# THE OPEN COURT

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# THE OPEN COURT

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science,
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FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

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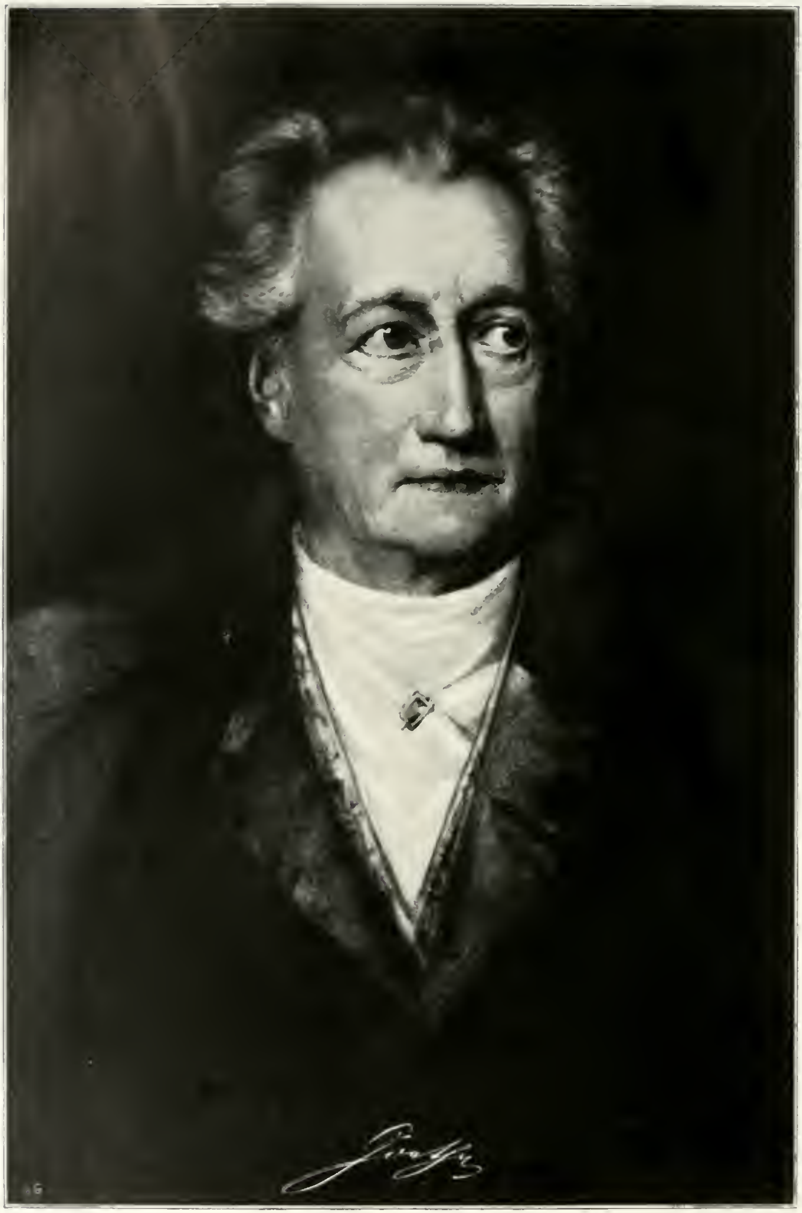

GOETHE
BY RUMPF

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

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## GOETHE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE*

BY ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

TO be all things to all men has not been generally accepted as a counsel of perfection. The implication is usually that of accommodation, voluntary submission, even hypocrisy on the part of the active subject. There is a sense, however, in which such a description implies abundance in the subject, as contrasted with the limitations of those he addresses. All things are too many for the individual everyman. He accepts what he can, and if his grasp is inadequate his gratitude is none the less sincere. This is of course true of the recognition of genius in every age and every land. It is singularly true of the history of the appreciation of Goethe in England. Goethe was himself a changing and developing genius. The progress from *Goetz von Berlichingen* and *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers* to the second part of *Faust* is one of the most amazing known to us. When to this are added the personal limitations, prejudices, enthusiasms and aberrations of his early English readers, we have in criticism a problem which might be described in mathematics as the functions of a complex variable.

For one thing, most of the Englishmen who read Goethe during his lifetime were not primarily critics but independent men of letters, themselves endowed with creative genius. Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, De Quincey, above all Carlyle, had their own ideas about art and life. With the exception of Shelley, who seems to have understood Goethe by intuition, the truest view of Goethe in England was that of the humble diarist, Henry Crabb Robinson, who spent the years 1800-1805 in Germany, part of the time at Jena, an easy walk from Weimar. There is something of the engaging frankness of the English school boy in his account of a reception: "I had said to Seume that I wished to speak with Wieland and look at Goethe—and I literally and exactly had my desire. My sense of his greatness was such that, had the opportunity offered, I should have been incapable of entering into conversation with him; but as it was I was allowed to gaze on him in silence." Later Robinson had more than one conversation. He had the advantage of his more famous contemporaries in knowing German really well. After his return to England he was indefatigable in urging the merit of the great German on his friends, especially the recalcitrant Lake Poets.

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*Read at the Goethe Centennial Celebration at the University of Chicago, March 8-9, 1932.

Before Robinson went to Jena, however, Goethe had passed through the first phase of his career in England. That phase began with *Werther*, which, on its publication in 1774, became a European sensation, rivalling *La Nouvelle Héloise*, bringing reënforcement to the sentimental novel by striking a new and powerful note of *Weltschmerz*, starting anew the discussion of the morality of suicide, and releasing a fountain of tears. *Werther* was translated into English from the French in 1779, and at once received the sincere flattery of imitations, sequels, and parodies, the last of which continued until Thackeray wrote his famous ballad.

At the close of the eighteenth century Edinburgh had a more cosmopolitan culture than London; literary relations were sustained with both France and Germany. It is interesting to note that on April 21, 1788, the famous Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling* and head of the English sentimental school, delivered an address before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in which he eulogized *Werther*, and also brought before his audience the German dramas of the "Sturm und Drang" movement, including three of Goethe's. It was these, rather than *Werther*, which excited his younger hearers, among whom was Walter Scott. Another youth of Edinburgh, Matthew Gregory Lewis, shortly after went to Germany to explore for himself the treasures of mediaeval romance, of which he was prodigal in the most Gothic of English novels, *The Monk*. He brought back the poems of Wieland, Bürger, and Goethe, some of which Scott, who had meanwhile made some way with the German language, translated, none more superbly than *Der Erlkönig*. It was by translations in Lewis' *Tales of Wonder and Terror* that Goethe became known to the English public as a lyric poet.

A few years later Lewis was busy finding a publisher for Scott's translation of *Goetz von Berlichingen*. This was not a success, but it put Scott on the trail of mediaeval historical romance which he followed for many years. *The Lay of the Last Minstrel,* his first success, with its slight thread of *diablerie* woven into a pattern of feudal society, is of the same genre. The old harper who sings the Lay, as Scott confessed, was suggested by the harper in *Wilhelm Meister.* Other reminiscences of Goethe appear in Scott's later novels. The description of the battle about Front-de-Boef's castle in *Ivanhoe* is quite similar to that in the third act of *Goetz;* and the revelation of Leicester to Amy Robsart in *Kenilworth* was recognized by Goethe himself as lifted from *Egmont.* He expressed some chagrin at the clumsy transformation of his Mignon into Fenella in *Peveril of the Peak.* When in their old age Goethe wrote to Scott, full of anxiety concerning Lord Byron's fate, Scott was greatly excited. "The Ariosto at once and almost the Voltaire of Germany!" he exclaimed—and how bitterly Carlyle must have resented the description. "Who could have told me thirty years ago that I should correspond and be on something like equal terms with the author of *Goetz.*"

Byron also was flattered by Goethe's notice, and made much of a letter which he received from Weimar, at Leghorn, in 1823, although he had to depend on Shelley to read it to him. Byron and Shelley, the new generation of romanticists, had advanced beyond the early "Sturm und Drang" tragedy. To these poets of revolt, the Goethe of *Faust* was the significant figure. Matthew Gregory Lewis, who had acted as liaison officer between Goethe and Scott, fulfilled the same office for Byron. At the Villa Diodati, on Lake Geneva, where Byron and Shelley were staying in 1816, Lewis translated *Faust* aloud. Byron was writing *Manfred,* and although he vigorously denied the influence of *Faust,* it is, of course, unmistakable, especially in the first scene,—as indeed Byron admitted—and in Manfred's speeches. None of Byron's earlier heroes had spoken with an utterance so penetrating, so eloquent. Byron's admiration of *Faust* was whole-souled. Medwin reports him as declaring, "I would give a hundred pounds to have a good translation of *Faust,* and the whole world to read it in the original." He continued to draw upon the masterpiece which he knew so imperfectly, for *Cain* and *The Deformed Transformed.* He wrote to Goethe a charming letter of dedication with *Marino Faliero,* he offered *Sardanapalus* at the same shrine "with the homage of a vassal to a suzerain," and dedicated *Werner* to him "by one of his humblest admirers." For his part, Goethe recognized Byron and

Scott as the two writers next himself in European significance. He spoke of Byron with unfailing enthusiasm, but among the many flowers of compliment there was one thorn: "Sobald er reflektirt ist er ein Kind." Yet one can be glad that in Euphorion, radiant child of Faust and Helena, Goethe had in mind the still young singer who died at thirty-six at Missolonghi.

Shelley had no personal relation with Goethe, and yet he was nearer to him in spirit than any other English poet. Unlike Byron, he triumphantly surmounted the barrier of language. Trelawney describes him at Pisa bent over the text of Goethe, dictionary in hand. "His eyes burned with an energy as terrible as that of the most avid seeker for gold." In a letter to John Gisborne, three months before his death, he wrote:

> I have been reading over and over again *Faust,* and always with sensations which no other composition excites. It deepens the gloom and augments the rapidity of ideas... The pleasure of sympathizing with emotions known only to few, although they derive their sole charm from despair, and the scorn of the narrow good we can obtain in our present state, seems more than to ease the pain which belongs to them. Perhaps all discontent with the *less* (to use a Platonic sophism) supposes the sense of a just claim to the *greater,* and that we admirers of "Faust" are on the right road to Paradise.

Shelley had nearly completed a prose translation of the first part of *Faust*—all that was known to him. His renderings of the "Prologue in Heaven" and the "Walpurgis Nacht" were the first in English poetry of any portion, and in a large poetic sense they remain the best. Perhaps he would have completed the translation but for the fact that such an undertaking was expected from Coleridge.

Any casual student of Goethe and Shelley will note certain superficial resemblances between them—their intellectual curiosity, shown in their interest in science, their eagerness for experience, their passion and their suffering. I cannot discover that Shelley read *Wilhelm Meister* or *Wahlverwandtschaften,* yet his voice in "Epipsychidion" is in unison with Goethe's:

> I never was attached to that great sect,
> Whose doctrine is, that each one should select
> Out of the crowd a mistress or a friend,
> And all the rest, though fair and wise, commend
> To cold oblivion, though it is the code

Of modern morals, and the beaten road
Which those poor slaves with weary footsteps tread
Who travel to their home among the dead
By the broad highway of the world, and so
With one chained friend, perhaps a jealous foe,
The dreariest and the longest journey go.

Both Goethe and Shelley began as extreme romanticists and both experienced the chastening and classic influence of Italy. M. Carré in his thorough and illuminating study, *Goethe en Angleterre,* points out the influence of *Faust* in the lyric fourth act of *Prometheus Unbound*, in the "Ode to Heaven," and in the Prologue to *Hellas;* and he bids us wonder whether Shelley by "one of the surprising intuitions of genius did not foresee the yet unexpressed thought of Goethe," whether Prometheus "who would drive out the phantoms of ignorance and bring to earth the great law of tenderness," who is himself set free by wisdom and by love, does not anticipate "the serene and optimistic solution of the Second Part of *Faust*."

The first wave of Goethean influence in England was attributable to *Werther* and the romantic dramas; the second, to *Faust;* the third to *Wilhelm Meister*. This *Bildungsroman,* or novel of culture, is aptly described by Carlyle's title: *The Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister*. Like *Faust, Wilhelm Meister* was in Goethe's mind for many years before the publication of the first part, *Meister's Lehrjahre,* in 1796. Its immediate reception in Great Britain was unfavorable. Few could read it, and except for Crabb Robinson it found no admirers. It was brought into English life and letters nearly thirty years after its birth by one of the most singular alliances in the history of literature, that between Carlyle and Goethe.

It has already been noted that Edinburgh was a center of German studies. Carlyle entered the University of Edinburgh in 1809, to study for the ministry. An increasing revulsion against the faith of his fathers led him to consider other openings into life, and it was while toying with the natural sciences that he learned German from a fellow student in order to read works on geology in that language. He read *Faust* in 1820, and wrote his essay for the *New Edinburgh Review*. He read *Wilhelm Meister* the next year, and the impact of the book upon him was overwhelming.

> "I had at length after some repulsions," he wrote in his *Reminiscences,* "got into the heart of *Wilhelm Meister,*

> and eagerly read it through; my sally out, after finishing, along the vacant streets of Edinburgh, a windless Scotch-misty Saturday night, is still vivid to me. Grand, surely, harmoniously built together, far seeing, wise and true. When, for many years, or almost in my whole life before, have I read such a book?"

With his mind fixed on becoming a man of letters and marrying Jane Welsh, Carlyle began to make serious use of his German studies for the English market. He wrote the *Life of Schiller,* but the more immediate appeal of Goethe as a master of life could not be denied. In 1822 he passed through the crisis which he has described in *Sartor Resartus*, in which he swung from the depths of "The Everlasting No" through "The Centre of Indifference" to "The Everlasting Yea." In his account of that tremendous conversion, written ten years later, he pays tribute to "the wisest of our time" and quotes frequently from the book of his wisdom; but of greater weight as evidence of influence is the outpouring of his admiration for Goethe in letters to Jane Welsh. In 1823 he signed a contract for the translation of Wilhelm Meister, which appeared the next year.

In spite of the fact that Carlyle recognized Goethe as the highest type of the man of letters, a supreme master of life, he found *Wilhelm Meister* hard going. The approach to life through the theater, of all the arts that with which Carlyle had least sympathy, bored him. The development of personality through free relations between men and women shocked him. His feeling for Goethe wavered frequently on this side idolatry. He wrote to James Johnstone:

> There is poetry in the book, and prose, prose forever. When I read of players and libidinous actresses and their sorry pasteboard apparatus for beautifying and enlivening the "moral world" I render it into grammatical English—with a feeling mild and charitable as that of a starving hyena. The book is to be printed in winter or spring. No mortal will ever buy a copy of it. *N'importe!*....Goethe is the greatest genius that has lived for a century, and the greatest ass that has lived for three. I could sometimes fall down and worship him; at other times I could kick him out of the room.

When the task was finished and he wrote the preface, his doubts assailed him anew. He adopted a humbly ironic tone toward his public, recognizing that *Wilhelm Meister* was a new kind of fiction. His preface served warning that "To the great mass of readers, who read to drive away the tedium of mental vacancy, employing the crude phantasmagoria of a modern novel, as their grandfathers employed tobacco and diluted brandy, *Wilhelm Meister* will appear beyond endurance weary, flat, stale and unprofitable."

As Carlyle foresaw, British criticism shied at *Wilhelm Meister,* much as in a more recent day it shied at *A la Récherche du Temps Perdu* or *Ulysses.* De Quincey found Goethe's novel a mixture of silly mannequins and indecent episodes. Of Mignon he disposed summarily as "a daughter of incest." Jeffrey defended the book aganist the general censure of its coarseness and immorality, pointing out that it was no worse than *Tom Jones* or *Roderick Random.* He thought the chapter on Hamlet the most eloquent and profound analysis of that character that had been given to the world. He declared pontifically that there were some pages which might have been written in England; tolerantly, that it merited wonder rather than contempt. Amid platitude and bad taste he saw in it marks of "a permanent and universal genius." It remained for Wordsworth, however, to place the seal of British censureship on the book. To Robinson he declared that Goethe "had not sufficiently clear moral perceptions to make him anything but an artificial writer." To Emerson he denounced *Wilhelm Meister* as "full of all manner of fornication. It was like the crossing of flies in the air. He had never gone further than the first part: so disgusted was he that he threw the book across the room." On Emerson's plea he promised to look at it again.

In spite of all, Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister* made its way into English literature, and become a part of it as no translation of *Faust* has ever done. To find a parallel we must go back to the great Elizabethan translations, to Hoby's *Courtier,* Urquhart's *Rabelais,* Florio's *Montaigne.* Matthew Arnold tells us that he read *Wilhelm Meister* with more pleasure in Carlyle's translation than in the original, and this in spite of limitations which no one could have perceived more clearly than Arnold himself. In fact, Carlyle had made *Wilhelm Meister* an English book. It was, moreover, properly the beginning of his own literary career—a broad foundation for the imposing edifice of his later works. His first creative flight was a novel in imitation of *Wilhelm Meister, Wot-*

*ton Reinfred* which came to nothing in itself, but furnished the biographical second book of *Sartor Resartus.*

Carlyle's correspondence with Goethe, disappointing as it is in subject-matter, was an immense encouragement to him through dark years. How eagerly the little household at Craigenputtock looked forward to a letter from Weimar and how the sun broke through the clouds when it came! As the accredited representative of Goethe in Great Britain, Carlyle enjoyed a distinction which was psychologically necessary to him, a sort of vicarious enjoyment of greatness until he could become a great man on his own account. He took the lead in rallying fifteen prominent British writers to memorialize Goethe on his eighty-second birthday—a compliment which Germany was to return on his own eightieth anniversary. He was Goethe's ambassador for the distribution of medals to British authors. In due course he translated *Meister's Wanderjahre,* and was urged to undertake *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and *Faust.* He welcomed Helena to England, and at Goethe's death he was the nation's chief mourner.

On the appearance of Carlyle's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship,* a controversy immediately broke out concerning its merits. De Quincey flatly declared that "this translation does not do justice to the original work—which, however worthless in other respects, is not objectionable in the way in which the translation is so." The controversy has extended to include Carlyle's knowledge of German and his entire conception of Goethe's thought. Carlyle in his preface stated that "Fidelity is all the merit I have arrived at....In many points, both literary and moral, I may have wished devoutly that he had not written as he has done; but to alter anything was not in my commission....Accordingly, except a few phrases and sentences, not in all amounting to a page, which I have dropped as evidently unfit for the English taste, I have studied to present the work exactly as it stands in German." Miss Olga Marx in a study of Carlyle's Translation of *Wilhelm Meister,* (offered as a dissertation for the doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins University), has made a thorough comparison of Carlyle's work with the original, and has indicated a great numbr of incorrect and inaccurate renderings, many of which were altered in the version of 1839. She gives a list of omitted passages, practically all of which were such as to offend Carlyle's sense of reserve in maters of sex. As might be expected, Philina is the chief victim of his censorship. One alteration is significant as showing his tendency to give a darker coloring than the original. The first stanza of the Harper's song: "Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass" ends with the line, "Der Kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte," which Carlyle translates, "Ye gloomy powers." In the essay on Goethe in 1828 he changed the adjective to *unseen*, but he did not carry the change over into the 1839 edition of *Meister*.

Far more important is the question of Carlyle's understanding as revealed in his later writings of Goethe's thought. In 1830 he published the essay called *Characteristics*, which is properly the beginning of his original work. There the salutary doctrine of action is set forth: "The end of man is an Action, not a thought." In *Sartor Resartus*, four years later, the lesson of Lothario in *Wilhelm Meister*, "How precious, how important seems the duty which is nearest me," is expanded by Teufelsdröckh " 'Do the Duty which lies nearest thee,' which thou knowest to be a Duty! Thy second Duty will already have become clearer." Again the discovery of Lothario—"Here or nowhere is America" is glossed through thus by Teufelsdröckh: "The situation that has not its Duty, its Ideal, was never yet occupied by man. Yes here, in this poor miserable, hampered, despicable Actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy Ideal!" The enlargement of the idea of activity is defined by Jarno in *Wilhelm Meister*: "It is advantageous for him (man) to learn to lose himself among a mass of men, that he learn to live for the sake of others, and to forget himself in an activity prescribed by duty. It is there that he first becomes acquainted with himself, for it is conduct alone that compares us with others." Teufelsdröckh responds: Our works are the mirror wherein the spirit first sees its natural lineaments."

Goethe would not have accepted Action in Carlyle's sense, as a moral absolute, superior to thought. It is pointed out to Wilhelm Meister that each is necessary to the other. "There are few who at once have thought and capacity of Action. Thought expands, but lames; Action animates but narrows."

On another subject Carlyle undoubtedly wrested Goethe to his own uses. The reason for Carlyle's hatred of happiness is obscure. It was partly an inheritance from the Calvinism which he had renounced as a formal creed; it was partly irritation at the Utilitarian "greatest happiness principle"; it was partly his own bodily suffering, which he rationalized into a human necessity. At any rate, he seized upon the passage in Book VIII of *Wilhelm Meister* in which Jarno, describing further the Society for Education, says that they discarded those who came seeking a sort of recipe for comfort, directions for acquiring riches, etc. This and the brief passage in the *Wanderjahre* concerning the "Sanctuary of Pain" seem to have been the basis for the eloquent passage in "The Everlasting Yea": "What Act of Legislature was there that *thou* shouldst be Happy? A little while ago thou hadst no right to *be* at all. What if thou wert born and predestined not to be Happy but to be Unhappy?....Close thy *Byron*: open thy *Goethe*." But on opening Goethe what do we find? That in the society described by Jarno the formation of character was the chief concern, and that "none were advanced to the rank of Masters but such as clearly felt and recognized the purpose they were born for, and had got enough of practise to proceed along their way with a certain cheerfulness and ease"—qualities in which Carlyle was not supreme. The Sanctuary of Pain in *Meister's Wanderjahre* was a part of aesthetic training, far removed from Carlyle's "Worship of Sorrow" which implies a moral penance.

The corrective of the vice of happiness for Carlyle was renunciation—Entsagen. In *Sartor Resartus* he attributes to the "Wisest of our time" the sentence "It is only with Renunciation (Entsagen) that Life, properly speaking, can be said to begin." Professor MacMechan in his careful notes on *Sartor Resartus* confesses himself unable to find this sentence, but suggests one from *Dichtung und Wahrheit*—"Our physical as well as social life, morals, customs, worldly wisdom, philosophy, religion, indeed so many accidental events, all call us to this: 'that we should renounce.'" Clearly renunciation to Gothe was a limitation of choice among many opportunities in the interest of the direction of life and art. Its essence appears in the motto: "In der Beschränkung erst zeigt sich der Meister." It is again an aesthetic principle, and of course moral in that sense. Renunciation as a value in itself he would have repudiated. We cannot imagine Goethe increasing his fraction of life in value by lessening his denominator rather than by increasing his numerator; and the quotient of Carlyle's equation, unity divided by zero gives infinity, would have seemed to him meaningless, a quantity incommensurable with anything to be found in the actual.

In fact, the difference between Goethe and Carlyle was deeper than these comparisons indicate. John Stuart Mill notes it as "one of the characteristic prejudices of the reaction of the nineteenth century against the eighteenth to accord to the unreasoning elements in human nature the infallibility which the eighteenth is supposed to have ascribed to the reasoning elements." Of this opposition of instinct or intuition to reason, Carlyle was in the front rank. His essay, "Characteristics," begins with a rhapsody upon the Unconscious. "The healthy know not of their health but only the sick." "The truly strong mind is nowise the mind acquainted with its strength; here as before the sign of health is Unconsciousness." "The healthy Understanding is not the logical, argumentative, but the Intuitive: for the end of Understanding is not to prove and find reasons, but to know and believe." Now Goethe in his "Sturm und Drang" period would perhaps have assented to this, but surely not the Goethe of *Wilhelm Meister*. There the effort is not to depreciate one element at the expense of the other, but to keep a balance between them. Wilhelm Meister's development, like his creator's, is constantly away from the vague, chaotic, romantic, toward the clear, the organic, the classical, which are the fruits of consciousness.

In the final year of his formative period Carlyle was growing away from Goethe and falling more and more under the influence of Fichte. From him he drew more precisely his concept of the divine idea revealed in nature and in human history. From Fichte he gained his view of the hero, the unconscious, intuitive vehicle of divine power. And in Fichte he found the frantic nationalism to which Goethe's cosmopolitanism stands in such large and luminous contrast. When Carlyle came to assemble his portraits of Heroes he found no place for Goethe, for Goethe was unthinkable in that gallery.

And yet after all, M. Carré is probably right in thinking that it was fortunate for English literature that Goethe should have as his chief apostle in Great Britain so national a figure as Carlyle. He was preeminently fitted to disarm the characteristic prejudices of the English. If his reasons for accepting Goethe in some respects exceeded, and in others fell short of, the truth, these could be corrected. The main fact was that he did accept him—that his eloquence and enthusiasm carried Goethe far beyond the region of hostility and detraction, into that of appreciation, and made him a citizen of the republic of letters in England as Shakespeare had become a German citizen. No one but Carlyle could have done that.

The influence of Goethe on English literature continued through the nineteenth century in two streams, one of poetry, one of prose; the one springing from *Faust*, the other from *Wilhelm Meister*. The first has been traced by M. Carré in his *Goethe en Angleterre*, to which I must again express my obligation. The variations of the Faust theme which he notes are the *Paracelsus* of Browning, the *Festus* of Philip James Bailey, and the *Dipsychus* of Arthur Hugh Clough. Of Clough, a word should be said because more than the others he was indebted to Goethe, not only for literary inspiration, but also for spiritual guidance. Clough was of the generation at Oxford which listened to the voices recalled by Matthew Arnold in the introduction to his lecture on Emerson, the entrancing voice of Newman, the puissant voice of Carlyle. and "a greater voice still, the greatest voice of the century.... the voice of Goethe." When Clough resigned his fellowship at Oriel, because he could not take orders in the Church of England, he gave the world, not an *Apologia,* but the long vacation pastoral, *The Bothie of Tober-Na-Vuolich,* written like *Hermann und Dorothea* in hexameters, and embodying with genial fervor, the lesson of daily efficiency. Elspeth is the Dorothea of the Scotch Highlands in whom Philip finds a model for women.

> Yes, we should see them delighted, delighted ourselves in the seeing,
> Bending with blue cotton gown skirted up over striped linsey-woolsey,
> Milking the kine in the field, like Rachel, watering cattle,
> Or, with pail upon head, like Dora beloved of Alexis,
> Comely, with well-poised pail over neck arching soft to the shoulders
> Comely in gracefullest act, one arm uplifted to stay it,
> Home from the river or pump moving stately and calm to the laundry;
> Ay, doing household work, as many sweet girls I have looked at,
> Needful household work, which some one, after all, must do,

Needful, graceful therefore, as washing, cooking and scouring,
Or, if you please, with the fork in the garden uprooting potatoes.—

The second stream is that of the novel of apprenticeship to life, which Miss Suzanne Howe has followed in her exhaustive and interesting study, *Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen.* The quest has always been a leading motive in fiction, from the romances of chivalry to the picaresque tale, from the progress of Bunyan's Christian toward eternal life, to the pilgrimage of *Wilhelm Meister* in search of the good life on earth. Miss Howe shows how generally the apprenticeship pattern was followed in England during the nineteenth century. Carlyle's own disciples, John Sterling and Charles Kingsley, offered examples, the latter varying the theme by choosing in Alton Locke a proletarian hero. George H. Lewes attempted the same form before writing his monumental *Life of Goethe.* Benjamin Disraeli and Edward Bulwer, beginning their literary careers a year or two after Carlyle's *Meister* was published, both adopted the pattern, and continued to return to it. Bulwer in the introduction to *Ernest Maltravers* notes that: "In *Wilhelm Meister* the apprenticeship is rather that of theoretical art. In the more homely plan that I set before myself, the apprenticeship is rather that of practical life." It is surely a strange delusion that could see in *Ernest Maltravers* a closer approach to life than in *Meister.* George Meredith knew his Goethe from his early school days in Germany, and was moreover of the great school which saw in consciousness the important element of life, and in the application of intelligence to human affairs the only fruitful way of dealing with them. Some of Meredith's lines have the ring of Goethe's maxims: "Never was earth misread by brain," and "More brain, O Lord, more brain!" Meredith too practised the apprenticeship novel in *Richard Feverel* and *Evan Harrington.*

Miss Howe does not include *The Way of All Flesh* among the apprentice novels, perhaps because Butler had so definitely a militant purpose. It seems to me, however, a perfect example of the transposition of the theme from a milieu of culture to one dominated by science. Clearly Ernest Pontifex and Wilhelm Meister have the same problem: to escape from the commonplace, to break through constricting environments, clerical or commercial, and to become freemen of the world. To *The Way of All Flesh* is due the revival of the apprentice novel in our own century, in Maugham's *Of Human Bondage*, in Walpole's *Fortitude*, in Beresford's "Jacob Stahl" trilogy, in Wells's *New Machiavelli*, in Swinnerton's *Young Felix*, and how many others! in which the hero, of no greater personal distinction than Wilhelm Meister, whom Carlyle called a milksop, by experimenting with life, by trial and error, succeeds in developing character sufficient to stand against the blows of fortune, and in fitting himself to his environment, in the spirit of Lothario: "Here or nowhere is America."

Rather oddly, M. Carré neglects the truest and most powerful exponent of Goethe in England in the later nineteenth century—Matthew Arnold, to whom he gives but a scant page. Arnold reverenced Goethe above all his masters except Wordsworth. In his letters and essays references to Goethe are almost as frequent and in a way more intimate than to the English poet. Although Arnold was but ten years old when Goethe died, and probably never heard his name in the austere household of the Master of Rugby, he came to have a personal feeling for the older poet, an unexpected vein of sentiment in one whose affections were narrowly domestic. From Rome he wrote to his mother of seeing the graves of Shelley and Keats, "and—what interested me even more—that of Goethe's only son...The short inscription must certainly have been by Goethe himself. How I feel Goethe's greatness in this place!" In his gaillard youth he wrote to his wife that he had caught a glimpse of Mlle. von Arnim, "the daughter of Bettina, Goethe's friend, who is said to be as charming as her mother.....very handsome and striking looking." Again, when nearly sixty, he speaks of returning from the Alps by way of Frankfort, "where I want to have another look at the house where Goethe was born."

These touches of sentiment aside, however, the doctrine of Arnold was that of Goethe, modified for the palate of the British Philistine. Indeed it was specifically designed to correct the false readings of Goethe by Carlyle. To the latter's praise of activity as an absolute good in itself Arnold replied that we should not be so bent on acting and instituting as to forget that "acting and instituting are of little use, unless we know how and what we ought to act and institute." To Carlyle's extreme Hebraism Arnold opposed Hellenism. There can be no doubt which of his disciples Goethe would have approved. Arnold's conception of culture as the pursuit of our total perfection is one which Goethe would have accepted, although the means—"getting to know the best that has been thought and said in the world"—would seem to him too narrowly literary.

M. Carré complains that Arnold lacked artistic sense. It is true that his great inferiority to Goethe appears in his lack of sensitiveness to the fine arts other than literature, and his consequently limited view of the artist's character. Yet in his essay on "A French Critic of Goethe" he corrects M. Scherer's unfavorable view of *Goetz von Berlichingen,* and defends the lyrics from the charge "that Goethe has corrected and retouched them until he has taken all the life out of them." His own lyric poetry shows evidence of the spell cast by Goethe. What moved him most in *Wilhelm Meister* as translated by Carlyle was the poetry, the eloquence, especially of the Youths' dirge over Mignon. His acceptance of Goethe excluded only the Second Part of *Faust.*

It is true, Arnold emphasized in Goethe what he thought his age chiefly needed. He found Goethe "the greatest poet of modern times, not because he is one of the half dozen human beings who in the history of our race have shown the most signal gift for poetry, but because....he was at the same time, in the width, depth and richness of his criticism of life, by far our greatest modern man." He adopts Goethe's own verdict on his work of liberation: "'Through me the German poets have become aware that as man must live from within outwards, so the artist must work from within outwards." He adds "Goethe's profound imperturbable naturalism is absolutely fatal to all routine thinking: he puts the standard, once for all, inside every man instead of outside him; when he is told, such a thing must be so, there is immense authority and custom in favor of its being so....he answers with Olympian politeness, 'But is it so? is it so to me?'" This is a principle which Arnold learned from Goethe, and which appears in various forms in his writings: for example, "Culture is an inward working" and "the secret of Jesus" is that "the Kingdom of Heaven is within you."

To Matthew Arnold, Goethe was the physician of an age of disillusionment, of uncertainty, of revolution which threatened to become dissolution. This is the character which he gives him in the "Memorial Verses":

When Goethe's death was told, we said:
Sunk, then, is Europe's sagest head.
Physician of the iron age,
Goethe has done his pilgrimage.
He took the suffering human race,
He read each wound, each weakness clear;
And struck his finger on the place,
And said: Thou ailest here, and here!
He look'd on Europe's dying hour
Of fitful dream and feverish power;
His eye plunged down the weltering strife,
The turmoil of expiring life—
He said: The end is everywhere,
Art still has truth, take refuge there!

It is noteworthy that Arnold, lacking artistic sense as he did, was the first Englishman to call attention to the predominantly aesthetic quality of Goethe's teaching.

It is through a survey of what English writers have found in Goethe, of what he has meant to them, that we can come to a conception of what we find in him today, of what he means to us. To the Romantic poets he was the liberator, triumphantly setting the truth of human experience against the constraining and deforming weight of custom and tradition. And surely no need is greater today than freedom—freedom from what Arnold calls "routine thinking" in the old commonplaces of respectability, possession, partisanship, nationalism—the superstitions of an order that passes. To Carlyle, he revealed the stimulating power of action, especially social action. We find the lesson of Goethe uttered once more in the words of our leading American philosopher: "Shared activity is the greatest of human goods" and "There is no mode of action so rewarding as concerted concensus of action." But to Carlyle he was more than this. He was "the supreme poet who reveals to us glimpses of the unseen but not unreal world, that so the Actual and the Ideal may again meet together, and clear Knowledge be again wedded to Religion, in the life and business of men." To Arnold he was the critic of life, pointing the way to the harmonious development of the individual, to the application of art to life, to the healing of society and the nations through culture—the universal organization of conscious intelligence and good will.

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Today we commemorate the death of Goethe. It is fitting that the last words should be those of Carlyle, written one hundred years ago.

> And now we turn back into the world, withdrawing from this new-made grave. The man whom we love lies there: but glorious, worthy; and his spirit yet lives in us with an authentic life. Could each here vow to do his little task, even as the Departed did his great one; in the manner of a true man, not for a Day, but for Eternity! To live, as he counselled and commanded, not commodiously in the Reputable, the Plausible, the Half, but resolutely in the Whole, the Good, the True:
>
> "I'm Ganzen, Guten, Wahren resolut zu leben!"

# EMERSON'S GOETHE*

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EMERSON'S Goethe developed slowly. A rather interesting but negative character in the beginning, he gained so much in Emerson's esteem that in *Representative Men* Goethe is called the "soul of his century." Three factors prevented Emerson from understanding Goethe readily and completely: linguistic difficulties; a strong prejudice against Goethe prevailing at the time in England, America, and even Germany; and a firm Puritan idealistic-moral attitude which Emerson upheld throughout his life.

A number of statements in letters and essays testify to his linguistic difficulties. In 1835 (Feb. 3) Carlyle advises Emerson to learn German in order to study mainly Goethe.[1] Five years later Emerson informs Carlyle: "I have contrived to read almost every volume of Goethe, and I have fifty-five...."[2] In 1858 (June 29) he assures Gisela von Arnim that he is "not a little proud to read German at all," and in July of the following year, "I am a bad traveller ....especially as regards Germany, by a despair of talking in a language which I can only read, and not pronounce and much less speak."[3] In 1861 (June 27) he writes to Grimm, "I read German with some ease and always better...." In the same letter he states that his daughter Ellen reads the letters of his German friends to him because "Ellen has facility and inclination to front and surmount the barriers of language and script." In the year 1871 we find Emerson on a trip to California reading Goethe's *Sprüche in Prosa* with the help of a little dictionary.[4] In his *Essay on Books,*

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[1] *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834-1872* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892), Vol. I, p. 39.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[3] Frederick William Holls, *Correspondence between Ralph Waldo Emerson and Herman Grimm* (Boston and New York: 1903), letter of July 10, 1859, p. 41. Gisela von Arnim later became the wife of Herman Grimm.

[4] Frederick B. Wahr, *Emerson and Goethe,* University of Michigan Doctor's Dissertation, Ann Arbor, 1915, p. 74. (By far the most complete study on the subject)

Emerson states emphatically that he rarely reads any book in the original which he can procure in a good version.[5] We may infer then that Emerson read German with some difficulty and that he was likely to misunderstand or misinterpret difficult passages when reading Goethe in the original. Moreover, since he could not pronounce German he must have entirely missed the beauty of sound, rhythm, rime, and cadence which play an important part in Goethe's lyrical poetry and without which Goethe's poetical work cannot be appreciated.

Added to these obstacles there came the influence of severe Goethe critics. "The fear that German writings were sources of moral contamination....prevailed in New England" before 1817. Dr. Follen, a young native German, who, from 1825 on, lectured at Harvard on German Literature, gave a rather one-sided and negative impression of Goethe. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, and De Quincey criticised Goethe "for his want of religious enthusiasm." In 1840 Felton's translation of Menzel's *History of German Literature* appeared. As an opponent of the classical and romantic tradition in literature and as a precurser of "young Germany," Menzel spared no venom and no vituperation in combatting Goethe. Not until Carlyle, Margaret Fuller, Sarah Austin, John S. Dwight and others took up Goethe's cause, was he seen in a more favorable light.[6]

The third obstacle, Emerson's Puritanical moral idealism, was indeed a hindrance which made him misinterpret, as we shall see, Goethe's personality as well as many of his works. Believing, as he did, that the true function of a great mind was to be a poet and a priest at the same time, he found Goethe and his work wanting in elevated ethical standards.[7]

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[5] *Works*, Centenary Edition, edited by Edw. W. Emerson and Waldo E. Forbes, 12 volumes (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) cf. Vol. VII, p. 195: "I rarely read any Latin, Greek, German, Italian, sometimes not a French book, in the original which I can procure in a good version....I should as soon think of swimming across the Charles River when I wish to go to Boston, as of reading all my books in originals when I have them rendered for me in my mother tongue."

[6] Wahr, pp. 38-65.—Percy H. Boynton in his *History of American Literature* (Ginn and Company, 1919, p. 202) describes Emerson's remarkable intellectual independence in these words: "No single man and no amount of public opinion ever made up this young American's mind for him." In view of the many contradicting statements concerning Goethe, Emerson's struggle for an independent judgment must have been doubly hard.

Emerson began the study of Goethe with a mature and critical mind. He developed his knowledge of German, as far as we know, by reading Goethe in the original,[8] but later he re-read a great many of his works in translations. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find Emerson's attitude changing with his increasing knowledge of German and the help which he undoubtedly derived from translations. Even though it is impossible to give a clear survey of all his opinions about Goethe, a number of typical quotations taken from his diaries and letters will roughly indicate the gradual change of attitude.[9]

1834 "I cannot read of the jubilee of Goethe and of such velvet life without a sense of incongruity. Genius is out of place when it reposes fifty years on chairs of state, and inhales a continual incense of adulation. Its proper ornamental relief are poverty and reproach and danger; and if the grand duke had cut Goethe's head off, it would have been much better for his fame than his retiring to his rooms, after dismissing the obsequious crowds, to arrange tastefully and contemplate their gifts and honorary inscriptions."[10]

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[7] Wahr, pp. 80-107.—Frederick Norman ("Goethe und das heutige England," *Jahrbuch der Goethe Gesellschaft*, Vol. 17, 1931, p. 221) states: "Der abweisende und eigenwillige Bauerntrotz, dem der Puritanismus zutiefst entsprungen ist, bereitet der Einführung fremder Geisteswelt bis auf unsere Tage die gröszten Schwierigkeiten. Duldsamkeit und Puritanismus sind unvereinbar."

[8] Calvin Thomas, *Emerson's Verhältnis zu Goethe,* Goethe-Jahrbuch Vol. 24 (1903), pp. 135-152.

[9] It is advisable to remember Emerson's words concerning consistency in this connection: "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds ....With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do....Speak what you think now in hard words, and tomorrow speak what tomorrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict everything you said today."—*Essay on Self-Reliance.* No doubt Emerson simply means that we are entitled to change our opinions according to improving insight.

[10] *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson with Annotations* edited by Edw. W. Emerson and Waldo E. Forbes (Boston and New York: 1887), Vol. III, pp. 251.

For Emerson's dislike of inequality see James Elliot Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York: 1887), Vol. II, pp. 442 f.

Compare also Wahr, p. 95, where Emerson is quoted: "What is our graduated and petrified social scale of ranks and employments? Shall not a poet redeem us from these idolatries, and pale their legendary lustre before the fires of Divine Wisdom which burn in his heart?...." Also compare *Journal,* V, p. 395.

1834 (June 20) "....as I....thought of Goethe as the *Tag und Jahres Heft* describes him, he seems to me,—all-sided, gifted, indefatigable student as he is,—to be only another poor monad, after the fashion of his little race bestirring himself immensely to hide his nothingness, spinning his surface directly before the eyes to conceal the universe of his ignorance."[11]

1834 (June 26) "Goethe and Carlyle, and perhaps Novalis, have an undisguised dislike or contempt for common virtue standing on common principles. Meanwhile they are dear lovers, steadfast maintainers of the pure ideal morality. But they worship it as the highest pure ideal morality; their love is artistic ....Self-cultivation is yet the moral of all that Goethe has writ, and in indolence, intolerance and perversion I think we can spare an olive and a laurel for him...."[12]

1834 (Nov. 20) "With him I am becoming better acquainted but mine must be a qualified admiration....the Puritan in me accepts no apology for bad morals in such as he."[13]

1834 (Nov. 30) "Goethe is praised as ....all-sided. And if I understand it, this is the apology that is made for his Epicurean life compared with his religious perceptions...."[14]

1836 (March 21) "....much I fear that time, the serene judge, will not be able to make out so good a verdict for Goethe as did and doth Carlyle. I am afraid that under his faith is no faith, that under his love is love-of-ease. However, his muse is catholic as ever any was...." In the same entry he speaks of "our wise but sensual, loved and hated Goethe."[15]

1837 (Apr. 16) "....What have these German Weimarish art friends done?....They are contemptuous. They fail in sympathy with humanity. The voice of nature they bring me to hear is not divine, but ghastly, hard and ironical. They do not illuminate me, they do not edify me...."[16]

It is important to note "that in three successive years—1836, 1837, and 1838—Emerson made three statements in summary of his chief ideas on men and things,"[17] in his essay on "Nature,"

[11] *Journal,* III, pp. 309 f.
[12] *Jounal,* III, pp. 313 f.
[13] *Carlyle-Emerson Correspondence,* p. 30.
[14] *Journal,* III, p. 315.
[15] *Journal,* IV, p. 30.
[16] *Journal,* IV, p. 213.
[17] Boynton, p. 203.

his oration on "The American Scholar," and the "Divinity School Address." As a result of this clarification of his thoughts, Emerson's attitude toward Goethe seems to become less critical, at least his praise is less frequently intermingled with the sting of bitter reproach. Thus he writes:

1839 (June 18) "Goethe unlocks the faculties of the artist more than any writer. He teaches us to treat all subjects with greater freedom, and to skip over all obstruction, time, place, name, usage, and come full and strong on the emphasis of the fact."[18]

1844 (May 8) "Goethe, with his extraordinary breadth of experience and culture, the security with which, like a great continental gentleman, he looks impartially over all literatures of the mountains, the provinces, and the sea, and avails himself of the best in all, contrasts with the rigor of the English, and the superciliousness and the flippancy of the French. His perfect taste, the austere felicities of his style. It is delightful to find our own thought in so great a man."[19]

1850 "Goethe has not even the devotion to pure truth, but to truth for the sake of culture."[20]

1851 "Goethe is the pivotal man of the old and the new times with us. He shuts up the old, he opens the new. No matter that you were born since Goethe died,—if you have not read Goethe ....you are an old fogy and belong with the antediluvians."[21]

1871 (Jan. 5) "For Goethe, I think, I have an always ascending regard."[22]

Having gained an approximate idea of Emerson's changing attitude, we shall briefly discuss some of his misconceptions of which we choose three: first, Emerson's Goethe in reference to the "velvet life"; second, Goethe the aristocrat "reposing fifty years on chairs of state"; and third, Goethe wanting in "devotion to pure truth."

### I. "THE VELVET LIFE"

That Goethe led an intensely active intellectual life cannot be doubted. The name of Goethe is synonymous with constant, intense mental activity, and, moreover, no one, perhaps, expresses his belief in work as the greatest necessity of life more convincingly than he:

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[18] *Journal,* V, 222.

[19] *Journal,* VI, 514.

[20] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men* (Boston: 1892), p. 270.

[21] *Journal,* VIII, p. 249.

[22] *Correspondence between Emerson and Grimm,* p. 85.

"Elender ist nichts, als der behagliche Mensch ohne Arbeit, das schönste der Gaben wird ihm Ekel."[23] "Des Lebens Mühe lehrt uns allein, des Lebens Güter schätzen."[24] "Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben, der täglich sie erobern musz."[25] "Des echten Mannes wahre Freiheit is die Tat."[26] "Die Tat ist alles, nichts der Ruhm."[27] "Tätig zu sein ist des Menschen erste Bestimmung und alle Zwischenzeiten, in denen er auszuruhen genötigt ist, sollte er anwenden, eine deutliche Erkenntnis der äuszerlichen Dinge zu erlangen, die ihm in der Folge abermals seine Tätigkeit erleichtert."[28] "Man hat mich immer als einen vom Glück besonders Begünstigten gepriesen; auch will ich mich nicht beklagen und den Gang meines Lebens nicht schelten. Allein im Grunde ist es nichts als Mühe und Arbeit gewesen, und ich kann wohl sagen, dasz ich in meinen fünfundsiebzig Jahren keine vier Wochen eigentliches Behagen gehabt. Es war das ewige Wälzen eines Steines, der immer von neuem gehoben sein wollte."[29]

Emerson shows his changed attitude by correcting his statement in regard to Goethe's "velvet life" about sixteen years later, as follows: "This cheerful laborer, with no external popularity or provocation, drawing his motive and his plan from his own breast, tasked himself with stints for a giant, and without relaxation or rest, except by altering his pursuits, worked on for eighty years with the steadiness of his first zeal."[30]

## II. "GOETHE THE ARISTOCRAT"

Numerous passages in his works, letters, diaries, and conversations state his position toward the nobility quite clearly. "Es kommt jetzt darauf an, was einer auf dem Wege der Menschheit wiegt, alles übrige ist eitel. Ein Rock mit einem Stern und ein Wagen mit sechs Pferden imponiert nur noch allenfalls der rohesten Masse, und kaum dieser."[31] "....ich hatte vor der bloszen Fürstlichkeit also solcher, wenn nicht zugleich eine tüchtige Menschennatur dahintersteckte, nie viel Respekt."[32] "Soll ich denn also mit Gewalt ein Fürstenknecht sein, so ist es wenigstens mein Trost, dasz ich doch nur der Knecht eines solchen bin, der selber ein Knecht des allgemeinen Besten ist."[33]

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[23] *Tagebuch*, Jan. 13, 1779, cf. Goethes Briefe und Tagebücher, Leipzig, Insel Verlag, Vol. II, p. 579.

[24] *Tasso*, V, 1.

[25] *Faust*, II, 5.

[26] *Pandora*.

[27] *Faust*, II, 4.

[28] *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*, sechstes Buch, Jubiläums-Ausgabe, Vol. 18, p. 163.

[29] J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, Jan. 27, 1824.

[30] *Representative Men*, p. 275.

That Goethe suffered himself to be knighted is often interpreted as a sign of contempt for the common people. In defending himself he says: "Wir Frankfurter Patrizier hielten uns immer dem Adel gleich, und als ich das Diplom in Händen hielt, hatte ich in meinen Gedanken eben nichts, als was ich längst besessen."[34]

This humane evaluation of aristocracy we find supplemented by numerous expressions of sympathy with the common people: "Wer ist das würdigste Glied des Staates? Ein wackerer Bürger! Unter jeglicher Form bleibt er der edelste Stoff.[35] Biedermann reports that Goethe once defended the burgher class against a haughty nobleman with so much fire, power, and esteem, that the poet Adam Oehlenschläger fell on his neck and kissed him.[36].

Even as early as 1777 Goethe wrote to Charlotte von Stein: "Ich habe....das gemeine Volk wieder näher kennen gelernt und bin aber-und abermals vergewissert worden, dasz das doch die besten Menschen sind."[37] "Wie sehr ich wieder auf diesem dunklen Zug Liebe zu der Klasse von Menschen gekriegt habe, die man die niedre nennt! Die aber für Gott gewiss die höchste ist. Da sind doch alle Tugenden beisammen, Beschränktheit, Genügsamkeit, gerader Sinn, Treue, Freude über das leidlichste Gute, Harmlosigkeit, Dulden....Ausharren...., ich will mich nicht in Ausrufen verlieren."[38]

Again we find that Emerson modified his view ten years later when he writes: "After taxing Goethe as a courtier, artificial, unbelieving, worldly,—I took up his book of Helena, and found him an Indian of the wilderness, a piece of pure nature like an apple or an oak, large as morning or night, and virtuous as a briar rose."[39]

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[31] Eckermann, Oct. 23, 1928.

[32] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1827.

[33] *Ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1825.

[34] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1827.

[35] *Goethe's Werke*, Goedeke edition, Vol. 1, 220.

[36] Waldemar Biedermann, *Goethe's Gespräche,* (Leipzig; 1889) Vol. II, p. 30.

[37] Robert Zilchert, *Von A bis Z Ewigkeitswerte,* (Leipzig: 1926) p. 385.

[38] *Goethe's Briefe an Frau von Stein* (Leipzig, Reclam), letter of Dec. 4, 1777.

### III. "GOETHE WANTING IN "DEVOTION TO PURE TRUTH"

By pure truth Emerson means eternal, supernatural or absolute truth, and, therefore, his criticism might have been made by any idealistic philosopher who, like Emerson, believed philosophy could reveal the last and profoundest secrets of life. Goethe kept aloof from all systems of philosophy. He states: "Der Mensch ist nicht geboren, die Probleme der Welt zu lösen, wohl aber zu suchen, wo das Problem angeht, und sich sodann in der Grenze der Begrifflichkeiten zu halten. Die Handlungen des Universums zu messen, reichen seine Fähigkeiten nicht hin, und in das Weltall Vernunft bringen zu wollen, ist bei seinem kleinen Standpunkte ein sehr vergebliches Bestreben."[40] "Unsere wichtigste Differenz war diese, dasz ich behauptete, eine abgesonderte Philosophie sei nicht nötig, indem sie schon in der Religion und Poesie vollkommen enthalten sei."[41] "Da hat mir jetzt so ein über-Hegel aus Berlin seine philosophischen Bücher zugeschickt, das ist wie eine Klapperschlange; man will das verdammte Zeug fliehen und guckt doch hinein. Der Kerl greift es tüchtig an, bohrt gewaltig in die Probleme hinein, von denen ich vor achzig Jahren so viel als jetzt wuszte, und von denen wir alle nichts wissen und begreifen. Jetzt habe ich die Bücher versiegelt, um nicht wieder zum Lesen verführt zu werden."[42] "Das Wahre, mit dem Göttlichen identisch, läszt sich niemals von uns direkt erkennen, wir schauen es nur im Abglanz, im Beispiel, Symbol, im einzelnen. . . . ; wir werden es gewahr als unbegreifliches Leben und können dem Wunsche nicht entsagen, es dennoch zu begreifen."[43] "Das schönste Glück des denkenden Menschen ist, das Erforschliche erforscht zu haben und das Unerforschliche ruhig zu erehren."[44]

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[39] "Nominalist and Realist," *Works*, III, p. 230.

[40] Eckermann, Apr. 1, 1927.

[41] *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Jubiläums-Ausgabe, Vol. 23, p. 7.

[42] Goethe to von Müller, Apr. 24, 1830; cf. Max Heynacher, *Goethes Philosophie aus seinen Werken* (Leipzig: 1905), p. 1.

[43] *Versuch einer Farbenlehre*, 1825, cf. Heynacher, p. 34.

[44] *Goethe Handbuch*, Stuttgart 1916, Vol. III, p. 125, also p. 119.

There is no statement indicating that Emerson changed his opinion in regard to Goethe's lack of devotion to pure truth. If, however, Emerson had been familiar with Goethe's position on philosophy, he probably would have repeated the words which he once wrote to the Reverend Henry Ware: I do "not feel any disposition to depart from my habitual contentment, that you may say your thought, whilst I say mine."[45]

These points may stand as examples of Emerson's criticisms of Goethe which, in part at least, we find modified or corrected by Emerson himself in later years. At the same time these examples help to explain Emerson's comments on individual works of Goethe. Of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he said Goethe knew "altogether too much of himself."[46] *Tasso* he liked with reservations. *Iphigenie* he thought "pleasing," "moving," and "even heroic," but an "imitation of the antique." *Elective Affinities* he regarded with repulsion. For *Wilhelm Meister* he found words of utmost praise, its ending, however, he considered "lame and immoral." He hated *Faust* as a bad book, but later came to regard its second part as "the grandest enterprise of literature....attempted since *Paradise Lost*."[47]

Yet, Emerson seems to have been keenly conscious of the difficulties and dangers of literary criticism. Indeed, he was suspicious of his own judgment. In April 1840 he writes to Carlyle: "In a lecture on Literature in my course last winter, I blurted out all my nonsense" on the subject of Goethe. Again, he says: "If you criticize a true genius the odds are that you are criticizing your own caricature of him. For there is somewhat spheral and infinite in every man, especially in every genius, which, if you can come very near him, sports with all your limitations.....every man is a channel through which Heaven floweth and whilst I fancied I was criticizing him, I was censuring or rather terminating my own soul."[48] Our English nature and genius has made us the worst critics of Goethe.[49] "I am disqualified by hearing this strife concerning Goethe from judging truly his genius. He is that which the intelligent hermit supposes him to be, and can neither be talked up nor talked down."[50]

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[45] Cf. letter quoted by Boynton, p. 207.

[46] *Journal*, VII, p. 303.

[47] Wahr, pp. 107-118.

[48] *Works*, Vol. III, p. 230.

[49] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 69. See also Frederick Norman, (*op. cit.*, p. 219) in regard to English animosity to things foreign.

This relentless self-criticism suggests that Emerson felt his knowledge of Goethe to be incomplete. When we recall his poem, "Solution," in which he mentions Goethe with Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Swedenborg among the men he considers the greatest bards of the ages, this suggestion becomes almost a certainty.

Emerson valued in Goethe not so much the poet or the artist, but the scientist, scholar, sage, prophet, and seer. In spite of his linguistic difficulties, in spite of the prejudices of his time, and the religious, philosophic, ethical, and political convictions which separated him from Goethe, Emerson's Goethe was far superior to the Goethe of many a scholar writing decades later.[51]. His Goethe, though hated and yet beloved, was a gigantic figure, prodigiously learned, eminently able, the wisest of modern men.

If we ask whether or not Goethe exerted a significant influence on Emerson, we can answer in the latter's own words: "It is to me very plain that no recent genius can work with equal effect upon mankind as Goethe, for no intelligent young man can read him without finding that his own compositions are immediately modified by his new knowledge."[52] In Emerson's works there are sixty-two quotations from Goethe.[53]

Emerson's regard for Goethe was seemingly much greater than most of the entries in the diaries lead us to believe. Moncure D. Conway, writing in 1864 of his visit to Emerson, tells us that there were many "relics" of a "Goethe cult" in Emerson's study. "On the mantle were two statuettes of Goethe, of whom there were also engraved portraits on the walls." Later Emerson produced "eight or ten portraits of Goethe which he had carefully collected. The next in favor was Dante...." Conway also relates of another, perhaps not less significant relic of the Goethe cult. Emerson's little daughter called her handsome cat "Goethe." Emerson affected to take it seriously, and once when the cat was in the library and scratched itself, he opened the door and politely said: "Goethe, you must retire, I don't like your manners."[54]

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[50] *Journal,* III, p. 474.

[51] J. Arthur Hill, for instance, (in *Emerson and his Philosophy,* London, 1919, p. 107) criticizes *Representative Men* as follows: "Goethe seems unnecessary after Shakespeare."

Professor Edward Dowden, the second president of the "English Goethe Society" once played the *advocatus diaboli* in a lecture entitled: *The Case against Goethe.* (cf. Frederick Norman, *op. cit.,* p. 232). Dowden's captions were: "A severe indictment, His want of purpose, His artistic inconsistency, His relations with women, His want of insight, His great failure." The English Press actually mistook Dowden's humor for a serious accusation and printed the lecture as such. See for instance *Review of Reviews,* London Vol. XIII, p. 523.

[52] *Journal,* IV, p. 218.

[53] Wahr, p. 104.

In order to conclude on a more positive note, I shall give a few sentences from Emerson's last and most significant comment on Goethe, contained in his book *Representative Men,* in which the last essay deals with "Goethe—the Writer":

"He seems to see out of every pore of his skin, strikes the harp with a hero's strength and grace (p. 259). There is a heart-cheering freedom in his speculation. The immense horizon which journeys with us lends its majesty to trifles and to matters of convenience and necessity, as to solemn and festal performances (p. 260). He has clothed our modern existence with poetry (*ibid.*). He has said the best things about nature that ever were said (p. 261).... what he says of religion, of passion, of marriage, of manners, of property,....of periods of belief, of omens,....or whatever else, refuses to be forgotten (p. 263)....he flung into literature, in his Mephistopheles, the first organic figure that has been added for some ages, and which will remain as long as Prometheus (p. 264). The old Eternal Genius who built the world has confided himself more to this man than to any other (p. 270). He lays a ray of light under every fact, and between himself and his dearest property. From him nothing was hid, nothing withholden (p. 271)....he has brought back to a book some of its ancient might and dignity (p. 275). He was the soul of his century (p. 260)."

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 79.—Emerson's deep-rooted individualism was closely related to Goethe's high conception of personality and, in part at least, accounts for the "Goethe cult." For Emerson's inner relationship to German traits of character see Kuno Franke, "Emerson and German Personality," *The International Quarterly,* 1903, Vol. VIII, pp. 93-107.

# GOETHE'S LANGUAGE*

BY GEORGE O. CURME
Northwestern University

THE subject of Goethe's language has attracted my attention at two different times before this attempt to study it. The first impression was that Goethe had deeply influenced the German language. At the beginning of the second attempt I still held this view, but found little to confirm it. I now, after two vain efforts to solve the question of his influence upon his native tongue, have come to the negative result that Goethe has contributed little in the way of creating new means of expression. Goethe came at the close of a period of considerable change when the language had assumed a relatively permanent form.

In working on my present subject the influence of great men upon language attracted my attention. I had so often read and heard that Luther's influence upon the German language had been so great that we might almost say that he has created the literary language. A careful study of Luther's Bible of 1546 gave me a different impression.

Luther inflects the past tense of *trinken* as follows: *ich trank, du trankst, er trank, wir trunken, ihr trunkt, sie trunken.* We have here the Middle High German forms. He indicates the plural of the past tense in two ways: by a change of vowel and by the ending *en.* He occasionally has the uniform vowel *a* throughout the past tense, i.e., in both singular and plural, as today, but usually the old Middle High German inflection with a difference of vowel in the singular and the plural prevails.

Again, Luther often inflects weak feminines, like *Frau,* in both the singular and the plural: *die Frau, der Frauen, der Frauen, die Frauen,* pl. *die Frauen, der Frauen, den Frauen, die Frauen.* It is often difficult here to distinguish the singular from the plural. Already in Middle High German attempts had been made to distinguish the singular from the plural by dropping inflection in the singular. Luther did not take a decided stand here although there was great need of a clearer distinction.

One of the most distinctive features of New High German is the new sequence of tenses. In the old sequence a past tense follows a past tense: "Er sagte, das er bald *käme*." In the new sequence that tense form is used in indirect discourse that would be used in the direct: "Er sagte, dass er bald *komme*." This fine new construction arose in the South West of the German-speaking territory long before Luther's time, but he almost regularly follows the old sequence.

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*Read at the Goethe Centennial Celebration at the University of Chicago, March 8-9, 1932.

Luther naturally employed simple dignified language in the Bible. The quality of dignity naturally attaches to the older forms of the language. It was only natural that Luther made wide use of the older forms.

A hundred years before Luther's time and a hundred years after his death was a period of great change in the German language. I have not been able to connect these changes with great men. A new means of expression springs up here and there and is brought to the attention of local groups. If the new expression has an appeal, it spreads. Often it takes hundreds of years to establish it in the language. During the period of early New High German many new and improved means of expression were springing up from unknown sources and were being tried out by the German people. Luther has often been mentioned as one of the great creative forces of this period. To me the creative forces lay in the active, aroused minds of the people of this period. Luther often stood facing the past, not the present and the future. The people were facing the present and its pressing needs.

For hundreds of years before Goethe's time the German language was being prepared for Goethe. He came at the end of a period of great and important changes. A people's language is a national product, perhaps the most truly national product. Everybody has worked on it. If all do not invent new means of expression all approve the new forms. Without a general approval the changes cannot become established.

Goethe was born in 1749. He was more fortunate than Luther. The language in which he was to speak would not soon become obsolete. The language had reached a comparatively permanent form. All that Goethe had to do was to mirror himself in it. He was to live for more than eighty years. He was to mirror in the new greatly improved and simplified language the richest human experiences on record. In earlier years in reading Goethe I was planning as a student of language to describe this wonderful language. Today as an old man experienced in language study I feel that Goethe's life was what was wonderful, not his language. Language is rich only when the life of the man who speaks it is rich.

Heun has given us an interesting book on the language of young Goethe. It is interesting because it gives us glimpses of young Goethe. Language is a varied thing because it mirrors the various forms of life. The golf player, football player, gangster, merchant, preacher, scholar, show us different forms of language because the language simply mirrors the life of those who speak it. I smile sometimes to myself when I hear a scholar criticize the language of a business man. The language of scholars is peculiarly open to attack on account of its lack of simplicity. In reality, however, the different forms of a language represent aptly the people who speak them. In the field of fiction language gives fuller views of the life of the speaker or writer because this field deals more fully with life. In the early works of Goethe we have a splendid view of young Goethe.

We have some very fine works on Goethe's style, especially the style of the mature Goethe: Richard M. Meyer, *Studien zu Goethe's Wortgebrauch;* id., *Goethe's Art zu arbeiten;* Boucke, *Wort und Bedeutung in Goethe's Sprache;* Pniower, *Zu Goethe's Wortgebrauch;* id., *Goethe als Wortschöpfer;* Petersen *Goethe und die Deutsche sprache.* I have read these works with great joy. Everything about Goethe is important to me. For fifty years my interest in Goethe has been growing. No writer has ever held me so long. I am at present speaking of Goethe's language as a linguist. I see nothing peculiar in Goethe's language. To me it is simply fine German. Pniower treats Goethe's compounds and sees in Goethe the creator of new forms of expression. I have the same interest in Goethe's compounds, but see in them merely Goethe's masterly use of words. I observe that the compounds are regularly formed for the most part, formed in harmony with the laws for word formation. The German people have created these laws. Goethe has merely expressed himself skillfully.

Boucke's and Meyer's fine treatises on Goethe's style, mentioned above, have raised the question in my mind whether a study of Goethe's style can convey a bit of Goethe's power to others who would use it to improve their expression. No doubt features of his style might adorn the language of others, but we can scarcely speak of borrowing his power. We must have power of our own to speak with power. Here we see clearly that Goethe continues to hold the highest place in German literature not because he has enriched the language by better means of expression but because he has given himself to his people. Those who borrow Goethe's favorite means of expression cannot speak with Goethe's power. Fischer has given us a fine large work on Goethe's language, summing up everything that has been said about Goethe's language—*Goethe-Wortschatz.* This fine book alone teaches us how little learned treatises can do to bring us to an appreciation of Goethe. They can help us some, but we can enjoy him fully only by reading him often and long. His power does not lie in tricks of speech or special means of expression. He simply spoke his mind and heart in good German. Even simple language can convey great thought and powerful feeling if the speaker is simple and great. But a little man cannot make himself great by a great show of words. Language reflects the man perfectly. I once connected Goethe's power with creative power of expression. Today I cannot see in his language any traces of creative linguistic work. He simply spoke good German. The highest thoughts and deepest feeling can be expressed in the established mother tongue if the speaker is a great man or woman.

# GORGO AND THE SACRED COW

BY CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST

IN the Easter week of 1911, a sculptured lion's head was discovered by workmen in the garden of the convent in Corfu, and word of it was carried up at once to the Achilleon, the residence of Emperor William II, because he was understood to be greatly interested in Classical studies and Archaeology and happened to be there at that time. He recognized it immediately as a piece of very archaic work of great significance, and under his personal supervision men of the island were soon digging in hope of finding more. Before the evening of the first day they had brought to light a very remarkable stone, with the head of a wildly energetic woman, girdled and surrounded with snakes, her forehead crowned with little hissing snakes for locks, her round face beaming, her eyes gleaming, her tongue stuck out! No one there had ever seen anything like it, and the scholars of Europe have been as much in the dark as to its history and meaning as they were when Troy and Tiryns and Mycenae were excavated by Schliemann and Dörpfeld; it also revealed that a high type of civilization had flourished there and had passed away before the first historical era of Greece began.

To make a long story short, this sculptured figure was that of Gorgo, not dead, her severed head on Athena's breast or in the hand of Perseus as always in Greek art, but very much alive and very powerful. The greatest excitement prevailed, and the Emperor grew so absorbed in the digging that he did not leave the field or even partake of the lunch that the Empress sent down to them, for "the archaeological fever had taken him." The "finds" became so impressive that Professor Dörpfeld was telegraphed for. This "Sherlock Holmes of Archaeology," as he has been called, came at once to take charge of the excavating and has reconstructed from the fragments the complete temple, one of the most remarkable and puzzling structures that has been resurrected after lying buried for ages.

The first impression that this temple makes, if viewed from a little distance, is that it is the Parthenon! And on close examination it is found to have all of the distinctive features of the Par-

GORGO FROM TEMPLE IN CORFU
(From Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Erinnerungen an Korfu.*)

thenon, (1) a raised platform, (2) steps approaching it, (3) eight (4) fluted (5) columns (6) with "Doric" (7) capitals, and (8) an architrave resting upon them; (9) banded ornament, (10) consisting of (11) triglyphs and (12) metopes; (13) a triangular (14) pediment, (15) a sloping (16) roof, (17) the enclosed triangle (18) filled with sculptured (19) figures, in understood relations. Astonishing! Besides, this temple was much earlier than the Parthenon and was built by a people not Greek and for the worship of a goddess not Greek! What highly gifted people, then, is to be credited with this masterpiece of design, which the Greeks adopted for their temples?

There is no point in which the temple of Gorgo and the Parthenon differ greatly except in the deities who presided in them: in this temple of Corfu, this living Gorgo; in the Parthenon, Athena, who carried on her breast the Gorgon's severed head, which head Perseus was understood to have captured as his trophy of victory over Gorgo, to which victory Athena had assisted him.

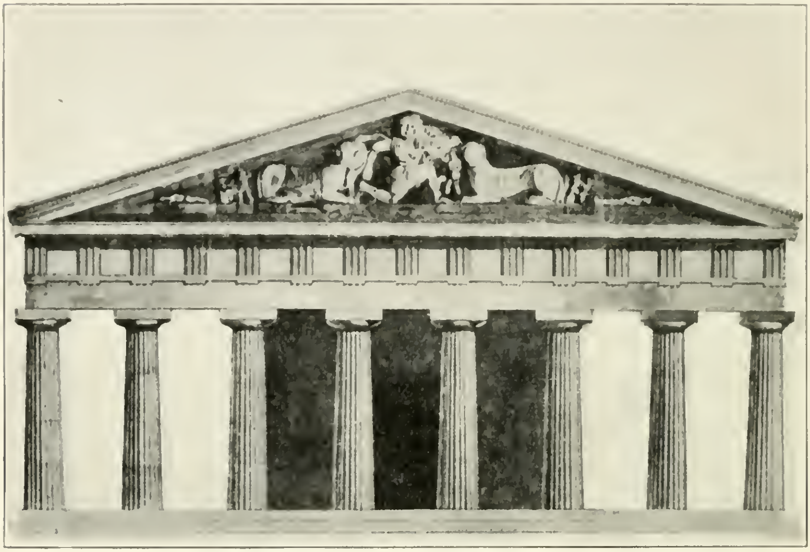
If this Gorgo be compared with Athena in features, physique, character, and every other particular, it becomes clear that the two were opposites, and that they must have been conscious opposites; also, that if a conflict should ever occur between them Gorgo would have as little chance of winning as the foolish Welsh Giants had when they contended with clever Jack of the folktale, or as the stupid trolls had when they contended with men in the Scandinavian stories. In all such cases the battle is to the wise and the self-controlled.

With exceeding and unrestrained energy, this Gorgo is leaping and flying, forward and upward, laughing and sticking out her tongue, in these respects looking to her Arabian worshippers the very image of their beaming Sun, as she runs and flies her course up the sky, a lustily strong and joyous runner in her course.... for the Arabian deity of the Sun was female, as her people were Matriarchal at that time, and until Mohammed ended her worship among the reforms that he instituted.

To a people more self-restrained, as were the Greeks when they became enemies and rivals of the Arabians in the Aegean lands, where the Arabians had preceded them, the lack of self-restraint, of moderation, which Gorgo shows would be judged an offense, as would also the orgies in which the Arabians worshipped her. "Everything in Moderation" was to be the law of the Greeks, as "Rejoice not, O Israel, to excess like the [surrounding] nations" was to be the exhortation of the Prophet Hosea to Israel.

In perfect contrast to Gorgo, wise Athena stands, not at all excited, but fully equipped for battle with spear, shield, breastplate, and helmet—even the Athena of Peace did not lay aside her helmet.

Where Gorgo is laughing immoderately and sticking out her foolish tongue, Athena is nobly serious, thoughtful, dignified, the very pattern of wisdom. Gorgo is sensual, and too fat; Athena is intellectual, delicately moulded, beautifully proportioned, too fine ever to give expression to such a spirit as is revealed in Gorgo's every line. Athena is venerated for her exquisite woman's work with the distaff and at the loom, as well as for her gift of the hoe and the rake to man—at a glance one sees that in such matters Gorgo must not be expected to rival her.



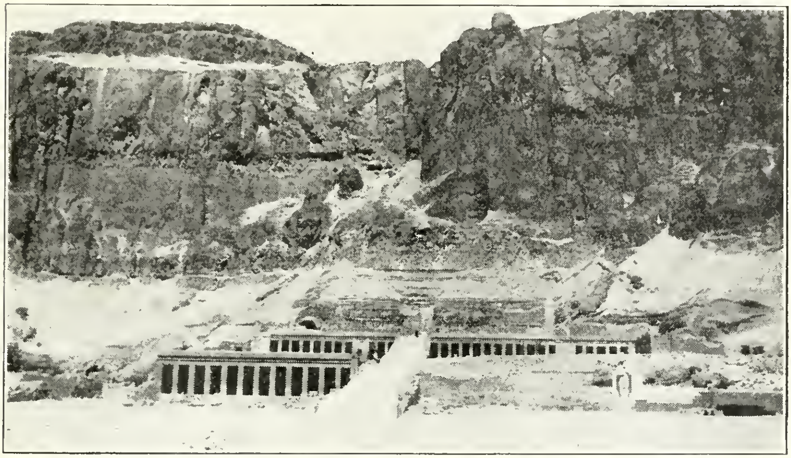
THE GORGO TEMPLE IN CORFU
Reconstructed by Dr. Dörpfeld
(From Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Erinnerungen an Korfu.*)

In fact, wherever these two contend Gorgo will be the inferior. Here in Corfu, she is credited with having conquered Titans, but even in relation to the Titans, Whirlwinds, Earthquakes, Volcanic-eruptions, and the like, Athena surpasses her, for Athena, single-handed, bound the strongest of the Titans, Enceladus, under Mount Aetna and she killed Pallas, the vilest of them, when he threatened her virginity. Athena seems to have taken the name of this conquered Titan as her trophy of victory, for she was called *Pallas Athena,* stressing her virginity by this name as well as by her title of *The Virgin, Parthenos,* which appears in the name of her most famous temple, the *Parthenon*. This slain Titan, Pallas, must have been a very great warrior, though proved inferior to Athena, for the root in his name is that in the verb πάλλω *I wield, I brandish, sway, swing, whirl, leap, bound, quiver, dash myself*, all expressing intense action, like the action of Pallas Athena when this mighty daughter of Zeus *dashed* down from Olympus to earth, as shown by Homer in the first Book of the Odyssey, *brandishing* her spear, to execute the decree of her Father that Odysseus should at last return to his home in Ithaca.

In being the Virgin and of the West, Athena was, again, the opposite of Gorgo, for Gorgo was the Love and Mother goddess of the East, the sensual Earth, parent of all that lives. It was she who gave increase in fields, flocks, and families, and for that reason she was invoked with sensual rites at seed-time and harvest. Traces of her worship and of her social system of Matriarchy are still to be seen in spots remote from modern influences, in Asia, the East Indies, and Africa. So, in Tibet, although the religion has become Buddhist, McGovern found the family on matriarchal basis, the wife still the head of the household and wife of all of the brothers of the family; and in India, Pierre Loti found the royal family of Trevancore still Matriarchal, while the common people were still worshipping this Love and Mother goddess in the way that had come down to them from ancient times. In that principality, succession to the throne is in the female line and the Maharanee chooses and changes her mate at will, while children of the Maharajah have, as such, no right to the Throne or even to bear the title of Prince. There the Hindus, of Aryan race, keep their race and religion unchanged by permitting no intermarriages and by admitting no strangers to witness their mystic religious ceremonies; but the common people, of the more primitive race, admitted this stranger to this orgiastic rites, which were typical of those offered to this goddess in ancient times and which centered about an archaic wooden statue of their goddess, in the form of a Bird—the sculptured figure of Gorgo in Corfu had the wings of this Bird. To the accompaniment of tomtoms and the continual and long-protracted cries of the women-worshippers, the priest recited his ancient ritual, his excitement rising as he proceeded until it reached a climax in a frenzy of violence and terrible howls. He dashed his head against the trees and stones and would have injured himself but that he was restrained. Finally he sank to the ground exhausted and motionless, with a terrible rattle in his throat. A ceremony much like this was probably celebrated in connection with the temple of Gorgo in Corfu.

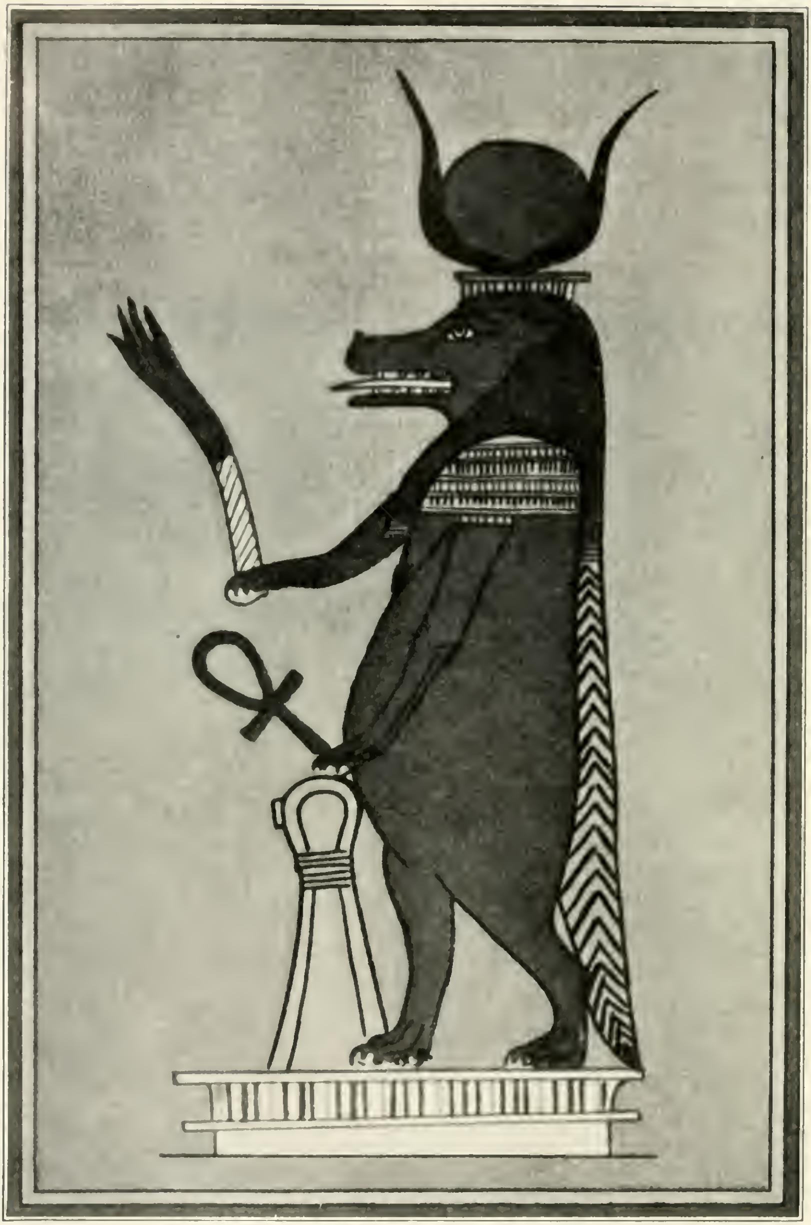
Sacred Trees and Sacred Stones were characteristic of the primitive Arabian religion as it was continued into historic times, and the ceremony which Pierre Loti witnessed in Trevancore presents along with these the other essential features by which it was distinguished. Before his eyes had been enacted the ancient Mystery of the East, and if he had been a Seabrooke, keen on the primitive peoples and their Mysteries, he would have gone profoundly into it and given the final interpretation of the Bird, the Serpent related to it, the Sacred Trees, the Sacred Stones, the Priest's Ritual, the Women's Chorus and what they sang, the Orgy, the Violence, the Sacrifice—for this service required a sacrifice, and, until recently, a human sacrifice. So late as 1835, the offering of human blood in parts of India has continued, when it was abolished legally; but until that time criminals and other victims bought or kidnapped were sacrificed to the Earth goddess regularly at seed-time and harvest, as well as on other special occasions of atonement and conciliation. Seabrooke shows that among Africans in Haiti and in their own continent the blood-sacrifice is still made, symbolically if not actually. In the Voodoo ceremony in which he took part, a Priestess officiated and a human victim was barely saved at the last moment by the substitution of an animal, whose blood was drunk.

This primitive religion of the Earth-Mother and her consort, the Serpent god, and the social system of Matriarchy, by which the Semitic people originally lived, lie so far in the backward abysm of Time that until very recently historians and anthropologists have had no inkling that they ever existed. There must have been many ages when Matriarchy was the natural and necessary system, coming down from the time when the physical relation of the father to his child was not understood, as it has never been discovered by the tribe in Central Australia recently studied. The people of that tribe have lived by the theory that the souls of children waiting to be born hover around in the neighborhood of certain stones and attach themselves to women who come near, making them pregnant, a theory which was probably widely held and which seems to explain the strange reverence for stones that the Arabian peoples felt, a reverence that lingers blindly among them today though Mohammed discredited revered stones among his reforms when he superceded Matriarchy by Patriarchy throughout the Mohammedan world. The discovery of the physical relation of the father to his child must have been, as Mencken holds, the means of one of the greatest advances in the development of mankind, for it supplied the strongest reason for instituting the Home, in which the father exercises his powers to protect, and the wife and children devote themselves to him. When Patriarchy became the accepted social practice, religion must, and did, become Patriarchal also, a male god, supreme, displacing the supreme female deity. Among the Aryan races Patriarchy had been established before they emerged in history.



THE TERRACE-TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSET AT DÊR EL-BAHRI

The first scholar to sense a prehistoric period of Matriarchy before classical antiquity was Bachofen, who reached his conclusion after a study of myths and legends that told of women ruling, and he concluded also that the position of women had changed during the evolution of culture. In "The Golden Bough" Frazer developed the same idea. Matriarchy was discovered by Professor Snouck-Hurgronje of the University of Leiden, as it is still practiced in the East Indies, and by Professor Frobenius of the University of Berlin, as it exists in Africa. Count de Proroc has studied it among the Tuaregs in North Africa, and Briffault has collected



TA-URT, THE HIPPOPOTAMUS-GODDESS
(From Budge *Gods of the Egyptians.*)

available facts to date in *The Mothers*. Dr. Samuel Zwemer, now of Princeton University, for many years a missionary in Arabia and Egypt, has collected in his books a great deal of valuable material on the ancient Arabian religion as it still persists in the form of superstitions, ceremonies, and the occult.

From these, and from other sources, information is now at hand to enable us to understand a large part of the prehistoric period which heretofore has seemed hopelessly beyond investigation, and to make a corrected valuation of the religions, social systems, political events, and individual characters of Ancient History proper.

Among the new facts that have come to light, none have been more astonishing, challenging and revealing, than those relating to Gorgo and her temple in Corfu. Now that Archaeology has torn the veil from the Past and revealed the physical remains of Gorgo's temple, we may hope, by means of this new knowledge of Matriarchy and by further analysis of the myths and traditions which have been preserved, to recover the spirit which animated these stones, what Gorgo signified to the Arabian people who worshipped her, what she signified to the Greeks, who thought her horrible, particularly to Perseus, who killed her (whatever that may turn out to mean), and to the contemporary Egyptian world where recorded history throws light on the mystery.

Approaching Gorgons from the Greek side alone, it has always been supposed that such terrible monsters never really existed but that they were the product of a lively fancy and embodied moral and religious allegory. The discovery of this Gorgo in Corfu ended all such theories and made it evident that there really was a Gorgo, if not in the flesh, undeniably in stone, and that she did not embody a Greek idea or spirit, but that of some other race. "It is the spirit of ages gone past, that arises again out of the darkness of oblivion," said a distinguished Classical scholar when the temple in Corfu was first excavated, but at that time no archaeologist or Classical scholar knew enough about the Arabians, their settlements on the islands and the shores of the Mediterranean, their religion, and their social system, to hazard a theory that this Gorgo was an aspect of the Arabian goddess of the Sun. Today much more is known about these things, to be credited largely to the progressive work of Professor Dörpfeld and especially to Emperor William II, who at Doern has collected and sifted a large amount of material bearing on the subject, part of which has been published in his book *Erinnerungen an Korfu.*

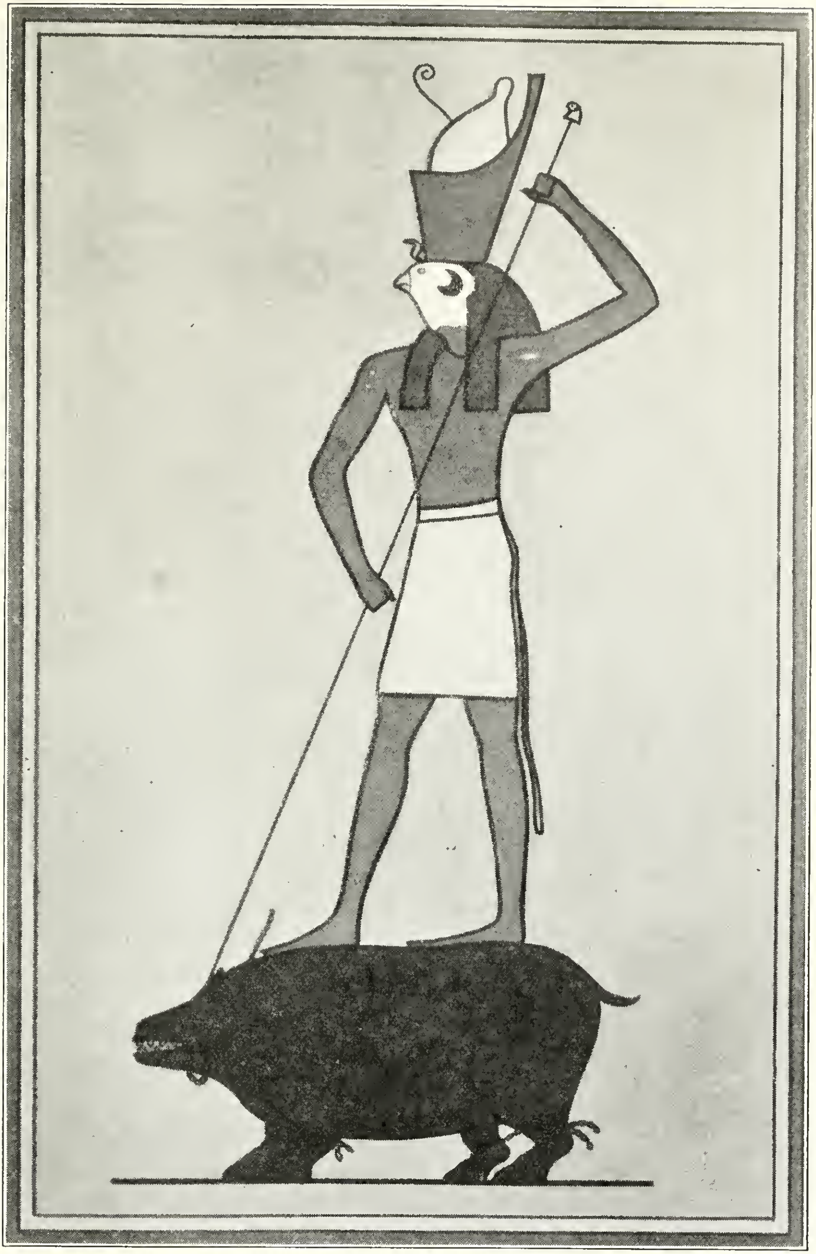
It is evident that too little has been known about the Arabians, the great Semitic people who, it now appears, were highly civilized and held the dominant position in Egypt and the Mediterranean lands until the great XVIII dynasty of Thebes broke their power. As Dr. Zwemer has pointed out, Southern Arabia lies in the geographical position of advantage for world-trade in that period, her fertile plateau offering the southern route for caravans as the Fertile Crescent offered the northern route, while this land-route was supplanted by a water-route around the Arabian peninsula and across the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

To her great financial advantage, South Arabia held the gorgeous East in fee, and she took her rich tolls as the exports of India and Ur were transported to the West by her caravans. Rich Sheba, the modern Shabwa, a huge mound, lies waiting to be excavated that she may contribute her testimony to the greatness of Arabia during these centuries. Across the plateau of South Arabia, fragrant with native spices, frankincense, aromatic gums and myrrh, the Arabian caravans passed, turning north through Mecca and Medina, toward Phoenicia, North Africa, and the islands and coasts of the "Great Green Sea," distributing home products at stages of the way with cargoes merely transported from the farther East, gold, wrought metals, precious stones, apes, ebony, ivory, panther skins, peacocks, silks, cinnamon-wood, meru-wood, cedar-wood, sandalwood, juniper, and perfumes.

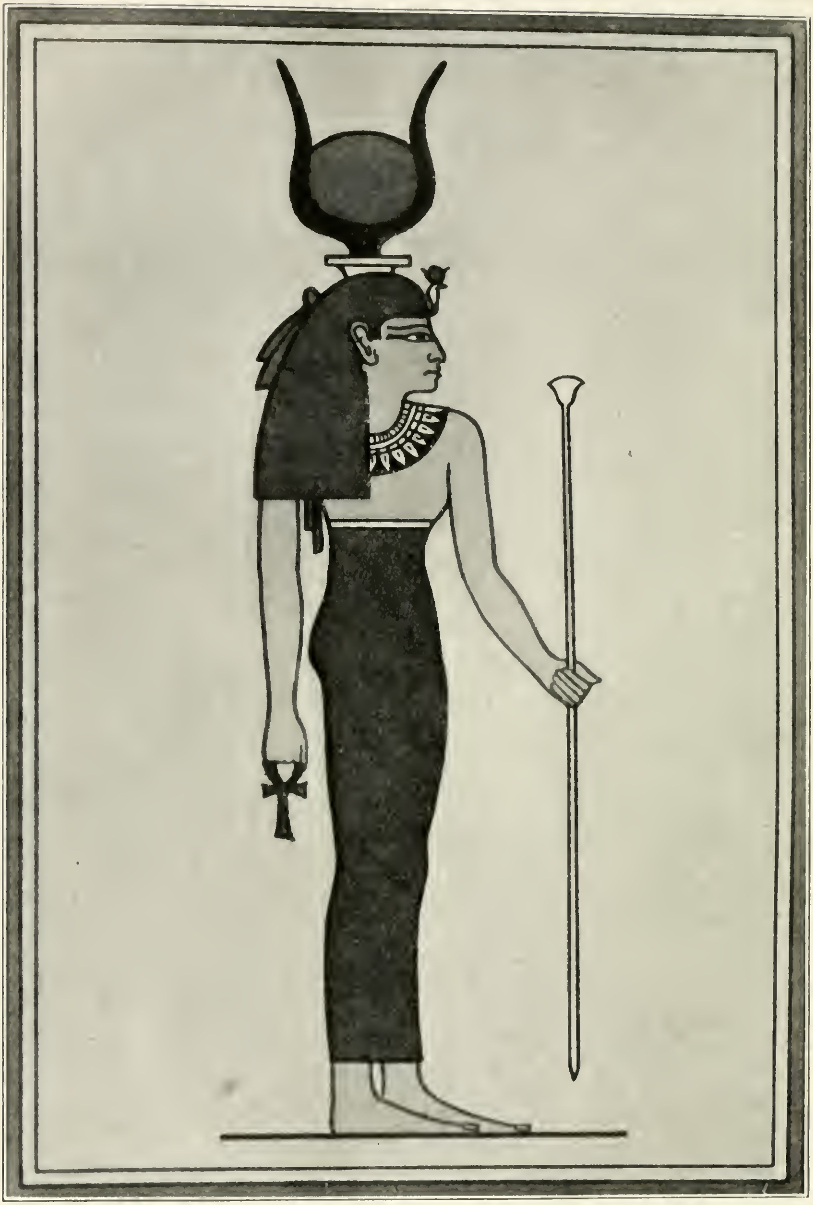
An index which shows how highly these things were valued in Egypt in 1500 B.C. is the transport of joy shown by the great Theban Queen Hatshepset when she received the cargo of the ships she had sent to Punt:

> "Never was the like of this brought for any king who has been from the beginning....all the luxurious marvels of this country were brought to my palace in one collection!" (Translated by Breasted.)

When the Queen referred to these wonderful woods and their source as "the goodly sweet woods of God's-Land," she was conceding that Arabia was far richer than was her own Egyptian kingdom, and that it was the home and the source of her gods and her re-



HORUS KILLING THE HIPPOPOTAMUS, THE SYMBOL OF SET.
(From Budge *Gods of the Egyptians.*)



THE EGYPTIAN HATHOR
(From Budge *Gods of the Egyptians.*)

ligion. She bathed herself in the perfumes and anointed herself with the aromatic ointments, and she prepared her own temple so that she could enjoy still greater luxury after she was dead, for the precious spices and myrrh of Arabia would embalm her body and render it immortal. In both temple service and the embalming of the dead, the gums spices, and myrrh of Arabia were essential, and these were credited to the national goddess, the goddess of the Sun, for it was she who had made the goodly sweet woods grow.

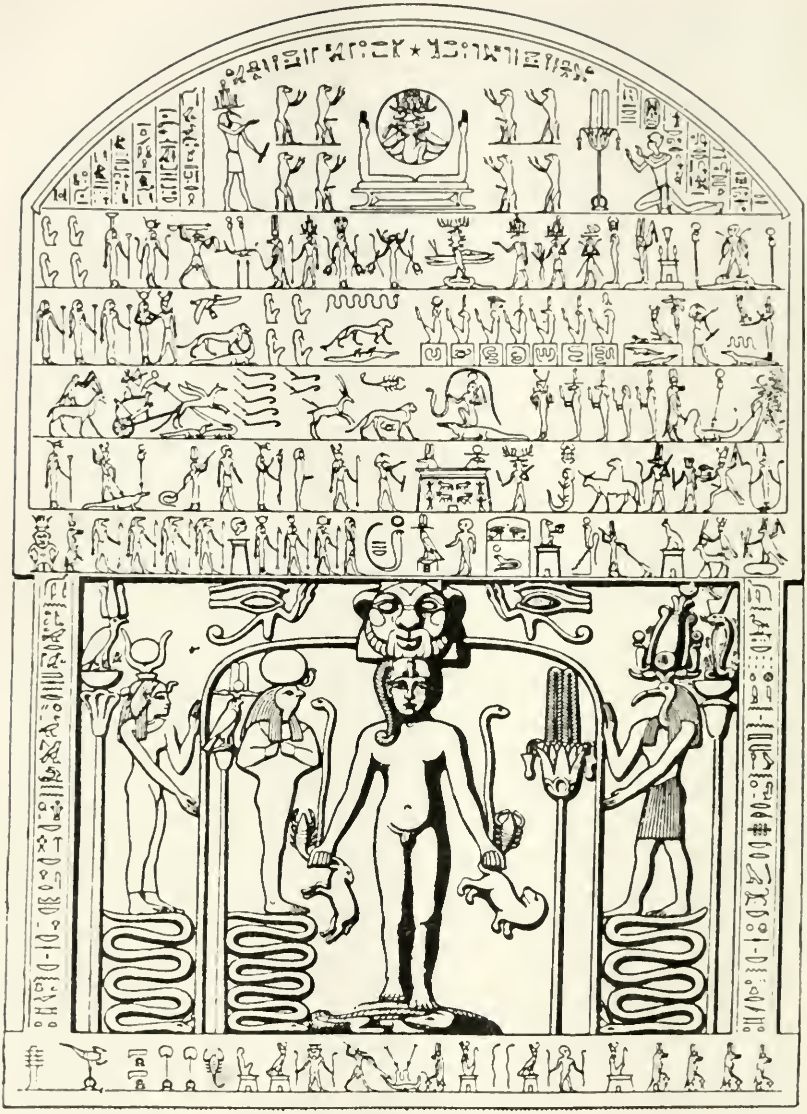
There were young living trees, most carefully transported, in the cargo from Punt, and these were the Sacred Trees of the Arabian goddess, to be planted in a Sacred Grove of hers in the courtyard of the splendid mortuary temple that she was building at Dêr el-Bahri. This temple was dedicated to Amen Ra, the male supreme god of Thebes, (whom Queen Hatshepset claimed as her own physical father) and revealed the scenes of her own Immaculate Conception and Miraculous Birth on its walls, while in its court was the Sacred Grove of the Arabian goddess. This was according to the policy of the Queen, which was, to unite the lands and the religion of her fathers with those of her mothers.

In calling Arabia "God's-Land," Queen Hatshepset was but honoring her own ancestral deity on her mother's side, for her mother was of Hyksos ancestry, being a daughter of the Queens of the Western Delta who had transferred their allegiance to Thebes from the Hyksos side.

Politically, Queen Hatshepset was cultivating the closest relations with the neighboring countries of Arabian origin, and by purely peaceful means she was winning their support so completely that toward the end of her reign she could proclaim proudly,

> "My southern boundary is as far as Punt....my eastern boundary is as far as the marshes of Asia, and the Asiatics are within my grasp; my western boundary is as far as the mountain of Manu (the sun-set)....my fame is among the Sand-dwellers (Bedouin) altogether."

It will be observed that this statement does not imply hatred or scorn of "the Asiatics", whom Queen Hatshepset sometimes referred to as "kin"; and we are accordingly not greatly surprised when we learn that the goddess of her personal devotion was Ta-urt, the Hippopotamus-goddess of her kin in the Delta. It was Ta-urt whom she caused to be represented in the sculptured scene of her own



**The Metternich Stele (Obverse).**
(From Budge *Gods of the Egyptians.*)

The young Horus, triumphant, standing on a crocodile, crushing noxious animals in his hands.
Hathor, Hawk, and Thoth standing on snakes that have spears in their heads.

Bands: (lowest): Procession of Gods of Thebes, including Ta-urt.
Second (left end): Thothmes III standing on a crocodile killing it. A ray from Horus strikes its head.

birth, where the grotesque deity stands beside the couch on which the Queen of Thothmes I is lying in, to protect the mother and child from dangerous fairies, from jinns, and worse.

It was doubtless because these Queens of the Western Delta had married Pharaohs of Thebes and supported them in their wars against the Hyksos and their allies, though the Hyksos were of their own race, that Ta-urt came to be recognized as a Theban deity and, in Egyptian mythology, assigned the rank of a concubine of one of the Theban gods. In the Metternich Stele she is seen marching in their Procession and is enjoying the very high honor of holding the conquered Crocodile-god of the enemy by a leading-string! In addition to that, and as the highest of honors, she was crowned with the horns of Hathor, the Theban Sacred Cow! It is evident that Queen Hatshepset cherished the hope that the two goddesses could be merged in one, though the two differed in character as the cow differs from the hippopotamus, and she seems to have worshipped her Arabian goddess under Hathor's name. To Arabian Hathor she offered rich sacrifices when her ships set their sails for Punt, and presumably in the name of Hathor she planted the Arabian goddess' Sacred Trees for a Grove in the court of Amen-Ra—a Grove was characteristic and essential for the worship of the Arabian deity. Was her Arabian Hathor to supplant the Theban Cow-Hathor in Thebes? The idea of retaining the name of Hathor while retaining the character of the Arabian deity may have come to Queen Hatshepset from her mother, since the name *Hat*shep*set* which she had been given incorporates the names of *Hat*hor and of *Set,* Set being the Egyptian name of the Serpent—consort of the Arabian deity. This personal name of the Great Queen thus became a perpetual reminder of her race and her religion, as was the case with the names of the Pharaohs, which incorporated the names of the Theban gods, *Thoth, Amen,* and *Ra*. Would not her name, *Hatshepset*, consequently, become a potent means of drawing to this Queen the support of all who worshipped Arabian Hathor and Set?

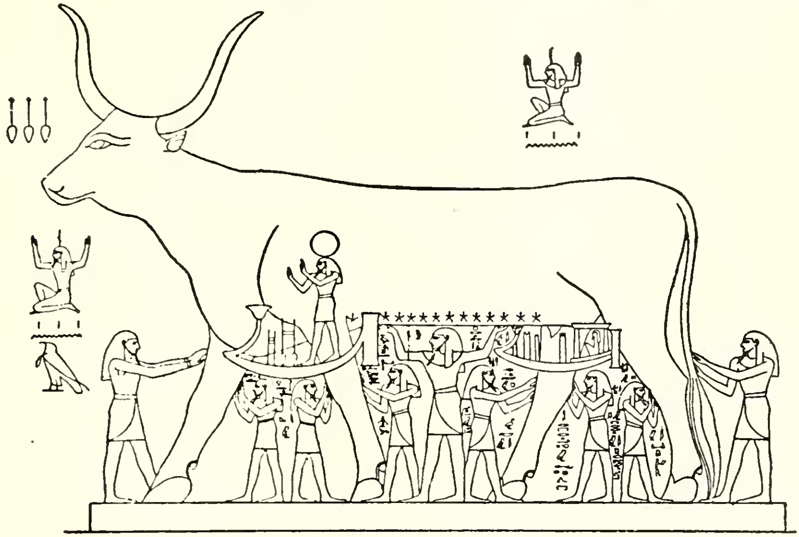
So much for the maternal relation of Queen Hatshepset. And

| | |
|---|---|
| Third (left end): | Thothmes III standing in chariot, killing crocodile and shooting arrows at snakes. |
| (right end): | Ta-urt leading conquered crocodile, a ray of Horus beating down on it. Thothmes III driving it with spear for goad. |
| Fourth: | Victorious gods and conquered snakes and crocodiles. |
| Fifth (left): | Thoth, Horus and Ta-urt in combat with crocodile. Infant Horus standing on two crocodiles and strangling two serpents in his hands. |

the Pharaohs of Thebes, her fathers, were they, also, of Arabian ancestry, and of Matriarchal culture? Did they, also, worship the Arabian goddess as their supreme deity? The Theban historian, Manetho, says that the Hyksos were Arabians ("Hyksos" was evidently the particular and local term and "Arabian" the general and inclusive term), and he shows that the Thebans referred to the Hyksos with hatred and scorn as "the Asiatics," "the filthy ones," "the plague-stricken." Such terms they would hardly have used if they had been of the same race and habits as these enemies of theirs, whom they had fought in a civil war and expelled from Egypt in the early part of the century preceding 1500 B.C. The inference is justified that Thebans considered themselves not of the Hyksos, not Arabian, but of some other race, and when we examine such evidence as is presented by the physical features of the Theban Pharaohs, their religion, their social customs, traits of character, language, and other distinguishing qualities, the conclusion is forced upon us that they were predominantly of another race, definitely of the Aryan race. It must be admitted that variations from the purely Aryan type occur frequently in them, and this is as should be expected because the early Theban Pharaohs had rather frequently, before the XVIII Dynasty, married Queens of neighboring Arabian dynasties, and such intermarriage would be followed by racial variations. Under the Mendelian law, (1) some of the progeny of these mixed marriages would show unmixed Aryan characteristics, (2) some would show unmixed Arabian characteristics, and (3) some would show a mixture of the Aryan and the Arabian. So, though the Thebans were mainly Aryan, not all of the noses of the mixed progeny would be high-bridged and straight, not all of the lips would be notably flexible and rather thin, but some of the noses would be hooked and some of the lips would be fuller and more sensual than those of the pure Aryan type. Facial angles and skull measurements, also, would vary according to the Mendelian law.

But where a test of facial angles, skulls, and other physical features does not yield positive conclusions, after intermarriages have caused variation in the offspring, a test of ideas, customs, and religions will sometimes do so, since a race is usually able to maintain its own ideas, customs, and religion by absorbing and assimilating the individuals who enter it by marriage from another race.

Distinctive differences between the Arabians and the Thebans will be perceived in their ideas, customs and religions. The Thebans were Patriarchal, in their family and national life, the male dominant, succession to the Throne in the male line, while the Arabians were Matriarchal, the female dominant, succession to the Throne in the female line; in their religion the Thebans worshipped a male deity as supreme, Amen-Ra, the Bull-god of the heavens, while the Arabians worshipped a female supreme deity, Queen of Heaven, the Lady, the Mother, known under local names, *Hathor* in Egypt, *Al Uzza* in Mecca, *Sams* in South Arabia, *Shamush* in Assyria, *Istar* in Babylon, *Ta-urt* in the Delta, *Kyvele* in Asia Minor, *Ashtaroth* in Syria, *Gorgo* in Corfu, *Tanit* in Carthage, and many others. These were all merely different aspects of the same deity.



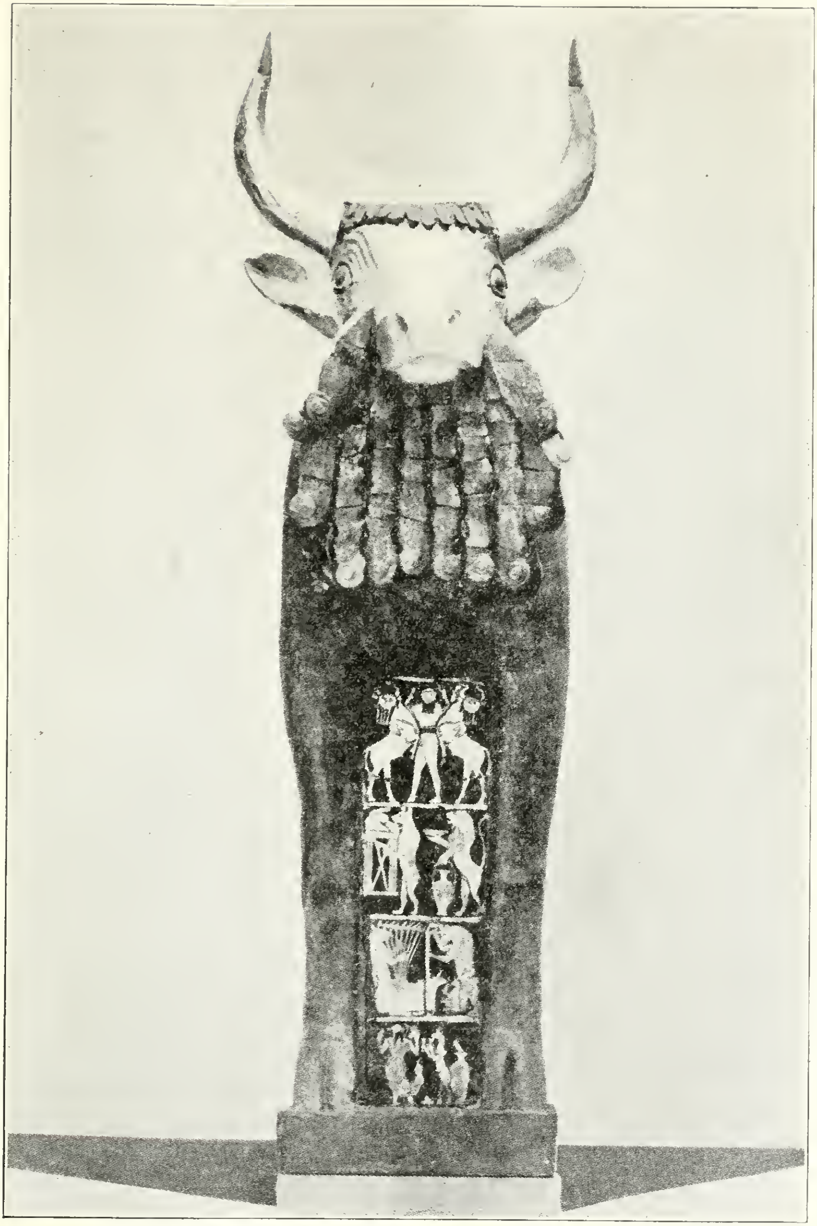
The Celestial Cow

The Thebans believed in immortality and in a judgment after death, and they prepared imposing tombs endowed to provide for the occupants forever, while the early Arabians did not hold such a faith or build such monuments. In war, the Thebans were merciful to their captives as compared with the Arabians; in manner they were more self-controlled and they did not indulge in religious orgies; their language, according to the analysis made by Delitzsch, 10% Aryan, 30% Semitic, the remaining 60% African or other roots, is an indication that the small governing class was Aryan, the larger commercial class was Arabian, and the common people, a native population, was large. In personal ways, too, there were differences—the Thebans were commonly clean-shaven while Arabians wore beards, Theban women were commonly of a slender type while Arabian women were heavier.

The Thebans, like the earliest Zoroastrians and the Aryans of India, kept cattle and even worshipped the Sacred Bull and the Sacred Cow as symbols of the settled and agricultural life that the gods required of them; the Arabians, on the contrary, did not keep cattle or lead the settled and agricultural life, but lived in tents and migrated with their herds of camels, winning their wealth by raiding and piracy, except in South Arabia, where settled life and commerce were possible and profitable. A large part of Arabia had no arable lands or pasture lands where cattle could be raised; when Arabian peoples moved into fertile regions, as into Mesopotamia and Egypt, they settled down and modified their views under the new influences.

Other parallels might be drawn to point the conclusion that the Thebans who made history were predominantly Aryan, but these will serve sufficiently—the very tenacity with which the Thebans held to their own social customs and religion has been characteristic of the Aryan people. The Theban Pharaohs paid honor to the gods of other races that they had conquered, and even built temples to them in which they represented themselves as offering sacrifices, but they still persisted in rendering their own personal devotion to their national deity of Thebes, Amen-Ra.

A great deal should be said about the Cow-Queen of Heaven who was worshipped by all of the various Aryan races in 1500 B.C., She was the Mut-Hathor, Mother-Hathor, of Thothmes III, the Cow-horned Hera of the Achaean Greeks, parallelled by the Sacred Cows of the Hindus, the people of Ur, the Zoroastrians, and the Northern races of Europe. This Cow-worship is seen in its most intelligible form in the Hymns of Zoroaster, where the prophet-poet sings in praise of the Creator, Ahura-Mazda, Lord-Wisdom, along with the Universe which He created, "the Cow, the herd's mother": "He created the animated world and He arranged a home for the Cow, the herd's mother." (Translation by Mills.) The themes of home, of the settled life, the agricultural life, the Sacred Fields, and the kine, the cattle, were celebrated, and good people, saintly people, were figured, not as the sheep of God's pasture, but as His



STATUE OF A BULL RECONSTRUCTED

The Head of Gold Foil with Inlaid Eyes, and Beard and Horn-Tips of Lapis-Lazuli, between the Forelegs are Four Carved Shell Plaques with Representations of Magical Ceremonies.

kine, his cattle, which was natural considering their mode of life. Zoroaster's typical holy man, or saint, is the diligent toiler, the plowman who cultivates, irrigates, reclaims his land and does not make war or go out raiding to bring home riches. He condemns those who lead the nomadic life, the piratical life.

This same vast Sacred Cow must have been worshipped long before 3500 B.C., for in the King's tomb excavated at Ur by Woolley and ascribed to that date, or earlier, a golden image of this Cow was found, ornamented with inlaid scenes of the ritual that had grown up around her. Both the arts and the ideals revealed here are proof of a hoary past preceding that King's day, for it must have required untold ages to perfect such metal-work, such design and such craftsmanship in carving and inlaying, such knowledge of music and development of musical instruments as well as such religious ideas and ritual as this image reveals. That the same Sacred Cow was worshipped in Egypt from the earliest times is certain. The plowmen, "diligent toilers" who made the Nile Valley marvellously productive, pictured her standing athwart the heavens, her head in the the West, the earth lying between her fore and hind feet, her belly constituting the arch of the heavens and studded with stars, the sun in his boat sailing across her body. Thothmes III worshipped her, and he caused himself to be represented beside her in the statue of the Sacred Cow shown in the accompanying illustration. In the Icelandic Sagas, Audhumbla was the Sacred Cow, the mother of Ymer, the Earth-giant. She was believed to have emerged from Void and Darkness, and she spans the Abyss, Ginungagap, the Gap-of-Gaps.

It is clear that this vast Sacred Cow of the Universe, the Cow-Mother, must have been worshipped by the Aryan peoples who were the ancestors of the Hindus, the people of Ur, the Zoroastrians, the Theban Egyptians, the Greeks and the Northmen before they left the cradle of their race and parted company to go their several ways....that the Sacred Cow was worshipped by all of them is as good evidence that they had a common origin as are the roots of the words that they all used relating to the home, such as *door, father, mother, daughter,* and the roots of the words that they all used relating to work in the fields, such as *plow, harrow, furrow, seed, sickle, chaff, mill-stone.*

Finally, and to our immediate purpose, this is the Sacred Cow

THE SACRED COW OF HATHOR
There is a figure of Thutmose III in front of it.
Found in a shrine at Der el-Bahri

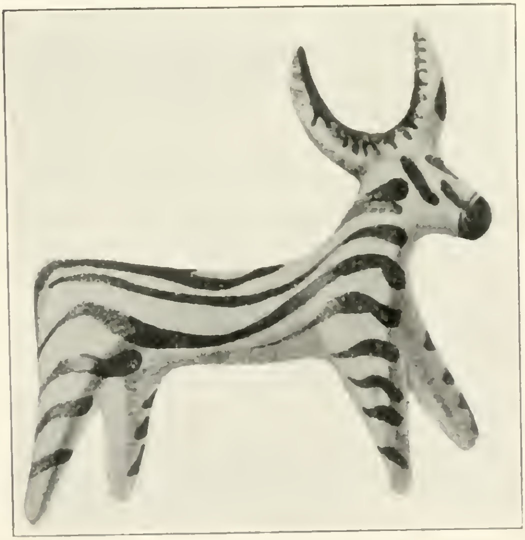
who, in the person of Hera, the Greek Queen of Heaven, supplanted the Arabian goddess in Tiryns and Gorgo in Corfu, in fact, in all of Greece and the neighboring Mediterranean lands. When Schliemann and Dörpfeld excavated Tiryns, they found many little images of this Cow-goddess within the walls of the citadel ,along with a few of the earlier Arabian goddess, who was sometimes holding a pig, her symbol.

No ace, and no nation, even in ancient times, could live to itself alone, and a study starting with the Gorgo of Corfu must lead in short order, as this has done, into a study of the Arabians, their religion and their prehistoric settlements in and around the Mediterranean, their conflicts with the Theban Pharaohs of Egypt, their relations with Perseus and the Achaean Greeks, with Homer and the Greeks of the historic era.

As to settlements in and around the Mediterranean made by Arabians in the prehistoric period, archaeology has shown in the excavations at Troy, at Tiryns, at Mycenae, and scores of other places which all reveal the same arts and culture, that a high Arabian civilization (Phoenician, Syrian, Aegean, Hyksos) flourished there before the Greeks arrived in that locality. In the opinion of Professor Dörpfeld, some of those settlements had been made as early as 2000 B.C., and a Second Period began about 1500 B.C., distinguished from the First Period by the excellent workmanship and the highly artistic qualities of the work done. Professor Dörpfeld has suggested that this notable improvement about 1500 B.C. was probably due to an influx of the Hyksos, who had been expelled from Egypt in 1577 B.C. by the Theban Pharaoh Thothmes 1. For Hyksos leaders of high rank and power to take an inferior position in settled lands like Syria or Phoenicia would be difficult; they could keep their independence and provide for a better future if they sought good sites in the unsettled West, and built new cities there, superior to any that the merely commercial settlers had built. So the citadel of Tiryns was built by some powerful Hyksos Prince expelled from Egypt and provided for a life of high rank and even luxury in the West.

Concerning Tiryns, Greek tradition and myth relate (1) that it was in existence in the days of King Acrisius of Argos, the grandfather of Perseus, (2) that Proetus, King Acrisius' brother, ruled in Tiryns as King, but (3) that Proetus gave it to Perseus in exchange for Argos, and (4) that Perseus ruled in Tiryns as King with Andromeda, his Queen. Also, tradition relates that while Perseus ruled in Tiryns he built Mycenae, where his descendants still ruled at the time of the Trojan War.

Here we find ourselves on debatable ground, facing the vexed question whether legends and myths like these of King of Acrisius and Perseus are to be regarded as conveying any substantial truth. Tiryns and Mycenae are substantial, and so was Troy, as the archaeologists have proven; but a presumption has continued to prevail that the myth of Perseus was a mere flight of fancy or an allegory of nature, probably a Sun-myth. That assumption is purely gratuitous, and it is now gradually giving way as proofs are forthcoming, that historical conditions actually were as the myths pictured them, and events may have been in the main as told except that fanciful embellishments have

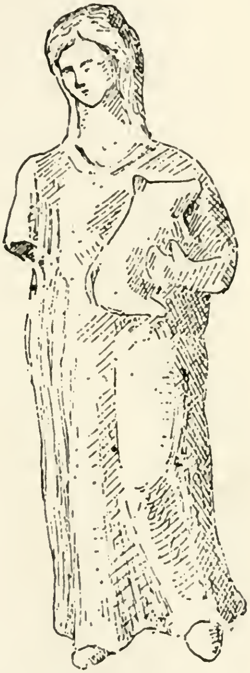

COW-GODDESS OF TIRYNS

been added to them. Schliemann, who excavated Troy in the face of a generation which believed Troy a myth, was convinced that Perseus was an Achaean King of Tiryns. Some of the conservative historians, as the authors of the Cambridge History, are now persuaded that the myth of Perseus conveys substantial truth as to his rule in Tiryns and Mycenae and his founding a line of powerful kings in the Peloponnesus.

Myth and tradition picture Perseus as (1) Patriarchal in his family and the State, (2) as a worshipper of the male god of heaven, Zeus, whose daughter, Wisdom, Athena, was Perseus' guide in life, and (3) as passing the succession to his throne in the male line, all of which is consistent with what has been noted among the Pharaohs of Thebes in the XVIII Dynasty and strengthens our confidence in the historic quality in that part of the myth. In the following chapter, it will be seen that Perseus' activities were in accord with those of Thothmes III. In general, when we apply to the Persidae the same tests, or criteria, which we apply to the Theban Pharaohs, we must conclude that these Achaean Greek kings were, like the Theban Pharaohs, predominantly of the Aryan race, and that there is considerable evidence to show that they, like the Theban Pharaohs, were of mixed Aryan and Arabian ancestry.

In following Perseus' career and his relation to the Gorgo of Corfu and "the Gorgon" of his myth, it will be our effort to sift out the grains of historic truth and to interpret the allegory in terms of, and in relation to, the historical events of his period, which is that of Thothmes III, 1501 B.C.—1447 B.C. That "the Gorgon" of the myth, the Gorgo of Corfu, was actual and that she suffered death, metaphorically, may now be conceded as historical fact, for it is evident that this Arabian goddess was really worshipped in Corfu and had even been given an image in stone and a local habitation there, but that her worship ceased, her image was broken, and her temple was buried, effectually and for many centuries. If a deity can be said to suffer death, it must be in some such fashion.

The times of the Hyksos Pharaohs and the Theban Pharaohs of the XVIII Dynasty were out of joint, and after Queen Hatshepset had died believing that her policies had succeeded, the greater Thothmes III and Perseus did famous fighting to set them right. A world-drama was being played on their narrow stage, which was to divide the East from the West and open the way for the Greeks in History. The Hyksos' goddess, Gorgo, with her Arabian worshippers, suffered the fate of the protagonist; Thothmes III took the part of the victorious hero in his campaigns against the Arabian world, and in this conflict, Perseus played an important part, a young hero strong of arm and high in spirit, a son of Zeus himself, credited with delivering the blow that struck the Gorgon dead....Did he strike it in Corfu? And was the Gorgo whose image was excavated in Corfu the one that Perseus "killed"? These questions will be considered in a following chapter.



—Terra-cotta figure; woman with a pig.

# THE ETERNAL RECURRENCE

### BY R. FREDERICK HESTER

MY doctrine is: Live so that thou mayest desire to live again—that is thy duty—for in any case thou wilt live again!. . . ."

So spake Nietzsche. Literally, it is a collossal doctrine, and at a first glance no more and no less than the theological immortality. But Nietzsche meant something quite different. He had in mind the "mightiest of all thoughts"—eternal recurrence.

It is strange that this doctrine has rarely been treated with that depth and sympathy to which it is undoubtedly entitled. This negligence is, perhaps, chiefly attributable to the fact that Nietzsche himself failed to elaborate the idea, which, as he conceived it, caused him to "turn pale" with mental perturbation; but the negligence is also partly attributable to an apparently general subordination of the idea, as nothing more than a mere metaphysical hypothesis forever unverifiable upon either empiric or scientific grounds.

The fundamental idea of eternal recurrence, however, was not original with Nietzsche, although his eminence gave it the greatest impetus. Louis Blanqui and Gustave Le Bon almost simultaneously conceived it, essentially if not precisely as did Nietzsche. Le Bon assumed the exactly analogous, equally stupendous, and to date the equally undemonstrable hypothesis of infinite duplications of all existences in space as in time. The idea—more or less embryonic—had also emerged before Nietzsche, Blanqui, or Le Bon.

What is the exact significance of this "mightiest of all thoughts"? Apparently it is *not* the ultimate horror, the eternal, inescapable imprisonment in space-time as conceived by Nietzsche. The doctrine of eternal recurrence assumes the exact duplication of all forms and qualities of existence an infinite number of times in eternity. Analogously Le Bon's doctrine of infinite duplication—in space as distinct from time—posits the *simultaneous,* infinite duplication of all possible existences in the spatial universe. In this presentation the terms "eternal recurrence" will embrace both hypotheses.

These doctrines may confuse and dazzle the non-philosophic mind; and whether or not we may "believe" them, we at least must admit the surpassing grandeur of their conception. And when merged into unity—as our late relativistic concepts render necessary—it may indeed be regarded as the mightiest of all concepts so far attained.

But it need not be so regarded in the strictly Nietzschean sense. On the contrary, a fundamental and vital error in this concept, which will presently be considered, alters the aspect of eternal recurrence very pronouncedly indeed, and renders it either highly attractive or the exact opposite, as determined by the value set upon existence by the person considering the doctrine.

Says Zarathustra:—

> The plexus of causes returneth in which *I* am entertwined—it will again create *me! I myself* pertain to the causes of the eternal return.
>
> *I* come again with this sun, with this earth, with this eagle, with this serpent—*not* to a new life or a better life: *I* come again eternally to this *selfsame* life, in its greatest and in its smallest, to teach again the eternal recurrence of all things....

And again, in his notes on "Eternal Recurrence," Nietzsche says:—

> Ye fancy that ye will have a long rest ere your second birth takes place—but do not deceive yourselves! 'Twixt your last moment of consciousness and the first ray of the dawn of your new life no time will elapse—as a lightning flash will the time go by, even though living creatures think it is millions of years....

True enough—if we grant the continuity of the *selfsame* consciousness, with memory, in the infinite concatenation of duplicate existences. But this is the vital consideration we need not and in fact cannot grant. Well indeed might Nietzsche have turned pale at the thought if his concept had been correct! For an eternal recurrence of conscious existences—of the *selfsame* consciousness—in a universe essentially irrational, hostile and more or less disagreeable, with no possibility of escape from the prison of infinity, so to speak—this were indeed the last word in tragedy.

But we may spare ourselves any anxiety. There are no grounds whatever, intuitive or rational, upon which to base agreement with Nietzsche in this concept. The complete absence of any memory of any previous existence of our consciousness in the infinite chain is an adequate antidote to the startling assumption of Nietzsche; for without *memory* in the chain every horror, every unpleasantness that might otherwise be connected with it becomes nil. The point of vital importance—which appears to have been overlooked by Nietzsche—is that *duplicates* of an existence, albeit perfectly exact, if they exist, are not by any means *identical* with that existence. In space and in time they are as separate and distinct as the most dissimilar existences.

But we may ask, not only whether exact duplication of any existence is scientifically or empirically verifiable, but whether or not it may be regarded as possible. Its impossibility is assumed by some commentors; but, I believe, upon inadequate grounds. In this connection, Nietzsche says:—

> If we grant eternal time, we must grant the eternal change of matter....Whatever state this world [and of course all existences in it] could have reached must ere now have been already attained, and not only once but an infinite number of times....At this moment an infinity has already elapsed, that is to say, every possible evolution must already have taken place. Consequently the present process of evolution must be a repetition, as was also the one before it, as will also be the one which will follow. And so on, forwards and backwards.

In the absence of any evidence of any nature to the contrary, and in view of the essential rationality of this hypothesis, I personally agree with Nietzsche. No matter if the emergence in evolution of any *possible* existence should require a trillion sextillions of centuries, as we measure time, it must be borne in mind that this period has elapsed an infinite number of times already, and must elapse an infinite number hereafter. This is of course in strict consonance with the hypothesis of infinite time—and there is no legitimate contrary hypothesis.

Thus it is obvious that to comprehend the idea of eternal recurrence at all it is emphatically necessary to bear constantly in mind the meaning of *infinity*. We are unable to conceive of infinity, but we may easily conceive of its possibility or *necessity*. To approach a proper conception, let us assume that an exact duplication of a given existence on our planet is possible and actual, but that the nearest exact duplicate exists, say, a sextillion light-years distant; that another duplicate existed a sextillion millenniums ago at a point in space distant from the present location of the given existence a sextillion times the distance just mentioned: assuming even this unnecessarily-extreme sparseness of duplicates, by the same token we assume the *infinite* duplication of the given existence in both space and time. For we may logically say that there is an infinity of infinities in space and time, in consonance with the idea of eternal recurrence; and the terms I have employed to set forth distances and periods of time are obviously of no greater significance in spatial or temporal infinity than a fraction of an inch or a single instant, respectively.

Here it will no doubt be objected by some members of the relativistic school that, unfortunately for eternal recurrence, there is no infinite spatial or temporal extension—that the universe is "finite but unbounded." What shall we say of this late hypothesis? Personally, I am almost infinitely removed from agreement with the relativists in this idea. I consider it so far beneath eternal recurrence in significance and in rational or intuitive validity as to relegate it to oblivion by comparison. The so-called "analogy" between the experiences of a two-dimensional being on a spherical surface and those of a three-dimensional being on the "surface" (if you please) of space-time, much resorted to by defenders of this hypothesis as evidence—or as an aid to conception—of the "universal finiteness," is mere empty rhetoric, there being not even a remote possibility of an analogy in the case. Those who have due regard for what we may call rational and logical actualities in space-time may do well to leave the distinct mathematicians to their juggleries. As Professor Einstein admits, there may not be any practical means of proving that some mathematical equations are borne out in the spatial universe; and in fact some of the most sweeping hypotheses of Einstein have not been, and apparently never will be, so borne out.

It seems to be perfectly logical and rational, however, to postulate the infinite duplication of any possible existence on the very simple ground that the original existence itself has emerged in evolution. Can we do otherwise than conclude, with Nietzsche, that the number of states and qualities of existence is necessarily limited, and that, being so, they must be repeated endlessly in the cycles of evolution? Like causes producing like effects; and the number of possible causes being limited, as it appears we are forced to conclude, then their repetition must be taken for granted as a matter of course; and the resultant effects, obviously, are likewise repeated. (That "effects" are also "causes," and vice versa, in macrocosmic concepts, is borne in mind). But even the limited number of possible existences in space-time comprises such a vast variety of states and qualities as to be practically incalculable, and hence must be regarded as virtually equivalent to infinity, but not actually so. In this connection, it may be helpful to remember the millions of combinations possible even to the fifty-two units of a deck of playing-cards, and that the total is no doubt infinitesimal relative to the possible varieties of existence emerging in evolution.

If it could be proved, however, that the states and qualities of existences were *not* limited, this would not disprove eternal recurrence, inasmuch as infinite duplication would still be possible.

It follows from the foregoing, as an inescapable postulate, if the fundamental idea of eternal recurrence be held valid, that there are also infinite duplications of the gradations of near-duplication. For instance, if there are infinite, exact duplicates of *ourselves* in space-time, there are also infinite duplicates of beings who are exactly like us in every particular save one—their crania are not exactly the same shape as ours, and so on, *ad infinitum!* Is this a *reductio ad absurdum?* By no means. It is a strictly logical and rational development of the idea of eternal recurrence.

If, however, it be contended that of the approximately two billions of humans on earth, no two of them are exactly alike, we may reply that this theory is neither proved nor practically provable: that, further, even if it were proved, this would have little or no significance in disproving eternal recurrence, since a mere two billion existences is too trivial a number to have much weight when considered in relation to an infinity of numbers.

As a further consideration for those who deny the possibility of such duplication, it is generally recognized that there is even some truth in the old adage that "history repeats itself." It never does so *exactly,* of course, in our very limited experience of a few thousand years; but if there may be observed *essential* repetition in such a brief period of time, what shall we say of the possibilities in eternity? Given an unlimited series of historical eras, of any given outstanding features, and exact repititions must inevitably follow—an infinite number of times. And let it be steadily borne in mind that the periods of time elapsing between such repetitions—no matter how stupendous—are absolutely negligible. There might be no exact repetition in a quadrillion years—*no matter;* it would follow after another second in eternity—a sextillion centuries.

Once we accept the idea of eternal recurrence, there are some further interesting consequences. One is that the "becoming God" of Bergson, Bernard Shaw, Professor Alexander, and other moderns, must be eliminated from the calendar. Another—and more interesting, perhaps—is that the "running down" universe of Sir James Jeans, *et al,* is halted.

Taking these hypotheses in order: what is a "becoming God"? He is a consideration intimately bound up with the universe—part and parcel of its evolution; but in a manner that is not very clear, except perhaps in the minds of His advocates. It appears that in their conceptions, this embryonic God is now undergoing a process of evolution somewhat similar to—or identical with—the process being undergone by man. He is not, strictly, a *God* at this time, but will ultimately attain Godhood. This is not the same idea as Nietzsche's superman, since this evolutionary product would not embody any attribute of the supernatural.

The fatal point in connection with this idea is that if Godhood were possible, it would already have been attained once—or an infinite number of times in the past eternity. And we have no legitimate excuse whatever for the absurd notion that if Godhood had ever been once attained, it would ever have relinquished its lofty estate—stepped down, as it were, but into impotence and oblivion in order that the stupendous drama might be repeated. Or were all past Gods so puny as to have been forced to such an ignominious fate? Then they could not have enjoyed the common theistic attribute of "omnipotence." It appears that the "becoming God" is but a negligible fancy, announced by those whose conceptions of the universe and its mysterious career through eternity are rather restricted; or, if they have ever considered eternal recurrence, they must either reject it or fail to understand it.

Now, as to the idea held by Jeans and others, that the potential energy of the universe is limited, and that at some remote future date all this energy will have been expended, and that the curtain will then descend upon the universal drama for the rest of eternity—this is similar to the "becoming God" hypothesis in its limited conceptions. Rather tragic—this idea, that the universe is entitled only to *one* dance, and, finishing it, must sit down in utter exhaustion forever!

Not so, says Nietzsche:—

> The time in which universal energy works its changes is infinite—that is to say, energy remains eternally the same and eternally active. . . But it is not able eternally to create new forms, it must repeat itself: that is my conclusion.

And must, in my opinion, be the inescapable conclusion of any strictly logical and rational consideration of the problem. The truth seems to be that Sir James and his confreres are yet more or less befuddled by the idea of supernatural "creation." On that hypothesis, indeed, the universe might ultimately "run down" and expend all of its energy into absolute impotence—provided that its creator, then existent, should ordain such a catastrophe. But, as so frequently is the case, a proper premise at the bottom of this hypothesis is lacking.

However, if Sir James is no gargantuan philosopher, he is at any rate an excellent astronomer; and we may have patience with his philosophy while delighting in his astronomy. And in considering the Nietzschean aspect of eternal recurrence, we may well remember the philosopher's essentially poetic and rhapsodic temperament, and excuse him for his error. Certainly this error need *not* be attributed in any degree to psychopathic degeneration, as by certain of Nietzsche's biased and more or less superficial critics: the idea first occurred to him long before the production of *Thus Spake Zarathustra,* and in a period of his keenest perspicacity.

Finally, whatever the doctrine of eternal recurrence may mean to us, and whether or not it may affect our practical lives in any respect—and it need not do so, except so far as it may broaden our views of the universe in which we exist—we may rest assured that it is no trivial metaphysical air-castle, and that, indeed, it is a far more rational and dignified hypothesis than some others which even in very recent times have been offered to our highest civilized human beings and have been accepted by them almost without question as very truths.

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