

STEVEN KAPLAN

**The Narrative Technique Used by Goethe  
to Portray War in the  
“Campaign in France”**

IN 1792, GOETHE ACCOMPANIED his benefactor and sovereign, Karl August, the Duke of Weimar, during the allied invasion of revolutionary France. Goethe was already familiar with military affairs, as he had served as the Minister of War in the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar for several years in the early 1780's, but up until this time he had never been directly involved in a military engagement. The allied invasion of France in 1792 had been provoked by the French National Assembly, which had declared war on Francis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia and the Emperor of Austria, on April 20, 1792. When Francis accepted the French challenge, he was immediately joined by his ally, Frederick William II of Prussia.

In the first months of the war, the French waged a campaign against the Austrian forces in the Netherlands. Although this campaign was a complete failure, the French were able to avoid total defeat because the Austrians did not have a large enough army in the area with which to drive back the French army and initiate an invasion of French territory. In the months that followed, however, the Austrians were joined by their Prussian allies on the Franco-German border, and here, by the end of July, with combined forces of over 80,000 men, the allies launched their invasion of France from the German town of Koblenz.

The military commander of the allied forces was Karl Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick, who was accompanied throughout the campaign by the Prussian king, Frederick William II. Brunswick had managed to muster a total of 42,000 troops under his personal command, and along with close to 40,000 Austrian troops, he also led 5,600 troops belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse and several thousand troops belonging to his nephew Karl August, the Duke of Weimar. Since Goethe was both the Duke's close friend and a Privy Councillor in his court, it was probably inevitable that when the Duke enthusiastically set off to join Brunswick in the invasion of France, Goethe would follow.

Goethe's letters to his young wife from the front make it clear that he would have preferred to stay at home and enjoy his quiet life with his new wife and young son. Nevertheless, since he could not do much to alter his situation, he made the best of it and spent much of his time observing the people and events around him and furthering his work on his scientific studies in his spare time. Almost thirty years later, Goethe looked back on these few months of his only encounter with front-line military experience. With the advantage of historical perspective, he began to compose what he conceived of at the time as the fifth book of his autobiographical writings. Within two years he had completed the autobiographical essay we now know as the "Campaign in France."

The letters Goethe wrote to family and friends during the first months of the campaign reveal that initially he was as optimistic about the outcome of the campaign as the rest of the officers and advisors of the allied forces (Goethe, *Briefe* 153). This optimism was largely due to the encouragement that the allies had received from the French royalist exiles in Germany, who had "boasted that they [the allies] had only to appear, with a white handkerchief

on a stick, and the [French] king's flag would be run up once more on every church tower; the Jacobin rabble would scatter, they maintained, at the first shot'' (Slavemini 320). As Goethe and his companions would soon discover, this was not to be the case.

The allied campaign opened with several military successes. First the allies conquered the town of Longwy, and by late August they had advanced as far as Verdun. Their goal of Paris now seemed at hand. On September 2nd, Verdun capitulated to the enemy. In the next few weeks, however, the allied leaders discovered that invading France would not prove as easy as initially thought:

The Prussians had entered upon this campaign on the assurances that it would be a mere military promenade. They were without magazines and provisions; in the midst of a perfectly open country, they encountered a resistance each day more energetic; the incessant rains had broken up the roads; the soldiers marched knee-deep in mud. Diseases, produced by the chalky water, want of clothing, and damp, had made great ravages in the army. (Mignet 163)

By mid-September, such conditions, far more than military engagements, had taken their toll on the allied forces. Plagued by disease and desertion, the allied forces' numbers were quickly diminishing. At the same time, the French army, under the command of General Dumouriez, was able by the middle of September to muster up 50,000 men to push back the foreign invaders.

The first major clash between the allied forces and the reenforced French took place at the town of Valmy on September 20th. Here, 24,000 Prussian soldiers with 58 guns confronted 36,000 French soldiers with 40 guns

(Slavimini 322). At the close of this famous and decisive battle, the French had lost about 300 men and the Prussians close to 200. The French had not defeated the allied forces, but they had managed finally to prevent their advance. According to most historians, Valmy was not a strategic victory for the French, but it was a moral victory: "The sans-culotte army had held fast against the fighting force in Europe. It became apparent to the Coalition powers that revolutionary France would not be easily overwhelmed at all" (Soboul 269). Within ten days after this battle, the allied forces had decided to retreat, and by mid-October they, along with one of their most prominent members and observers, Goethe, were again crossing the Rhine, this time back into Germany. After this defeat, it took the allies almost twenty years to crush the revolution in France. Thirty also passed before Goethe confronted and wrote about the events that he had witnessed during the allied campaign in France.

It is impossible to say why Goethe allowed so much time to elapse before he decided to write about the attempted invasion of France. Nevertheless, what we do know is that once Goethe did decide to write about the campaign in France, he researched his subject with the seriousness of a military historian. The editor's notes that follow the text of the "Campaign in France" in the definitive "Hamburger" edition of Goethe's works contains a list of the numerous personal and scholarly discussions of the campaign that he used to prepare his autobiographical essay. Moreover, in the excerpts from Goethe's letters that are quoted in this edition, Goethe repeatedly stresses his desire to remain historically accurate in his portrayal of events. Nevertheless, the essay itself does not, on the surface at least, present a reader with very much concrete information about historical events. In fact, if someone were to read the "Campaign in France" without any knowledge of the historical events

described above, that person would hardly be aware of the fact that the military campaign referred to in the title of Goethe's essay was one of the major allied military attempts to defeat the revolution in France.

In the "Campaign in France," we learn much about the people Goethe met during his time on the front; we are often shown clean and orderly domestic scenes; we are kept well informed as to what forms of transportation he used at given times; and we are even provided with lengthy digressions on the appearance of the cities and landscapes he encountered. Rarely, however, are we shown those aspects of war that we would normally expect to find in an essay on a major eighteenth-century military action. There are no scenes of soldiers bayonetting one another, no innocent civilians being subjected to harsh interrogations or torture, no cities or villages levelled in flames. Injury, blood, and pain are rarely mentioned. There is some description of plundering (275), and occasionally a peasant is poorly treated (201), but we are never provided with enough details or statistics to adequately picture the actual dimensions of the war. In fact, we are not even told how many troops were involved on either side until more than halfway through this work of almost two hundred pages. Moreover, when we are finally informed that the counter-revolutionary forces alone constituted over 80,000 men (301), the statistic is quickly lost when Goethe turns, as he does elsewhere in his narrative, to a discussion of his *Theory of Colors*.

Goethe's devoting more space in this essay to describing his personal encounters with people, places and natural phenomenon than to the portrayal of historical and military events may be partially explained by the fact that he originally intended for the essay to serve as the fifth section of his sequence of autobiographical writings, *Aus meinem Leben*. Critics have also offered various other reasons for

Goethe's approach to his material. In what is probably the most exhaustive and incisive study of the "Campaign" to date, Richard Fisher argues that we should, in fact, not simply examine it "as a political testament, nor test it as a factual chronicle, but probe the text as another 'Bruchstück' [fragment] of artful self-representation" (237). Thomas Saine argues that the main reason Goethe did not stress the realities of war he actually encountered was that his goal was to make the story of this portion of his life "socially acceptable" (Saine, "Goethe's Novel" 193). Similarly, according to the critic Hans Reiss, Goethe tends to overlook the more brutal aspects of war in this essay because of his lifelong aversion to violent behavior (120). Possibly Goethe avoided an extensive treatment of the realities of war in the "Campaign" because the events he actually witnessed were too horrible for him to recall. In the companion piece to the "Campaign," "Die Belagerung von Mainz" ("The Siege of Mainz"), for example, Goethe spends several pages discussing a twenty-minute incident in which he intervened on behalf of an accused traitor after the recapturing of Mainz, but the actual bombardment of the city, which lasted two weeks, is summarized in a telegraphic style on one page, and he prefaces this section with the following justification for his brevity:

*Bedenkt man nun, dass ein solcher Zustand, wo man sich, die Angst zu übertäuben, jeder Vernichtung aussetzte, bei drei Wochen dauerte, so wird man uns verzeihen, wenn wir über diese schrecklichen Tage wie über einen glühenden Boden hinüber zu eilen trachten. (Goethe Belagerung 381)*

[If one considers that this was a situation in which we were constantly forced to drown out

fear while being exposed to destruction for almost three weeks, then one would forgive us for passing quickly over these terrible days as over a burning floor.] *Author's Note: All translations from the German that appear in this text are my own.*

It is tempting to conclude that Goethe avoided describing actual battle scenes in the "Campaign" to spare his readers from having to see what numerous other witnesses of war have said that no person should be forced to see. However, I would argue that he avoided a too immediate or realistic portrayal of events as part of an overall narrative strategy to make the senseless horror and chaos of the campaign more vivid.

By placing much more emphasis in this work on the stability and order of normal human and natural events than on the chaos of war, Goethe is able to illustrate war's perversion of the natural order of things by contrasting a few explicitly ugly scenes with an abundance of scenes drawn from everyday life. For example, tens of thousands of the counter-revolutionary forces died inglorious deaths during the campaign in France, not on the battlefield, but from dysentery (Lefebvre 259). Goethe, however, never describes in any detail the suffering of those men or the stench of their unburied corpses, nor does he refer to these deaths as a consequence of war. Instead of directly describing the human suffering and death, Goethe provides his readers in several places in his narrative with explicit portrayals of the ugly deaths of horses on the battlefield. In doing so, Goethe depicts the obscenity of war without being dogmatic or sentimental, for isn't it easier to be explicit and even callous when describing the senseless slaughter of an innocent animal than it is to convey the suffering of a human being who is killed in battle? At the

same time, although Goethe is only describing the death of animals in such passages, the effect on the reader is potentially the same as if he were describing the death of a human being: the message in both cases is that war is ugly and devastating. In fact, any description of the senseless death of an animal is profound in that domestic animals generally survive due to human attention and care.

A horse is first mentioned in the opening pages of the narrative, when Goethe records his meeting with Karl August's secretary, Wagner. Although he is en route with Karl August to the front, Wagner is accompanied by his black poodle, just as he later is when Goethe meets him after the disastrous campaign. Wagner's being accompanied by his poodle, when seen within the broader context of the "Campaign in France," may well symbolize the fact that the allies were thoroughly unprepared for the realities of this particular military engagement. Goethe learns from Wagner that the Duke's horse, the day before, had collapsed beneath the Duke and died on the spot (195). The death of the Duke's horse strikes Goethe as a terrible tragedy. A few pages later a similar incident occurs, but this time the horse survives and the rider is killed:

*Einige Unglücksfälle versetzten jedoch uns wieder bald in Kriegszustand. Ein Offizier von der Artillerie suchte sein Pferd zu tränken; der Wassermangel in der Gegend war allgemein, meine Quelle, an der er vorbeiritt, lag nicht flach genug, er begab sich nach der nahe fliessenden Maas, wo er an einem abhängigen Ufer versank; das Pferd hatte sich gerettet, ihn trug man tot vorbei. (209)*

[A few mishaps, however, placed us back into a state of war. An artillery officer wanted to give



his horse some water. The shortage of water in the area was universal. My spring, which he rode past, was not situated flatly enough. He moved towards the river that was flowing nearby, where he sank by a shore precipice. The horse was able to save itself, but the soldier was pulled out of the water dead.]

Why this event led to Goethe's company preparing for battle is unclear, until we consider that neither the death of the horse in the first passage nor the accidental death of the man in the second passage is as important as the association of the horse with war and war with the kind of arbitrary death that the victims of dysentery met during the campaign.

Goethe's use of the horse as a metaphor for the senseless deaths caused by war does not, however, constitute an attempt on his part to avoid facing the horrors of war by discussing the fate of animals rather than that of humans. Some of the ugliest passages in the "Campaign in France" are those in which the suffering of horses are depicted, and these passages become all the more forceful when one realizes that Goethe is using the victimization of the horse in battle as a symbol of the brutal treatment to which human beings subject one another in a situation of war:

*Nicht weit vor uns fiel ein Pferd vor einem Rüstwagen, man schnitt die Stränge entzwei und liess es liegen. Als nun aber die drei übrigen die Last nicht weiter bringen konnten, schnitt man auch sie los, warf das schwerbepackte Fuhrwerk in den Graben, und mit dem geringsten Aufhalte fuhren wir weiter und zugleich über das Pferd weg, das sich eben erholen wollte, und ich sah*

*ganz deutlich, wie dessen Gebeine unter den Rädern knirschten und schlotterten.*

*Dass man unter solchen Umständen in Gräben, auf Wiesen, Feldern und Angern tote Pferde genug erblickte, war natürliche Folge des Zustands; bald aber fand man sie auch abgedeckt, die fleischigen Teile sogar ausgeschnitten, trauriges Zeichen des allgemeinen Mangels! (272)*

[Not far ahead of us, a horse fell in front of a munitions wagon. The reins were cut in two, and the horse was left lying there. As, now, the remaining three could not pull the load any farther, they were also cut loose; the heavily packed vehicle was dumped into a ditch, and without the least delay we drove the wagons on—right over a fallen horse that was just about to recover, and I saw quite clearly how its bones were crushed and flapped under the wheels.

It was essentially a natural consequence of the situation that one could often see dead horses lying alongside the road and on the fields and meadows. Soon, however, one could also find them skinned, with their insides cut out: a sad sign of the general deprivation.]

This picture of an army rolling over the bodies of living creatures vividly recalls a scene that appears a few pages earlier in which the Duke of Brunswick, the commander of the allied forces, abandoned thousands of his sick and diseased soldiers in Verdun, leaving them at the mercy of the French forces (248).

The heightening of the "action" in the "Campaign in France" is accompanied at each point by the intensification of Goethe's descriptions of the deaths of horses, and with each new portrayal of the plight of the horse on the battlefield, the reader is brought closer to Goethe's theme of the brutal manner in which humans treat one another in war. Thus, a few pages after the above scene is alluded to, and just after Goethe finishes describing some soldiers following an order to clean the bottoms of their wagons, the reader is confronted with another gruesome description of dead horses, which this time also contains a reference to dead soldiers:

*Greuelbilder sich vor der Einbildungskraft abstupfen. Was soll ich also wiederholen, dass die Wege nicht besser wurden, dass man nach wie vor, zwischen umgestürzten Wagen, abgedeckte und frisch ausgeschnittene Pferde aber- und abermals rechts und links verabscheute. Von Büschen schlecht bedeckte, geplünderte, und ausgezogene Menschen konnte man oft genug bemerken, und endlich lagen auch die vor dem offenen Blick neben der Strasse. (277)*

[Horrible images that became numbed in the imagination. How can I then repeat that our way did not get any better: that over and over again we were confronted with skinned and freshly butchered horses that were lying between toppled wagons. Poorly concealed, freshly stripped and plundered corpses could also be seen often enough, and even these were lying along the road for the eye to behold.]

Goethe may not depict soldiers starving to death or dying of dysentery, then being heaped in mass graves—events that were not uncommon during the campaign—but he does certainly suggest the existence of such scenes through his repeated, vivid descriptions of the suffering and mutilation of innocent animals.

The strategy behind this narrative technique becomes clear when we look at the broader context in which the above passages appear. For example, the evening of the same day on which Goethe encountered the dead horses, we find him enjoying the benefits of an orderly domestic life in a “panelled room with a black marble fireplace in which a cozy fire was burning...a good meal was prepared [for Goethe and his friends], and there was ample bread and wine” (273). Goethe speaks repeatedly in the “Campaign” of the hypocrisy of human behavior in war. The passage just quoted shows that he also did not spare himself as a member of the “ruling class” from such a judgement. Nor did he, moreover, avoid condemning the frivolous wartime behavior of the French aristocratic emigrants who were fighting alongside the counter-revolutionary forces in order to, as Goethe puts it, return to France and live an even “more refined and comfortable life” than they had known before the revolution (189).

Goethe generally prefers to expose the hypocrisy of those in command and of the French emigrants for whom the war was at least in part being fought, by condemning these people indirectly through the manner in which he arranges his material. For example, the above description of Goethe’s lodging and dinner that appears just after his discussion of the mutilated horses is in turn followed by a long passage in which the French emigrants’ appearance becomes a mockery of the suffering and devastation of the campaign as a whole. As the emigrants enter the city of Etain, shortly after Goethe’s own arrival, they are described

as they push through the streets full of refugees in their “elegant wagons that are colorfully painted and gold and silver plated” (274).

Several critics have cited such passages as evidence of Goethe’s disgust with the self-seeking behavior of the French emigrants, but I think that his criticism is meant to go much farther than simply attacking individual examples of irresponsibility. When we consider the manner in which he positions such passages within his overall narrative sequence, it becomes evident that his critique is not levelled so much at individuals as at the absurdity and senseless cruelty of the war itself. By juxtaposing scenes of domestic security and an orderly social life—on the level of both the aristocrats and the commoners—with descriptions of mutilated animals and dead soldiers, Goethe illustrates the extent to which war perverts the natural and social order.

One practical explanation why Goethe chose to condemn the campaign in this indirect manner is suggested halfway through the narrative by an old Hussar officer Goethe met in Trier during the retreat of the allied forces. The old Hussar said of Goethe: “Was er schreiben dürfte, mag er nicht schreiben, und was er schreiben möchte, wird er nicht schreiben” [What he will be allowed to write, he won’t want to write, and what he will want to write, he won’t write] (288). Goethe was called to participate in the campaign by his sovereign, Karl August, who was the nephew of the commander of the allied forces, the Duke of Brunswick. Had Goethe openly condemned the campaign in France, even in the essay he wrote almost 30 years after the fact, he would have insulted his lifelong benefactor and opened himself to attacks of being a friend of the revolution. Goethe was in fact indirectly warned against ever taking this step by the Duke of Brunswick himself in a passage that is clearly meant to comment upon the above observation of the Hussar officer:

*Es tut mir zwar leid, dass ich Sie in dieser unangenehmen Lage sehe, jedoch darf es mir in dem Sinne erwünscht sein, dass ich einen einsichtigen, glaubwürdigen Mann mehr weiss, der bezeugen kann, dass wir nicht vom Feinde, sondern von den Elementen überwunden worden.*  
(264)

[I am indeed sorry to have to find you in this unpleasant situation, but at the same time I am glad to know of one more insightful and credible man who will be able to testify that we were overcome by the elements and not by the enemy.]

Goethe did follow the Duke's suggestion when he composed the "Campaign in France," in that he frequently writes that bad weather was a major factor in the defeat of the allied forces. Goethe also never suggests that the allied defeat was due to the superiority of the French revolutionary forces. Nevertheless, Goethe was able to get around the apparent pressure that was on him not to criticize the allied command's poor leadership by planting subtle hints in his text that reveal what he really thought of the entire endeavor. The most obvious of these signals, though one which has surprisingly enough been overlooked in the literature written on the "Campaign in France," is the manner in which he depicts the French King's brother, Louis Ferdinand, who is one of the exiled emigrants. Again, Goethe uses the horse as a symbol of the suffering that the common soldiers endured in this chaotic and ill-fated military exploit.

Ten days after the allied bombardment of the city of Longwy, we find Goethe on horseback witnessing the following scene:

*An den Stellen, wo die Kanonade hingewirkt, erblickte man grossen Jammer: die Menschen lagen unbegraben, und die schwer verwundeten Tiere konnten nicht ersterben. Ich sah ein Pferd, das sich in seinen eigenen, aus dem verwundeten Leibe herausgefallenen Eingeweiden mit den Vorderfüssen verfangen hatte und so unselig dahin hinkte.*

*Im Nachhausereiten traf ich den Prinzen Louis Ferdinand, im freien Felde, auf einem hölzernen Stuhle sitzen, den man aus einem untern Dorfe heraufgeschafft. (239)*

[One could see great signs of suffering in the area that had been bombarded by cannon fire: the men were lying there unburied, and the badly wounded horses could not die. I saw a horse that had its front foot caught in its own intestines that were hanging out of its injured body. This was his wretched trap.

As we were riding home I met Prince Louis Ferdinand in the middle of an open field. He was sitting on a wooden stool that had been brought to this place from a nearby village.]

There is perhaps no other passage in the "Campaign in France" that so perfectly illustrates the bitter irony with which Goethe condemns the absurdity of this military endeavor and simultaneously reveals the ugliness of battle by strategically placing the most disparate scenes side by side and allowing them to comment on one another. Louis Ferdinand, an even more fervent and tenacious anti-revolutionary than his brother Louis XVI—who had already

been executed by the revolutionary government—is shown here as the mock King of an empire consisting of the mutilated corpses of animals and humans. The kind of irony underlying this scene in which the ruling class is attempting to maintain its own sense of order even amidst the chaos of war can also be found a few pages later when we are shown how the allied troops, now plagued by hunger and disease, are commanded to dig for chalk so that they can clean their tattered uniforms:

*Da ging wirklich ein Armeebefehl aus: der Soldat solle sich mit dieser hier umsonst zu habenden, notwendigen Ware soviel als möglich versehen. Dies gab nun freilich zu einigem Spott Gelegenheit; mitten in den furchtbarsten Kot versenkt, sollte man sich mit Reinlichkeits- und Putzmitteln beladen; wo man nach Brot seufzte, sich mit Staub zurfriedenstellen. Auch stutzten die Offiziere nicht wenig, als sie im Hauptquartier übel angelassen wurden, weil sie nicht so reinlich, so zierlich wie auf der Parade zu Berlin oder Potsdam erschienen. Die Oberen konnten nicht helfen, so sollten sie, meinte man, auch nicht schelten. (242)*

[There was actually an order given for the soldiers to gather as much chalk from the ground as possible. This of course led to a great deal of ridicule: where soldiers were sunk in the most horrible excrement, they were supposed to stock up on a cleaning solution. Where they were yearning for bread, they were told to content themselves with dust. Even the officers were taken aback when they were severely criticized for not appearing as clean and orderly as they



would in a parade in Berlin or Potsdam. If those in command could not help, we felt that they could at least refrain from reprimanding us.]

This passage, placed alongside the others already quoted, reveals just how appalled Goethe was at the attempts of those in command to give meaning to the campaign by trying, in accordance with military tradition, to maintain a facade of cleanliness and order in a situation which Goethe found gruesome and chaotic. In effect, if anyone involved in the campaign was guilty of trying to gloss over the harsh realities of the campaign, then it was not Goethe, but rather the allied leadership.

Goethe has been accused of being "unwilling to criticize the allied leadership openly" and of resorting "instead to a 'poetic' depiction" of events (Saine "Goethe's 'Campaign'" 388). This accusation is true if one understands open criticism to be the stating of obvious facts. Goethe never says in the "Campaign" that the allied leaders led their troops into a disaster. Nor does he explicitly describe in much detail the effects of this disaster on individual human beings. He does, however, direct his readers towards the darker realities of this military endeavor by integrating suggestive passages on the chaos and destruction of the campaign into his narrative sequence. Instead of directly attacking the campaign or those who led it, Goethe indirectly illustrates the harsh realities of this military campaign.

One of the main reasons critics have failed to appreciate the anti-war message underlying the "Campaign in France" is that they have tended to concentrate on what Goethe says rather than on how he organizes his material. For example, there are no critical statements about the allied leadership in the above passage in which Prince Louis Ferdinand is portrayed sitting in the middle of an open field

on a stool. Moreover, although Goethe refers in this passage to the suffering of dying human beings and animals, he does not try to determine who is to blame for this suffering. The result is that on the surface this passage portrays nothing more than an injured horse and a member of the French ruling class. There is also, again on the surface, nothing that suggests the author feels any indignation towards the scene he is describing. Nevertheless, he does depict for his readers the man who was the supreme embodiment of the French aristocracy, sitting near a corpse-ridden battlefield on an object that symbolizes the everyday life that was being dramatically disrupted by the death and destruction of war. Moreover, the allusion to Louis Ferdinand in this passage comes immediately after Goethe describes the suffering of a dying horse, the animal that he uses symbolically throughout his narrative to depict the suffering and death brought about by the campaign.

Goethe leaves his reader with contrasting images that do not seem at first to fit together, and he never explains why he places such images side by side. Instead, he transfers the burden of understanding and judging to the reader. He forces the reader to experience the confusion that characterized this military campaign, in that he consistently short-circuits the reader's expectations of what should be shown and said in an essay allegedly describing a military campaign. Instead of depicting the deaths of soldiers, he describes the dead horses on which the soldiers had once ridden. Instead of portraying disease and the "general deprivation" of the allied invasion, Goethe portrays the indifference of the French ruling class to the events surrounding them. He leaves the reader with the task of filling the gaps he has left in his text, and thus allows the reader to pass his or her own judgement on the ill-fated campaign. Goethe arranged the material he depicts in the "Campaign in France" in such a manner that an

attentive reader would see that the allied invasion of France was a horribly senseless endeavor. He was thus able to criticize the campaign, without risking the kind of sentimentality or dogmatism which often characterizes literature on war. □

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