

Life Imitating Art: Friedrich Schiller's Influence upon the Republican Ideals of the German
Revolution of 1848

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Preface

“Guten Morgen! Wie kann ich dir helfen?” were the first words that I heard upon entering the Goethe-Schiller Archive in Weimar, Germany. Following a delayed two-hour train ride from Berlin to Erfurt, a quick sprint through the train station to catch my connection, and then a further thirty minutes on the Deutsche Bahn, I had finally arrived at my destination. To your average take-as-many-pictures-as-you-possibly-can tourist, Weimar would have seemed to be a quintessential German town. However, for your fatigued, thesis-researching traveler, the old town exuded a sense of gravity and consequence. After all, this small town was the home of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Weimar Classicism, the location of the founding of the Weimar Republic, and it was situated near the notorious Buchenwald Concentration Camp.

While Weimar may be a pilgrimage for those intrigued by German politics and the writings of Goethe, I was drawn to the town for completely different reasons. My arrival at the archive completed a months-long journey that took me thousands of miles from my studies in Boulder, Colorado into the cultural heart of Germany. For me, *seeing* and *experiencing* history were just as important – if not more important – than reading about it.

After stumbling through several cursory German greetings with an attendant surprised to see a twenty-year old American in rural Thuringia, I was directed towards the show room. Inside, I found documents detailing the cultural significance of Weimar, from poems extolling German nationalism to the memoirs of August von Kotzebue. My attention was grabbed by a display case in the corner of the room. The documents contained in the case were the reason that I had traveled to the small town. In the case were papers extracted from the correspondence of Friedrich Schiller. Schiller was the reason I was in Weimar, one of the reasons I was in Germany in the first place. My investigation of Schiller’s life, writings, and legacy had brought me across the world to this

location. I had spent the previous six months reading about Friedrich Schiller. Now I was ready to step into his world.

After perusing the collections at the archive, I roamed through the twisting streets and cramped squares of the ancient town. I walked past the German National Theater, somewhat overshadowed by the grandiose double statue of Goethe and Schiller, positioned in the square out front. Moving through the throngs of tourists, I set my sights on a new destination.

Friedrich Schiller's old house stood out even on a street lined with old houses. The large (for the 1790s) and yellow residence, slightly listing, went mostly unnoticed by the horde of visitors eager to enter Goethe's more impressive mansion just up the street. Entering the creaky structure, nothing seemed special or out of the ordinary. The literary and dramatic giant of the late-eighteenth century lived an unspectacular existence, neither rich like his friend Goethe, nor poor like many others during that time.

Everything in the house hinted at a life of poetry and drama. Indeed, Schiller's unfinished play – encased in glass – still lay on the desk next to the bed in which he died in 1805. Little in the house pointed to a man obsessed with philosophy, aesthetics, social strife, and the complicated politics of the time. If the rooms in the house were indicative of the person who once lived there, then Schiller was a brilliant writer and dramatist, although still very much a transparent one.

It was this mixture of genius and simplicity that I had been trying to understand since my thesis research had begun the previous September. Throughout the course of my research, it became obvious to me that Schiller was more complicated than some historians and literary experts seemed to suggest. Perhaps the giant of Weimar Classicism was all things – a poet, aesthetic philosopher, political theorist, and dramatist – in one? Maybe Schiller's dramas and philosophy were not ephemeral and were instead applicable to more than just the post-Enlightenment world

of the 1780s and 1790s. Hopefully, through an investigation of Friedrich Schiller's works and legacy, I could come to a different understanding of Schiller and his impact on German history.

Introduction

The role which literature plays in political and revolutionary developments is often an understated one. However, the playwright and philosopher, Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), had a significant impact on not only the intellectual life of eighteenth-century Germany, as well as the political history of the country's nineteenth century. Schiller was active during the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement which achieved widespread recognition throughout Europe. Yet Schiller's dramas were not just cultural masterpieces, but were contemporaneous with significant historical events, namely the French Revolution and Napoleon's seizure of power. During Schiller's life, revolutionaries and bourgeois republicans threatened the stability of monarchies in Britain and France, and new philosophical movements such as the Enlightenment called into question the established political and social order of Europe.

The eighteenth century had a profound effect on Friedrich Schiller. Schiller's dramas and philosophical essays were informed by, and grappled with, many of the most pressing issues of the day. Through drama and philosophy, Schiller attempted to answer difficult questions: How can humanity improve its condition? How does one construct an ethical state? Schiller sought answers to these questions in a variety of interesting places, including: the ideals of classical Greece, the works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, and in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Using these influences as a platform, Schiller envisioned a utopian political reality, a world in which human beings balance the conflicting drives and desires within to give rise to moral and political freedom.

As a young writer, Schiller experienced persecution and censorship at the hands of the German nobility, and thus focused many of his works on the illiberal society of his time. Accordingly, in the early-nineteenth century, Friedrich Schiller's works were appropriated by political dissidents resisting anti-democratic and oppressive political hierarchies in their own time.

Political leaders and student groups were inspired by Schiller's dramas and philosophy as they openly argued in favor of German national unity following Napoleon's conquest and dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.¹ When Napoleon was finally defeated in 1815, reformers and radicals hoped for national unity and liberal reforms, including a constitution. However, this was not to be following the conservative power grab during peace negotiations at the Congress of Vienna, a move which appalled the radicals.² Over the first half of the nineteenth century, nationalist and liberal sentiments continued to develop and flourish across the divided German lands. Tensions finally erupted in cities across Germany – and throughout Europe – in 1848 as revolutionaries attempted to overthrow the aristocratic regimes and create a unified nation state, with republicanism as a prominent part of the political ensemble.

Liberal and left-wing participants in the German Revolution of 1848, seeking the dissolution of the German Confederation and an end to the conservative reign of Austrian Chancellor Klemens von Metternich, turned to Schiller as a symbol for freedom and national unity. Many revolutionaries venerated Schiller's works and fastidiously applied Schiller's political theory to their own. Despite Schiller's own shifting views on the merits of republicanism, it was the republicans of 1848 who were some of Schiller's most ardent admirers.³ For example, the republican politician Hermann Kiefer extolled Schiller's "presence" in the revolution and lauded

¹ K.H. Jarausch, "The Sources of German Student Unrest 1815-1848," *Historical Social Research Supplement*, vol. 24, 2012: 84.

² Author Anonymous, *Fragen an die deutsche Geschichte: Ideen, Kräfte, Entscheidungen von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bonn: German Bundestag Press, 1984), 43. "The nationalist sentiments which had been aroused during the liberation wars expected the Congress to end the fragmentation of Germany and to put an end to the absolute rule of the sovereigns...However the hopes of the people for unity and freedom were still unfulfilled."

³ Bodie A. Ashton, *The Kingdom of Württemberg and the Making of Germany, 1815-1871* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 23. In reference to the claims of Schiller's changing views on republicanism: Schiller was made an honorary citizen of the French Republic in 1792 but later came to oppose the French Revolution due its excesses and violence. As a bit of an aside, Schiller's aesthetic letters are often seen as a rebuttal to the radical direction of the French Revolution. Schiller believed that the idea of a "higher" state could be achieved through an appreciation of beauty, not political deception and savagery.

the great dramatist as a symbol of freedom for the German people.⁴ Demanding parliamentary representation, human rights, and freedom of expression, middle class and republican segments of Germany's population opposed the rigid and reactionary hierarchy of the German Confederation.⁵

Surprisingly, many historical scholars have taken a narrow approach when studying the origin of republican sentiments during the revolution. Most historians have analyzed the conflict along social and economic lines, overlooking a literary or philosophical angle. One such account is Rudolph Stadelman's *Social and Political History of the German 1848 Revolution*. In the book, Stadelman discusses the bourgeois opposition to the aristocracy as a result of class conflict and the unity of middle-class economic interests.⁶ The author specifically evaluates the revolution in terms of social and economic history. Thus, Stadelman's perspective is not broad enough to investigate the literary and intellectual roots of the revolution's republicanism.

Yet as this thesis argues, specific republican principles expressed during the Revolution of 1848 originated in Friedrich Schiller's works. Foremost among these works of Schiller is the 'domestic drama' *Kabale und Liebe*, first staged in 1784. Alongside Schiller's two earlier works (*Die Räuber* and *Fiesko*), *Kabale und Liebe* functions as an impressive example of a 'republican tragedy', introducing into the public discourse politically liberal ideas which Schiller would fully articulate in the 1795 treatise, *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*.

While many historians and literary experts acknowledge the republican ideals expressed in Schiller's later dramas (notably *Wilhelm Tell*), academics have largely ignored similar themes in *Kabale und Liebe*. An example can be found in an article written by Jeffrey Church. In the article,

⁴ See footnotes 110-112.

⁵ Eda Sagarra, *Germany in the Nineteenth Century: History and Literature* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2001), 73-74.

⁶ Rudolph Stadelman, *Social and Political History of the German 1848 Revolution*, trans. James G. Chastain (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975), 33. Stadelman discusses this middle-class in detail by writing: "...class motives...arguments of proponents of free trade and the guilds merged with one another."

Church argues that “Schiller recognized...the challenge modern [eighteenth-century] republican regimes face in transforming a self-interested liberal bourgeoisie into a virtuous, self-governing citizenry.”⁷ While Church’s insight is noteworthy, the writer’s approach only considers Schiller’s dramas published after the 1795 *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. However, in *Kabale und Liebe*, written more than ten years before, the middle-class characters actively attempt to subvert the power of the nobility with the hope of living in a freer and more ethical society. Church’s decision not to analyze Schiller’s earlier works affords me the opportunity to argue for an origin of Schiller’s republicanism in *Kabale und Liebe*.

Schiller’s third play, *Kabale und Liebe*, was a reaction to Schiller’s own life experiences, and received a superb reception, outshining his earlier drama *Fiesko*, upon its dual debut in Frankfurt-am-Main and the Mannheim National Theater in April 1784.⁸ As this thesis argues, *Kabale und Liebe* should be understood as the initial, and finest, expression of Schiller’s unique philosophy of republicanism, which scholars have termed ‘aesthetic republicanism.’ The precepts of aesthetic republicanism include freedom, unity and cooperation, the importance of morality, and opposition to autocratic hierarchy.⁹ The political principles first established in *Kabale und Liebe*, and then formally organized in the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, continued to thrive long after Schiller’s death in 1805. Persisting through the Romantic movement, the *Burschenschaften* (student groups) at the University of Jena, and newspapers such as the

⁷ Jeffrey Church, “Friedrich Schiller on Republican Virtue and the Tragic Exemplar,” *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 13 (1), 2014: 95.

⁸ Friedrich Schiller, *Intrigue and Love: A Bourgeois Tragedy*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York City: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), xi.

⁹ Douglas Moggach, “Schiller’s Aesthetic Republicanism,” *History of Political Thought*, vol. 28 (3), 2007: 520. I think that it is important to note that Schiller’s aesthetic republicanism is not conventional republicanism. Aesthetic republicanism is focused on ideals (freedom, morality, unity, etc.) not on ideology or the construction of a concrete political system. I will discuss this more in the second chapter, but it is important for the reader to keep this in mind throughout this paper.

Allgemeine Zeitung, Schiller's particular form of republicanism took hold in the chaotic upheaval which affected Germany in 1848.

As stated previously, the varied perspectives which historians have used when analyzing both Friedrich Schiller and the Revolution of 1848 have been rather limited. Many scholars have studied Schiller's works and philosophy in isolation, conducting succinct literary analyses while ignoring some of their explicit political themes and implications. An example can be found in *The Drama of Schiller*, by R.D. Miller. While analyzing *Kabale und Liebe*, Miller misses that the play contains concepts of aesthetic republicanism. In the book, Miller writes, "...in Schiller the sense of moral freedom is stimulated by the need to resist the limiting effect of circumstance..."¹⁰ In Miller's view, characters in Schiller's play strive for the freedom of choice primarily to move out of their vulnerable situations. For Miller, Schiller's advocacy of moral freedom is a critique of an aristocracy which dictates existence through establishing rules and deciding who one is allowed to love. However, Miller does not connect Schiller's advocacy of moral freedom to the playwright's republicanism.

Meanwhile, historians of the revolutionary period have largely studied their own era as removed from the eighteenth century. Like Stadelman, they narrowly focus on contemporaneous factors which produced the revolution. Even when historians mention Schiller in the context of the Revolution of 1848, they fail to properly follow their claim to its conclusion. An excellent example can be found in Hans Joachim Hahn's *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe*. In the book, Hahn states that the revolutionaries' "...rhetorical fervor was also fired by Schiller's verse."¹¹ Yet, Hahn fails to investigate this idea further, nor does the author offer a source to

¹⁰ R.D. Miller, *The Drama of Schiller* (Harrogate: The Duchy Press, 1963), 38.

¹¹ Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 144.

support this claim. It seems that Schiller's influence upon the Revolution of 1848 is a topic which few scholars have seriously considered. This provides me with an opportunity to fashion a new approach, and compose an original argument which connects Friedrich Schiller's political theory to republicanism in 1848 Germany.

As a result of the limitations in the existing scholarship, this thesis and its central argument are ambitious in scope. The central argument, in the broadest view, is as follows: Friedrich Schiller's aesthetic republicanism influenced revolutionaries and republican figures during the Revolution of 1848 by shaping and informing their political convictions. Furthermore, Schiller's often-overlooked domestic tragedy, *Kabale und Liebe*, is the initial, and finest, manifestation of Schiller's aesthetic republicanism, representing a potential origin, in drama, of the republican values of revolutionaries in 1848 Germany.

Chapter I: Friedrich Schiller's Influences

Though Schiller was a visionary intellectual, several events, and people, prompted and informed Schiller's political beliefs. The earliest evidence for Friedrich Schiller's aesthetic republicanism comes from the beginning of Schiller's career as a dramatist. Schiller spent these years, in the early 1780s, actively rebelling against aristocratic authority figures. Simultaneously a committed student, Schiller's intellectual investigations of literature, history, and philosophy would provide the writer of *Kabale und Liebe* with crucial sources for his aesthetic republican concepts of freedom and moral governance.

Friedrich Schiller was born in 1759 in Marbach am Neckar in the Duchy of Württemberg. The young Schiller was educated in Latin and Greek, and was destined for the priesthood. Schiller took to this path, yearning to join the local monastery school founded during the Reformation period. According to Christophine Schiller (Schiller's sister), the young Friedrich's first compositions were sermons, which were often enunciated atop a chair, with the future literary giant clad in the black robes of a cleric.¹² However, a life of priestly devotion was not to be for Schiller. His academic potential was noticed by Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg, and the young boy was invited to attend a prestigious military academy, the Karlsschule Stuttgart, from which Schiller graduated in 1780 as a surgeon.¹³

Despite Schiller's vocational duties as a surgeon, it was literature, history, and philosophy which captivated the young playwright. Educated in Latin and Greek, Schiller began to develop an intense curiosity with the classical world. As with Goethe, the literary forms originating in classical Greece – particularly Greek tragedy – informed many of Schiller's works. The Greek

¹² W.H. Bruford, *Theater, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 235.

¹³ Lydia L. Moland, "Friedrich Schiller," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, date accessed: September 1, 2019: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/schiller/>.

classical model also informed the young playwright's 'theory of drama', in which Schiller envisioned a national theater, one which performed plays that could speak to the German people, uniting them as one nation through their commonalities and interests.¹⁴ Schiller believed that Greek drama and tragedy were the best models to use because the Greek ideals were ubiquitous in their theater. The patriotism on display in the plays and the desire to improve humanity brought ancient Greeks together in unity of spirit and cause.¹⁵ Schiller believed that the Greek model of the 'national theater' could – and should – be replicated in the German lands divided among the Holy Roman Empire.

The classical world also formed the basis of Schiller's aesthetic philosophy – the branch of philosophy which seeks to understand the nature of art and beauty. In furthering the idea of 'aesthetic education' – education can also be interpreted as "development" in this context – Schiller illustrated the importance of classical Greece as a location to which an "artist" of the eighteenth century could travel back in time to absorb Greek ideals, before returning to the modern world to "transform the culture of his own time."¹⁶ For Schiller, the classical world's purpose was to inspire individuals of the eighteenth century, providing the people with the intellectual and artistic means necessary for achieving freedom and national unity.

Schiller believed that freedom was a process rather than a status. Human beings had to be molded into moral characters to bring about a free society. According to Schiller, the catalyst for this shift was the artist. Based on the image of the exquisite figure from Greek sculpture, it was the artist who would guide the citizenry towards freedom and the ideal state, resolving political

¹⁴ William J. McGrath, *German Freedom and the Greek Ideal: The Cultural Legacy from Goethe to Mann*, eds. Celia Applegate and Suzanne Marchand (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), xxiii.

¹⁵ Michael J. Sosulski, *Theater and Nation in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 59.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

problems using an ‘aesthetic sense.’¹⁷ In the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, Schiller expounds upon these ideas, arguing that educating the German population in the aesthetic ideals of classical Greece would allow for a bloodless transition to political freedom. According to the historians Celia Applegate and Suzanne Marchand, “Greece was, for Schiller...a place where art trumped religion and where the aesthetic, ethical, and physical education of citizens created beings ready for and worthy of being free.”¹⁸

Unsurprisingly, Schiller found his job as an army surgeon to be a hindrance to his own freedom and artistic pursuits. On several occasions between January and May of 1782, Schiller abandoned his medical duties to watch the staging of his first play, *Die Räuber*, in the theater. As a result, Schiller spent two weeks under arrest on orders from his one-time benefactor, Duke Karl Eugen. Furthermore, several remarks in the play offended the duke; and Schiller was thereby ordered to submit future drafts of plays for review.¹⁹ Schiller refused this demand and subsequently fled the auspices of the duchy with a friend, Andreas Streicher, in September of 1782. Briefly seeking refuge in Mannheim with Baron Dalberg, the director of the Mannheim National Theater, Schiller publicly read his newest play, *Fiesko*, to Dalberg’s listening committee. The play, though well liked by Dalberg, was not positively received by the listening committee. As a result, Schiller

¹⁷ William J. McGrath, *German Freedom and the Greek Ideal: The Cultural Legacy from Goethe to Mann*, eds. Celia Applegate and Suzanne Marchand (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), xxvi. In the editors’ introduction, Applegate and Marchand write that: “Schiller’s answer [to the question of freedom]...made the artist, inspired by the noble and immutable beauty of Greek sculpture, the one who could model the unification of the possible and the necessary, and draw his pupils toward the ideal without tyrannizing them in the process. Political problems were to be solved by aesthetic means, ‘since it is through Beauty,’ Schiller claimed, “that we arrive at Freedom’.”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xxviii.

¹⁹ Friedrich Schiller, *Intrigue and Love: A Bourgeois Tragedy*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York City: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), ix. This was not the first time that the Karl Eugen cracked down on criticism. The duke had earlier imprisoned his former teacher for protesting the Württemberg Diet and sent the poet Schubart, without trial, to prison for criticizing the sale of German mercenary soldiers by aristocrats to England during the American Revolutionary War. Importantly, the selling of German soldiers to Britain would be directly mentioned in Schiller’s *Kabale und Liebe*. This will be discussed in more detail in the second chapter.

and Streicher departed Mannheim for the village of Sachsenhausen. It was in this small hamlet where Schiller began to work on *Kabale und Liebe*.²⁰

In October of 1782, Schiller and Streicher moved to Oggersheim, where Schiller worked on drafts of *Fiesko* for Baron Dalberg and continued the process of writing *Kabale und Liebe*. However, letters from friends in Stuttgart informed Schiller that Duke Karl Eugen was still searching for the fugitive playwright, and thus, Schiller decided to relocate to Bauerbach. While living on the estate of Frau von Wolzogen – an old friend from Stuttgart – Schiller completed *Kabale und Liebe* in early 1783. The play, heavily influenced by Schiller’s dealings with Karl Eugen, was a stinging indictment of the German aristocracy and the political and social conditions of the Holy Roman Empire.

Unlike many of his contemporary dramatists, Schiller based several of the characters in *Kabale und Liebe* on actual individuals. For example, Schiller based the villainous President on Count Samuel F. von Montmartin, a member of the nobility who forged documents which sent Philipp F. Rieger, a ducal officer and Schiller’s godfather, to prison.²¹ Schiller’s experiences in the early 1780s cemented his resolve to focus his works on tangible societal institutions and unjust

²⁰ Ibid., viii-x.

²¹ Ibid., x. The play will be discussed in detail in the second chapter. However, to give the reader some insight, it is important to discuss the specific people whom Schiller involved in *Kabale und Liebe*. The unnamed sovereign in the play is based off of Duke Karl Eugen. Karl Eugen, in addition to his crackdown on dissent, also ignored the two-hundred-year-old constitution of the duchy during his rule from 1744 to 1793. He squandered money on elaborate celebrations and firework festivals which are mentioned in the play by the character, Lady Milford. Though confusing, the unnamed sovereign in the play is representative of *both* Karl Eugen and Eberhard Ludwig, because, like Eberhard, the sovereign is influenced by his lover, and like Karl Eugen, the sovereign engages in corrupting behaviors. The villainous President in the play is based on Count Samuel F. von Montmartin, a man who forged documents which sent the ducal officer – Philipp F. Rieger – to prison in 1762. Montmartin proceeded to mismanage affairs in the name of the duke. He was helped in this endeavor by Lorenz Whittleder (who serves as the inspiration for the character Wurm in the play). These events in the Duchy of Württemberg took place when Schiller was a child. It is certain that he heard of the happenings because Rieger, the victim of Montmartin and Whittleder, was Schiller’s godfather (Passage xi-xiii).

hierarchies. Moreover, Schiller's ordeals provided the young dramatist with an explicitly political focus oriented towards republicanism and personal freedom.

Fortunately for Friedrich Schiller, the political winds began to shift. Duke Karl Eugen seemed to lose interest in pursuing Schiller. Additionally, Baron Dalberg decided to give the young playwright another chance to show his potential. Soon Schiller was back in Mannheim with a contract from Dalberg to produce two plays, including *Kabale und Liebe*. Schiller's time working for Dalberg at the Mannheim National Theater was an intensely difficult period for the young playwright. Schiller, attempting to establish a successful career in the famous theater, was forced to accede to Dalberg's scrutiny and revisions. *Kabale und Liebe*, which premiered at the Mannheim National Theater on April 15, 1784, was altered by Dalberg. The version which appeared on stage was one-eighth shorter than the written version, and some of the satirical and political language was removed for the audience.²²

Yet the debut of *Kabale und Liebe* successfully exhibited Schiller's ambitious and provocative political ideas. In a review of Schiller's brief career with the Mannheim National Theater, Lesley Sharpe writes of *Kabale und Liebe's* premiere, "Yet no other example of domestic tragedy or 'family portrait' exposes so starkly the threatened existence of the subjects of princely absolutism, for in this world morality and virtue are powerless."²³ As was Schiller's intent, *Kabale und Liebe* served as a testimony concerning the aristocratic campaign against freedom and morality in the German lands.

²² Calvin Thomas, *The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1970), 145. In terms of censorship, Calvin Thomas writes that "The part of the lackey who describes the horrors of attending the exportation of soldiers to America was omitted."

²³ Lesley Sharpe, "Schiller and the Mannheim National Theater," *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 100 (1), 2005: 135.

By 1785, Schiller's tenure in Mannheim had come to an end. Dalberg was not as receptive of *Kabale und Liebe* as many of the play's attendees. Dalberg valued the actor and playwright August Iffland over Schiller, believing that Iffland was better suited to implementing the ethos (decorum, skillful construction, and the elevation of morality) of the Mannheim theater.²⁴ Despite the rejection, Schiller's spell in Mannheim was invaluable to the young playwright. The experience accentuated the lessons of classical Greece for Schiller, leading the nascent dramatist to declare that "if we [Germans] would live to have a national theater, we would also become a nation."²⁵ The principles espoused by the Mannheim National Theater – and Schiller's experiences as a fugitive from Karl Eugen – enabled Schiller to see that drama was a vital conduit through which political change could be pursued.

Lessing and *Emilia Galotti*

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was perhaps Friedrich Schiller's most principal literary influence. Lessing played a significant role in the development of the *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* (domestic tragedy), which became a staple of *Sturm und Drang* literature. The difficulties arising from social strife were important features of Lessing's domestic tragedies in the 1770s. However, Lessing staunchly, and publicly, denied the political intent of his social commentary. This was something which Schiller refused to do in the following decade.²⁶

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Hinrich C. Seeba, "Germany – A Literary Concept: The Myth of National Literature," *German Studies Review*, vol. 17 (2), 1994: 363. The Mannheim National Theater was highly respected, but it was not "national" because "Germany" was split amongst hundreds of independent principalities: Germany was not an actual nation, but rather an idea. Baron Dalberg's theater was mostly an experiment. The purpose of the Mannheim National Theater was to exhibit the *potential* for a national theater in Germany.

²⁶ Lesley Sharpe, *Friedrich Schiller: Drama, Thought, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 46. Sharpe writes: "Lessing dismissed any political or social intention behind his damning presentation of a weak prince abetted in his designs on Emilia by a ruthless courtier, but the young writers of the *Sturm und Drang* generation immediately saw the potential of the domestic tragedy as a vehicle for social comment..."

Lessing's play, *Emilia Galotti* (1772), served as the main inspiration for Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*. Indeed, Schiller adopted much of *Emilia Galotti's* content for his own play a decade later. Setting the example for *Kabale und Liebe*, *Emilia Galotti* contrasts "the unprincipled German aristocrat[s] to the 'good' bourgeoisie."²⁷ To emphasize the positive qualities of the bourgeoisie and the negative attributes of the aristocracy, Lessing depicts Emilia Galotti's father as being helpless to assist Emilia after her lover, Appiani, is killed by Gonzaga, the absolutist prince of Guastalla. Likewise, in *Kabale und Liebe*, Luise's father is forced to either support Luise's love for Ferdinand or adhere to the wishes of the menacing nobles.²⁸ In *Kabale und Liebe*, Schiller adheres to Lessing's portrayal of middle-class desperation and aristocratic malice in *Emilia Galotti*.

Despite Schiller's use of Lessing's plot points in *Kabale und Liebe*, Schiller disagreed with Lessing on a significant theme. In *Emilia Galotti*, Lessing contends that "virtuous" characters should not be involved with politics and governing. Instead they should remove themselves to the countryside, far away from the political sphere.²⁹ Schiller, of course, thought differently. In a history of eighteenth-century drama, W.H. Bruford writes, "It is clear from his [Schiller's] plays that he understood how important for human happiness was the form taken by the government of

²⁷ Alan C. Leidner, "Karl Moor's Charisma," *Friedrich von Schiller and the Drama of Human Existence*, ed. Alexej Ugrinsky (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1988), 59.

²⁸ Lesley Sharpe, *Friedrich Schiller: Drama, Thought, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 46. Schiller used more than just Lessing's ideas in *Kabale und Liebe*. Sharpe points out that the fathers in each play (Miller is the father in *Kabale und Liebe*) control their daughters' (Luise is the daughter in *Kabale und Liebe*) decisions. Moreover, Schiller chooses to make the heroine (Luise) a non-passive character, and one who chooses to take her life. This is similar to *Emilia Galotti* because Lessing chooses to provide his heroine with integrity and non-passivity. Like Luise in *Kabale und Liebe*, the heroine Emilia Galotti takes her own life. Sharpe also shows that Schiller replicates the pressure placed on the middle class in *Emilia Galotti* in his own play. In *Emilia Galotti*, Emilia's father is "beside himself with indignation at the Prince's tactics but powerless to save his daughter" (Sharpe 46). Similarly, in *Kabale und Liebe*, Miller is put under immense pressure by being forced to either side with Luise's love for Ferdinand, or to succumb to middle-class conventions and the plotting of the nobility.

²⁹ W.H. Bruford, *Theater, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 241.

a state and its subsequent activities...”³⁰ This argument is evident in the plot of *Kabale und Liebe* as Schiller creates an active opposition to the aristocracy. The play’s main characters, Ferdinand and Luise, work to subvert the machinations of the nobility by falling in love. In *Emilia Galotti*, Schiller recognized a brilliant social commentary illustrating the anguish of the middle class. Ultimately, Schiller decided to augment Lessing’s story by including similar observations of the middle class in *Kable und Liebe*, while simultaneously encouraging the middle class to actively defy the nobility.

Immanuel Kant and Schiller’s Aestheticism

In early March of 1795, Friedrich Schiller composed a letter to Germany’s leading Enlightenment philosopher, Immanuel Kant. In the letter, Schiller remarks

I especially wish that you would like to see the letters in it concerning the aesthetic education of man, as the author of which I confess against you, worthy of your examination. These are the fears that the study of your writings bore with me, and how much it would be to cheer me if I could hope that you did not miss the spirit of your philosophy in this application.³¹

As the letter demonstrates, Kant’s philosophy is central to Schiller’s *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. After cultivating an interest in philosophy while in school, Schiller first became acquainted with the ideas of Kant during discussions with the philosopher Karl Reinhard in Jena in the 1780s.³² Following the publication of *Don Carlos* in 1787, Schiller began to study Kant’s critical philosophy. Schiller was determined to further Kant’s work after the famous thinker claimed that any attempt to establish an objective test for beauty was in vain. Schiller feared that

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Friedrich Schiller, “Schiller to Immanuel Kant, March 1, 1795,” *Friedrich Schiller Archiv*, date accessed: September 5, 2019: <https://www.friedrich-schiller-archiv.de/briefe-schillers/an-immanuel-kant/schiller-an-immanuel-kant-1-maerz-1795/>.

³² Steven D. Martinson, ed., *A Companion to the Works of Friedrich Schiller* (Rochester: Camden House, 2005), 5.

if Kant was correct, then there was no succinct structure for aesthetics, and aesthetic judgments were subjective matters of opinion.³³

Schiller hoped that through a further development of Kant's ideas, a connection between moral truths and aesthetics could be discovered. Schiller considered Kant's system of duality between the 'phenomenal' world (the natural realm of appearance) and the 'noumenal' world (the unobservable idealistic realm). However, instead of interpreting the two realms as different entities altogether, Schiller argues that there exists a prospect to unify the realms of the phenomenal and noumenal worlds.³⁴ Kant considers the two realities to be incompatible, with humans enduring in the phenomenal world. Meanwhile, the noumenal world exists apart from the phenomenal and cannot be understood through sensory experience. According to Kant, to experience this noumenal reality, one must subscribe to moral laws, which are understood best through reason. Of course, Schiller objects to Kant's overreliance on reason, emphasizing also the importance of grace and virtue to issues of reason.³⁵ Yet in Kant's philosophy, human freedom is indistinguishable from behaving rationally and following moral laws.

³³ Calvin Thomas, *The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1970), 268. The author emphasizes that this conclusion would have been an unwelcome one to Schiller.

³⁴ Lesley Sharpe, "Concerning Aesthetic Education," *A Companion to the Works of Friedrich Schiller*, ed. Steven D. Martinson (Rochester: Camden House, 2005), 149. Schiller agreed with Kant that art is representative of morality. Schiller attempted to ascertain an "analogy between art and the autonomy of the moral individual, so that in this way the qualities of beauty and morality could be linked." Schiller viewed art's role as the healer of a wounded society. As a result, art could serve as a catalyst for the creation of a new political and social reality (152). In the *Letters on Aesthetic Education of Man*, Schiller endorses Kant's consideration of beauty as the catalyst for the movement from the natural realm into the idealistic – or moral – realm. However, Schiller dissents from Kant's approach in a critical manner. Kant believed that in the move from one realm to the next, each reality retains its integrity. In other words, duality is respected and maintained. Schiller saw the transition from the natural to the moral in a completely different way. For Schiller, there exists a unity between nature and morality, between a person's identity and their sensibility – or moral aspirations. This unification of a human being brings about a new reality, a new "aesthetic state" in which beauty and freedom are acquired and prioritized. For Schiller, this aesthetic reality is completely different from Kant's because it is objective, freeing humanity from the duality and subjectivity of Kant's theoretical structure.

³⁵ Daniel O. Dahlstrom, *Philosophical Legacies: Essays on the Thought of Kant, Hegel, and Their Contemporaries* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 97. Dahlstrom observes that "...Schiller objects, not to Kant's account of the moral obligatoriness of acting from duty, but to his presentation of that obligatoriness in the absence of grace" (97). Schiller argues that Kant's argument does not contain the proper perspective. In other

Friedrich Schiller partially applied Kant's concept of freedom to the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. In the letters, Kant's concept of freedom as the "highest-aim" features prominently, yet Schiller considers the catalyst of freedom not to be reason, but beauty. In the nineteenth letter, Schiller observes that freedom is the position in which one finds oneself following the unification of the 'sense' drive (phenomenal) and 'form' drive (noumenal) in the 'play' drive – i.e. beauty.³⁶ Though, in the letters, Schiller alters Kant's concept of freedom, the purpose of freedom remains the same. For both philosophers, freedom is the ultimate goal of one's existence. Schiller was certainly ambitious in generating an aesthetic philosophy which surpasses Kant's aesthetics by unifying the phenomenal and noumenal realms. Yet it was Kant, through earlier philosophical observations, who made Schiller's philosophy possible.

Few famous intellectuals are *truly* original in their thinking. Intellectual history is a never-ending process, with each generation of thinkers influencing the next. Friedrich Schiller, though undoubtedly brilliant, is certainly no exception to this. Schiller's political views were informed by the world of eighteenth-century Germany, and his own experiences in that setting. Furthermore, many of Schiller's works and philosophical insights were inspired by other great thinkers of the time, notably Lessing and Kant. Nevertheless, Schiller utilized these influences to maximum effect, producing engaging and impressive additions to the German literary canon and philosophical tradition.

words, it is acceptable to take a rational approach to an issue, but if reason is not coupled with "grace" and virtue, then it is incomplete and inadequate.

³⁶ Lesley Sharpe, "Concerning Aesthetic Education," *A Companion to the Works of Friedrich Schiller*, ed. Steven D. Martinson (Rochester: Camden House, 2005), 159. In another application of Kant's philosophy, Schiller bases an important aspect of the *Letters on Aesthetic Education of Man* off of Kant's dualism of "condition and person." In letters 10 to 16, Schiller establishes two "fundamental drives that determine our selves" (154). The first drive – the sense drive – concerns itself with humans living with sense in a difficult and often changing environment. The other drive – the form drive – relates to our desire to establish order in our lives and relate it to the noumenal realm. Schiller moves beyond Kant's dualism by postulating a third drive, the "play" drive. The purpose of the play drive is to unite the sense drive and the form drive. For Schiller, the unification of the sense drive and form drive through the play drive is represented by "beauty" (154-155).

Chapter II: *Kabale und Liebe* and Aesthetic Republicanism

Friedrich Schiller's republican ideology can be interpreted directly from the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. As presented in the treatise, the focus of Schiller's republicanism is not on ideology or the construction of a specific political system. Rather, Schiller concentrates on the promotion of liberal ideals. In the letters, Schiller opposes establishing a society of individualism, supporting instead a society of free individuals who recognize their self-worth, and work in unison for progress and the common interest. Schiller's republicanism is characterized by scholars as 'aesthetic republicanism.' Explained in a more succinct manner, aesthetic republicanism "acknowledges difference and seeks to balance diverse interests with a commonality of purpose...Aesthetic education is the part of the process which reconciles the particular and the universal, both within subjects and in their interrelationships."³⁷ Schiller believed that the liberation and unification of the German people were vital for the transformation of the divided German lands into an ethical and free nation state.

A core component of Schiller's aesthetic republicanism is the view that people must act towards the "elevation of the self to the idea, in a new and emancipated ethical life."³⁸ Schiller supported people acting in a decisive manner. However, Schiller believed that one must pursue actions which are in line with favorable principles. For Schiller, elevating oneself to these higher principles would allow one to enjoy a meaningful and free existence.

Yet, in the aesthetic letters, Schiller's arguments in support of republicanism and aesthetic education often appear abstract, providing little in terms of a concise methodology for engendering freedom through an appreciation of beauty. To resolve this complication, Jeffrey Church has argued that the conventional understanding of the letters as related to pure aesthetics is too limited.

³⁷ Douglas Moggach, "Schiller's Aesthetic Republicanism," *History of Political Thought*, vol. 28 (3), 2007: 528.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 540.

Church's concept of aesthetic republicanism maintains that the elevation of the individual to the ideal settles the problem of Schiller's abstruse political philosophy. Church posits that

...for Schiller the life of moral exemplars is also a crucial source of aesthetic education. This "role model" interpretation overcomes the criticisms of Schiller's "aesthetic education" by widening the scope of the aesthetic beyond the stage or the museum and embedding it within political practice...[and] makes more plausible the process of "aesthetic education," which is to humanize an otherwise impersonal, abstract, and legalistic state and to encourage republican self-government. Not artistic objects, but beautiful exemplars who speak for (or against) the state enliven the law and ennoble the citizens' relationship to it.³⁹

Church's interpretation of Schiller's aesthetic politics widens the definitional scope of Schiller's 'artist.' For Schiller, it is the artist's purpose to guide humanity towards freedom by teaching people to appreciate the pulchritudinous features of art. This might work well in abstract philosophy, but it is unrealistic to say that the artist is the necessary motivator of political change in the real world. Church's substitution of moral exemplars – politicians, activists, and ordinary people who rise to the occasion – allows Schiller's model of aesthetic education to be extended to human society. Individuals who exhibit virtue, seek unity not division, and fight for freedom can transform the human condition and construct an ethical society representative of Schiller's aesthetic republican ideals.

Kabale und Liebe

Friedrich Schiller's third play, *Kabale und Liebe* (1784), though classically categorized as a *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* (domestic tragedy), is much more than a drama detailing the doomed love story of a bourgeois girl and an aristocratic officer.⁴⁰ This thesis argues that it is the initial

³⁹ Jeffrey Church, "Friedrich Schiller on Republican Virtue and the Tragic Exemplar," *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 13 (1), 2014: 96.

⁴⁰ David Pugh, *Schiller's Early Dramas: A Critical History* (Rochester: Camden House, 2000), 28. In my research, I randomly stumbled across an interesting quote from none other than Friedrich Engels. In a letter from 1885, Engels writes that *Kabale und Liebe* is the "first politically committed German drama."

manifestation of Schiller's political theory, presenting a possible dramatic origin for aesthetic republicanism. Before analyzing the attributes of aesthetic republicanism embedded in the play, it is necessary to first set the play apart from Schiller's two earlier dramas, *Die Räuber* and *Fiesko*.

As discussed in the first chapter, Friedrich Schiller was driven to write *Kabale und Liebe* after facing persecution and imprisonment at the hands of Duke Karl Eugen. Accordingly, in the play, Schiller criticizes the aristocracy by depicting them as immoral, obsessed with power, and opposed to freedom. To illustrate these points in the play, Schiller employs true events. In the second act, a valet informs a shocked and disbelieving Lady Milford that the court has sold seven thousand German soldiers to the British to fight in America. The soldiers depart for war, but not before they brutally execute dissidents who oppose the actions of the duke. This scene is based on the actual conscription and selling of soldiers by nobles in the Holy Roman Empire to Britain during the American Revolutionary War.⁴¹ Schiller's republicanism in *Kabale und Liebe* is more direct and accusatory than in the two earlier plays. By incorporating true events in the drama, Schiller suggests to the audience that the aristocracy's immorality is not limited to the stage.

Additionally, *Kabale und Liebe* surpasses Schiller's earlier plays through its accentuation of "observed reality."⁴² Compared to *Die Räuber* (wholly fictional) and *Fiesko* (based on sixteenth-century Genoa), *Kabale und Liebe* is situated in eighteenth-century Germany, and presents an accurate illustration of domestic life in that particular setting. Schiller's decision to

⁴¹ Friedrich Schiller, *Intrigue and Love: A Bourgeois Tragedy*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York City: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), xiv. The official statistics are 17,000 from Hesse-Cassel, 5,700 from Brunswick, and approximately 8,000 from the other German states. Additionally, one battalion is dispatched from Schiller's home of Württemberg.

⁴² W.H. Bruford, *Theater, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 244. Concerning 'observed reality', Bruford writes: "*Kabale und Liebe* is just as full of observed reality as *Fiesko* is devoid of it. There is probably nothing in German drama which conveys a more completely convincing picture of life than the first scene, or which more effectively and economically presents the dramatic theme and the relationship between the principal characters. The curtain goes up to reveal the musician Miller just rising from his chair and putting his cello on one side after practicing. Mrs. Miller, who was down late for breakfast, is still at the table in her dressing-gown, drinking her coffee."

depict the day-to-day life of the middle class – through the Miller family – provided bourgeois audiences with a sense of familiarity and immediacy. By documenting the average bourgeois experience, then presenting it as besieged by courtly immorality, Schiller was able to leave little doubt in the mind of the eighteenth-century audience that the events of the play could transpire in the real world.

Furthermore, unlike Schiller's previous plays, *Kabale und Liebe* concentrates on class conflict in the German lands. In the play, the immoral activities of the aristocrats are juxtaposed with the righteousness of the bourgeois characters. Predictably, middle-class audiences greeted this dichotomy with rapturous delight. This is not surprising as the increase in popularity of the domestic tragedy closely paralleled the rise of the middle class as a powerful social force with the ability to challenge the aristocracy.⁴³ Schiller, perhaps cognizant of this new political current, presents the audience with examples of the barriers separating the two classes, all while subtly encouraging the bourgeois audience to pursue freedom by resisting the corrupt and scheming nobles.⁴⁴ Unlike the earlier plays, *Kabale und Liebe* was presented to the middle class as a call to action.

The main aspect of aesthetic republicanism introduced in *Kabale und Liebe* is individual freedom. In *Kabale und Liebe*, freedom is represented by the 'ideal' of love. The play presents several divisions, one between the middle class and the aristocracy, and the other an internal division within the aristocracy. In each case, the division is a result of the differing values placed on love. The characters who are virtuous (the middle-class Miller family and Ferdinand) have a

⁴³ J.M. van der Laan, "Kabale und Liebe Reconsidered," *A Companion to the Works of Friedrich Schiller*, ed. Steven D. Martinson (Rochester: Camden House, 2005), 117. The author writes: "The emergence of the bourgeois tragedy around 1755 mirrors the rise of the bourgeoisie as a new social and cultural force. The emergence of the genre parallels the transition, albeit gradual, of power and prestige from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century."

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 119. In the play, the main barrier is the prohibition on the middle-class characters marrying the nobles.

profound appreciation for love; the immoral characters who seek power and aristocratic supremacy view it as a vice.

Act One details the attempts of the virtuous characters to navigate the rigid social structure of the time. The Millers seek opportunity for their daughter Luise in marriage. With the middle class growing in political and social respectability, Mrs. Miller believes that Luise can marry into the nobility.⁴⁵ Concurrently, Major Ferdinand von Walter, the son of the President, begins to fall in love with Luise. Even though Luise expresses love for Ferdinand, the young girl behaves in a frightened manner, worried that the President will not approve and end the engagement.⁴⁶ However, Ferdinand is obstinate, and commits to resisting the President and the court if it means the two can marry.⁴⁷ For Ferdinand, love is the path away from the strictures of the nobility. By declaring his love for Luise, Ferdinand becomes a free individual, disconnected from the corrupt noble class.

However, the President and his advisor, Wurm, do not see love as being meaningful. Nor do they see any reason for a member of the nobility to operate as an individual, detached from the court. The President and Wurm hatch a plot to marry Ferdinand to Lady Milford to attain favor with the duke, while Wurm marries Luise to check the aspirations of the Miller family.⁴⁸ For the President and Wurm, “love” is an instrument which one can use to attain power. This is evident later in Act One as the President tells his son, “for *whose* sake did I make by the removal of my predecessor...a story which cuts the more bloodily into my inmost being the more carefully I conceal the knife from the world!”⁴⁹ The quote demonstrates that the nobility has a warped notion

⁴⁵ Friedrich Schiller, *Intrigue and Love: A Bourgeois Tragedy*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York City: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), 8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

of “love”, if it can even be called that. For the nobility in the play, “love” is only important insofar as it provides one with power and authority.

However, Ferdinand retaliates against the President by choosing to renounce the inheritance which would only remind him of “an abominable father.”⁵⁰ Moreover, Ferdinand redoubles his commitment to Luise and his rejection of Lady Milford, declaring “I cannot...I am not in a position to...Have pity on me! ... I cannot love the Countess.”⁵¹ Ferdinand’s profession of affection for Luise and refusal of the President’s wishes set the stage for the conflict of the play. In *Kabale und Liebe*, love hangs in the balance. By choosing love, the virtuous characters are united in their pursuit of freedom and opposition to an aristocracy which attempts to subvert love and freedom through immoral acts of deception.

Act Two continues the story of defiance and deceit. As the President and Wurm begin to hatch their plans, Luise confronts the President and declares her dedication to Ferdinand and the vows of endearment which they have made to one another.⁵² Then, Luise’s father, in blatant defiance of the nobility, tells the President that “Your Excellency rules this country. *This* is my living room. My most devoted compliment, if some day I bring a petition, but an uncivil guest I throw out the door...”⁵³ This statement incenses the President. Not only does Miller affirm his personal and domestic autonomy, but he also directly threatens the authority, decency, and royal sovereignty of the President, and by extension, the court.

With Ferdinand and the bourgeois characters growing in confidence, the nobles feel threatened, and thus respond accordingly. Act Three is the part of the play in which the *kabale* (intrigue) is truly injected into the plot. The President and Wurm, seeking to thwart their opponents,

⁵⁰ Ibid., 22.

⁵¹ Ibid., 24.

⁵² Ibid., 47.

⁵³ Ibid., 48.

decide to turn Luise against Ferdinand. They do this by placing Luise's parents under arrest, and threatening them with a spurious charge – insulting the sovereign while in the presence of the President – which constitutes a capital offense.⁵⁴ Then, the two schemers, using the imprisonment of her parents as leverage, force Luise to compose a letter to Chamberlain von Kalb in which Luise declares her love for the chamberlain, and is then compelled to swear an oath to God that she wrote the letter.⁵⁵ Chamberlain von Kalb is then instructed to leave the letter in a place where Ferdinand can find it, with the hope that the President's son recants his love for Luise.⁵⁶ The events of the play's third act confirm the function of the nobles as being decidedly antagonistic and dastardly. In their attempts to invalidate freedom by stifling love, the nobles are in effect standing against the tenets of aesthetic republicanism.

As the play begins to approach its denouement, Schiller intensifies the conflict between Ferdinand and the Millers, and the President, Wurm, and von Kalb. Ferdinand, after finding the letter, visits von Kalb in a state of exasperation. Devastated by Luise's apparent betrayal, Ferdinand threatens von Kalb with a duel. Shocked and frightened, the chamberlain recants, blaming the President for the letter. However, due to a misunderstanding, Ferdinand believes that the President is uninvolved in the plot.⁵⁷

By the fifth and final act, Lady Milford, depressed by the plotting and dishonesty, has exchanged Germany for England; Ferdinand is convinced that Luise's father is responsible for the letter; and Luise is trying to figure out how to extricate herself from her impossible situation. Lamenting the court's corrupt behavior, Luise reveals to Mr. Miller her intention to take her own

⁵⁴ Ibid., 54-55.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 68.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 57-61.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 78. In German, Chamberlain von Kalb says „*ihr Vater*“, which translates to “your father” (as in Ferdinand's father, the President). However, it also translates to “her father.” As a result, Ferdinand believes that von Kalb is blaming Luise's father, not his own.

life. Luise views suicide as a way to end the deception of the nobles and her adherence to the false oath which has thrown her morality and love into doubt. In Act Five, Luise proclaims to her father, “How I shall cheat the tyrant! ... Love is more cunning than malice, and bolder...he did not know that, the man with the dismal star [the President]. Oh! They are crafty as long as they have to do only with the head, but as soon as they become involved with the heart, scoundrels turn stupid...in death even the iron bond of the sacraments dissolves.”⁵⁸ Luise, who still retains love for Ferdinand, believes that by committing suicide, she can regain her virtue and acquire freedom.

At the end of the play, Ferdinand approaches Luise to affirm his love for her. Ferdinand proposes to Luise stating, “My statement [proposal] is *true*, like my Luise’s love, and sacredly will I hold to it...”⁵⁹ After the proposal, Ferdinand implores Luise to deny that she wrote the letter, yet Luise continuously states that she *did* write the letter, distressing Ferdinand.⁶⁰ After the emotional exchange, Luise prepares a pitcher of lemonade into which – unbeknownst to Luise – a distressed Ferdinand pours a vial of poison. Both Luise and Ferdinand drink the poisoned lemonade. As Luise begins to die, she finally confesses to Ferdinand that she lied about von Kalb and the letter, and that it was the President who compelled her to write it. Before succumbing, Ferdinand declares his love for Luise and brands the President a murderer.⁶¹

One of the main themes of the play is the dichotomy between immorality and morality. This dichotomy is expressed in the central conflict of the play, which revolves around “the egocentric-authoritarian and unscrupulous-despotic drive for expansion of power which demands absolute obedience” and the “moral will fighting for independence and individual display.”⁶² This

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 101-104.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 116-118.

⁶² Günter Graf, “Criticism of Power: A Strategic Device in *Kabale und Liebe*,” *Friedrich von Schiller and the Drama of Human Existence*, ed. Alexej Ugrinsky (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1988), 47.

dichotomy between moral and immoral is a central tenet of aesthetic republicanism. Schiller places great value on individuals who behave morally. In the play, there is very little ambiguity as to which category Schiller considers to be superior. By maintaining a predilection for morality and love, the virtuous characters (notably Ferdinand and Luise) achieve the objective of freedom, though in exchange for their lives.

Additionally, the aesthetic republican concept of the ‘moral exemplar’ is evident in *Kabale und Liebe*. As discussed earlier, moral exemplars are individuals who rise to an ideal. By setting a virtuous example for others to follow, the exemplar leads the people in transforming an antiquated and corrupt state into an ethical and harmonious one. In *Kabale und Liebe*, Ferdinand serves as the story’s moral exemplar. In the drama, Ferdinand’s idealism is a product of the heart (i.e. his love for Luise). In order to check Ferdinand’s desire, the nobles elect to circumvent Ferdinand’s heart with deception, making the young major believe that Luise has entered into an affair with the chamberlain. Ferdinand rises to the ideal by declaring his love for Luise, overcoming the domineering nobles in the process.⁶³ Through challenging the President, Ferdinand demonstrates that by elevating oneself to an ideal, one can secure freedom.

This process is played out most notably in the first act. In Act One, after the President castigates the young officer for pursuing Luise, Ferdinand responds, “*Your* good fortune seldom manifests itself except in destruction. Envy, fear, execration are the sorry mirrors in which the highness of ruler smiles at itself...My ideal of good fortune withdraws more contentedly within myself. All my desires lie buried in my *heart*.”⁶⁴ This scene is textbook aesthetic republicanism: Ferdinand, in the pursuit of freedom and love, disputes the morality and governing principles of

⁶³ R.D. Miller, *The Drama of Schiller* (Harrogate: The Duchy Press, 1963), 38. Miller makes it clear that the limitations of circumstance for Ferdinand are the imperious dictates of the aristocracy.

⁶⁴ Friedrich Schiller, *Intrigue and Love: A Bourgeois Tragedy*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York City: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), 22.

the President and the aristocracy. Accordingly, Ferdinand's idealism serves as an example for those fighting for freedom and against oppression.

Comparably, the President and Wurm see little point in moral idealism, as it could be a deterrent to their plans. In Act Three, the President and Wurm decide to force Luise to swear an oath to God that she wrote the love letter to Chamberlain von Kalb. In the scene, the President interjects "An Oath? What good will an oath do, blockhead?" to which Wurm replies "Nothing among *us*, my Lord. With *these* people, everything."⁶⁵ The nobles that Ferdinand challenges have no interest in doing what is right. In order to improve their position, the President and Wurm take advantage of Ferdinand and Luise's idealism and love for one another. By pursuing a strategy of deception and immorality, the aristocratic characters do little to persuade the audience to their side. As a result, Ferdinand appears justified in opposing the tyrannical and sinister nobles.

In *Kabale und Liebe*, Ferdinand evolves from a young man caught between Luise and the expectations of the nobility, into an idealist seeking love and emancipation from an oppressive political system. Ferdinand serves as an instrument for aesthetic republicanism, encouraging the audience and reader to persist in the struggle against oppression and to adhere to ideals as a means of achieving freedom. By embracing the struggle, Ferdinand acts as an aesthetic educator, demonstrating the process through which one can achieve an emancipated state.

Schiller's *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*

As Schiller began to transition to the field of philosophy in the late 1780s, the ideas of aesthetic republicanism expressed in *Kabale und Liebe* endured in Schiller's philosophical writings. Specifically, the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, published in 1795, delineated

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

Schiller's aesthetic republicanism, providing Schiller's ideology with a distinct philosophical framework.

In 1793, Schiller's publisher, Friedrich Cotta, published an essay extolling the political merits of the French Revolution. In the essay, entitled "On the State Constitution in France", Cotta writes

In France, all people are free... Other than the ministers there was in France also a king, but he was deposed because he was performing his service only to the detriment of the people, and the people completely abolished an office as superfluous, costly, and dangerous to liberty as the office of a king or prince. That is why France is now called a republic, because only citizens are elected to all offices for a specific period of time in order to look after the common weal [*sic* wealth] of their fellow citizens.⁶⁶

Support for the French Republic was common amongst the left-leaning German intellectual elite. Though not a staunch supporter like Cotta, Schiller initially sympathized with the goals of the French Revolution, and was made an honorary citizen of the republic in 1792 for contributions to drama.⁶⁷

In his early career, a decade before the tumultuous events in France, Schiller had longed for a republican Germany, and began to grow impatient following the lack of political progress in the 1780s. Following the premiere of *Fiesko* in 1784, Schiller bitterly expressed his resentment that "In this land, republican freedom is a noise without meaning, an empty name..."⁶⁸ However, Schiller's promotion of republicanism was blunted by the savagery of the latter stages of the

⁶⁶ Friedrich Cotta, *Von der Staatsverfassung in Frankreich (On the State Constitution in France)*, reprinted in C. Träger, *Mainz zwischen Rot und Schwarz (Mainz between Red and Black)* (Berlin: Rütten & Leoning, 1963), 243-48. Originally found on: German History in Documents and Images: From Absolutism to Napoleon (1648-1815). In a pamphlet published the year before Cotta had called for closer German ties to the new French Republic. In "On the Good Life the People of the Rhine and the Mosel Can Now Have" (1792), Cotta argues in support of the Mainz Republic. Cotta believed that the republic was better for the "common man" because feudal rights were abolished, and democracy and liberty were promoted.

⁶⁷ Bodie A. Ashton, *The Kingdom of Württemberg and the Making of Germany, 1815-1871* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 23.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 23. The quote was taken from: Peter-Andre Alt, *Friedrich Schiller* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2004), 32.

French Revolution. Schiller viewed the French Revolution to be a failure because it was unable to engender human freedom, the revolution's supposed main purpose. As a result, Schiller turned to a different method for generating freedom: aesthetics. Instead of seeking an exclusively political answer, Schiller would present a process for human beings to attain freedom through an appreciation of art and beauty.⁶⁹

For Schiller, in the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795), the main issue of eighteenth-century Europe is the lack of freedom. Schiller opines that the state, the guarantor of freedom, is restricting it through the corrupt and power-obsessed elite class. In the third letter, Schiller remarks that “This natural State (as we may call every political body whose organization is ultimately based on force and not on laws) is now indeed opposed to the moral man... This much is certain: only the predominance of such a [moral] character among a people can complete without harm the transformation of a State according to moral principles.”⁷⁰ Schiller argues that the aristocracy, which controls the state, uses its power to oppress people who seek freedom and an ethical government. Schiller's solution to this problem is to empower the virtuous and moral individuals who have the capacity to create a just state.

Specifically, Schiller blames the opposition of the state to morality and freedom on the Enlightenment's prioritization of reason.⁷¹ Schiller writes that the state's support for Enlightenment values is negative because

...the State remains eternally alien to its citizens because nowhere does feeling discover it. Compelled to disburden itself of the diversity of its citizens by means of classification, and

⁶⁹ Lesley Sharpe, *Schiller and the Historical Character* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 73.

⁷⁰ Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man, In a Series of Letters*, trans. Reginald Snell (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), 27-47. Originally found: German History in Documents and Images: From Absolutism to Napoleon, 1648-1815.

⁷¹ Lydia L. Moland, "Friedrich Schiller," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, date accessed: September 1, 2019: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/schiller/>. Moland writes that morality and freedom are lacking in the eighteenth century because of the “...Enlightenment's over-emphasis on reason and its eschewing of sentiment—factors which Schiller suggests led to the French Revolution's barbaric excesses.”

to receive humanity only at second hand...the governing section finally loses sight of it completely...and the governed cannot help receiving coldly the laws which are addressed so little towards themselves.⁷²

Schiller asserts that the people are fundamentally disconnected from their government. The Enlightenment emphasis on structure, empiricism, and rationality meant that the people were not treated as free and unique individuals with the ability to make decisions for themselves. For Schiller, the lack of mutual cooperation between the government and governed resulted in an incomplete and unequal society.

In the letters, Schiller contends that the solution to the rigid and callous nation state is to motivate the citizenry, encouraging the people to pursue idealism and freedom. Schiller illustrates this point in the fourth letter by stating that “*Totality* of character must therefore be found in a people that is capable and worthy of exchanging the State of need for the State of freedom.”⁷³ As in *Kabale und Liebe*, Schiller presents the people with a call to action. For Schiller, the necessary catalyst for the transformation of the state is a people unified by the promise of freedom.

However, rather than detailing the political solutions to the problem of freedom, Schiller turns to the abstract. Schiller’s answer to the problem of freedom – and his method for acquiring totality of character – is to encourage an appreciation for art and beauty.⁷⁴ In the letters, Schiller

⁷² Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man, In a Series of Letters*, trans. Reginald Snell (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), 27-47. Originally found: German History in Documents and Images: From Absolutism to Napoleon, 1648-1815.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Lydia L. Moland, "Friedrich Schiller," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, date accessed: September 1, 2019: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/schiller/>. In the sixth letter, Schiller incorporates the “Greek influence” by arguing that Germany should look to classical Greece for guidance on matters of aesthetic truths and freedom: “But if we pay any attention to the character of the age we must be astonished at the contrast we shall find between the present form of humanity and the bygone one, in particular the Greek. Our reputation for culture and refinement, which we justly stress in considering every mere state of Nature, will not serve our turn in regard to the Greek nature, which united all the attractions of art and all the dignity of wisdom, without, however, becoming the victim of them as does our own. The Greeks put us to shame not only by their simplicity, which is alien to our age: they are at the same time our rivals, often indeed our models, in those very excellences with which we are wont to console ourselves for the unnaturalness of our manners. Combining fullness of form

recognizes that humans are unable to achieve freedom because of an internal division between the ‘sense’ drive and the ‘form’ drive. In the twelfth letter, Schiller reasons that humans can unite the sense drive (the material phenomenal world) and the form drive (the moral and idealistic noumenal world). Schiller argues that when these two drives are in harmony, one will experience freedom through the ‘play’ drive. Freedom is achieved through the play drive because it combines the ‘objects’ that activate the form drive and the sense drive. The object of the sense drive is life and the object of the form drive is form. Thus, the object of the play drive is ‘living form’ – i.e. beauty. Schiller argues that since beauty provides people with a condition controlled neither by the form drive or the sense drive, it bestows the fundamental freedom of choice.⁷⁵

Schiller maintains that because beauty provides people with access to freedom, it therefore allows humans to enter the ‘aesthetic state’ of existence. Schiller observes that “Our status as finite creatures means that this [aesthetic] state will remain only an ideal that each particular art – music, painting, sculpture, etc. – must struggle to approach in its own way... But all genuine art will produce a state of equilibrium that puts the will in a position of maximum power and self-determination.”⁷⁶ Schiller reasons that similar to humans, art has an ideal which it must achieve. For art, the ideal is subjective and relates to the artist’s ability to bring the observer into the aesthetic state. By doing this, the artist unifies the form drive and the sense drive within the observer, and allows the person to experience the freedom inherent in the play drive.

with fullness of content, at once philosophic and creative, at the same time tender and energetic, we see them uniting the youthfulness of fantasy with the manliness of reason in a splendid humanity,” (Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795), German History in Documents and Images: From Absolutism to Napoleon, 1648-1815).

⁷⁵ Ibid. Moland writes: “Since the contemplation of beauty leaves us dominated neither by the sense drive nor by the form drive, the play drive ‘gives rise to *freedom*’; it allows the will, which exists independently of both drives, to choose between them. This freedom does not correlate to our ability to articulate and follow the moral law. Freedom is rather the ability to survey both this law and our sensuous desires and choose between them. In facilitating this ability and so enabling freedom, the contemplation of beauty completes the concept of human nature.”

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Schiller transfers his aesthetic philosophy to the political realm by outlining three stages of politics: the natural, the moral, and the aesthetic. In the natural stage of politics, humans compete against each other using force. In the moral stage of politics, humans begin to respect moral law and institutions. In the aesthetic stage of politics, societal goals are achieved through respect and cooperation. In the aesthetic stage, humans “do their duty out of inclination, encourage the balancing of their fellow citizens’ rational and sensual capacities, and act as unified, harmonious human beings... In such a state, no privilege or autocracy can be tolerated.”⁷⁷ Though Schiller spends much of the aesthetic letters philosophizing in the abstract, the shift to the concrete world signifies the political intent in Schiller’s work. Through aesthetics, Schiller concludes that a free and unified society can be achieved, one which emphasizes equality, cooperation, individual freedom, and moral governance.

Schiller passionately believed in the superiority of the aesthetic model and the importance of individual autonomy and liberty. For Schiller, especially after the French Revolution, “any rebellion that did not pass the test of avoiding barbarism was to be condemned.”⁷⁸ The aesthetic letters serve as Schiller’s rebuttal to the radical ideas and violent excesses of the French Revolution. In Schiller’s letters, the liberal ideas of aesthetic republicanism – freedom, morality, unity, etc. – are afforded a sound philosophical structure. Yet, as demonstrated in this chapter, the aesthetic letters act as the continuation of the aesthetic republican ideas espoused in *Kabale und Liebe*.

Looking Forward to the Nineteenth Century

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ehrhard Bahr, “German Classicism and the French Revolution,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 39 (1), 2005: 135.

Despite Baron Dalberg's removal of certain elements of political satire upon the debut of *Kabale und Liebe*, the play received an overwhelmingly positive reception at the Mannheim National Theater on April 15, 1784. Friedrich Schiller's friend, Andreas Streicher, reported that Schiller, who was in the theater, was overjoyed at the audience's reaction. Streicher wrote, "his proud and noble bearing, showed that he had satisfied himself and was pleased to see his merit appreciated."⁷⁹ The event at Mannheim served as one half of the play's dual debut. A couple of days earlier, on April 13, 1784, *Kabale und Liebe* was presented to an audience in Frankfurt-am-Main. With Goethe's mother watching, *Kabale und Liebe* received an equally thunderous applause as it had in Mannheim. Quickly, the play's popularity grew, and was staged in cities across Germany.⁸⁰

During the next several decades, the play was put on display across Germany and Europe.⁸¹ However, due to the controversial political themes evident in the play, *Kabale und Liebe* experienced continued censorship following Schiller's death in 1805. With the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire at the hands of Napoleon in 1806, the French imposed strict censorship laws on German literature to curtail nationalist sentiments. Friedrich Schiller's works were prime targets of the French censor, and thus *Kabale und Liebe* was put to the French sword before it was allowed to be shown on stage in 1808. Fortunately, as France's grip over the German lands began

⁷⁹ Calvin Thomas, *The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1970), 145.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 145-146. However, the play was initially barred in Stuttgart by Duke Karl Eugen.

⁸¹ Friedrich Schiller, *Intrigue and Love: A Bourgeois Tragedy*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York City: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), vi. A Russian version of the play premiered in 1788 at the University of Moscow. Six French versions of the play were drafted between 1799 and 1857, including one by Alexandre Dumas. English versions were produced in 1795, 1797, and interestingly, in 1849 during Europe's revolutionary period. Additionally, there were Italian versions in 1817 and 1842 (and a libretto for Verdi's 1849 opera *Luise Miller*), a Spanish version in 1800, a Hungarian version in 1827, Swedish and Polish versions in 1833, and countless German versions.

to fade in 1810, the censorship laws were relaxed and *Kabale und Liebe* returned to its full glory as a stage production in 1811.⁸²

Yet in 1815, a new political power emerged in Germany. With the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Klemens von Metternich was installed as the de-facto leader of the German Confederation. One of the German Confederation's main goals was to stifle displays of German nationalism and liberalism in order to conserve the feudal hierarchy of the Holy Roman Empire. To secure conservative supremacy, Metternich initiated new censorship laws. Metternich's official censor, Count Sedlnitzky, in a similar manner to the French, imposed strict regulations sanctioning overtly nationalistic and liberal works. Nevertheless, the censorship laws proved to be ineffective, and Schiller's works, including *Kabale und Liebe*, were spread throughout the German lands in their original versions.⁸³

Enduring throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, *Kabale und Liebe* remained popular and the political messages retained their importance to audiences and readers. In 1828, the leading literary critic, Wolfgang Metzel, wrote a sympathetic review of *Kabale und Liebe*, along with Schiller's other plays. Metzel praised the character of Ferdinand as a virtuous example to German youth and suggestive of Germany's promising future.⁸⁴ Metzel's review of Schiller's works mirrored the general opinion of Schiller in nineteenth-century Germany. The concepts of idealism, political freedom, and unity advocated for by Schiller were considered to be especially relevant to the German people living under the oppressive hierarchy of the German Confederation.

⁸² Marvin Carlson, *The German Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1972), 58.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 63. In this usage, original means undisturbed by political censorship and manipulation. Of course, it is impossible for a work to be truly original as changes are made in reproduction and translation.

⁸⁴ David Pugh, *Schiller's Early Dramas: A Critical History* (Rochester: Camden House, 2000), 25. Pugh writes: "...Metzel sees Karl Moor, Ferdinand von Walter and Posa as embodiments of Schiller's warlike angel that will lead Germany towards a better future." Metzel's exact quote is as follows: "Whatever follies one may find in Karl Moor, and also in *Kabale und Liebe* and *Fiesko*, I cannot think of them other than as the follies of that old Germanic Parzifal, who, even as a raw youth in childish raiment, put his heroic heart to the test and shamed all the scoffers."

Aesthetic republicanism was one of the principal themes of Schiller's writings. Originating in *Kabale und Liebe* with the audacious resistance to the aristocracy by Ferdinand and the Millers, the tenets of Schiller's political theory were thoroughly elucidated in the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Schiller's aesthetic republicanism would be important to the figures of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany.

Chapter III: Friedrich Schiller and the German Revolution of 1848

In the decades leading up to the Revolution of 1848, Friedrich Schiller received a heightened degree of attention in the German lands. With the aristocratic crackdown on free expression, Schiller became a symbol for those wishing to voice their discontent. In 1825, Stuttgart became the first city to host a *Schillerfest* (Schiller Festival). The *Schillerfeste* consisted of readings of Schiller's dramas, poems, and philosophical teachings, providing the people with inspiration in their time of trouble. The *Schillerfest* was repeated in Stuttgart more than a decade later, in 1839, to great acclaim; it finished with a rendition of *Wilhelm Tell*, one of Schiller's final plays and arguably the most republican.⁸⁵ The popularity of the *Schillerfeste* demonstrates that many in the divided German lands welcomed Schiller as a messenger for freedom, providing people with a sense of optimism.

Indeed, the art critic and jurist Christian Reinhold Köstlin summarized the public's perception of Schiller following a Schiller event in Stuttgart. Köstlin witnessed the erection of a statue of Schiller in the city center, and observed the fanfare that the event generated. Köstlin remarked of the experience: "At last there was the means to create a fitting memorial to the spiritual hero, in the very city from which he had once fled as an outlawed prophet, and through this memorial the whole Nation will recognize him as their representative."⁸⁶ Köstlin's observation would prove to be prescient. Over the next decade, Germans would come to see Schiller as a symbol for the elusive objective of freedom.

⁸⁵ Bodie A. Ashton, *The Kingdom of Württemberg and the Making of Germany, 1815-1871* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 53.

⁸⁶ Ibid. Ashton writes: "Köstlin's description tells us much of the tone of the event. It was undeniably a celebration of Schiller as a literary figure, but it was *also* a proxy celebration of the concept of Germany, as embodied in Schiller. The *Schillerdenkmal* in the centre of Stuttgart was, as Köstlin noted, a focal point, a centre of pilgrimage for the entire nation, not merely Stuttgarters, Württembergers or Schiller enthusiasts. But, the reader is reminded, Schiller was not just a prophet, but an outlawed one, banished by the forces of statist particularism in the form of the Württemberg government."

From Students to Leaders

Unsurprisingly, students were some of the first people to recognize the political themes apparent in Schiller's works. The first student group – called the *Burschenschaft* – was formed at the University of Jena (the school where Schiller once taught) on June 12, 1815.⁸⁷ The students at the University of Jena – including Heinrich von Gagern, the eventual leader of the Frankfurt Parliament during the 1848 Revolution – were inspired by Schiller's teachings, and chose a motto which included the words “honor” and “freedom.”⁸⁸ Following the defeat of Napoleon and the rise of Metternich, student groups began to spread across Germany. Metternich, acknowledging the political threat, cracked down on the students in 1819 with the Karlsbad Decrees. The anti-democratic decrees stifled freedom of the press, allowed for the monitoring of universities, and placed hundreds of students under arrest, blunting their political impetus.⁸⁹ Despite failing to topple the aristocrats, the students recognized, in Schiller, a message of freedom through political idealism and resistance. As a result, many *Burschenschaften* members chose political careers, a path which would eventually lead many into the midst of revolution.

As aesthetic republicanism took hold in the Revolution of 1848, many groups active in the revolution saw Schiller as a symbol for freedom. This includes the liberals, led by Heinrich von Gagern and Friedrich Dahlmann, two of the revolution's preeminent figures in the Frankfurt Parliament.⁹⁰ Neither politician was an avowed republican, yet that did not stop their allies from

⁸⁷ Eda Sagarra, *Germany in the Nineteenth Century: History and Literature* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2001), 103.

⁸⁸ K.H. Jarausch, “The Sources of German Student Unrest 1815-1848,” *Historical Social Research Supplement*, vol. 24, 2012: 84. Jarausch writes: “Inspired by the anti-Napoleonic rhetoric of Schiller, Arndt, Jahn and Körner, the *Urburschenschaft* founded at Jena embraced a liberal constitutionalism and propagated an anti-particularist German nationalism according to the motto ‘honor, freedom, fatherland’.”

⁸⁹ Author Anonymous, *Fragen an die deutsche Geschichte: Ideen, Kräfte, Entscheidungen von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bonn: German Bundestag Press, 1984), 64.

⁹⁰ Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson, *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1999), 303. “In March 1848, Heinrich von Gagern, leader of the moderates, was to say: ‘I too would be a republican

“seeing” Schiller in both. An example can be found in an 1848 pamphlet written by Theodor Heinsius, a prominent professor and education theorist. The pamphlet, published in Berlin and entitled *Grundstriche zu einer constitutionellen Schul- und Volksbildung in Deutschland (Bases for a Constitutional School and Public Education in Germany)*, discusses models for moral and political education in Germany. In the document, Heinsius writes that every era has “republican teachers.” In the age of Napoleon, these republican teachers, notably Schiller, arose as torchbearers for moral and political truths. Heinsius concludes by stating that the lessons and ideas of Schiller endure in the persons of Heinrich von Gagern and Friedrich Dahlmann.⁹¹ Recognizing the values of what scholars have termed aesthetic republicanism (i.e. the political and moral truths), Heinsius’ view of Schiller is analogous to Church’s ‘moral exemplar’, as Schiller, according to Heinsius, guided people towards political freedom and an ethical life. For Heinsius, these same republican ideals could be found in von Gagern and Dahlmann, the individuals leading the German people towards freedom and principled government during the Revolution of 1848.

Young Germany

‘Young Germany’ was a collection of writers active during the 1830s and 1840s. The Young Germans were united in their opposition to the German Confederation, and were frequent targets of censorship and even imprisonment. However, the oppression the Young Germans faced resulted in their ability to reach larger audiences.⁹² The Young Germans recognized a population

if the German people were to decide on the republican form of state. I can be a republican because I quite simply have learned to live, but I don’t want any government by the mob, no flirting with the mob’.”

⁹¹ Theodor Heinsius, *Grundstriche zu einer constitutionellen Schul- und Volksbildung in Deutschland* (Berlin: Lindow, 1848), 46. Heinsius writes: “These include republican teachers...Where can they now be found? In the depressed age of Napoleon, two of the noblest men rose as torchbearers of moral and political truth in Fichte and Schiller; now v. Gagern and Dahlmann shine as the same images and we thank them. But will their light be strong enough to enlighten 35 million souls?” It should be mentioned that Heinsius was not a republican. Further down on the page he criticizes republicans in the Frankfurt Parliament. However, he still subscribed to the teachings of Schiller and the tenets of aesthetic republicanism – the importance of freedom and ethical governance.

⁹² Bernhard Giesen, *Intellectuals and the Nation: Collective Identity in a German Axial Age*, trans. Nicholas Levis and Amos Weisz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 107.

which craved subversive literature that satirized and criticized the ruling class.⁹³ Through the medium of print, the Young Germans were committed to assailing the tyrannical rule of Metternich and the nobility. In this pursuit of artistic and individual freedom, many Young Germans saw a precedent for anti-aristocratic idealism in Schiller.

Most prominent of these Schiller-inspired writers was Heinrich Laube. Laube focused many of his plays on democratic and republican ideals. In 1846, shortly before the revolution, Laube premiered arguably the most ambitious play of his career. The play, called *Die Karlsschüler*, depicts Schiller's conflict with Duke Karl Eugen in 1782.⁹⁴ *Die Karlsschüler* is replete with combative scenes between Schiller and Duke Karl Eugen, portraying Schiller as a crusader for freedom. With the play's premiere, the very events which compelled Schiller to write *Kabale und Liebe* were played out on stage on the eve of the revolution.

In 1849, Laube witnessed a showing of *Die Karlsschüler* which was attended by Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria and members of the royal court. In a pamphlet published the same year, Laube remarks that this was the first time the emperor and court had appeared in the theater since the beginning of the Revolution of 1848. Laube recalls that the audience watched intently for the emperor's reaction "as the stormy speech of Schiller came." This behavior was repeated later in the play as one of the actors uttered the line: "Es lebe die Republik!" The scenes elicited such anxiety in the room, that even the actors appeared frightened. However, following the emperor's tacit approval, Laube writes that the applause was ceaseless.⁹⁵ Laube's own drama and politics were shaped by Friedrich Schiller. Through exploring Schiller's antagonistic relationship with the

⁹³ Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 35. Hahn writes: "Some cities, such as Leipzig, which depended on the book trade, gained the reputation of operating a rather liberal censorship. In many police states, censors could be by-passed or duped, and writers, publishers and booksellers perfected the art of remaining one step ahead of the authorities."

⁹⁴ Marvin Carlson, *The German Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1972), 103.

⁹⁵ Heinrich Laube, *Das erste deutsche Parlament* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1849), 157-158.

nobles of the 1780s, Laube vociferously advocated for freedom and republicanism during the Revolution of 1848.

The republican principles expressed in *Die Karlsschüler* propelled the playwright Laube into the political realm. At the beginning of the Revolution of 1848, Heinrich Laube was elected as a member of the Frankfurt Parliament, the governing body of the revolution. Schiller's influence over Laube continued in this new career. In the 1849 pamphlet, *Das erste deutsche Parlament*, Laube carefully documents his experiences in the revolution. In one passage, Laube describes a colleague, Simon von Trier, an ardent republican and member of the far-left democrats in the Frankfurt Parliament.⁹⁶ In the section, Laube invokes Schiller in describing von Trier's anti-monarchical beliefs. Laube writes that "The head and the heart steam forward together in enmity against the "wicked" old world, and thus, according to Schiller's favorite expressions, a pathological figure, a pathological speech arises, a mortimer of hatred for the godless, tyrannical queen. And the queen is everything for Ludwig Simon [Simon von Trier] which is not a democratic republic."⁹⁷ The last aspect of the quote is what is most critical. According to Laube, Simon von Trier viewed the aristocracy as tyrannical and incompatible with a free and ethical democratic republic. Schiller's 'favorite expression' serves as a framing device, demonstrating, at least in Laube's eyes, that Simon von Trier stood against the oppressive aristocracy and in support of a republic. Laube's decision to invoke Schiller in affirming von Trier's crusade against the aristocracy establishes that for Laube, Schiller could help to explain the republican convictions of specific revolutionaries.

Republican Pamphlets and Propaganda

⁹⁶ Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker: Two Lives for Liberty*, trans. Steven Rowan (St. Louis: St. Louis Mercantile Library, 2006), 110.

⁹⁷ Heinrich Laube, *Das erste deutsche Parlament* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1849), 291-292.

During the Revolution of 1848, republican revolutionaries engaged with Schiller's ideas and works in a variety of interesting and innovative ways. One frequent application of Schiller's works was through the use of quotations to add substance to political messaging and propaganda. One such example can be found in C. Neumann's "Call on Wilhelm von Hohenzollern." The poem, published at the beginning of the revolution in March of 1848, blasts the Prussian prince for fleeing to England rather than facing the revolutionaries. At the beginning of the poem, Neumann quotes from Schiller's play, *Wilhelm Tell*: "And the queen is crying in her chamber, And her wild pain accuses the sky, So you see here a people free of fear, To this very heaven, thanking implore, He who wants to reap tears must sow love."⁹⁸ In the poem, Schiller's quotation functions as a preface, underscoring the prince's abandonment of Prussia and his family, as well as the prince's cowardice in refusing to consider the complaints of the Prussian people.

The tendency for republicans to quote Schiller continued throughout the Revolution of 1848. Another instance comes from *Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes (The Fundamental Rights of the German People)*. The political pamphlet was written shortly after the revolution by a collection of authors, including Theodor Eisenlohr, a left-liberal and republican member of the Frankfurt Parliament.⁹⁹ In the pamphlet, Eisenlohr and the other authors argue in support of the revolution as a supplier of fundamental rights. In the pamphlet's first article of rights, the authors highlight the attention placed on civil rights by the revolutionaries. At the beginning of the article, the authors quote Schiller: "We want to be a single people of brothers, never to be in danger or separated."¹⁰⁰ The quotation reflects the aesthetic republican quality of unity, as the authors hope that through the establishment of a community of equals, the civil rights of all Germans will be

⁹⁸ C. Neumann, "Zuruf an Wilhelm von Hohenzollern," (Wroclaw: Neumann, 1848), 1.

⁹⁹ Heinz Gardener, "Iron Ear, Theodor," *New German Biography*, vol. 4, 1959: 417.

¹⁰⁰ Ignaz Lehmann, Theodor Eisenlohr, and Adolph Seeger, *Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes* (Stuttgart: Comm.-Verl. d. K. Hofbuchdr. Zu Guttenberg, 1850), 11. The quote comes from *Wilhelm Tell*.

respected. By quoting Schiller in the context of German civil rights, the authors aspire to the aesthetic republican ideals apparent in Schiller's works.

A final example of the tendency for republicans to use Schiller's works in political pamphlets comes from A.W. Geißler's *Die Blutzengen der deutschen Volkserhebung, oder Scenen aus dem tragischen Ende der neu'sten Volksaufstände in Deutschland* (*The Martyrs of the German People's Uprising, or Scenes from the Tragic End of the Latest Popular Uprisings in Germany*). The work details the events at the close of the Revolution of 1848, with particular attention paid to the revolt in Baden. The pamphlet eulogizes many republicans and radicals, often adding a quotation from Schiller to enhance the motivations and deeds of the deceased revolutionary.

One such figure included in the book is Gustav Schlöffel, a young republican killed towards the end of the revolution in 1849 by Prussian soldiers. In the book, Geißler portrays Schlöffel as a "dreamer" and "political idealist." To support this description of the republican revolutionary, Geißler includes a stanza from Schiller's poem "Die Ideale" in Schlöffel's biography. The stanza adds an extra dimension to Schlöffel, characterizing the young soldier as an idealistic and courageous figure, progressing uninhibited towards freedom and a higher state of existence.¹⁰¹ This is aesthetic republicanism at its most fundamental level. Schiller's poem distinguishes Schlöffel as a symbol for the youthful German spirit. For Geißler, Schlöffel, along with the other republican martyrs, represents the ideal of the moral exemplar. By sacrificing their lives for freedom, the revolutionaries serve as an example for those Germans who wish to follow in their footsteps.

¹⁰¹ A.W. Geißler, *Die Blutzengen der deutschen Volkserhebung, oder Scenen aus dem tragischen Ende der neu'sten Volksaufstände in Deutschland* (Neustadt: Buchmann and Holzmann, 1850), 48-49. The stanza from Schiller's "Die Ideale" translates to: "How happy, winged by courage daring, / The youth life's mazy path first pressed--/ No care his manly strength impairing, / And in his dream's sweet vision blest! / The dimmest star in air's dominion / Seemed not too distant for his flight; / His young and ever-eager pinion / Soared far beyond all mortal sight."

The Republicans

Friedrich Schiller was as an inspiration for republican figures of the Revolution of 1848 in numerous ways. For example, Robert Blum, a prominent advocate of republicanism in the Frankfurt Parliament, was twice elected chairman of the Schiller Association Board in the years leading up to the revolution.¹⁰² Despite his republican persuasion, Blum emerged as a respected statesman and parliamentarian in the National Assembly. The reverence which Blum earned allowed the politician to acquire a position on the Frankfurt Parliament's prestigious constitution committee.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, though Blum was an admirer of Schiller and a republican, the historical record does not afford a connection between the two in Blum's case.

With other republican revolutionaries, it is easier to discern Schiller's influence regarding their views and rhetoric. One excellent example is Simon von Trier, the politician discussed by Heinrich Laube. Before becoming a politician, Simon von Trier rose to prominence after publicly burning the manifesto of the constitutional monarchists, whom he believed to be too moderate. This feat earned the young lawyer a place in the Frankfurt Parliament representing Trier, and a seat on the far left of the chamber.¹⁰⁴ While serving in the Frankfurt Parliament, Simon von Trier often used Schiller's words to heighten and intensify his speeches. In a debate concerning the question of incorporating Austria into Germany, von Trier stated: "We know when violence occurs where it strikes first, but that is why we shall no less remain faithful to our origin...we will not leave the flag entrusted to us, we will let it flutter up to the last moment, remembering the words

¹⁰² Julius Lasker and Gustavus A.F. Gerhard, *Des deutschen Volkes Erhebung im Jahre 1848, sein Kampf um freie Institutionen und sein Siegesjubiläum (The German People's Uprising in 1848, His Struggle for Free Institutions and His Victory Jubilation)* (Gdansk: Gerhard, 1848), 225. The authors write: "In 1841 Blum was twice awarded by being elected Chairman of the Schiller Association Board and co-chairman of the Literary Society."

¹⁰³ Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson, *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1999), 355-358.

¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 181.

of the poet [Schiller]: ‘Life is not the highest of goods, the greatest evil, however, is fault [or guilt]’.¹⁰⁵ For Simon von Trier, the words of Friedrich Schiller were a call to action, and a path to political legitimacy. Through Schiller, Simon von Trier realized that life is not the most important thing; rather, one’s freedom and ideals are essential and worth fighting for. Guided by Schiller’s aesthetic republicanism, Simon von Trier saw freedom and morality as valuable objectives, even if one had to make sacrifices to attain them.

While Simon von Trier invoked Schiller for political purposes, the republican politician Hermann Kiefer was influenced by Schiller intellectually. Kiefer, like so many other revolutionaries, was raised to have an appreciation for Schiller. As a student in Schiller’s native territory of Baden, Kiefer, along with the other pupils, took to Schiller’s works, even going so far as to recreate many of Schiller’s plays. Following in Schiller’s footsteps, Kiefer became an army surgeon in the army of the Baden Republic in May of 1849, and eventually fought at the Battles of Phillipsburg and Ubstadt in June of 1849.¹⁰⁶

However, unlike Schiller, Kiefer had strong political aspirations. In late March of 1848, at the beginning of the revolution, Hermann Kiefer called a meeting in Freiburg several days before the National Assembly convened in Frankfurt. In the Freiburg meeting, Kiefer and the other

¹⁰⁵ Veit Valentin, *Die erste deutsche Nationalversammlung: eine geschichtliche Studie über die Frankfurter Paulskirche (The First German National Assembly: An Historical Study about the Frankfurt Paulskirche)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1919), 96. The full translated quote from the book, which I used to inform the information in this paragraph is: “Schiller was alive in Simon von Trier. He [von Trier] loved to put a great end to his great speeches, and he often used Schiller’s words. Thus ends his speech on the Austrian question with the sentences: “We know when violence occurs, where it strikes first, but that is why we shall no less remain faithful to our origin...we will not leave the flag entrusted to us, we will let it flutter up to the last moment, remembering the words of the poet: ‘Life is not the highest of goods, the greatest evil, however, is the fault’.”

¹⁰⁶ Hermann Kiefer and Warren Washburn Florer, *Liberty Writings of Dr. Hermann Kiefer, Chairman of the Freiburg Meeting* (New York: G.E. Stechert and co., 1917), 54. “The pupils of the Baden gymnasias were inspired by Schiller’s *Lieder vom Vaterlande*. The students of Medicine particularly had a peculiar preparation to understand the thoughts of the son of an army surgeon, who in turn prepared himself to practice as a doctor. The influence of Schiller upon the young army surgeon of Emmendingen [Kiefer], who like Schiller was compelled to flee his fatherland, became especially strong...As stated before, these lovers of art and literature found their most sincere recreation in the production of the plays of Schiller.”

delegates discussed the events in Berlin – the showdown between revolutionaries and Prussian soldiers marking the formal beginning of the revolution – and the appropriate political response. Kiefer and the members of the Freiburg meeting opted for the creation of a new constitution and a federated German republic.¹⁰⁷

During the first year of the Revolution of 1848, Kiefer chose to disengage from the revolution to study medicine. However, on May 13, 1849, more than a year after the Freiburg meeting, Kiefer, as a member of the State Assembly of Baden, returned to the revolutionary movement by signing the Offenburg Declaration of 1849. To unify the disparate revolutionary groups, the Offenburg Declaration called for the election of new state assemblies throughout Germany, the unification of the standing army and citizen militias, the creation of a national bank, and the replacement of state trials with trials by jury.¹⁰⁸ Kiefer and the other politicians wanted to implement these measures because, as the decree states

Germany is in the throes of continual revolution which has been given fresh impetus by the attacks made by the larger German monarchs against the Imperial Constitution, which has been finally been ratified by the German National Assembly, and against freedom itself. The German sovereigns have shown their determination to repress freedom and their betrayal of the people and the Fatherland is plain for all to see...they [Germans] must join together to save freedom.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 35. “Kiefer called this meeting to protest against the dire deeds of the 18th and 19th which had transpired in Berlin and Vienna, and to guarantee that such ruthless scenes should not be re-enacted. The meeting at Offenburg had called for a *deutsches Parlament*, the word republic, however, had not been inserted in the resolutions as adopted, although the credit or discredit of introducing the word republic belongs to the Committee of the Upper Rhine Circuit, of which Kiefer was the chairman. They demanded ‘that the German Parliament should establish a new constitution based on the foundations of a federated Republic (a Republican United State)’. The resolutions as adopted stand as the great witness of the Declaration of Independence forced by the occurrences of the unhappy 18th of March.”

¹⁰⁸ Author Anonymous, *Fragen an die deutsche Geschichte: Ideen, Kräfte, Entscheidungen von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bonn: German Bundestag Press, 1984), 152-153.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 152.

For Kiefer and the republicans present at Offenburg, freedom was under threat from an overreaching and oppressive nobility. To gain their political freedom, Kiefer believed that it was imperative for the revolutionaries to unify and fight.

Friedrich Schiller's aesthetic republicanism featured prominently in Kiefer's understanding of the revolution and the motivations of the republicans. Ten years after the events at Offenburg, Kiefer gave a speech extolling Schiller's importance to republican convictions during the Revolution of 1848. In the speech, Kiefer credits Schiller with being "in the foremost battle line when it was time to retake Germany."¹¹⁰ Like many other figures from the revolutionary era, Kiefer considered Schiller to be a figure with the ability to transcend history. For Kiefer, Schiller's aesthetic republicanism was far-reaching, motivating the German revolutionaries to fight for their freedom and political future.

Further in the speech, Kiefer champions Schiller's aesthetic theory and its relevance to concepts of freedom and morality. In the speech, Kiefer commends Schiller on the signature theme of the dramatist's works: that there exists the possibility for humanity to elevate itself to a free state of existence through art and beauty. Like Schiller, Kiefer believed that through aestheticism, the populace could be educated to understand truth and moral dignity.¹¹¹ The fact that Kiefer was aware of Schiller's aesthetic theory is interesting. It demonstrates that republican revolutionaries

¹¹⁰ Hermann Kiefer and Warren Washburn Florer, *Liberty Writings of Dr. Hermann Kiefer, Chairman of the Freiburg Meeting* (New York: G.E. Stechert and co., 1917), 412.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 57. The quote which this reference pertains to is: "Aber durch sein ganzes Leben und Wirken zieht sich als rother Faden, der immer und immer, in jeder Form und allen Verhältnissen den Eigenthümer er kennen lässt, ein Gedanke durch, durch die Kunst die Menschen zu adeln. Die Künstler sind es, welche den Menschen die Offenbarung des Göttlichen vermitteln, sie sind die Priester, welche vermittelst des Schönen die Gesellschaft zur Erkenntniss der Wahrheit, zur sittlichen Würde erziehen." I translated the passage to approximately mean: "But through all his [Schiller's] life and works, there exists a common thread, which always, in every form and circumstance, lets the owner know him, a thought remains constant, the thought of art allowing mankind to ennoble others in mankind. The artist imparts to men the revelation of the divine, they are the priests, who, by means of the beautiful, educate society to the knowledge of the truth and moral dignity."

were familiar with the intellectual framework for Schiller's conception of freedom – and to varying degrees, their own as well.

Additionally, in the encomium, Kiefer praises Schiller for being a moral exemplar for freedom. This idea is expressed by Kiefer at the end of the speech, when the politician affirms that “This celebration of a centenary is...the celebration of the most ideal of all human beings [Schiller] in a seemingly material time. We strengthen and rise to his example of the struggle for freedom and humanity...”¹¹² Hermann Kiefer saw Schiller as a prophet of freedom, an individual who could lead the German people away from the divisiveness, violence, injustice, and inequity which seemed to dominate the affairs of Kiefer's time. Interestingly, as evidenced by Kiefer's address and its ten-year removal from the revolution, the ideas and themes denoted in Schiller's works continued to provide the German revolutionaries with a sense of purpose long after their weapons had been laid down.

Of all of the republicans active during the Revolution of 1848, the most radical were from Baden. Prior to the events of the Revolution of 1848, the ‘Constitutional Friends’ of Baden met in September of 1847 to pass the first Offenburg Program. The Offenburg Program, directed by Gustav von Struve and Friedrich Hecker, called for the abolition of the Karlsbad Decrees, freedom of assembly, and a new constitution supporting democratic rights.¹¹³ Almost a year later, at the beginning of the revolution, Struve and Hecker were dispatched as representatives for Baden in

¹¹² Ibid., 58. “Diese Feier eines hundertjährigen Geburtstages ist Birge dafür, diese Feier des Idealsten aller Menschen in einer scheinbar so materiellen Zeit. Starcken und erheben wir uns an seinem Beispiel zum Kampf für Freiheit und Humanität...” I translated this section of a larger paragraph to mean: “This celebration of a hundred-year-old birthday is the celebration of the most ideal of all human beings in a seemingly material time. We strengthen and rise to his example of the fight for freedom and humanity...”

¹¹³ Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 33-34. Hahn writes that “Public houses became important venues for clubs and associations, perhaps best known was the *Salmen* in Offenburg, where the ‘Constitutional Friends’ of Baden met in September 1847. Under the direction of Struve and Hecker, they published the Offenburg Programme, with demands such as the abolition of the Karlsbad Decrees, complete press freedom, academic freedom, parliamentary control of the army, freedom of assembly and a constitution with far-reaching democratic rights.”

the *Vorparlament* (pre-parliament), which met from March 31, 1848 to April 3, 1848 in Frankfurt's Paulskirche. However, the *Vorparlament* began to split into ideological factions consisting of conservatives, moderate liberals, and democratic republicans – these divisions continued with the sitting of the full National Assembly in Frankfurt on May 18, 1848.¹¹⁴ As members of the republican group, Struve and Hecker argued that the *Vorparlament* should seize complete control of proceedings in order to create a German republic.¹¹⁵ Predictably, the majority of parliamentarians were strongly opposed to the implementation of a peoples' republic. As a result, Struve and Hecker's motion in the *Vorparlament* was overturned, and the two men returned to Baden.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 59-60. Sheehan writes that "But in the middle range of the political spectrum, uncertainties and divisions about key ideological problems continued to produce a constantly shifting set of alignments and the inclination to schism."

¹¹⁵ Gustav von Struve, "Motion in the German Pre-Parliament," *Deutsche Verfassungsdokumente 1803-1850* (*German Constitutional Documents 1803-1850*), vol. 1, *Dokumente zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte* (*Documents on German Constitutional History*), 3rd edition, ed. Ernst Rudolf Huber (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1978), 332-334. Originally found on: *German History in Documents and Images: From Vormärz to Prussian Dominance, 1815-1866*. In the work, Struve's March 31st motion to the *Vorparlament* is included in full. Struve states that "Therefore all the ties that had bound the German people to the previous so-called order of things have dissolved, and it is the job of the assembly of German men which has come together on March 31 of this year in Frankfurt a. M. to create new ties with which the entire German people will be bound together into a free and great whole." Further on Struve remarks that the new republic should engage in the "Termination of the standing army of soldiers and its merger with the citizens' militia for the purpose of building a true popular defense encompassing all men capable of bearing arms." In concluding the motion, Struve calls for a republic and the "Termination of the hereditary monarchy (despotism) and its replacement by freely elected parliaments headed by freely elected presidents, all united in the federalist Confederal Assembly on the model of the North American free states." Struve qualifies these wishes by stating to the people of Germany: "German people, these are the principles with whose help alone, in our view, Germany can become happy, respected, and free."

¹¹⁶ Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, "The German Revolutions of 1848-1850 and the *Sonderweg* of Mecklenburg," *The Revolutions in Europe 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction*, eds. R.J.W. Evans and Strandmann (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 110-111. Strandmann writes that "Their [moderates and conservatives] main task was to prepare the elections to a national assembly. However, the liberal majority pursued an additional agenda. By speeding up the electoral process it tried to prevent a radicalization of the revolution. Struve and Hecker's motions to create a democratic republic and abolish all professional armies as well as all indirect taxation, and to let the Pre-Parliament sit until the elected national assembly was convened in Frankfurt were defeated by a majority which preferred monarchy based on the peoples' sovereignty...After Struve and Hecker's motions had been rejected, these two popular revolutionaries returned to Baden and...began to fight for a democratic republic."

After returning to Baden, Struve and Hecker decided to create a German Republic based in the south-western principality. On April 12, 1848, a little more than a week after leaving the *Vorparlament*, Struve and Hecker led an uprising in Baden. The revolt was short lived, crushed by federal troops called in by the Baden government. Nevertheless, the republicans managed to kill General Friedrich von Gagern, Heinrich von Gagern's brother.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the prospect of a republic in Baden received support from sympathetic Germans living outside the principality. For instance, not long after the start of the rebellion, a group of students from Alsace invaded Baden to assist the revolutionaries, though they were handily defeated alongside their compatriots.¹¹⁸ Despite the ultimate failure of the revolt, rumors of the events in Baden spread throughout Germany, influencing other republicans and freedom fighters.¹¹⁹

Unfazed by their initial defeat, Struve and Hecker continued to resist their opponents in the Baden government and the National Assembly in Frankfurt. During the midst of another republican revolt in Baden in September of 1848, Franz Sigel, a lieutenant in the Baden army under Friedrich Hecker, addressed a letter to Gustav von Struve on September 16, 1848. The letter, found in Struve's desk and initially published by the *Frankfurter O.P.A. Zeitung*, was then taken up by the popular and well-respected *Allgemeine Zeitung* (founded in 1798 by Friedrich Cotta, Friedrich

¹¹⁷ Eda Sagarra, *Germany in the Nineteenth Century: History and Literature* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2001), 80.

¹¹⁸ Michael Hughes, *Nationalism and Society: Germany 1800-1945* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988), 94. In the book, Hughes writes: "A 'German Legion' of students and gymnasts invaded Baden from Alsace in April 1848 to support the democratic republic proclaimed by Hecker."

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 244-245. Sperber writes of the events in Baden: "Common soldiers' indiscipline, however, was not always directed against civilians, but could be turned against their supervisors, as the lower ranks complained of bad food, low pay, or long terms of service, gathered together, and marched through the streets, denouncing their officers and shouting out cheers for the republic or for the Badenese revolutionaries Hecker and Struve."

Schiller's publisher). In the preface to the letter, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote that Sigel's letter to Struve is of "the utmost importance in explaining the plans of the Red Republican Party."¹²⁰

The main point of Sigel's letter is to outline a plan which Struve could use to unify republican groups in Baden and the Rhineland. The letter goes into great detail concerning the measures – destroying railroad lines, provoking uprisings in small towns, arresting military officers and local politicians, seizing forts and arms, etc. – necessary to create a unified German Republic along the upper Rhine River, bordered to the south by the Black Forest and to the north by the Odenwald Mountains.¹²¹ To secure the political stability of this new German Republic, Sigel proposes that republicans from the Frankfurt Parliament should help Struve establish a provisional republican government with sovereignty over both sides of the Rhine.¹²² Furthermore, Sigel urges Struve to create a manifesto to detail the purpose and objectives of the new republican government. In the letter, Sigel hopes that with an understandable message, and experienced and respected politicians in the government, Struve would succeed in gaining favor for the cause of a German Republic.¹²³

¹²⁰ Franz Sigel, "Übersicht," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 280, October 6, 1848, 4418. The full quote and context in German: "Die Frankf. O.-P.-A.-Ztg. veröffentlicht folgenden in Struves Kanzlei vorgefundenen Brief eines ehemaligen badischen Lieutenants und nachherigen Zugführers unter Hecker, welcher zur Darlegung der Plane der roth republikanischen Partei von größter Wichtigkeit erscheint."

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid. Sigel writes: "Was die politische Frage jenseits des Rheins betrifft, sowäre vor Allem nothwendig, daß bei eintretenden außerordentlichen Fall die entschiedensten Männer der Linken von Frankfurt sich mit dir verbinden, sei es auf deutschem, Französischem oder Schweizer Boden. Diese Männer wären etwa Itzstein, Brentano, Trütschler, Simon, Fröbel u.f.w. Diese würden eine provisorische Regierung bilden für sämmtliche Republikaner diesseits und jenseits des Rheins." I translated the passage to mean: "As far as the political question beyond the Rhine is concerned, it is above all necessary that, in the event of an extraordinary case, the most resolute men on the left of Frankfurt should associate themselves with you, whether on German, French or Swiss soil. These men would be, for example, Itzstein, Brentano, Trütschler, Simon, Fröbel, etc. They would form a provisional government for all Republicans on both sides of the Rhine."

¹²³ Ibid. In the letter, Sigel writes: "In einem sogleich beim Antritt eurer Regierung erlassenen Manifeste würdet ihr in kurzen Zügen Euere Forderungen und Zwecke auseinandersetzen... Ein solches Manifest von Männern ausgegangen, die Vertrauen und einen Namen haben, würde unserer Sache eine schnelle und entschiedene Wendung geben, und ganz Deutschland in Aufruhr versetzen." I translated this segment to mean: "In a manifesto issued immediately upon the accession of your government, you should briefly discuss your demands and

In the letter, to qualify Gustav von Struve as the suitable person for the position as leader of the new republic, Sigel invokes Friedrich Schiller and aesthetic republicanism. In the letter, Sigel directly quotes Schiller by stating: “Here Schiller says quite rightly: ‘Greatness alone can compel admiration and terror, but only legal greatness can compel reverence and submission’.” Sigel immediately follows the quote by arguing that “If you [Struve] had risen not by law, but purely by revolutionary means, then your union would be suitable to give you the appearance of legislative power.”¹²⁴ This excerpt from Sigel’s letter to Struve demonstrates that Schiller profoundly impacted republican ideals and politics during the Revolution of 1848. Not only were republicans quoting the great dramatist, but they were also incorporating the tenets of aesthetic republicanism into their governing principles. In the letter, Sigel instructs Struve that ethics and morality are indispensable qualities for an effective leader. Grandeur and fame are useful, but they only provide one with the illusion of leadership. A leader who pays deference to laws and pursues an ethical politics will gain the respect of the people. In the letter, Franz Sigel uses Schiller to advise Struve on the appropriate approach to securing power in the prospective republic.

Additionally, the letter reflects another important component of aesthetic republicanism: the ‘moral exemplar.’ The essential responsibility of the moral exemplar is to rise above the self to the ideal. In the letter, it is evident that Sigel wishes for Struve to elevate himself to the ideal of freedom; which in this case, means becoming a leader who establishes a democratic society, governs lawfully, and garners the confidence of the people. By establishing freedom in the form

purposes... Such a manifesto from men who have confidence and a name would give a quick and decisive turn to our cause, and would put the whole of Germany in a state of commotion.”

¹²⁴ Ibid. Sigel, quoting Schiller, writes: “Schiller sagt hier ganz richtig: ‘Größe für sich allein kann sowohl Bewunderung und Schrecken, aber nur die legale Größe Ehrfurcht und Unterwerfung erzwingen’.” The quote comes from Schiller’s book, *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. The second quote comes from Sigel: “Wenn ihr auch nicht auf gesetzlichem, sondern auf revolutionärem Wege erstanden wäret, sowäre Eure Vereinigung doch geeignet, Euch den Schein der gesetzgebenden Kraft...”

of a republic, opposing the aristocracy, and governing honorably and legitimately, Gustav von Struve satisfies – in Franz Sigel’s eyes – the expectations of the moral exemplar.

Though Schiller certainly influenced the political convictions and ideals of republicans in the Revolution of 1848, there exists a distinct difference in *how* Schiller was utilized by different republicans. For some, notably Laube and Kiefer, Schiller served as an intellectual inspiration, helping to shape their republican beliefs. Others, namely von Trier and Sigel, used Schiller to achieve political legitimacy. Through quoting Schiller, von Trier and Sigel imbued their political opinions and objectives with the liberal and positive principles of aesthetic republicanism. Nonetheless, both groups regarded Schiller as a great republican intellectual, and a symbol of the revolutionary spirit.

Schiller and the Revolutionary Spirit

Though this thesis focuses primarily on the significance of Friedrich Schiller’s aesthetic republicanism to the political convictions of republicans during the Revolution of 1848, Schiller’s works had a profound effect on other critiques of power during the revolutionary period. One such example can be found in Friedrich Arnold Steinmann’s 1849 pamphlet, *Geschichte der Revolution in Preußen (History of the Revolution in Prussia)*. In the work, Steinmann excoriates Mayer Amschel Rothschild, the founder of the Rothschild banking dynasty, in a blatantly anti-Semitic attack. In the critique, Steinmann invokes a scene from *Kabale und Liebe* to describe Mayer Rothschild’s history and motivations. In the play, a valet gives Lady Milford a collection of lavish pearls, hinting that the duke received the pearls as a gift after providing soldiers to the British cause during the American Revolutionary War. In the pamphlet, Steinmann writes, “And yet Rothschild was born of such a pearl.”¹²⁵ The quote demonstrates that Steinmann is skeptical of Mayer

¹²⁵ Friedrich Arnold Steinmann, *Geschichte der Revolution in Preußen : zwölf Bücher preußischer Geschichte für das deutsche Volk* (Berlin: Gerhard, 1849), 99. In the pamphlet, Steinmann writes: “Schildern wir zunächst den Gründer

Rothschild's rise to power and financial dealings. Though an example of anti-Semitism, not aesthetic republicanism, Steinmann's pamphlet demonstrates that Schiller's ideas and works were utilized by individuals with varying intentions and political persuasions.

Although Friedrich Schiller's works and ideas were adopted by many individuals critical of power, Schiller's impact on the republican revolutionaries of 1848 stands apart. The republicans, from Laube to Sigel, accessed the rich intellectual legacy of Schiller. Inspired by Schiller's quarrels with the nobility and the aesthetic republican ideals stemming from Schiller's plays and philosophy, republican revolutionaries denounced the aristocracy of the 1840s, and fought for freedom, unity, and ethical governance. For the republican revolutionaries of 1848 – and others who detected Schiller's revolutionary spirit – Schiller functioned as the original moral exemplar. Through his trying life experiences, dramas, and aesthetic political philosophy, Schiller rose to the ideal of freedom. Observing the qualities of aesthetic republicanism espoused by Schiller, the republican figures of 1848 resolved to pick up Schiller's torch, and continue the fight for freedom in Germany.

dieses zu einer finanziellen Weltmacht emporgestiegenen Banquierhauses, welches die politischen und socialen Conjunctionen während des Laufs unsers Jahrhunderts mit Einsicht und Geschick benutzend, auf die materiellen wie molischen Verhältnisse eines ganzen Welttheils und noch weiter hinaus einen Einfluß übt, beispiellos in der Geschichte aller Staaten und Völcker. Mehr als ein Jahrhundert ist verflossen, als der Stifter der "sechsten europäischen Großmacht" das Licht der Welt erblickte, deren erstes Emporkommen für Deutschland selbst an eine unheilschwangere Zeit erinnert. "So oft ich...den alten Mann mit den Perlen in Schiller's 'Kabale und Liebe' zu Lady Milford treten sah, dachte ich immer bei mir: Und doch entstand Rothschild aus solch eine Perle." I translated the passage to mean: "Let us first describe the founder of this Banquier House [Rothschild family], which has risen to become a financial world power, and which, using the political and social conjunctions during the course of our century with insight and skill, exerts an influence on the material relations of a whole world and beyond, unprecedented in the history of all states and peoples. More than a century has passed since the founder of the 'Sixth European Great Power' saw the light of day, whose first rise for Germany itself is reminiscent of a time of unhealthy troubles. As often as I saw the old man with the pearls in Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* with Lady Milford, I always thought to myself: And yet Rothschild was born of such a pearl."

Conclusion

Though the revolutionaries of 1848 tried desperately to install a new political system in Germany, the political divisions in the National Assembly proved to be too entrenched. Disagreements between the moderates and radicals over which system of government should be implemented – constitutional monarchy or constitutional republic – meant that the revolutionaries were hopelessly divided during the monarchical restoration in 1849. With the revolution defeated, thus ended Germany's first, and until the founding of the Weimar Republic in 1918, only experiment with democratic-republican government.

However, many revolutionaries did not give up on the dream of freedom. Fleeing to the United States, many of the German 'Forty-Eighters' became active in the abolitionist movement and Republican Party politics. Yet, the land in which they arrived would soon be afflicted by its own division and strife. With the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861, many German revolutionaries saw, in the North, a new purpose for which they could fight. Both Friedrich Hecker and Gustav von Struve served as officers in the Union Army. Moreover, Franz Sigel, the lowly lieutenant from Baden, was promoted by Abraham Lincoln to the rank of major general, and rose to command the infamous Eleventh Corps of the Army of the Potomac, and the Army of the Shenandoah during the ill-fated Battle of New Market in 1864. In the northern cause, the German revolutionaries saw an opportunity to continue the fight for freedom in a new land.

In Germany, the struggle for freedom remained, along with the public's admiration for Friedrich Schiller. In 1859, on the one-hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth, the greatest of all the *Schillerfeste* were held throughout Germany. From Berlin to Freiburg, Schiller's poems and plays were read and reenacted, demonstrating a deep affinity for Schiller's works amongst the

German people.¹²⁶ Schiller's message of freedom had not subsided; if anything, it seemed to have grown stronger. The German people, still living under the rule of the aristocracy, were crying out for the political emancipation which had concerned Schiller so much in his own time, and for which he had argued so emphatically in his works.

Friedrich Schiller, above all else, was a brilliant symbol of the revolutionary spirit. As a sophisticated and thoughtful young man, Schiller was able to perceive the damaging effects of the immoral and restrictive society of eighteenth-century Europe. Thus, in *Kabale und Liebe*, Schiller articulated an ethos of individual freedom, unity, and the urgency of resisting immoral and unequal hierarchies. Originally exhibited in *Kabale und Liebe* in 1784, the principles of aesthetic republicanism were fully formulated in Schiller's treatise, the *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, which provided a theoretical process through which the values of aesthetic republicanism could be realized.

Aesthetic republicanism continued to be an important component of Schiller's plays and poetry in the final years of his life. However, following Schiller's death, the political notions discernible in Schiller's works took on a new function. For the German people, affected by war, censorship, and despotism, Schiller – both the individual and his works – became a magnificent symbol for freedom and rebellion. Students, writers, and aspiring politicians during the *Vormärz* period followed Schiller's example by defying, satirizing, and denouncing the corrupt and oppressive aristocracy.

Eventually, the divisiveness reached its climax during the violent and politically charged German Revolution of 1848. Embracing a radical platform of constitutional republicanism and personal freedom, republican revolutionaries stormed head-first into the struggle, with Schiller by

¹²⁶ David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers Limited, 2003), 181.

their side. Though Schiller's influence upon the convictions of the German republicans varied widely – some admired his writings, some chose to quote Schiller to improve their speeches, some saw Schiller as a torchbearer for freedom, and others believed that Schiller's philosophy added credence to their governing plans – the presence of Schiller's aesthetic republicanism is unmistakable in their actions, writing, and rhetoric.

The significance of this intellectual and political process, from Friedrich Schiller to the republican revolutionaries, is clear. Not only does it provide a source for the ideals of the 1848 revolutionaries in eighteenth-century literature, thereby connecting two apparently disparate periods of history, but it also demonstrates the ability of art to have a meaningful effect on “real-world” affairs. The title of this thesis, “Life Imitating Art”, is an apt description of this thesis' central argument. The tenets of aesthetic republicanism, first expressed in *Kabale und Liebe* and thoroughly articulated in Schiller's aesthetic letters, were enthusiastically accepted and zealously executed by the participants of the German Revolution of 1848.

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