst nur den Kopf. Der war so schwarz wie ein Elster' (MC 77), 'eine braunhäutige Amazone' (MC 42-3), 'der rote Mund' (MC 79).

nur Doris gegeben, nur sie!' (MC 43), which contrasts starkly with his attitude to Maria, to whom he has relegated the more frivolous role of lover and *femme fatale*. Claus also casts Doris in a stereotypical role as wife and mother (MC 19) and cannot contemplate her in the same manner as Maria. At times in Maria's presence or when thinking about her, Claus feels a sense of guilt with regard to Doris: 'Ich konnte nicht an Doris denken, ich wollte nicht, es schien mir unrein, peinlich, gefährlich' (MC 214). This is underscored by the associations of Doris with brightness (purity), intimating connotations of innocence ('von so sauberer Weltlust umklinglten Doris' BV 17) but also a lack of passion,[777] which, as we saw, are subverted in the religious associations with Maria. Claus cannot imagine Doris behaving in a manner deviant from the virginal/mother female clichés, he associates her with, 'was, bei vielen Frauen möglich, erlaubt ja lockend, da ich es mir jetzt vorstellen wollte, bei Doris unerlaubt, abstoßend, ja beleidigend gewesen wäre' (MC 222). Doris, instead is connected with characteristics such as, 'treu', 'Weisheit', 'Güte' (MC, 19). Claus is caught then between a sense of dutiful love[778] towards the calm and quiet Doris, whom he describes as 'die Undurchdringliche in ihre Liebe, die Ruhende, die Stumme' (MC 207) and his 'wollüstige Tänzerei' (BV 16) with Maria. Claus's polarisation of the roles of Maria and Doris in his life reveals his dichotomous and fundamentally conservative, clichéd attitude towards women and analogously the Alsatian inability to reconcile two conflicting components of their identity, the Germanic and the Latin. It is reminiscent too of Hans's views on his marriage with Klär and his affair with Louise. The theme is a recurring one in Schickele's œuvre and, as Finck points out, the polarised nature of Claus's love for these two women is 'renforcée significativement par le fait que l'une est latine, et l'autre allemande'. (Finck, p. 85).

Yet, Claus does not perceive Doris and Maria as rivals contending for his affections but rather as necessary complements to each other, reflecting his dual identity. This is highlighted by his continuing oscillation from one to the other in his thoughts, indicative of his continual need for the presence of both in his life: 'Wirklich? War es Maria, die ich begehrte? Hatte ich nicht die ganze Zeit nur an Doris gehangen mit meinen Gedanken, Wünschen, Begierden? [...] Wann hatte mich Doris je im Leben so berührt [...] vor jener Nacht [...] in der Gletscherspalte? Nie! Dagegen Maria: ja, deren Hand war voller Magie!' (MC 39). However, Claus's continual indecision and inner turmoil causes not just Maria, as we saw, but also Doris much suffering. Doris remembers how she vainly attempted to leave Claus because of Maria: 'Ich wollte die Scheidung. Ja, Maria

---

[777] 'Du ließest mich verstehen, es gebe etwas Großes, Erschütterndes, dem ich ewig verschlossen bliebe: Leidenschaft' (MC 16).

[778] 'Unsere Liebe war Arbeit an unsrer Einsamkeit wie an der Welt, der wir verpflichtet waren, Treue um des Ewigen willen, werktätige Geduld' (MC 207).

Capponis wegen [...] Ich wußte nur, daß ich nicht von dir los konnte' (MC 16-17). Her resignation reveals another stereotypical German trait of a strong sense of duty, which contrasts with both Maria's and Claus's infidelity to their spouses. Claus's behaviour towards Doris is reminiscent of Hans's behaviour towards the patient Klär and reveals a similar restlessness in their temperaments: 'wenn du schlechter Laune warst, so fuhrst du zu ihr und kamst vergnügt zurück. Und dann warst du auch wieder ganz verliebt in mich und wild und quältest mich' (MC 16). Claus, it is clear, does not feel wholly fulfilled in his relationships with women, who according to his own rigid terms of definition can only either play the role of wife/mother or *femme fatale* and lover, but not both. Likewise, Doris can only appeal to that part of Claus's identity which is Germanic: 'Was sollte ich dir denn geben, was du nicht schon besäßest, Claus? Mehr habe ich nicht' (MC 18).

However, likewise when Claus is with Maria he is restless and his thoughts return to Doris. Claus, we learn, seldom writes poetry, but composes a poem during his time in Cap d'Antibes in the company of Maria, just before the outbreak of war. The poem is obviously inspired by his surroundings but also, Claus informs us, by thoughts of Doris and his association of her with music:[779] 'Und alle kamen von Doris, alle waren für Doris. Die plötzlich einfallende Musik, die sie veranlaßte, kam von ihr, und diese meine Worte zu den zwei, drei hohen Geigentönen, die aus dem Norden bis zu mir drangen, gingen mit der Post an sie' (MC 252). Like Maria, Doris wishes Claus to bestow his affections solely on her and in one of the most poignant scenes between Doris and Claus in 'Die Gletscherspalte' epsiode (MC 12-24), which, it transpires, will be their last night together, she rejoices: 'Mein bist du, mein – endlich mein. Niemand mehr wird dich mir nehmen. Eher töte ich dich. Ach Claus wie hab' ich dich lieb' (MC 15). Her love also carries a hint of violence symbolising, in political and military terms, the potential for conflict and willingness for war over Alsace. Doris does not just desire Claus to be hers alone, but their identities also to blend into one: 'Ich schloß die Augen, um mich ganz in dich zu verwandeln [...] Nun war ich du. Wie warst du mein!' (MC 19), a reference to German primordial arguments for Alsace's absorption into the German Empire. Here in the ice crevasse, into which they have fallen, Doris and Claus engage in an honest outpouring of feeling before she dies. It is a time of truth, when they reveal their perceptions of each other in this cavern of reflecting glass, where nothing can remain hidden: 'Wir standen wie in einem riesigen Spiegelsaal' (MC 13). The discussion that takes place between them is characterised by a sense of intimacy and honesty, similar to Klär's and Hans's discussion in Act III. Likewise, their last encounter together undermines stereotypical

[779] Klär, too, in *Hans im Schnakenloch* is strongly connected to music and it used here again to allude to a German *Kultur* stereotype.

impressions of Doris as the gentle but passionless German woman. However, just as Hans's and Klär's relationship is doomed, Claus's and Doris's relationship cannot last, symbolised by Doris's death: 'Sie schlief! Sie war verloren' (MC 22). Claus feels he is partly to blame for Doris's death, which deprives Jacquot of his mother, or analogously, Alsace of Germany: 'Und doch habe ich ihm seine Mutter verloren!' (MC 12). Claus's feelings of guilt can be interpreted on a political level as Alsace's awareness that it is one of the main causes for this *guerre de revanche* but also indicates a sense of anxiety for the future generations in Alsace which will grow up not knowing Germany or German culture. The reference to the end of Claus's and Doris's relationship in August, is clearly an allegory for the beginning of World War I, sounding the death knell of Alsace-German relations. Jacquot, however, continues to search for his mother after her death, an analogy for his search for a lost part of his identity, but he is forced in the end to accept the loss and symbolically turns to the francophile Anne-Marie, to be his mother-figure, in inter-war Alsace. The war has wrought huge changes in Alsace and there is no place for Doris in the new and changed circumstances. Two years after Doris's death, the Claus-Maria relationship also comes to an end. Her final 'No' in a telegram (MC 327) heralds the end of his hopes to be reunited with her and also Claus's narration in the first volume, *Maria Capponi*, thus ending the tale of 'Liebe – Du und ich'.

At the beginning of the following volume, *Blick auf die Vogesen,* in a chapter significantly entitled 'Abkehr vom Süden' (BV 11-18), Claus turns away from the south and Maria and analogously from Latin culture. Claus's 'resurrection', the beginning of his new life, necessitates his renunciation of thoughts of reunion with Maria and hence with the south, which was no more than an idyll, he realises:

> Nichts mehr von Maria Capponi in seinem Leben! Keine Sehnsucht – keine Reue. Nachdem Claus Gott gedankt hatte, daß er wieder lebte, dankte er Maria, daß sie ihm jene Welt entzogen hatte (Süden, Flucht in die Freude, Menschenfreundlichkeit, Anbetung des blauen Himmels), die eine zweite Heimat für ihn geworden war, und die auf so tragische Weise nicht sein durfte und auf weiteres nicht mehr sein konnte. (BV 17/18).

It is significant that Claus's relations with both women begin in his youth, he meets Maria as an adolescent and Doris refers to them as being 'nur Kinder [...] als wir heirateten' (MC 17). Their triadic relationship can, therefore, be viewed as an important influence in his maturation and identity formation process. Through his relations with Maria and Doris, Claus achieves greater self-knowledge and awareness of the conflict within himself.

This conflict is resolved and he attains an inner equilibrium when he begins a relationship with Viviane[780], his childhood friend who is associated with the more Francophile element in Alsace, whom Wagener describes as 'eine Frau, die in ihrer ruhigen Art die elsässische Heimat verkörpert'.[781] Their marriage symbolises the harmonious union of the Germanic and French elements of Alsatian identity ('ihre Tritte waren die sanfteren Schwestern der meinen' MC 140), and reflects Claus's choice to remain in Alsace and foster the family heritage, marking the beginning of the period in which he begins to assume his responsibilities. However, if Viviane is associated with such concepts as 'the community', 'family', 'Alsace', ('Viviane, das war der sichere Besitz, sauber und gut wie das tägliche Brot, fraglos wie Mutter und Heimat' BV 108), she does not represent a wider dimension to Alsace that Schickele also wishes to promote, that of Alsace as a European province, open to cosmopolitan society. Claus's union is necessary with Viviane to bring a disorientated Claus back to his roots after the death of Doris and Maria's outright rejection. Significantly, it is she who comes to Römerbad to bring him back to Alsace and his family: 'Ihre Mutter schickt mich [...] ich soll sie sofort heimbringen' (MC 325) and who witnesses and confirms the end of his relationship with Maria: 'Siehst du Pulcinella, jetzt ist es zu Ende' (MC 328).

However, the Alsace represented by Viviane is too narrow and she, like Doris and Maria, disappears from the narrative. In the end it is Ada Hartmann, also Francophile, but who has lived in Germany and is a true cosmopolitan, who will be Claus's final companion as Aggie Ruf predicts: 'Und jetzt bekommt Claus sie, den Marmorlien in der Silberwolke! Ihr bester Freund, ihre beste Freundin. Und sie gönnte es ihm, ja ihm gönnte sie Ada' (WH 488). Their union signifies that the two noble houses of Breuschheim and Unterhügeln will be re-united, thus ensuring that the true heritage of Alsace will remain intact. With Claus's allusion to the imminent relationship with Ada ('Ada – die letzte Freundin meines Lebens' WH 550-1), the trilogy turns full circle, beginning and ending with the same sentence.[782] However, the protagonist within this time has developed and matured in his ideas.

4.3. Nature, Politics and Identity

Nature imagery, in particular that of the Alemannic landscape, is powerfully evoked in *Das Erbe am Rhein.* Schickele is keen to emphasise that his landscape descriptions are

---

[780] 'Claus finally comes of age and abandons his dualistic longings by settling with Viviane.' Robertson, Eric. *Writing Between the Lines.* Page 116.
[781] Wagener. *Europäer in Neun Monaten.* Page 156.
[782] 'Ich habe ihr geschrieben und sie gebeten zu kommen' (MC 7), (WH 553).

not merely passive pastoral depictions but portray Nature as having a more active role in the narrative. He likens this dramatic role to that of the chorus in ancient Greek drama:

> Ich gebe keine Landschaftsschilderungen im Sinne eines Bildes. Die Landschaft ist bei mir von allen Gestalten die dramatischeste – sie hat ihre verschiedenen Zustände in ihrer Entwicklung, und wenn ein Vergleich ihr gerecht werden soll, so kommt ihr etwa die Rolle des antiken Chors zu.[783]

The role of the chorus in Greek drama is to comment on the physical world, to immerse the audience in the atmosphere of the story and suggest motivations for the actions, helping them to 'become involved in the process of responding'.[784] Likewise, landscape descriptions in *Das Erbe am Rhein* provide the physical setting in which the narrative unfolds but Nature also has a more autonomous role in the trilogy, both reflecting certain atmospheres or acting as a symbolic precursor to events. Frequently too, the landscape assumes anthropomorphic attributes, participating in the action of the trilogy: 'heute streckten sich die Vogesen unter aufgetürmten Wolken und schienen zu atmen' (BV 294). From the very opening pages of the trilogy we witness Claus's close attention to Nature and how he interprets in its smallest details reflections of his own moods and emotions or foretokens of events to unfold. At the beginning of *Maria Capponi*, for example, his feeling of hope is symbolised by the appearance of snowdrops in his garden heralding spring and, Claus believes, Maria's positive response to his plea to join him: 'Maria wird kommen! Ich sehe die Schneeglöckchen in ihrem Winkel beim Abendläuten' (MC 9). 'Ich hoffte auf den Frühling' (MC 10). Later, Claus's growing sense of uneasiness whilst awaiting Maria's response to his telegram appears to both be influenced by, and reflected in, the nocturnal atmosphere: 'Eine Nacht, die Herzklopfen macht, mir und den Sternen' (MC 300).

Claus's observations and rapturous eulogies underline his strong sense of affinity to Nature, at times so intense he reveals a longing to fuse entirely with it: 'Warum können wir nicht eingehen in Baum und Gras, in Blume und Wolke und nur dasein, wunderbar sinnlos, ewig bewegt und doch unbesorgt gleich ihnen!' (MC 8). This longing stems also from his desire to take refuge from the political and family tensions surrounding him in Alsace and it is in particular the forest with which he strongly associates a sense of happiness and freedom: 'in einem goldenen Buchenwald gepicknickt [...] die wiedergefundene Freiheit' (BV 214). Claus and Viviane, we are told, have often sought

---

[783] Bentmann, Friedrich. *René Schickele: Leben und Werk in Dokumenten.* Page 163.
[784] Easterling, P.E. 'Form and Performance.' In: Easterling, P.E. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Page 164.

respite in the nearby forest from the over-politicised atmosphere in Breuschheim: 'Was kümmerte Claus und Viviane die Politik! In ihrem Bewußtsein lebte der vergangene Winter als ein großmächtiger Wald, in den ihr Tag mit der Sonne untertauchte' (BV 233). The forest is for Claus a safe haven not only in Breuschheim but also in Baden where he seeks refuge in his *Waldhaus* in the Black Forest, firstly from the political tensions in Alsace after the war, again after the tragedy of Doris's death before his indefinite return there at the end of *Der Wolf in der Hürde*. Traditionally a symbol of German identity, the forest underlines his part-identification with his Germanic cultural heritage. The trans-national nature of the Alemannic landscape is emphasised by the fact that he finds solace in the forest both to the east and west of the Rhine border. The forest too is often regarded as an external topographical representation of the subconscious and Claus intuitively senses that here he comes closest to understanding his own nature and life: 'Und der Wald erwies sich immer mehr als ein geheimnisvoller Spiegel des Lebens' (BV 241). Thus, Claus finds the forest an apt metaphor for his feelings of confusion during moments of uncertainty.[785] However, the forest also represents for him a place of simplicity and truth, untrammeled by the trappings of civilisation, and in particular politics,[786] where he can think clearly: 'Man brauchte nur im Wald zu sein und auf die hohe, stehende Stimme zu hören. Gleich würde alles klar und einfach' (BV 242). Significantly, Viviane, who like Claus is rooted in their native Alsace, is likened by him to the forest[787] rooted in the soil, indicating their strong sense of affinity to their native region and each other ('im Wald der großen Kameradenschaft' BV 234). Ada's silent nature reminds Claus too of the tranquil atmosphere in the forest.[788]

Indeed, in the trilogy the female characters are closely connected to Nature and particular landscapes. This can be traced back to Claus's childhood where the image of the garden is intertwined with that of predominantly female presences in his memory: 'Meine Kindheit war voller Gärten, in denen Frauen gingen' (MC 184). The garden, as we discussed earlier, often serves as an allegory for Alsace in Schickele's writings and here in the trilogy Alsace is again frequently compared to a garden: 'Du bist ein Garten' (BV 303), 'ein bunter Garten' (BV 236). Thus, Claus's earliest impressions of *Heimat* convey positive images of a peaceful, harmonious environment and can be regarded as a retrospectively idealised view too of his childhood years growing up in German Alsace during the annexation. This is borne out by his association of his *Heimat* with both his mother and Doris who correspond to the Germanic elements of his identity and explain

[785] 'Dann wieder erscheint mir mein Leben wie ein allzu üppiger Wald, durch den ich unmöglich einen klaren Weg ziehen kann' (MC 303).
[786] 'Die reine Wahrheit [...] auf einer höheren, freieren Ebene' (BV 241).
[787] 'Von diesem Augenblick an hieß der Wald: Viviane' (WH 275).
[788] 'Andre, in ihrere Verschwiegenheit, gleichen dem Wald. Ada gleicht einem Wald' (WH 550).

his reluctance to renege on this part of his cultural heritage in inter-war Alsace.[789] Claus also associates Doris with springtime, which Ueberschlag suggests indicates 'un même destin de beauté, de floraison éphémère et de source de vie'.[790] Her solid and faithful nature is symbolized by the earth and the tree.[791] To emphasise their contrastive natures, Maria, as we have seen, is associated rather with celestial images such as the light, sun, sky and stars (MC 9, 120, 200), suggestive of a more stereotypically carefree Latin nature but also of her elusiveness in remaining ultimately out of reach for Claus.

The strong identification of Doris and Maria with the landscapes in which Claus first encounters them underlines the polarised nature of his relations with both women and his continual search for an inner equilibrium: 'Es geht Schlag um Schlag bei dir, wie beim Pendel einer Uhr. Jetzt zum Beispiel ging es von der Riviera bis zum Rhein, vom Maria zu Doris' (MC 233). This gives rise to the allegory of Alsace (Claus) caught between the Rhinelands of Germany to its north (Doris) and Italy and the French Riviera to its south (Maria) and the oscillating attraction to the German and Latin cultures. Claus associates the meridional landscape in particular with love and Maria Capponi: 'Zum erstenmal sah ich die Adria [...] Dieses Meer hier war lauter Liebe! [...] Maria Capponi, dachte ich, das ist dein Himmel, das ist dein Herz' (MC 120). However, although Claus is fascinated and drawn to the south, he gradually realises that this landscape, like Maria, remains essentially alien to him, symbolising their pending estrangement: 'Obwohl ich Venedig seit meiner Kindheit kannte und fast jedes Jahr einige Wochen, sogar Monate hier zugebracht hatte, vermeinte ich mit eins, die Schöne mit der tulpenfarbenen Halbmaske nie berührt zu haben' (MC 312). Instead in the chapter entitled 'Abkehr vom Süden' (BV 11-18) he reject the charms of this landscape and returns to his native Alsace and his family where he feels he really belongs: 'Er hatte darin seinen angestammten Platz. Im Elsaß lag eine bedrohte Festung, sie hieß Breuschheim und war das Haus seines Vaters' (BV 18).

The eulogy of Nature and rural life in the trilogy and its emphasis on the importance of tradition and the family are redolent of the themes of *Heimatliteratur*. Pott's definition of *Heimatliteratur* indicates that *Das Erbe am Rhein* certainly subscribes to some of the characteristics of this genre: 'es [geht] um die Darstellungen, bei denen eine bestimmte Provinz eine ausgezeichnete Rolle spielt, so die handelnden Personen untrennbar mit

---

[789] '[D]achte ich die ganze Zeit an meine kleine, grüne schwellende Heimat, an Doris, an meine Mutter' (MC 312).

[790] Ueberschlag, Georges. 'Poète, paysage et politique dans la trilogie "Das Erbe am Rhein".' In: *Revue Alsacienne de Littérature*, 10, 1985, pp.35-42. Here, page 41.

[791] 'Als ich dich kennenlernte, dachte ich: sie ist, fertig, diesem Frühling entsprungen. Sie riecht wie diese Erde an einem warmen Tag vor Ostern. Sie ist treu wie dieser Baum [...] Frühling, ich hätte nicht erfahren, was das ist, wäre ich ihr nicht begegnet' (MC 19).

ihrem Lebensraum verbunden sind'.[792] This is particularly true of *Blick auf die Vogesen*, the volume which focuses on 'Gemeinschaft, Heimat, Familie'[793] where the landscapes of Claus's native Alsace and Baden, the home of his maternal ancestors, are powerfully evoked. The significant role of Nature in this volume is underscored by the fact that Schickele originally intended to call it *Himmlische Landschaft*, a title he instead later used for his essay collection published in 1933 which extols the beauty and harmony of the Alemannic landscape.[794] Alsace is depicted in *Blick auf die Vogesen* as being a predominantly rural land: 'Du selbst bist tief verschwiegen, mein Land, bist Acker, Wald, Rebe und Wiese, bist Land' (BV 303), its provincialism emphasised in analogies of the region to 'ein Hühnerhof' (BV 203) or 'ein lustiges Bauernhaus' (BV 202). Just as rural life is idealised, city life is negatively portrayed in *Blick auf die Vogesen*. The true people of Alsace live in the countryside, whereas '[d]ie Fremden rotten sich in den Städten zusammen' (BV 303). Thus, the Other, such as the 'revenants' or the French, are geographically separated from those who belong to the collective in-group, the indigenous population. Such stereotypical constellations of in- and outgroups and their identification with particular geographical milieus are a common theme in *Heimatliteratur*.

Claus is described as being in perfect hamony with Nature to the point that not only does he cultivate the land but seems to become a part of its organic whole, ('wuchs er langsam und leibhaftig in das Breuschheimer Land hinein und blieb da' BV 45) and his identity merges with his native Alsace. The solidity of the Breuschheim property and buildings, a physical manifestation of the family's rooted beliefs and traditions, convey a certain sense of security to Claus: 'Diese fertigen Gewißheiten, fertig auch im Wort, gehörten zu Breuschheim wie die Häuser, die Bäume, die Acker' (BV 190).
The pace of life is slow and steady in this 'Land der unerschöpflichen Geduld!' (BV 62, 293) where events such as the harvest are important occasions and closely bound up with the cycle of seasons and religious celebration: '[D]ann öffnete sich die beiden Altarflügel des großen Festes über dem Land: Obsternte und Weinlese' (BV 212). The land, in true *Heimatkunst* tradition, is attributed lasting, eternal virtues that contrast with the feverish unpredictable nature of politics and changes of regime: 'Das Land selbst, das den Wald hervorgebracht hatte, enthüllte makellos sein Schicksal: "Ich war, ich bin, ich werde sein, wie du in deinem Innersten bist, du und alle Genossen unseres Schicksals."' (BV 242).

---

[792] Pott, Hans-Georg (ed.). "Der neue Heimatroman"? Introduction to *Literatur und Provinz. Das Konzept 'Heimat' in der neuern Literatur*. Paderbron: Schöningh, 1986, pp.7-21, Here, pp.12-13.
[793] René Schickele to Adolf von Hatzfeld. Letter dated 3 January 1932. In: *Werke III*. Pages 1161-2. Here, page 1162.
[794] 'Ich arbeite gegenwärtig am zweiten Teil meiner Trilogie "Das Erbe am Rhein". Der Titel , den dieser Band führen wird, "Die Himmlische Landschaft"...' Bentmann, Friedrich. *René Schickele. Leben und Werk in Dokumenten*. Page 163.

Farmwork continues and has to be completed regardless of politics: 'Draußen arbeiteten die Pflüge für die Sommersaat. Das war so, ob nun ein französisches Armeekorps in Nancy stand oder in Essen' (BV 227). Significantly, Ernst, unlike Claus and Balthasar who are close to the land, does not involve himself in the farming activities of the estate, nor does he appear to appreciate the beauties of Nature, being too caught up in nationalist politics to notice. Only when he is ill and removed from his usual environment does he remark on the tranquil atmosphere in the garden of the psychiatric clinic (BV 310). Silvio Wolf is also portrayed as being too engrossed in his autonomist campaign to pay heed to Nature, as Aggie Ruf remarks: 'Warum haben Sie so wenig Sinn für schöne Dinge, für ewig schöne Dinge?' (WH 438). This closeness to the themes of *Heimatliteratur*, particularly in *Blick auf die Vogesen*, is in a sense surprising given that the overriding message of the trilogy is one that promotes the importance of being tolerant and open to different cultures and condemns narrow provincialism or nationalism. The idyllic descriptions of country life on the Breuschheim estate or the identification of the female characters with traditional *Heimat* symbols, such as the forest, are at times problematic as they do leave the trilogy open to misinterpretation as a work that appears at times to endorse *Blut und Boden* myths.

However Schickele's depictions of Nature also serve to undermine this notion. For example, he promotes the Rhine as a potent symbol of the opposition between politics and Nature and of harmony between nations: 'Das Land links des Rheins, das Land rechts des Rheins atmet ein einziges Lächeln' (MC 8). 'Die beiden Länder tranken in gleichen Zügen den Abend, der Rhein wälzte den gleichen Himmel in seinen Wogen' (WH 548).[795] This indicates how Schickele's notion of *Heimat* is fluid with its borders sometimes described as extending from the Vosges to the Rhine, or in other words, inter-war Alsace under French rule: 'Claus [...] betrachtet tiefatmend das Land zwischen Vosgesen und Rhein. Vom Schwarzwald ist nichts zu sehn' (BV 335-6). More frequently, however, the Rhine is seen as a symbol of unity flowing through the middle of a landscape stretching as far as the Black Forest: 'das Land zwischen Schwarzwald und Vogesen ist der gemeinsame Garten, worin deutscher und französischer Geist ungehindert verkehren' (BV 304). This shifting perspective is an example of how Schickele subverts the traditional *Heimatkunst* genre which is more usually limited in scope to a region or land with definite borders. Also undermining the traditional *Heimatkunst* model is Schickele's description of Alsace as a land of mixed blood which unites those of Germanic and Latin heritage: 'Vielfach gemischt und doch einzig'(BV 62), and welcomes strangers, when

[795] There are also many references to the unity of the land between Black Forest and Vosges in *Blick auf die Vogesen*, for example (BV 26, 31, 33, 52, 235).

they do not try to assimilate the indigenous population into their own dominant cultures but rather, try to integrate with them: 'Über all Zäune klettern die Fremden herein. So war es immer: sie waren Fremde und gingen wieder, oder sie blieben und schon ihre Kinder glichen dir bis aufs Haar [...] Wir lieben die Fremden. Wir lieben sie nicht wenn sie als Eroberer kommen oder unter uns zu Eroberern werden' (BV 303). This sentiment opposes a *Heimatliteratur* motif which promotes purity of race and blood and seeks through primordial arguments to exclude those not of the same ethnic background. Schickele's concept of *Heimat* then is one free of any narrow provincialism and is, as Storck points out, in complete contrast to other popular literature of the time in Germany which came under the heading of *Heimatkunst*, the most infamous being Hans Grimm's *Volk ohne Raum.*[796] Thus, if many of the descriptions in the trilogy are concerned with propounding positive images of Alsace and its landscape, it is promoted not as an enclosed space but as a 'Mittelland'. This is exemplified by Jacquot's comment regarding Alsace as being a central rather than a peripheral region and is reminiscent of a similar comment made by Countess Sulz to the French politicians in the play: 'Ich verstehe [...] das Elsaß ist der Mittelpunkt der Erde. Darum dreht sich alles andere' (BV 64). Jacquot's exaggerated description of Alsace as the centre point of the Earth serves to realistically portray a child's perspective of Alsace's position and his words uttered in innocence have a ring of truth and sincerity which underscore the importance of Alsace's mediating potential.

The wider cosmopolitan context of the trilogy is used as an allegory to combat narrow nationalist definitions. The experience of the Other rather than being viewed as threatening is presented positively by Schickele. Here we see how his view of *Heimat* follows in the tradition of Fontane: 'Erst die Fremde lehrt uns, was wir an der Heimat besitzen'.[797] Claus moving easily between his homeland and other more far-flung landscapes, experiences the Otherness of foreign cultures and learns to more clearly discern both his own identity and positive and negative aspects of his native Alsace. In the opening pages of the trilogy, Schickele situates the land between the Vosges and Black Forest in a broader European context which is not just based on East-West relations but also between north and south: 'Aber der Rauch des Schnellzugs Amsterdam-Mailand, der drunten in der Ebene vorbeifährt' (MC 8). In *Maria Capponi* much of the story unfolds in

[796] 'Innerhalb der deutschen Literatur jenes Zeitraums erscheint es dem heutigen Rückblick als ein unmittelbares Gegenstück zu Hans Grimms Volk ohne Raum [...] Im Gegensatz hierzu ist Schickeles Trilogie ohne Ressentiments und ohne Parteilichkeit'. Storck, Joachim W. 'Ein alemannischer Rebell.' In: *Das Markgräflerland*, 1, 1984, pp.3-18. Here, page 9. Grimm, Hans. *Volk ohne Raum.* Munich: A. Langen, G. Müller, 1934.

[797] Fontane, Theodor. *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg. Die Grafschaft Ruppin.* Volume 1. Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1960. Preface.

Venice and Southern France. The south is described in idyllic terms as an exotic, abundant landscape, a cornucopia of fruit, vegetables and flowers: 'Orangen, Mandarinen, Rosen, äckerweit niedere Rosen, Levkojen, Spargeln, Artischocken und wiederum Rosen' (MC 186).[798] The south too is associated with art and is an apolitical space. After Ernst's breakdown, he and Anne-Marie are supposed to move to an artists' colony in St. Raphael in the south of France to distance Ernst from politics (BV 268-9). Thus, the south is regarded as a solution to escaping from the over-politicised atmosphere in Alsace. Claus, as a boy describes his initial impressions of the cosmopolitan atmosphere in Venice: 'Der Markusplatz kam mir vor wie ein Salon ohne Decke [...] [der] Menschen aus allen Erdteilen vorüberzog[en]' (MC 111). The Côte d'Azur too is associated with the same atmosphere of cosmopolitanism. Maria's brother, Bob, regards Alsace as too provincial – 'was wißt ihr im Elsaß von der großen Welt? [...] Hier findest du, was dir fehlt: die große Welt!' (MC 183). However, the fire in St. Paul breaks the idyll for Claus – he suddenly sees things in a different light through this tragedy and begins to question the validity of 'province' necessarily being narrow. The south and its population appear more alien to him, its culture both frivolous and primitive: 'Raub und Raublust, das war die "große Welt", in die Bob mich geheißen hatte zu kommen, damit ich mich aus meiner "provinziellen Enge" befreite! Ein Urwald war die himmlische Küste [...] Die Dschungeln hießen Paläste, Villen, Hotels, Tanz- und Spielsäle, Promenaden' (MC 269). For those like Ada who are apolitical the south is appealing and she would prefer to remain in Nice but Silvio Wolf who has political ambitions insists they move back to Alsace.

Further north, England too, which Woltersdorff argues is 'raumsemantisch deutlich nach "Süden" verschoben und damit als potentieller "Evasionsraum" markiert'[799] is described with summer adjectives reminiscent of Venice and the south: 'England! [...] Mit dem Funkeln einer Götterstirn tauchte es aus dem Meer [...] mit dem Rauschen des Meeres' (WH 409); 'Über den südlichen Grafschaften lag tagtäglich der nackte Mittag [...] die Kinder spielten [...] die Strapazen einer Sommerkampgane von ungewöhlicher Länge' (WH 413). At the end of *Der Wolf in der Hürde*, Jacquot moves to England, just before the Colmar Trial, disillusioned by the growing political malaise in Alsace between the French authorities and the indigenous population. Aggie Ruf too longs to get away from Alsace and thinks of Spain: 'Sehnsucht nach der spanischen Sonne' (WH 471). Silvio Wolf agrees to accompany her as he too needs to temporarily 'escape' from Alsace because of the planned arrests of his autonomist comrades, of which he is aware of in

[798] This contrasts with Baden where the vegetation is dominated by forests: 'Eichen, Lärchen, hochgeschossene Akazien, Buchen und ein paar Edelkastanien' (MC 299).
[799] Wolterdorff, Stefan. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft.* Page 421.

advance: 'Ich muß ohnehin fort, weil acht Tage vor den Wahlen die andern in den Käfig kommen' (WH 471).

Claus, however, feels continually drawn back to Alsace and the Alemannic landscape even if he is also at home in more cosmopolitan milieus. His roots and heritage are to be found in this land between the Vosges and Black Forest: 'Dies Land gehörte nicht mir, ich gehörte ihm' (WH 500), and he often feels he needs to return there: 'in dieses Tal, auf diese Berge mußte ich zurückwandern aus aller Welt [...] es war der Punkt von dem ich ausging und zu dem ich zurückkam [...] fort und wieder heim' (WH 500). Schickele's definition of *Heimat* then is broadened from Alsace to include the Oberrhein area which incorporates in political terms both a part of France and Germany and highlights yet again his desire for peace between these two nations. In the chapter entitled, 'Cadiz, 20 Mai 1928' (WH 500-501), which begins with the metaphor of the Oberrhein area as an open book ('Das Land der Vogesen und das Land des Schwarzwaldes waren wie die zwei Seiten eines aufgeschlagenen Buches' WH 500), we see how Schickele's ideas are transposed from his essay writings to the trilogy demonstrating his continuing preoccupation with Franco-German relations and Alsace's mediating role between the two nations.[800]

Not all the Nature imagery associated with the Oberrhein region, however, is positively portrayed, such as the mountain peak in Baden, Hartmannsweilerkopf, a poignant monument of Nature to the war-dead and described as a 'Totenberg' (WH 293). The war appears to have failed to change mentalities and even the bones of soldiers buried on its slopes are to be separated according to their nationality. Schickele uses the landscape here to convey a powerful message regarding the dangers of ultra-nationalism and the horror of its apotheosis in war. The Vosges too are portrayed as a war memorial to commemorate the futility of hatred and war on the Franco-German border: '[I]hr seid der lange stumme Schrei, daß Deutschland und Frankreich in Unfrieden leben, die Totenklage seid ihr über den dauernden Brudermord' (BV 336). With the depiction of the growing malaise in Alsace and the persistent climate of suspicion in *Der Wolf in der Hürde* it becomes clear that the Rhine border is not yet a suitable place for peace-making. The tensions are too strong in Alsace (WH 194) and it is instead Geneva rather than Strasbourg which is depicted as the mediating centre for peace and a 'Stadt des Friedens' (WH 315, WH 319). Here, Schickele's utopian vision for a supranational model of Europe and co-operation between nations is discussed when Claus attends a League of Nations' conference with Jacquot and Gabriel. Claus again finds himself in a

[800] This passage is to be found in his essay, "Rundreise der fröhlichen Christenmenschen" in 'Wir wollen nicht sterben', discussed in the previous chapter.

cosmopolitan milieu ('die Angehörigen von zwanzig Nationen' WH 321). On the way to the Geneva conference Claus is full of optimism, which is reflected in the landscape he travels through: 'Draußen auf den Wiesen und Wäldern des Spätsommers glänzte das Wort Friede mit dem Feuer eines Edelsteins' (WH 317). Yet Nature pre-empts the failure of the conference just before it begins when Gabriele and Jacquot, looking up at the sky, notice '[s]chwarze Wolke [...] die Wölfe waren gekommen, die Wölfe, und sie fraßen die Lämmerherde auf [...] Auf einmal wurde es kalt'(WH 326). However, in Geneva they also encounter the French foreign minister, Maxime-Simon, who as we saw represented Aristide Briand in *Hans im Schnakenloch.* Maxime-Simon's character is more positively depicted in the trilogy reflecting Schickele's changed attitude towards Briand after the war, when together with Gustav Stresemann, he endeavoured to bring about the rapprochement of France and Germany. This is borne out in the trilogy by Jacquot's reference to him as 'Mann des Friedens' and the children's nickname for him as Christophorus, when Lord Berrick refers to the hump on his back as 'das Kindlein des Weltfriedens' (WH 322). However, Claus is profoundly disappointed by Maxime-Simon's speech at the conference: 'Aus Maxime-Simon sprach die Angst Frankreichs' (WH 381) and when he observes: 'es begrüßte ihn endloser Beifall' (WH 396), he condemns the League of Nations and society in general ('Unsre ganze Gesellschaft begeht Selbstmord, sie ist zu dumm, zu feig' WH 385). Jacquot too is disillusioned by European as well as Alsatian politics and decides to move to England: 'Hier am Rhein ist nicht mehr zu leben' (WH 289), 'Heraus aus dem elenden Land, nur nichts mehr vom Elsaß hören!' (WH 298).

However, Lord Berrick cautions Claus to have patience and warns him against the growing threat of other supranational political initiatives, in particular, Communism, 'die ganze Theorie des Schreckens' (WH 352) which condone violence as a means to achieve their ends. The trilogy's most prominent proponents of Communsim are Silvio Wolf and his disciple, Aggie Ruf. However, Silvio Wolf gradually abandons Communism in favour of autonomism when he marries Ada Hartmann and joins the ranks of the Alsatian bourgeoisie through their alliance. Although recognized as a political opportunist he wins the support of the population as an autonomist candidate but soon after joins the French government and gains a seat in parliament (WH 517). He and Claus are polar opposites not just in their divergent views on politics but also on the importance of family, tradition and heritage.

In the end Claus, alone in Breuschheim with his young daughter after his parents' death and the departure of Jacquot for England, decides to retreat indefinitely to his Waldhaus in Römerbad. The trilogy ends in one sense on a note of disillusion when Claus realizes that the mediating role of Alsace in a supranational Europe is for the time

being utopian until the younger generation return to Alsace. However, the allusion to his forthcoming alliance with Ada leaves the reader with the hope that the heritage on the Rhine will remain intact and be passed on to future generations to promote a more peaceful Europe.

4.4. Conclusion

Schickele's view of Alsace as mediator and bearer of not only a French but also German tradition is not a political argument but a cultural one and the trilogy once again promotes arguments in favour of his mission of 'geistiges Elsässertum'. Claus by the end of the trilogy has matured and it is he who now must safeguard and pass on the dual Alsatian cultural heritage to future generations who are the hope for future peace in Europe: 'Vor mir geht keiner mehr' (WH 551). However, the trilogy ends on a pessimistic note. The younger generation represented by Jacquot and Gabriel have left the over-politicised space of Alsace and Claus is left alone with his infant daughter in the empty house of Breuschheim: 'Doch seht: das Haus der Breuschheim ist geschlossen – wenn auch noch bewohnt. Ein vierzigjähriger Mann und sein zweijähriges Tochter rühren sich darin wie Gespenster' (WH 403). The trilogy's cyclical structure which begins and ends with the same sentence symbolically does not forebode well, indicating that the same mistakes may be repeated again in Alsace and in Europe, as Schickele points out:

> Und was unsere Generation anlangt, so ist sie verurteilt, im Kreise zu gehn, wie es im *Wolf* verschiedentlich heißt, keiner von uns ist mehr ein richtiger Bürger, keiner ein richtger Prolet, wir können bestenfalls als freie Menschen als unabhängige Freischärler bestehn. Deshalb hat der *Wolf in der Hürde*, hat die Trilogie auch kein "Ende", sondern der *Wolf* schließt wörtlich mit dem Satz, mit dem *Maria Capponi* begann.[801]

Schickele saw that the greatest obstacle to overcoming such a disastrous tendency was fear. In Claus's last words to his friend Dr. Savarin in Römerbad he challenges his readers to avoid the mistakes of the past and build a new peaceful Europe, believing that 'uns fehlt ja nur eins: Mut!' (WH 553).

---

[801] René Schickele to Adolf von Hatzfeld. Letter dated 3 January 1932. In: *Werke III.* Pages 1161-1162. Here, page 1162.

Conclusion

Schickele's pessimism with regard to the future of Europe, tangible in the last volume of his trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein*, was justified by subsequent political events. Just a year after the publication of *Der Wolf in der Hürde* he decided to leave Badenweiler and move for an indefinite period of time with his family to the South of France. In fact Schickele was never to return to his Alemannic garden. He spent the last years of his life in France growing steadily more disillusioned with the rise of National-Socialism and worsening situation in Germany and became increasingly disassociated from politics, as a letter to his friend and fellow writer Annette Kolb reveals:

> So lange lebe ich nicht mehr, als daß ich es für meine Mission halten könnte, meine tiefsten Instinkte, meinen wirklichen Glauben (an Licht und Wärme und einfache Menschlichkeit) und meine höchste Lust (Natur und Menschen zu gestalten) zu verleugnen und mich mit der Dressur toller Hunde abzugeben [...] Dieses Tollhaus geht mich nichts mehr an. Die Hälfte meines Lebens (Und mehr) und den grössten Teil meiner Seelenkräfte habe ich vertan in einer Hoffnung, die sich als trügerisch erwiesen hat.[802]

His subsequent writings in Sanary-sur-Mer testify too to his growing despair in these years of 'exile'. The title of his last completed novel *Die Flaschenpost*[803] suggests his sense of abandonment and lack of hope as the spectre of a war in Europe grew ever more likely. The outbreak of war finally sounded for him the death knell of his vision of Franco-German rapprochement and harmony in Europe. However, in contrast to the previous war, Schickele did not suffer from any ambiguity in his loyalties this time. Shortly before his premature death, undoubtedly hastened by a combination of ill-health and his utter disillusion with events in Europe, he declared in a letter to his friend Thomas Mann: 'Zum ersten Mal in meinem Leben bin ich Konformist und fühle mich ganz und gar auf der rechten Seite. [...] Ich glaube an unser Recht und unsern Sieg.'[804] Here, the choice

---

[802] René Schickele to Annette Kolb. Letter dated 17 October 1932. In: Bender, Hans. *Annette Kolb - René Schickele. Briefe im Exil.* Page 23.
[803] Schickele, René. *Die Flaschenpost.* Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1937.
[804] René Schickele to Thomas Mann. Letter dated 18 January 1940. In: *Werke III*, page 1263.

is clear-cut and he aligns himself with all free-thinkers and intellectuals, regardless of nationality, opposed to the Third Reich.

Until the early 1930s, however, Schickele had firmly believed in and was committed to his personal mission of 'geistiges Elsässertum' and this was the recurrent leitmotif in his writings. As I have sought to demonstrate, his belief in a special mediating role for his native Alsace was shaped by his particular double cultural heritage and the conviction that lasting peace in Europe could only be achieved if France and Germany learned to set aside their nationalist rivalries. The first part of this study highlights these rivalries between France and Germany, with special reference to the production of their respective auto- and hetero-images and negative stereotyping of the Other which fed into the polemics of the *Kultur/civilization* debate. Such polemics, as we saw, had an impact on Alsace, regarded as an intrinsic part of the identity make-up of both its mutually hostile neighbours and on the development of its own particularist cultural identity up to the outbreak of World War I. Germany's ethno-centred approach to nationhood and primordialist arguments were in particular focused upon as these were used to justify its annexation of Alsace after the Franco-Prussian war. Schickele's wartime drama *Hans im Schnakenloch* addresses these issues of politics and identity on a fictional level. It serves as a vehicle for his idea of 'geistiges Elsässertum' and a plea against the futility of war. In particular the response to the ambivalent loyalties expressed in the play, particularly by its protagonist, highlight the controversy surrounding the censorship and reception of this drama in the highly politicised climate of the time. It demonstrates just how radical Schickele's views on Franco-German harmony were considered to be in some quarters.

The discussion of life in Alsace under French rule focussed upon in the second part of this study traces the initial euphoria, growing disillusion and finally the rise of the autonomist movement before examining Schickele's response to this situation in his essays and correspondence. Alsace's cultural and political issues have been concentrated upon here, particularly in relation to questions of language and religion. The impossiblity for Alsace to renege on one part of its cultural heritage to conform to the demands of a rival Other is highlighted again. In the trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein*, Schickele portrays life in inter-war Alsace for one Alsatian family against the backdrop of the growing *malaise* and discusses the possible political constellations for Alsace within Europe. Here we see how his notion of 'geistiges Elsässertum' has broadened to promote Alsace as a cultural mediator not just between France and Germany but as a cornerstone for harmonious relations in

Europe. For Schickele the border mentality prevalent in the particularly turbulent times he lived through had to be overcome if Europe were to enjoy lasting peace. Schickele's vision for a more fluid, open European space where national borders would gradually become irrelevant has of course today largely become a reality within the European Union. France and Germany are at the core of this union which Schickele had predicted as a necessity for lasting peace in Europe. Strasbourg too enjoys a symbolic role as a European city and centre of intercultural exchange. Although the question of Alsace is no longer an issue since it returned to France after World War II, it is hoped that the questions raised and discussed in this thesis will be of relevance to other ethnic minorities struggling to assert their cultural identity in different parts of Europe today.

Bibliography

1. Primary Sources. Consulted Works by René Schickele

(i) Collections

Werke in Drei Bänden. (Hermann Kesten, ed.). Cologne, Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1959.

Romane und Erzählungen. Volumes I, II. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1983.

Überwindung der Grenze – Essays zur deutsch-französischen Verständigung. (Adrien Finck, ed.). Kehl, Strasbourg, Basel: Morstadt Verlag, 1987.

(ii) Fiction

Der Fremde. In: *Werke I*, pp. 1013-1180.

Meine Freundin Lo. In: *Romane und Erzählungen.* Volume I, pp.15-98.

Benkal der Frauentröster. In: *Romane und Erzählungen.* Volume I, pp.99-191.

Hans im Schnakenloch. Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen. Berlin: Verlag der Weißen Bücher, 1915.

- In: *Die Weißen Blätter*, 3, 1, January 1916, pp. 1-100.
- Munich: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1927.
- In: *Werke III*, pp. 9-108.

Ein Erbe am Rhein. Two volumes. Munich: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1925.

Das Erbe am Rhein. Three volumes.

- *Maria Capponi.* (Volume 1). Berlin: S. Fischer, 1983.
  In: *Werke I*, pp. 21-336.
- *Blick auf die Vogesen.* (Volume 2). Berlin: S. Fischer, 1983.
  In: *Werke I*, pp. 337-640.
- *Der Wolf in der Hürde.* (Volume 3). Berlin: S. Fischer, 1931.
  In: *Werke I*, pp. 641-1012.

Die Witwe Bosca. Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein Taschenbuch, 1985.

Die Flaschenpost. Baden Baden: Bibliothek Suhrkamp, 1976.

Le Retour. In: *Werke III*, pp. 779-833.

(iii) Essays and Speeches

Autobiographische Notizen. In: *Werke III*, pp. 837-840.

Unterwegs mit Büchern. In: *Werke III*, pp. 941-944.

Die elsässische Frage. In: *Werke III*, pp. 977-978.

Die Pflicht zur Demokratie. In: *Werke III*, pp. 979-984.

Leben ohne Inquisition. In: *Werke III*, pp. 993-998.

Erlebnis der Grenze. In: *Werke III*, pp. 999-1006.

Weihnachtswunsch. In: *Werke III*, pp. 1007-1010.

(iv) Essay Books

Schreie auf dem Boulevard. In: *Werke III*, pp. 275-412.

Die Genfer Reise. In: *Werke III*, pp. 413-454.

Wir wollen nicht Sterben. In: *Werke III*, pp. 455-544.

Himmlische Landschaft. In: *Werke III*, pp. 545-586.

Die Grenze. In: *Werke III*, pp. 587-702.

(v) Articles

Die Politik der Geistigen. In: *März,* 7, 1, 1913, pp. 405-407, 440-441; 7, 2, 1913, pp.30-31.

Stille Betrachtungen nach den Zaberner Tagen. In: *Cahiers Alsaciens*, 3, 1914, pp.19-23.

Glossen. In: *Die Weißen Blätter,* 3, 1, 1916, p.134.

Anläßlich des Hans im Schnakenloch. In: *Das Literarische Echo*, 19, 17, June 1917, pp.1098

Neues von Tage. Schickele über *'Hans im Schnakenloch'*. In: *Straßburger Post.* Morning
edition, 17 April 1917.

Selbstporträt. In: *Das Tribunal*, 2, 1, 1920, pp.3-4.

Ende und Anfang. In: *Das literarische Echo*, 23, 18, 15 June 1921, pp.1091-1095.

Briand, Valeriu Marcu und ich. In: *Die Literarische Welt*, 3, 11, March 1927, p.3.

Meine Elsässer. In: *Die Neue Rundschau*, 38, 1, 1927, pp.241-260.

Vorrede zu Hans im Schnakenloch. In: *Der Freihafen*, 11, 2, 1928, pp.2-4

Briand in Genf. In: *Die Neue Rundschau*, 39, 2, 1928, pp.578-590.

Légende et Réalité. In: *La Revue des Vivants*, 7, July 1928, pp.37-48.

Europäisch Reden. In: *Die Literatur*, 32, 1929/30, pp. 325-326. In: *Werke III*, pp.931-933.

Hoffnung. In: *Die Literarische Welt*, 7, 51/52, 17 December 1931, p.2.

(vi) Miscellaneous

Preface to Riou, Gaston. *Europa. Mein Vaterland.* (Translation from French: Marguerite Wolf.) Leipzig, Strasbourg, Zürich: Heitz & Co. 1929, pp.vii-xviii.

Tagebücher. In: *Werke III,* pp.1011-1130.

Briefe. In: *Werke III,* pp.1131-1264.

Die Weißen Blätter. Eine Monatsschrift. René Schickele: (Publisher) January 1915-August 1917 and June 1918-March 1920; (Editor) January-October 1915, March 1916-June 1920, Leipzig: Verlag der Weißen Bücher, 1915-March 1916; Zurich, Leipzig: Rascher & Co. April 1916-July 1917; Bern: Verlag der Weißen Bücher, July 1918-December 1918; Berlin: Paul Cassirer, January 1919-March 1920.

(vii) Translations

Gidon, Blanche. *Jean 'du Nid de Moustiques'.* Paris: Les Oeuvres Libres, Librarie Arthème, Fayard, 1940.

2. Secondary Sources. René Schickele: Life and Works

(i) Articles and Book Excerpts

Ackermann, Paul Kurt. Excerpts from an unpublished diary of René Schickele. In: *Monatshefte,* 46, 1954, pp.332-338.

Alexandre, Maxime. Un écrivain européen: René Schickele. In: *Notre Europe*, 9,10, 1951, pp. 56-60

Baudinot, André. *Les Ecrivains Alsaciens dans la Littérature Allemande.* Paris: Librarie Alcan, F., 1937, pp.139-141.

Bieber, Konrad. La langue française dans les lettres allemandes. In: *Revue de Littérature Comparée.* 36, 1, January- March 1962, pp. 96-110.

Brion, Marcel. René Schickele, écrivain Alsacien. In: *Le Point*, 2, 1937, pp.69-71.

Büchler, Franz. René Schickele. Ein literarisches Porträt. Frankfurt am Main: *Erwin von Steinbach Stiftung,* Vol.1., 1965, pp.105-125.

Casper, Paul. Köpfe aus vergangenen Tagen. In: *Bonjour*, 1 July 1961, p.15.

Edschmid, Kasimir. Dichter, Zeit, René Schickele. In: *Die doppelköpfige Nymphe. Aufsätze über die Literatur und die Gegenwart.* Berlin: Paul Cassirer Verlag, 1920, pp. 47-55.

Fichter, Charles. René Schickele et l'Alsace avant la Première Guerre Mondiale. *In: Land un Sproch. Les Cahiers du Bilinguisme*, 6, 1978, pp. 5-6.

- Sturm und Drang im Elsass. La question de la Constitution de 1911. In: *Budderflade*, 16, 1979, pp. 27-29.

- Sturm und Drang im Elsass. René Schickele. Die Weissen Blätter et la guerre de '14-'18. In: *Budderflade*, 17, 1979, pp.14-17.

Finck, Adrien. René Schickele und das 'geistige Elsässertum'. In: *Land un Sproch. Les Cahiers du Bilinguisme,* 2, 13, 1983, pp.9-10.

- Actualité de René Schickele. In: *Revue Alsacienne de Littérature*, 3, 1983, pp. 94-100.
- Hommage à Schickele. In: *Revue Alsacienne de Littérature*, 10, June 1985, Special Edition, (Finck, Adrien ed.).
- Situation de la littérature de langue allemande en Alsace. In: *L'Allemand en Alsace. Die deutsche Sprache im Elsass.* Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 28th-30th November 1985, pp. 131-144, (Finck, Adrien ed.). Strasbourg: Presse Universitaires, 1988.

Gall, Jean-Marie. Nouveau Regard sur René Schickele. In: *Revue Alsacienne de Littérature*, 57, 8, 1997, pp. 81-84.

Heitzler, Pierre. René Schickele und die Heimatrechte. In: *Voix d'Alsace-Lorraine*, 15 January 1963, Strasbourg, pp.1, 4.

Jansen, Peter. Politik und Eros. Gelegentlich über Schickele. In: *Streit-Zeit-Schrift*, 5, 2, 1966, pp.13-16.

Kolb, Annette. *René Schickele*. In: *Blätter in dem Wind*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1954, pp. 198-203.

Lion, Ferdinand. Deutschland, Frankreich, Schickelé (sic!). In: *Der Neue Merkur*, 6, 1922, pp. 74-84.

Lehnert, Herbert. Neues zur Biographie Thomas Manns 1992, 1. Review Article. 'Jahre des Unmuts. Thomas Manns Briefwechsel mit René Schickele 1930-1940.' In: *Orbis Litterarum*, 49, 1994, pp.52-55.

Mann, Thomas. René Schickele. Vorrede zur "Die Witwe Bosca". Frankfurt am Main: Privatdruck, Gesellschaft der Freunde René Schickeles, 1951, pp.3-7.

Meyer, Julie. Madonna-Kore und Mänade. Zeugnisse zum Wandel des Frauenbildes im Werk René Schickeles zwischen 1907 und 1917. In: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 17, 1976, pp. 191-246.

Meyer-Boghardt, Julie. 'Cher maître': Die Korrespondenz zwischen René Schickele und Romain Rolland mit einigen ergänzenden Dokumenten. In: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 29, Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1988, pp.85-136.

- René Schickeles Anti-Muse oder: wie die Wirklichkeit die Fiktion einholte. In: *Recherches Germaniques*, 18, 1988, pp.103-120.

Ohabe. René Schickele – Geist und Weisheit zweier Völker. Ein Vordenker Europas würde 100 Jahre. In: *Der Westen,* 30, 4, July-August 1983, pp.5-6.

Robertson, Eric. Art and Propaganda. Two Dramatic Portrayals of Wartime Alsace. In: *German Life and Letters,* 45, 2, April 1992, pp.126-139.

- The French Exile of René Schickele and Ernst Erich Noth. In: *German Life and Letters*, 45, 3, July 1992, pp. 244-248.

Rogister, Margaret. Romain Rolland: One German View. In: *The Modern Language Review*, 86, April 1991, pp. 349–360.

Schneider, Camille. Les 70 ans de René Schickele. In: *Magazine Ringier, Alsace et Moselle,*32, 1959.

Schneider, Arthur von. Erinnerung an René Schickele. In: *Baden. Monographie einer Landschaft*, 3, 2, 1951, pg. 28.

Schumacher, Jean-Jacques. Connaissance de René Schickele. In: *Saisons d'Alsace*, 4, Spring, 1965, pp. 159-179.

- A propos d'un livre récent: rédécouverte de René Schickele. In: *Allemagnes d'aujourd'hui*, 49, 1975, pp. 80-93.

Schuhmann, Thomas, B. Über René Schickele. In: *Plädoyers gegen das Vergessen. Porträts und Aufsätze über vergessesne Autoren des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Verlag Europaïsche Ideen, 1979, pp. 86-87.

Seltz, Thomas. Un grand écrivain alsacien: René Schickele, 1883-1940. In: *Elan Cahier*, 3, 4, 1959, pp. 14-15.

- Souvenirs sur René Schickele. (2) L'écrivain et le journaliste. In: *Elan Cahier*, 3, 5, 1959, pp. 14-5.

Stadler, Ernst. Essays. René Schickele. In: *Dichtungen, Gedichte und Übertragungen mit einer Auswahl der kleinen kritischen Schriften und Briefe.* Volume 2, Hamburg: Ellermann, 1954, pp. 79-102.

Staiber, Maryse. Situation de René Schickele en France (1932-1940). In: *Revue d'Allemagne,* April / June 1986, pp. 265-277.

S[torck], J[oachim]. René Schickele. Qui était-il? In: *Land un Sproch. Les Cahiers du Bilinguisme,* 2, 3, 1978. Strasbourg: Cercle René Schickele. Special edition – 10th anniversary, 1968-1978, pp.5-6.

Storck, Joachim W. 'Rebellenblut in den Adern.' René Schickele als politischer Schriftsteller. In: *Recherches Germaniques*, 9, 1979, pp. 278-307.

- Ein alemannischer Rebell. Zum hundersten Geburtstag von René Schickele am 4.8.1983. In: *Das Markgräflerland*, 1, 1984, pp. 3-18.
- 'Meine Herkunft ist mein Schicksal.' Heimat als Problem beim 'zweisprachigen Grenzvogel' René Schickele. In: *Heimat im Wort. Die Problematik eines Begriffs im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Rüdiger, Görner (ed.). Munich: Iudicium Verlag 1992, pp. 106-116.

- 'Himmlische Landschaft.' René Schickeles Haus in Badenweiler. Eine Mongraphie. In: *Spuren*, 29, May 1995.

Stoskopf, Charles Gustave / Temp, Genevieve. Schickele et la 'Strassburger Neue Zeitung'. In: *Objectif Alsace*, 24, May 1988, pp.10-12.

Streicher, Jean-Claude. 'René Schickele "Autonomiste".' In: *Rot un Wiss*, 76, 1982, page 3.

Ulrich, Margot. Thomas Mann und René Schickele im Exil. Plädoyer für einen Briefwechsel. In: *Heinrich Mann Jahrbuch*, 1, 1983, pp. 171-186.

Wacker, E. Der große unbekannte René Schickele gehört uns. In: *L'ami du peuple / Der Volksfreund,* 7 July 1968.

(ii) Books and Theses

Bentmann, Friedrich. *René Schickele. Leben und Werk in Dokumenten*. Nuremberg: Verlag Hans Carl, 1974.

Bender, Hans (ed.). *Annette Kolb. René Schickele. Briefe im Exil 1933-1940.* Mainz: von Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1987.

Ertz, Michael. *Friedrich Lienhard und René Schickele. Elsässische Literaten zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich.* Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Presse, 1990.

Fichter, Charles. *René Schickele et l'Alsace jusqu'en 1914.* Obernai: Imprimerie Gyss, 1978.

Finck, Adrien. *Introduction a l'oeuvre de René Schickele.* Kehl, Strasbourg, Basel: Salde / Morstadt Verlag, 1982.

Finck, Adrien / Staiber, Maryse (ed.). *Elsässer, Europaër, Pazifist. Studien zu René Schickele.* Kehl, Strasbourg, Basel: Salde / Morstadt Verlag, 1984.

Finck, Adrien / Ritter, Alexandre / Staiber, Maryse (ed.). *René Schickele aus neuer Sicht. Beiträge zur deutsch-französischen Kultur*. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Presse, 1991.

Gall, Jean-Marie. *René Schickele. Environnement familiale, sociale et culturel (1883-1904).* Typewritten doctoral thesis. Strasbourg, 1995.

Godé, Maurice. *Les théories utopistes dans les revues expressionistes allemandes, 'der Sturm', 'die Aktion', die Weißen Blätter' – Théories et Réalisations*. Typewritten doctoral thesis, University of Lille, 1986.

Meyer, Julie. *Vom elsässischen Kunstfrühling zur utopischen Civitas Hominum. Jugendstil und Expressionismus bei René Schickele (1900-1920).* Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1981.

Noe, Helga. *Die literarische Kritik am Ersten Weltkrieg in der Zeitschrift "Die Weissen Blätter":René Schickele, Annette Kolb, Max Brod, Andras Latzko, Leonard Frank.* University of Zurich doctoral thesis. Constance: Offset Druck Maus, 1986.

Robertson, Eric. *Writing between the lines. René Schickele, 'Citoyen français, deutscher Dichter (1883-1940).* Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995.

Schumacher, Jean-Jacques. *Das Romanwerk von René Schickele. Thematik und Entwicklung (1907-1937).* Typewritten doctoral thesis, University of Paris, 1960.

Seubert, Holger. *Deutsch-französische Verständigung: René Schickele.* Munich: Eberhard Verlag, 1993.

Wagener, Hans. *René Schickele. Europäer in neun Monaten.* Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 2000.

Woltersdorff, Stefan. *Chronik einer Traumlandschaft. Elsaßmodelle in Prosatexten von René Schickele (1899-1932).* Bern: Peter Lang, 2000.

Wysling, Hans / Bernini, Cornelia (ed.). *Jahre des Unmuts. Thomas Manns Briefwechsel mit René Schickele 1930-1940.* Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1992.

(iii) On *Hans im Schnakenloch*

Albert, Henri. Lettres Allemandes. In: *Mercure de France*, 31, 138, 521, 1 March 1920, p.526

Anon. Arbeiter-Zeitung, 26 January 1918. (Morning edition) p.6.

Anon. Von den Bühnen. In: *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 28 November 1918. (Evening edition).

Anon. Hans im Schnakenloch. In: *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, 10 October 1917.

Anon. Schickeles 'Hans im Schnakenloch'. In: *Vossische Zeitung*, 19 December 1916. (Morning edition).

Anon. *Straßburger Post,* 20 December 1916. (Morning edition). Front page.

Anon. Schickele im Berliner Kleinen Theater. In: *Straßburger Post,* 30 March 1917. (Midday edition).

Bab, Julius. 'René Schickele als Dramatiker.' In: *Die Schaubühne*, 12, 2, 40, 3 October 1916, pp.311-315.

Boerschel, Ernst. Aus den Theatern. 'Hans im Schnakenloch'. Schauspiel von René Schickele. In: *Kreuzzeitung*, 30 March 1917.

Großman, Stefan. Schickeles Dichtung. Zur Erstaufführung von Hans im Schnakenloch. In: *Vossische Zeitung*, 30 March 1917.

H.K. *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, 30 March 1917. (Morning edition).

J.K. In: *Berlin Lokalanzeiger,* 30 March 1917. (Morning edition) p.4.

Kerr, Alfred. René Schickele. Hans im Schnakenloch. *Der Tag. Illustrierter Teil,* 31 March 1917.

Meyerfeld, Max. Hans im Schnakenloch. In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 7 April 1917. (Morning edition).

Muret, Maurice. 'Un Drame Pseudo-Alsacien. *Hans im Schnakenloch.*' In: *Feuillton du Journal des Débats,* 181, 2 July 1920, pp.1-2.

Santen, Eugen von. *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, 13 September 1917. (Evening edition), supplement 1, p.3. Letter to the editor.

Servaes, Franz. 'Hans im Schnakenloch'. René Schickeles Schauspiel im Kleinen Theater. In: *Berliner Morgenpost,* 31 March 1917, supplement, p.2.

Strecker, Karl. René Schickele: Hans im Schnakenloch. In: *Tägliche Rundschau*, 30 March 1917. (Morning edition).

Thyssen. Hans im Schnakenloch. In: *Germania*, 31 March 1917. (Morning edition) supplement, p.5.

Wolf, Charles. 'Le *Hans im Schnakenloch* de René Schickele et la Censure de la Guerre.' In: *Elsass-Land, Lothringer Heimat*, 16, June 1936, pp.171-172.

(iv) On *Das (Ein) Erbe am Rhein*

Barthel, Ernst. 'René Schickele – ein elsässisches Glaubensbekenntnis.' In: *Elsässsisches Literaturblatt,* 1, December 1931.

Gehrke, M. M. 'Das Erbe am Rhein.' In: *Die Weltbühne*, 22, I, 1926, pp.937-938.

Hausenstein, Wilhelm. 'René Schickeles *Erbe am Rhein.*' In: *Der Lesezirkel*, 15, 6, 1927/28, pp.55-59.

- 'Der Wolf in der Hürde.' In: *Die Literatur,* 34, October 1931-September 1932, p.270.

Heine, Anselma. 'Der Erbe am Rhein.' [*sic*]. In: *Die Literatur*, 28, October 1925/1926, pp.395-396.

Hessel, Franz. 'René Schickele: Der Wolf in der Hürde.' In: *Die Literarische Welt*, 7, 44, 1931, pp.5-6.

Holtz, Günter. Das Erbe am Rhein. Mythos, Glaube und europaïsche Vision im Werk René Schickeles. In: *Recherches Germaniques,* 21, 1991, pp.161-176.

Korrodi Eduard. 'René Schickeles *Erbe am Rhein*'. In: *Die Literarische Welt*, 2, 2, 8 January 1926, p.6.

Lieser, Dietmar. 'René Schickele: Natur und Politik in der elsässischen Trilogie *Das Erbe am Rhein.*' In: *Literarisches Schreiben aus regionaler Erfahrung. Westfalen - Rheinland – Oberschlesien und darüber hinaus*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1996, pp.252-266.

Rheinland – Oberschlesien und darüber hinaus. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1996, pp.252-266.

Lützeler, Heinrich. 'René Schickele (Blick auf die Vogesen)' In: *Orplid*, 5, 7/8, 1928/29, pp.95-96.

- 'Neue Romane - Kritik (Wolf in der Hürde)'. In: *Hochland*, 29, 2, April-September 1932, pp.176-180.

Mann, Heinrich. 'Der Roman von René Schickele. Deutsche Dichter über Dichtungen unserer Zeit.' In: *Die Literarische Welt,* 2, 43, 22, October 1926, p.1.

Milch, Werner. 'Der Wolf in der Hürde.' In: *Die Literatur*, 34, October 1931-September 1932, pp.286-287

Olden, Balder. Neue Bücher. René Schickele: Ein Erbe am Rhein. In: *Uhu*, 2, 12, 1925/26, pp.130-131.

Ossowski, Miroslav. Eine europaïsche Provinz. Die Vision vom geeinigten Europa in René Schickeles eläsisscher Trilogie, Das Erbe am Rhein. In: *Euphorion,* 89, 1995, pp.428-437.

Ransohoff, Georg. 'Blick auf die Vogesen.' In: *Die Literatur*, 30, October 1927/28, pp.305-306.

Rasch, Wolfdietrich. Gespaltene Liebe. Über René Schickele. Das Erbe am Rhein. In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* 29 July 1982, pp.315-320.

Rockenbach, Martin. Über René Schickeles Roman *Ein Erbe am Rhein.* In: *Rede und Antwort. Kritische Rundschau der Monatsschrift Orplid*, 3, 3, 1926/27, pp.91-93.

Ruppel, K.H. 'Deutsche Romane (Der Wolf in der Hürde)'. In: *Die Neue Rundschau*, 42, 2, December 1931, pp.833-835.

Tuckermann, Régine. *La Trilogie Romanesque. Das Erbe am Rhein de René Schickele. Genèse, Forme, Message.* Typewritten doctoral thesis. University of Strasbourg, 1990.

Ueberschlag, Georges. Poète, paysage et politique dans la trilogie 'Das Erbe am Rhein'. In: *Revue Alsacienne de Littérature*, 10, 1985, pp.35-42.

Wiegler, Paul. 'Romanrundschau (Blick auf die Vogesen).' In: *Die Neue Rundschau*, 39, 1, 1928, pp. 530-531.

Wolf, Carl Albert. 'Das Elsass und René Schickele – Ein Bekenntnis zu seinem Roman, *Das Erbe am Rhein.*' In: *Ein Almanach für Kunst und Dichtung*, I, 1927, pp.95-102.

3. Alsace: History, Politics, Language and Culture

(i) Books and Articles

Ara, Angelo / Kolb, Eberhard (ed.). *Grenzregionen im Zeitalter der Nationalismen. Elsaß-Lothringen/Trent/Triest, 1870-1914.* Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1998.

- L'autonomisme alsacien dans l'entre-deux-guerres. In: *Historiens et Géographes. Alsace, terre rhénane, porte de l'Europe*, 347, February 1995, pp.249-255.

Bastian, Ferdinand. *D'r Hans im Schnokeloch. Volksspiel in 4 Aufzügen mit Musik, Gesang und Tanz.* Strasbourg: Nouveau Journal, 1930 (Second edition).

Camille, Lucien / Leroux, Gaston. *Alsace.* Paris, 1913.

Dollinger, Philippe (ed.). *Histoire de l'Alsace.* Toulouse: Univers de la France, Privat 1970.

- *Documents de l'Histoire de l'Alsace.* Toulouse: Univers de la France, Privat, 1972.

- *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos jours.* Toulouse: Univers de la France, Privat, 1979.

Dreyfus, François G. *La Vie Politique en Alsace, 1919-1936.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1969.

Dumser, Jean. *Bekenntnisse eines waschechten els.-loth. Autonomisten.* Nancy: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1929.

Essig, Michael. *Das Elsaß auf der Suche nach seiner Identität.* Nuremberg: Essig, M., 1993.

Grossmann, Robert. *Comtesse de Pourtalès. Une Cour française dans l'Alsace Impériale 1836-1870-1914.* Strasbourg: Éditions La Nuée Bleue/DNA, 1995.

Grumbach, Salomon. Une réponse et quelques réflexions. In: *La Revue des Vivants*, 7, July 1928, pp.79-86.

Grund, Uwe / Scholdt, Günter (ed.). *Literatur an der Grenze. Der Raum Saarland-Lothringen-Luxemburg-Elsaß als Problem der literaturgeschichtsschreibung.* Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Drückerei, 1992.

Heitz, Robert. *Souvenirs de jadis et de naguère.* Stammbach: R. Heitz, 1963.

Hoffet, Frédéric. *Psychanalyse de l'Alsace.* Colmar: Alsatia Editions, 1994.

Hoffmann, Charlotte (ed.). *Language, Culture and Communication in Contemporary Europe.* Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1996.

Igersheim, François. *L'Alsace des Notables 1870 – 1914. La Bourgeoisie et le Peuple Alsacien.* Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 1981.

J.Z. In Memoriam. Camille Dahlet. In: *Europa Ethnica*, 21, 1, 1964, pp.60-62.

Kiener, Fritz. L'Alsace après le verdict de Colmar. In: *La Revue des Vivants*, 7, July 1928, pp.49-70.

Knittel, Jean. L'âme alsacienne. In: *La Revue des Vivants*, 7, July 1928, pp.71-78.

Lévy, Paul. *Histoire Linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine de la Révolution Française à 1918.* Volumes I and II. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 1929

Loth, Gisèle. *Un Rêve de France. Pierre Bucher, une passion française au coeur de l'Alsace allemande.* Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue/ Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 2000.

Lutz, Desiré. *Ferdinand Bastian. Zu seinem 60. Geburtstag.* In: *Heimatsstimmen*, 6, 7, 10 July 1928, pp. 439-441.

Mayeur, Jean-Marie. *Autonomie et Politique en Alsace. La Constitution de 1911.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1970.

Mayeur, Jean-Marie. *Autonomie et Politique en Alsace. La Constitution de 1911.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1970.

Möller von. *Sammlung der in Elsaß-Lothringen geltenden Gesetze.* Volume 1: Verfassungsrecht und Gesetzbücher. Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner Verlag, 1880.

Oberlé Philippe. Die elsässische und lothringische Bevölkerung und ihre einheimischen Künstler. In: *Der Eiserne Mann. L'Homme de Fer. Kultur-Literatur Kritik,* Strasbourg, 2, 1 November 1924, pp.26-27.

Philipps, Eugéne. *Les Luttes Linguistiques en Alsace jusqu'en 1945.* Strasbourg: L'Alsatique de Poche, 1975.

Schuré, Edouard. Le drame intérieur de l'Alsace. In: *La Revue des Vivants*, 7, July 1928, pp. 28-36.

Siegburg, Heinz-Otto. Die Elsaß-Lothringen-Frage in der deutsch-französischen Diskussion von 1871 bis 1914. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Saargegend.* 17/18, 1970, pp.12-13.

Silverman, Dan. *Reluctant Union: Alsace-Lorraine and Imperial Germany 1871-1918.* Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972.

Strauss, Léon. Le malaise alsacien et le développement de l'autonomisme. la vie politique en Alsace dans l'entre-deux-guerres. In: *Historiens et Géographes. Alsace, terre rhénane, porte de l'Europe*, 347, February 1995, pp. 227-237.

Streicher, Jean-Claude. René Schickele 'Autonomiste'. In: *Rot un Wiss*, 76, 1982, p.3.

Trunck, Sylvie. *Représentation de l'Alsacien dans le Théâtre Régional.* Masters Thesis. University of Strasbourg, 1992.

Vogler, Bernard. *Histoire Culturelle de l'Alsace. Du Moyen Âge à nos jours. Les très riches heures d'une région frontière.* Strasbourg: Éditions La Nuée Bleue / Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 1993.

- *Histoire Politique de l'Alsace. De la Révolution à nos jours, un panorama des passions alsaciennes.* Strasbourg: Éditions La Nuée Bleue / Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, 1995.

Weiss, René. *Le Premier Voyage Officiel en Alsace-Lorraine Française, 8,9,10 Décembre 1918.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1919.

Wolff, Phillipe (ed.). *L'Alsace de 1900 à nos jours.* Toulouse: Univers de la France, Privat, 1979.

Zorn von Bulach, Claus. *Aus meinem Leben.* Osthausen: Privatdruck, 1926.

- Erinnerungen aus meinem politischen Leben. Osthausen: Privatdruck, 1928.

(ii) Press articles

La Ligue D'Alsace. Elsässer Liga. Mulhouse, No. 29, 1873, No. 33, no date, No. 39 December, 1876.

Elsässische Kulturfragen. Mitteilungen der Elsass-Lothringischen Vereinigung. 12, 1910, pp. 360-369.

Journal d'Alsace-Lorraine, 131, 1, 21 November 1918.

Bergner, Georges. 'Bonnes Feuilles – La littérature régionaliste d'Alsace en 1925.' In: *L'Alsace française, Revue Hebdomadaire d'action nationale* 261, XI, 2 January 1926, p.9.

'Der Zusammenbruch der französischen Politik in Elsaß-Lothringen. Eine Bilanz.' In: *Elsass-Lothringen Heimatsstimmen,* 1, 20 January 1928, pp.7-13.

'Pour l'Alsace et la Lorraine. Le malentendu général.' In : *Le Figaro*, 27 January 1926.

'Pour l'Alsace et la Lorraine. Le devoir de tous.' In: *Le Figaro*, 29 January 1926.

Elsass-Lothringen Heimatsstimmen, 2, 10 February 1929, pp.80-82.

Vermeil, Edmond. 'L'autonomisme alsacien et ses horizons européens.' In: *L'Alsace Française. Revue Hebdomadaire d'action nationale,* 27 March 1926, pp. 249-251.

'Le Procès des Autonomistes Alsaciens.' In: *Le Figaro*, 2 May 1928.

'Le Procès des Autonomistes Alsaciens.' In: *Le Figaro*, 3 May 1928.

'German Comment. An Attitude of Detachment.' In: *The Times*, 26 May 1928, p.12.

'The Alsace Trial.' In: *The Times*, 26 May 1928, p.13.

La République, 27 May 1928, Front page.

'Nach Colmar. Die Montierung eines politischen Prozesses.' In: *La République,* 31 May 1928, p.2.

'Aufruf an alle heimattreuen Elsass-Lothringer.' In: *Elsaß-Lothringer Zeitung* (*ELZ*), 7 December 1929, p.1.

Parliamentary Session 29 January 1929, In: *L'Alsace Française. Revue Hebdomadaire d'action nationale*, 10 February 1929, pp.114-119.

Interview with Abbé Haegy. In: *L'Alsace Française. Revue Hebdomadaire d'action nationale*, 31 March 1930, p.179.

4. Nationhood, History, Culture, Identity

Agulhon, Maurice. *The French Republic 1879 – 1992.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. Originally, *La République*. Paris: Hachette, 1990.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London, New York: Verso, 1983.

Arndt, Ernst, Moritz. *Der Rhein, Deutschlands Strom aber nicht Deutschlands Grenze.* Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam, 1845.

Auclair, Marcelle. *La Vie de Jaurès ou la France d'avant 1914.* Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1954.

Barnard, F.M. *Herder's Social and Political Thought from Enlightenment to Nationalism.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Barrès, Maurice. *Scènes et Doctrines du Nationalisme.* Paris: Juven, 1900.

Barièty, Jacques / Poidevin, Raymond. *Les Relations franco-allemandes 1815-1975.* Paris: A. Colin, 1977.

Bhabha, Homi. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge, 1990.

- *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Blackbourn, David. *The Fontana History of Germany 1780-1918. The Long Nineteenth Century.* London: Fontana Press, 1997.

Blackbourn, David / Eley, Geoff. *The Peculiarities of German History – Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth Century Germany.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Brogan, D.W. *The Development of Modern France 1870 – 1939.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1967.

Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Brüggeman, Beate / Riehle, Rainer. *Das Dorf: Über die Modernisierung einer Idylle.* Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1986.

Chickering, Roger. *We Men who feel most German. A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886-1914.* Boston, Mass., London: Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Corbey, Raymond / Leerssen, Joep (ed.). *Alterity, Identity, Image. Selves and Other in Society and Scholarship.* Amsterdam, Atlanta, GA.: Rodopi, 1991.

Culler, Jonathan. *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism.* London, Melbourne, Henley: Routledge & Kegan, 1983.

De Staël, Madame. *De l'Allemagne.* Volumes I and II. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968.

Digeon, Claude. *La Crise Allemande de la Pensée Française.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959.

Docherty, Thomas. *Alterities – Criticism, History, Representation.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Du Gay, Paul / Hall, Stuart. *Questions of Cultural Identity.* London, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996.

Eley, Geoff (ed.). *Society, Culture and the State in Germany 1870 – 1930.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Eliot, T.S. *Notes towards a Definition of Culture.* London: Faber & Faber, 1948.

Emmerich, Wolfgang. *Zur Kritik der Volkstumsideologie.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1971.

Entrikin, J. Nicholas. *The Betweenness of Place. Towards a Geography of Modernity.* London: MacMillan Education, 1991.

Essig, Michael. *Das Elsaß auf der Suche nach seiner Identität.* Nuremberg University, 1993.

Essig, Michael. *Europäische Identitätsfindung Das Reich as europäische Vision.* Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Verlag, 1999.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

- *Nationalism.* London: Phoenix, 1997.

Giesen, Bernhard. *Intellectuals and the Nation – Collective Identity in a German Axial Age.* Cambridge: University Press 1998. Original title: *Die Intellektuellen und die Nation.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1993.

- *Kollektive Identität. Die Intellektuellen und die Nation 2.* Suhrkamp Verlag. Frankfurt am Main, 1999.

Gillies, Alexander. *Herder.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1945.

Goldberg, Harvey. *The Life of Jean Jaurès.* Madison WI: University of Wisconsin, 1968.

Görner, Rüdiger. (ed.). *Heimat im Wort – Die Problematik eines Begriffs im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Munich: Iudicuium Verlag, 1992.

Gras, Solange and Christian. *La Révolte des Régions d'Europe occidentale de 1916 à nos jours.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982.

Grunewald, Michel / Abret, Helga (ed.). *Visions allemandes de la France (1871-1914). Frankreich aus deutscher Sicht (1871-1914).* Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1995.

Guizot, François. *Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain.* Paris: Hachette, Collections Pluriel, 1985.

Hall, John A. *The State of the Nation. Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

Hawkes, David. *Ideology.* New York, London: Routledge, 1996.

Heckart, Beverly. *From Basserman to Bebel: the Grand Bloc's quest for reform in the Kaiserreich, 1900-1914.* New Haven (Conn.), London: Yale University Press, 1974.

Herder, Johann Gottfried. *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967.

Heuberger, Valeria / Suppan, Arnold / Vyslonzil, Elizabeth.(ed.). *Das Bild von Anderen. Identitäten, Mentalitäten, Mythen und Stereotypen in multiethnischen europäischen Regionen.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Horne, John (ed.). *State, Society and Mobilisation in Europe during the First World War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Jackson, Peter / Penrose, Jan. (ed.). *Constructions of Race, Place and Nation.* London: UCL Press, 1993.

Jeismann, Michael. *Das Vaterland der Feinde. Studien zum nationalen Feindbegriff und Selbstverständnis in Deutschland und Frankreich 1792 – 1918.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992.

Kessler, Graf Harry. *Tagebücher 1918 – 1937.* Pfeiffer-Belli, Wolfgang (ed.) Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1996.

Ketelsen, Uwe-K. *Völkisch-nationale und nationalsozialistische Literatur in Deutschland, 1890 – 1945.* Stuttgart: Sammlung Metzler, 1976.

Koszyck, Kurt. *Deutsche Pressepolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg.* Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag 1968.

- *Geschichte der deutschen Presse.* Volume 3: *Deutsche Presse 1914-1915,* Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1969.

Lenman, R.J.V. 'Art, Society and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: "the Lex Heinze."' In: *Oxford German Studies*, 8, 1973-4, pp. 86-113.

Mann, Thomas. 'Gedanken zum Kriege.' In: *Die Neue Rundschau,* 25, 1914.

Mecklenburg, Norbert. *Erzählte Provinz. Regionalismus und Moderne in Roman.* Königstein/Ts.: Athenäum Verlag, 1982.

Naumann, Friedrich. 'Deutschland und Frankreich.' In: *Der deutsche Krieg*, 2, Politische Flugschriften. (Jäckh, Ernst, ed.). Stuttgart, Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914.

Nora, Pierre. *Les Lieux de Mémoire, II. La Nation.* Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1986.

Ouston, Phillip. *France in the Twentieth Century.* London: MacMillan Press, 1972.

Rabaut, Jean. *Jean Jaurès.* Paris: Librarie Académique Perrin, 1971.

Rebérioux, Madeleine. *La République Radicale? 1898-1914.* Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975.

Reicher, Stephen / Hopkins, Nick. *Self and Nation. Categorization, Contestation and Mobilization.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001.

Renan, Ernest. *Qu'est-ce que c'est une nation? Et autres écrits politiques.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1996.

- *Was ist eine Nation? Und andere politische Schriften.* Vienna: Folio, 1995. (Translation from French: Fehringer, Maria.)

Ritter, Gerhard A. *Das deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1914. Ein historisches Lesebuch.* Göttingen: Kleine Vandehoeck-Reihe, 1977.

Rolland, Romain. *Journal des Années de Guerre. Notes et Documents pour servir à l'histoire morale de l'Europe de ce temps.* Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1952.

Sarup, Madan. *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

Smith, Anthony, D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

Spann, G. *Zensur in Österreich im Ersten Weltkrieg.* Ph.D.thesis, University of Vienna, 1972.

Stanzel, F.K. *Europäer: ein imagologischer Essay.* Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press, 1998.

Stark, Michael (ed.). *Deutsche Intellektuelle 1910 – 1933. Aufrufe, Pamphlete, Betrachtungen,* Heidelberg: Schneider, 1984.

Stein, Philipp (ed.). *Fürst Bismarcks Reden. Mit verbindender geschichtlicher Darstellung.* Volume 5: 1871-1874. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam (n.d.)

Suarez, Georges. *Briand, sa vie, son oeuvre. Avec son journal et des nombreux documents inédites.* Volumes 1-6, Paris: Plon, 1938-1952.

Swingewood, Alan. *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity.* Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1998.

Thomson, David. *France: Empire and Republic 1850 – 1940. Historical Documents.* London, Melbourne: MacMillan Press, 1968.

Tint, Herbert. *France since 1918.* London: Batsford, 1970.

Viehoff, Reinhold / Segers, Rien T. (ed.). *Kultur, Identität, Europa. Über die Schwierigkeiten und Möglichkeiten einer Konstruktion.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1999.

Völkel, Marcus. Geschichte als Vergeltung. Zur Grundlegung des Revanchegedankens in der deutsch-französischen Historikerdiskussion von 1870/1. In: *Historische Zeitschrift*, 257, 1993, pp.63-107.

Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg. *Die Deutsche Familie: Versuch einer Sozialgeschichte.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974.

Wilhelm, Karl. *Die Wacht am Rhein.* Composer's handwritten manuscript. Darmstadt, 1870.

Willems, Herbert (ed.). *Identität und Moderne.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1999.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture.* Glasgow: Fontana, 1981.

- *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* London: Fontana, 1983.

Wodak, Ruth / de Cillia, Rudolf / Reisigl, Martin / Liebhart, Karin. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

5. On Writers, Literature and Literary Movements

Arndt, Ernst Moritz. *Der Rhein, Deutschlands Strom aber nicht Deutschlands Grenze.* Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reklam, 1845.

Anz, Thomas / Stark, Michael (ed.). *Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur, 1910-1920.* Stuttgart: Metzler, 1982.

Barrès, Maurice. *Colette Baudoche.* Paris: Plon, 1968.

Barrès, Philippe. (ed.).. *L'Oeuvre de Maurice Barrès.* Volume 19: *Mes Cahiers, janvier 1919-janvier 1922.* Paris: Plon, 1968.

Bennett, Benjamin. *Modern Drama and German Classicism. Renaissance from Lessing to Brecht.* Cornell: University Press, 1979.

Benzmann, Hans. *Deutschlands Lyrik. Das Zeitalter der Romantik.* Munich, Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1908.

Dove, Richard / Lamb, Stephen (ed.). *German Writers and Politics 1918 - 1939.* London: MacMillan Press, 1992.

Duchatelet, Bernard. *Romain Rolland tel qu'en lui-même.* Paris: Albin Michel, 2002.

Edschmid, Kasimir. *Lebendiger Expressionismus. Auseinandersetzungen, Gestalten, Erinnerungen.* Frankfurt am Main, Berlin: Ullstein, 1964.

Easterling, P.E. 'Form and Performance.' In: Easterling, P.E. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Emmerich, Wolfgang. *Zur Kritik der Volkstumsideologie.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971.

Francis, R.A. *Romain Rolland.* Oxford, New York: Berg, 1999.

Goethe, Johann, Wolfgang. *Aus Meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit. Autobiographische Schriften.* Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981.

Grimmiger, Rolf. *Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.* Munich, Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2000.

Houben, Heinrich Hubert. *Verbotene Literatur – von der klassischen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Ein kritisch-historisches Lexicon über verbotene Bücher, Zeitschriften und Theaterstücke, Schriftsteller und Verleger.* Volume 2, Bremen: Karl Schünemann Verlag, 1928.

Kleist, Heinrich von. *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg.* Stuttgart: Reclam, 1968.

Koopmann, Helmut. *Der klassisch-moderne Roman in Deutschland.* Stuttgart, Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1983.

Krull, Wilhelm. *Politische Prosa des Expressionismus: Rekonstruktion und Kritik.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982.

Leavis, F.R. *Towards Standards of Criticism. Selections from The Calendar of Modern Letters 1925-1927.* London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1976.

Lenman, R.J.V. *Censorship and Society in Munich 1890-1914 with special reference to "Simplicissimus" and the plays of Frank Wedekind.* Typewritten doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1975.

Lionel, Richard. *D'une apocalypse à l'autre - sur l'Allemagne et ses productions intellectuelles de Guillaume II aux années vingt.* Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1976.

Mann, Thomas. *Buddenbrooks. Verfall einer Familie.* Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1983.

- *Der Zauberberg.* Frankfurt am Main: S.Fischer Verlag, 1998.

- *Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden.* Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1960.

Martens, Gunter. *Vitalismus und Expressionismus: Ein Beitrag zur Genese und Deutung expressionistischer Stilstruktur und Motive.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971.

Meinhold, Johann Wilhelm. *Sidonie von Bork, die Klosterhexe: angebliche Vertilgerin des gesammten herzöglichen-pommerschen Regentenhauses.* Berlin: Enck, 1930.

Midgeley, David. *The German Novel in the Twentieth Century. Beyond Realism.* Edinburgh: St. Martins Press, 1993.

Milner, Andrew. *Literature, Culture and Society.* London: UCL Press, 1996.

Moulden, Ken / Wilpert, Gero von. *Buddenbrooks Handbuch.* Stuttgart: Kröner, 1988.

Müller-Vollmer, Kurt (ed.). *Herder Today. Contributions from the International Herder Conference.* Stanford California, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990.

Novalis. *Werke, Tagebücher und Briefe Friedrich von Hardenbergs.* Munich, Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1978-1987.

Patterson, Michael. *The Revolution in German Theatre 1900-1933.* Boston, London, Henley: Routledge and Kegan, 1981.

Péguy, Charles. *Cahiers de la Quinzaine.* Raymond Lefèbvre (ed.). *Le Temps* 1921 –1940.

Pinthus, Kurt. (ed.). *Menschheitsdämmerung. Symphonie jüngster Dichtung.* Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1959.

Pott, Hans-Georg. (ed.). *Literatur und Provinz. Das Konzept 'Heimat' in der neuern Literatur.* Paderborn: Schöningh, 1986.

Rolland, Romain. *Jean-Christophe.* Paris: Librarie Paul Ollendorff, 1904-1912.

Rosenberg, Felix. Franzosen und Deutsche in Romain Rollands 'Jean-Christophe'. In: *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift.* 1/2, 7, January/February 1915, pp.196-213.

Rossbacher, Karl-Heinz. Heimatkunst der frühen Moderne. In: *Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Volume 7, Gothart-Mix, York (ed.). *Naturalismus, Fin de Siècle, Expressionismus 1890-1918.* Munich, Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2000.

Schiller, Friedrich. 'Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen.' In: *Sämtliche Werke*, Volume 5: *Erzählungen und Theoretische Schriften.* Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1959.

Sengle, Friedrich. *Das Deutsche Geschichtsdrama: Geschichte eines literarischen Mythos.* Stuttgart: Metzler, 1952.

Sokel, Walter, H. *The Writer in Extremis. Expressionism in 20th Century German Literature.* New York, Toronto, London: MacGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964.

Stadler, Ernst. *Dichtungen, Gedichte und Übertragungen mit einer Auswahl der kleinen kritisichen Schriften und Briefe.* Hamburg: Ellermann, 1954.

Stanzel, F.K. *A theory of Narrative.* Cambridge: University Press, 1984.

Swales, Martin. *A Student's Guide to Thomas Mann.* Heinemann Educational, London, 1980.

- *Buddenbrooks: family life as the mirror of social change.* Boston: Twayne, 1991.

- *Studies of German in Prose Fiction in the Age of European Realism.* Studies in German Language and Literature. Volume 16. New York, Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995.

Thackeray, William Makepeace. *Vanity Fair.* London: Penguin Classics, 1994.

6. General reference

Brunner Otto / Conze, Werner / Koselleck, Reinhart (ed.). *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland.* Volumes 1-7, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972-1992.

Encyclopédies d'Alsace, Volumes 1-12, Strasbourg: Editions Publitotal, 1982-1986.

Frenzel, Elizabeth. *Stoffe der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexicon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte.* Stuttgart: Kröner, 1970.

- *Motive der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexicon dichtungsgechichtlicher Längsschnitte.* Stuttgart: Kröner, 1980.

Ingold, Tim (ed.). *Companion Encyclopaedia of Anthropology.* London, New York: Routledge, 1994.

Knobloch, Johann / Moser, Hugo / Schmidt-Hidding, Wolfgang / Wandruszka, Mario / Weisberger, Leo / Woltner, Margarete (ed.). *Europäische Schlüsselwörter, Wortvergleichende und wortgeschichtliche Studien.* Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1967.

Kuhnemann, Marie. *Inventaire des Périodiques des Bibliothèques de Strasbourg.* Strasbourg: Publications de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, 1937.

Lorentz, Claude. *La Presse Alsacienne du XXe Siècle. Répertoire des journaux parus depuis 1918.* Strasbourg: Publications de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, 1997.