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HE CONQUERED FRANCE BUT SLOWLY

The Long, Hard Battle of Shakespeare's Fame to Overcome the

Wall of Prejudice Erected By Voltaire

Written for THE NEW YORK TIMES

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HAT Shakespeare was wholly unknown in France during the century of Louis XIV. is nothing that need astonish, since ignorance of all foreign affairs was so complete and so patent that a contemporary could write acetiously that in the estimation of the Parisians everything outside of their counry "ate hay and walked on four feet." Diligent search has, however, revealed that wo copies of his works existed in the ountry. One was in the King's library, he catalogue of which was completed in 684, and was recorded as follows: "Will Shakespeare, poeta anglicus, operae poetica contenentia tragedias, comoedias et his-toriolas Angle, London, Th. Cotes, 1632, fo."

In Prévost's "Memoirs" a considerable part la devoted to England and her literary men. "I have witnessed several of their framas," he writes, " and they seem not inferior to the Greek and the French ones. even venture to say that they would surpass them if their poets put more regu-larity in them." He had seen "Hamlet" and plays by other writers, and found in-

From the above it will be seen that, contrary to general belief. Voltaire was not the first to call the attention of the French to that, as far as the public was concerned, It remained densely ignorant of the very existence of the poet until the famous "Philosophical Letters," or "Letters About both titles—called attention to the fact that beyond the Channel there lived a playwright of whom the English thought as much as did the French of Racine Corneille, or Mollère. The little book appeared in French in 1734.

What shocked Voltaire on first acquaint nce with Shakespeare was his total displace, and action. That a dramatic action should occupy more than the regulation twenty-four hours was considered bad; that it should take several years was simchanges of place from act to act, and even from scene to scene, the bloodshed, the use of violent, gross, or even familiar language in a serious play, all disturbed Voltaire beyond belief, accustomed as he was to the uniform loftiness of speech, decorum in form, and refinement in manners of the French tragedy. Yet in spite of all their unpardonable faults those "monstrous tragedies" never bored, always interested. This Voltaire attributed to flashes of genius in the untutored Elizabethan, who, so Voltaire thought, wrote in a barbarous age for a rude crowd. Had he but lived in more civilized times those "monstrous farces" would have become beautifully polished and highly decorous tragedies in five acts and regular rhymed alexandrines.

He proceeded at once to add to his own tragedles some of the things he admired most in the British plays, namely, action, His innovations color, picturesqueness. were timid, indeed, judged by modern standards; but he knew the temper of his countrymen, and that they considered their own dramatic masterpleces perfect. He adapted "Julius Caesar" to the French taste, and called it the "Death of Caesar"; he introduced ghosts in several of his plays, and wrote tragedies without love. The best of his dramas, "Zaire," if not imitated from "Othello," bears at least a remarkable resemblance to it.

All his life he was haunted as much by Shakespeare as by the fear that the French people should know him too well and admire him. He put ghosts in "Eriphyle," which is of 1732, and in "Semiramis," of 1748. In doing so he recalled his model, and admitted the beauty of that device in Hamlet." Yet he could not help adding that "Hamlet" was "a coarse and barbarous play which would not be tolerated by the lowest rabble of France or Italy." 1746 the public knew of Shakespeare only what Voltaire had told them. But things were going to change. In that year appeared the first installment of a so-called translation by Laplace, which was to be complete in four volumes.

The translation was a great success, and Voltaire was not satisfied. Why were not the French content with what he had told them about that dead Englishman? He had given them the soliloquy of Hamlet and two scenes from "Julius Caesar," with a suitable appreciation of the poet's genius. That should have been enough. Through the very imperfect rendering of Laplace Shakespeare began to arouse interest, and those who divined his greatness from the available fragments began to utter the opinion that perhaps the native tragedy might not be the ultimate expression of dramatic art. Voltaire was scandalized, perhaps in all sincerity, but perhaps, also, because his own supremacy was questioned by implication. But the worst was yet in store for him.

In 1760 there appeared in the Journal Encyclopédique an anonymous article which was given as a translation from the English. In it a parallel was drawn be-tween Shakespeare and Cornellic. Both writers were called the fathers of dra-matic poetry in their respective countries. Both were called great in their way, but still the crown was given to Shakespeare, Who was said to be the mirror of nature in which all traits of the human soul are reflected as perfectly as the features of the countenance are displayed in the glass of an ordinary mirror," was that "Shakespeare was incontestably

a great poetic genius, and Corneille an ex-

cellent dramatic poet." That was more than Voltaire could stand, He forthwith composed an appeal to all the nations of Europe to decide the mo-mentous question of superiority between the English stage and the French. The very idea of such a procedure was absurd enough, but the manner in which it was proposed was the acme of absurdity. All the world knew the French classic writers. and practically no one knew Shakespeare. But Voltaire would furnish Europe the means of knowing him. He gave a fairly detailed account of "Hamlet," a dozen passages being translated into French prose, each accompanied by depreciatory comments. Besides these he gave what Laplace, out of a natural sense of pro-priety, had omitted from his version of "Othelio," but what Voltaire considered essential for a true appreciation of the whole



Jean Mounet-Sully of Hamlet



Constant Coquelin as Petruchio in The Taming of the Shrew

work, namely, the coarse speech of lago announcing the flight of Desdemona with the Moor. On such evidence was intellectual Europe to base its verdict, and to such childish, not to say contemptible, means did a great genius stoop in order to

belittle a dead rival From that time on Voltaire let no occasion pass by to attack him, never with sound critical judgment, but with abuse. To Samuel Johnson's reference to his unfair strictures as "petty cavils of petty minds" Voltaire replied that he did not wish to suspect Johnson "of being a sorry jester too fond of wine, but that he finds it a little extraordinary that he should count buffconery and drunkenness among the beauties of the tragic theatre." And again he quotes some offensive passages or, from the French viewpoint, absurd sit-uations, made worse by his blunders and willful distortions. He kept up the fight to the end of his long life. In spite of him, however, Shakespeare gained in favor on the Continent. In Germany he was played and much admired. In France discontent with the classic rules became more pronounced from day to day, and Voltaire felt that literature was going to the dogs. "We are in the mire," he wrote in 1767, and three years later: "I have been told of a tragedy in prose which, it is said, will meet with success. That is the finishing stroke given to the fine arts." The old man was genuinely distressed at the threatened downfall of a dramatic system in which he had gained renown after his great masters, Cornellie and Racine, and at the growing popularity of the foreign intruder, who was to his mind at the antipodes of good

Of this hated author's works France was to have at last a complete translation. In 1776 Letourneur began it with two vol-umes containing "Othello," "The Tempest." "Julius Caesar," a dedication to the King, and a long preface. The first volume gave a list of 800 aubscribers, including the most illustrious people of France and of the rest of Europe. It was stated in the preface that Shakespeare had been slandered and misrepresented, either through malice or ignorance. The comparison made between him and the greatest French dramatists turned out decidedly

Voltaire, seeing that his appeal to the nations had brought no results, now had recourse to the supreme judgment of the Academy. His state of mind is sufficiently adicated by the letter he wrote to his friend, d'Argental, who was to transmit his appeal to the august body to which both belonged. On July 19, 1776, he wrote to him: "I must tell you how angry I am * * * against a man named Tourneur * * Have you read two volumes of this wretch? * * There are two volumes which one would imagine to be pieces to be played at the fair. * * Have you read this abominable stuff of which we are to have five more volumes? Do you feel sufficient detestation for this impudent fool? * * * The blood boils in my old veins. * * * What is frightful is that the monster has a following in France. and to fill the measure of my chagrin it was I who first long ago spoke of this Shakespeare. I it was who first showed the French a few pearls I found in that huge dunghill. I did not then think that some day I was to help trample under foot the crown of Corneille and Racine in order to adorn the brow of a barbarous mounte-

That letter was a prelude to the me-morial he addressed to the Academy. His object was to show up Shakespeare to that eminent body "in all his abominable and incredible vileness." "The main thing," he wrote again to d'Argental. "is to inspire the nation with the disgust and detestation it ought to feel for buffoon Letourneur, extoller of buffoon Shakespears." His denunciation was read before the Academy and duly approved. It was the official sanction placed upon the unworthiness of

ne foreign author. Meanwhile Letourneur went on unconcerned with his great undertaking, and brought it to a successful termination. It is still a readable though an imperfect translation. He helped to a truer appreciation of Shakespeare, if he did not actually promote his popularity. This was mainly accomplished by another man who did not

know a word of English, namely, Ducis. Already in 1769 he made a French adapta-tion of "Hamlet" in the familiar classic style, five acts in alexandrines. It was a tame affair, and recalled the original only remotely, for all he knew of Shakeapeare he got out of the fragments of Laplace. 'Romeo," "Othello," and other pieces were similarly handled, although later on he took Letourneur for his source.

The public's distorted conception of the English master was due then in part to Voltaire, who hated him, and in part to Ducis, who loved him well but not wisely This lasted through the French Revolution, through the reign of Napoleon through part of the Restoration period Ducis's adulterations were followed by others. In 1816 there appeared an adaptation of "Hamlet" as a pantomime with music by Gallenberg; in 1817 "The Visions of Macbeth," or "The Witches of Scotland," melodrama with grand spectacle; in 1818 The Moor of Venice, or Othello," pantomime with dialogue and dances. To the public's mind Shakespeare was a kind of egendary purveyor of popular and sensational dramas. The few who knew better were unable to get a hearing. Besides, Laharpe, Voltaire's friend and disciple, was the only critic whose writings were studied in schools, and Laharpe, who did not know a word of English, shared Voltaire's views and prejudices in nearly all respects,

In 1819 Merle, manager of the Porte Saint Martin Theatre, visited England, and came back full of enthusiasm for the stage of that country; and when, in 1822, there landed an English company in Paris, he hastened to conclude with its manager, Penley, a contract for a series of six performances The Liberal papers announced the news in words which betrayed uneasiness on their The Constitutionnel noted some persons find strange that foreign productions should be offered in Paris; yet why fear comparison? Mollère has never yet found an adversary worthy of himself." The Album concluded its announcement of the coming event with the ominous words: "Look out for fun."

The English company was to make its

Sarah Bernhardt as Hamlet

placed all over Paris announcing that: "By His Britannic Majesty's most humble servants will be performed the tragedy of 'Othello' in five acts by the most celebrated Shakespeare." Such an announcement was sure to be unwelcome to a considerable section of the Paris population, those who worshipped Napoleon and hence hated the English, and those who feared

Shakespeare première in Paris was a dis-tinct success. Every seat was sold, and ruge crowds had to be refused admittance. From the moment the actors uttered the first words laughter arose in various parts of the house at the strange sounds never before heard on a Parislan stage. Soon the French equivalent for hissing; soon rotten apples, bad eggs, and pennies came raining down on the stage. The editor of a Royalist paper tried to rebuke the disturbers and to obtain fair play for the visitors. Missiles found their way to his box and he was ordered out of the theatre were thoroughly frightened. In order to cut their ordeal short it was decided to lump from the middle of the third act to the fifth. But the choking of Desdemona was hardly calculated to calm that now

Had the performance lasted a little longer the house would have been wrecked. As it was, the spectacle ended in a tumult and amid the cries of "Down with Shakespeare. He is a henchman of Wel-The theatre was, however, wrecked two days later when another attempt was made by the Penley company.

During the years following many things occurred to prepare at least a fair hearing for Shakespeare. Canning, once an enemy of France, had become a friend. In 1822 and 1823 Stendhal published two pamphlets, entitled "Racine" and "Shakespeare." Armed with his gharp and deft pen and a complete disregard of tradition and authority, he set about demolishing pseudo-classic productions, and sapped the very foundations of the tragedy, according to Racine and Voltaire, by calling the alexandrine a cloak for nonsense. He was a true disciple of Voltaire when it came to killing with those terrible weapons, epigram, sarcasm, ridicule. Youth admires rebels, and it was to the young that Stendhal appealed, for, said he, "how are we to convince men of 50 who find Zamore of Voltaire's 'Alzire' natural and brilliant, that Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' is one of the masterpieces of the human mind?" In 1825 the most talented and learned critic of the day, Villemain, wrote a culogy of Shakespeare in the "Biographie Universelle," while the year before was founded an excellent journal which was from its very inception to start a systematic campaign for the reform of the stage under the auspices of Shakespeare. It bore the significant name of Le Globe. The classics still resisted, but they were less aggressive, and hardly a match for Stendhal and the Globe.

For all the above reasons the chances were in favor for the renewed effort to present Shakespeare which was made in The Globe was jubliant at hearing that a company under the management of Yates was to come and settle for some time In Paris. Other papers announced the com-

ing event with veiled or open hostility. The performances, given at first at the Odéon, the second national theatre, were highly successful from the start. The first one was given on Sept. 6, 1827. It was a gala affair, at which all social, literary, and artistic Parls was present. One of the actors recited a prologue in English and made a little speech in bad French, both of which were received with much approval. On Sept. 11 " Hamlet " was performed with Charles Kemble in the leading rôle. The Globe was happy. In its criticism it wrote: Let us congratulate ourselves for this event as for a victory. Art has crowned its work. Hamlet has at last appeared on the French stage in all his truth, and he has made his appearance amid unanimous applause." Between Sept. 6, 1827, and



Cappiello's carton of Bernhardt as Hamlet

July 25, 1828, "Hamlet" was given seven times, "Romeo and Juliet" and "Othello" live times, "King Lear," "Macbeth," and Richard III." three times, and " The Merchant of Venice" six times. English comedies and dramas by other authors were pre-sented, the most popular being "Jane Shore," which was given thirteen times.

Kemble, Kean, and Macready, the three greatest tragic actors of England, were seen in turn in Paris; of them Macready scored the most genuine success. Kean, though still comparatively young, was in his decline, while his rival was near the senith of his powers. It would be interesting and indicative to reticions made by the leading. the criticisms made by the leading ner papers of the day, but space forbids this here. Perhaps the following from the Figare of Oct. 10, 1827, will do as a suming up of the results achieved: "The genius of Shakespeare has triumphed over the old prejudices of the French Nation"; and this from the Debats, the mouthpiece of the ultra classicists: "As long as there will be place left for a superior genius, it will be assigned to Shakespeare." Nothing could henceforth be more obvious to the French than the fact that England had at least one great dramatist. During the month of December, 1829, alone the Odéon, threatened with bankruptey, saved itself by presenting translations of "Ham-let," "Macbeth," and "The Merchant of Perhaps the greatest triumph Venice." was that the Comedie Française, the stronghold of classicism, performed de Vigny's translation of "Othello" in Octo-

The effect of the Shakespeare perform ances of 1827-28 on the men of letters then coming prominently to the fore was very great. Charles Nodier was the acknowledged leader among the younger set of poets and artists, although he was already man of middle age. He had never seen the real Shakespeare performed. He witnessed the première of "Hamlet" at the To one of his friends he whispered "Ah! there at last is tragedy for you! He wrote in the Mercure, No. 10: "The establishment of the English theatre in Paris is one of the events of our times, one those events the importance of which will be only fully appreciated by its results. * * The results have judged the cause. Shakespeare has become for us a conquest * * * more enduring than war. with its pillage and blood, could bring us."

The author of "Victor Hugo; Told by a Witness of His Life," writes: "These admirable dramas, admirably played, moved Mr. V. Hugo profoundly. He was at that time writing his preface to 'Cromwell'. They filled him with enthusiasm for this god of the theatre, in whom seemed united in one trinity the three great geniuses of our stage, Cornellie, Mollère, and Beau marchais."

Artists did not escape the effects of their contact with the real Shakespears. Deverla and Boulanger made a souvenir album with scenes taken from the different plays performed. The classic painter Ingres placed Shakespeare's image in his "Cortege of Homer," timidly it is true, and close to the frame of the picture, which now hangs in the Louvre. Delacroix, the greatest painter of the romantic period, was obsessed by Shakespeare, whom he studied all his life, as is borne out by his journal.

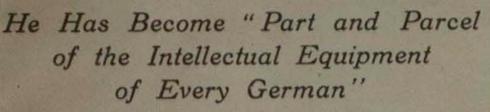
But the one who came most deeply under the great playwright's influence was Ber-He had rend and admired him in Letourneur's translation. He idolized him the moment he saw him interpreted by Miss Smithson. Years afterward he wrote about his experience: "When Shakespeare fell upon me so unexpectedly, I was thunderstruck. His lightning flashes opening the heaven of art with a subilme tumult. illumined for me the farthest depths. 1 recognized true grandeur, true beauty, true dramatic truth. I realized at the same time the enormous absurdity of the ideas spread in France by Voltaire. . I lived must rise and go forward." Shakespeare became the inspirer of the music of Berlios and of his life, and the pathetic and dolorous pages he devotes to the memory of his wife are a monument to the Ophelia of his younger years, but also an apotheosis of the poet to whom he owed the purest and most enduring joys of his restless life. Copyright, 1916, by The New York Times Company.

BUT GERMANY MADE A NATIONAL IDOL OF HIM



Othello

Vet I'll not shed her blood; Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow, And smooth as monumental algebrater Evert Jansen Wendell



Written for THE NEW YORK TIMES

By Rita Hochheimer

NE result of the present war, wheth-er for good or ill, is the increased national consciousness of all the belligerents. Even we, in the security and dispassionateness with which our distance from the theatre of war should endow us, are apt to regard our brothers across the seas as Allies or Teutons, losing sight of the common bond of human sympathy that should unite us all. Small wonder, then, that this misconcep-tion has been carried over from the stormy realm of political activity to the field of literary criticism. It is to this false perspective that we can most charitably useribe the tenor of Shak-spears principles which have lately been appearing in English publications. When The London Dally Mail purports to give a German viewpoint. and says: "All good things are German; Shakespeare is a good thing, therefore Shakespeare is German," or that the Gerlike a hostile province," it presents a perverted truth to its readers.

Painted by H. Hofmann

As a matter of fact, Shakespeare has been long appreciated and loved. I had nearly said idolized and worshipped, in Germany as in England. Shakespeare's transcendent genius belongs to no one nation. To attempt to narrow his sphere of influence is comparable to trying to keep the Bible from becoming the literary possession of any people except the Hebrews. It has for generations irrevocably entered into the literary life of every nation. The fact is there. To attempt to narrow its influence now simply exhibits our own ignorance. So with Shakespeare. His plays have become part and parcel of the intellectual equipment of every German. This is the fact Let us not quibble over it, but rather rejoice in the greatness of this genius, who

has won such complete recognition. I said Shakespeare has long been known and loved in Germany. Nay, more, he has become a very wellspring of inspiration to the Germans, who regard him since Schiller's time-the middle of the eighteenth century-as "our Shakespeare." His influence is apparent throughout German literature, and to a less extent in the other arts. Let us see how far this is true.

The Shakespearean plays were first intro-

duced into Germany toward the end of the sixteenth century, at about the same time that they were being performed in Drury Lane and Blackfriars in London. But the German stage was still in its infancy. There were no theatres—the plays which had been provided to the stage of the s had been previously given were presented by troupes of wandering players on the village green or in the taverns. Often apprentices and schoolboys took part. The plays themselves had been crude affairs. plays themselves had been crude affairs, often perverted versions of Church legends and Bible stories. Their purpose was either merely to amuse the audience, often by obscene and ribald jests, or to "point a moral or adorn a tale." Into this atmosphere bands of English players brought Shakespeare's plays, together with those of other contemporary English dramatists. There was no question of patriotism involved in ers were invited to cross the Channel by various German Princes, and came because they saw in so doing an opportunity of earning money. Their coming, however, familiarized the German people with the stories of Shakespeare's plays. To be sure, these were often presented in a much mangled form. Still the foundation was laid at this time for the later truer understanding and appreciation of our great poet in Ger-This at a time when France, entirely oblivious to Shakespeare's existence. was still subservient to classical antiquity. and when England herself had not by any means accorded him the undisputed place he holds today.

The real recognition of Shakespeare's genius in Germany dates from the eighteenth century. With the translation of twenty-two of Shakespeare's plays by Christian Martin Wieland in 1762 we have the beginning of the "Shakespeare cult," which has permeated all German life and thought. In 1773 Johann Gottfried Herder published his essay on Shakespeare. Here Shakespeare was halled as the great "translator of nature into all tongues," whose God-given genius must eventually be



Lady Macbeth. All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Painted by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, Munich

recognized. He is described as " seated on a rocky summit, with storm and tempest and the raging ocean at his feet, his head encircled by the radiance of heaven."

Although Herder recognized Shakespeare's greatness, it remained for Gotthold the rightful heritage of all men of all

nations. Aside from Lessing's critical appreciation "the greatest dramatist of the North (to quote Herder) and Herder's own emphasis upon Shakespeare's aesthetic supremacy, the really remarkable transla-tion of his works by August Wilhelm von Schlegel, and his less gifted collaborator, Ludwig Tieck, has had the greatest influence in bringing Shakespeare home to the German people. Schlegel has entered into the spirit of the original in such a sympathetic manner that even the harshest critic can accuse him of but few inaccuracies. And yet, as Menzel in his Shakespeare picture has subfly Germanized the great Briton, so Schlegel has produced a work that of and for itself is and must remain a German classic. It is this remarkable achievement of the translator's art that has made possible what is a most astounding fact-there are more Shakespearean plays produced in Berlin in normal times than in any other capital. There is hardly a German city of any size where Shakespeare is not part of the regular répertoire; hardly a village where there is not at least one Shakespearean play a year. At the opening of the present war there was a group of people in Berlin who wished to have all Shakespeare productions stopped, I have been told, but the demand of the public for them was so great that they had to be resumed. The repertoire of our German theatre in New York includes Shakespeare's plays, and they have probably been presented more often during the war than before. The situation in regard to giving them up is quite analogous to that arising from the suggestion made at the opening of the war

phatically the public refused to countenance such a procedure.

Alexander Moissi Hamlet.

I have spoken of Herder's appreciation of Shakespeare. This appreciation he communicated to the supreme genius of the German nation, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who as a young man was largely guided by the older Herder. Goethe's correspondence and Eckermann's Boswellian biography of Goethe bear testimony to the German poet's debt to Shakespeare. In one place he says: "Shakespeare gives us golden apples in silver dishes. I should not dare to compare myself to Shakespeare, · · · who was a creature of a higher order, whom I must look up to and whom I must revere. Shakespeare * * * has sounded the whole of human life, in all its heights and depths."

The influence of Shakespeare on Goethe is further noticeable in the latter's works. His first drama was "Goetz von Berlichingen," in which, following the great English dramatist, he emphasized feeling rather than mere beauty of form. This marks a break with the French models, which had up to Lessing's time been held as the accepted standard for German playwrights. This play, like Schiller's early drama, "The Robbers," clearly shows Shakespeare's influence. In fact, this whole period of German literature does so. In this statement we may include Klinger's play, " Storm and Stress," which has given its title to the emphasis on feeling which characterizes all

In the later works of Goethe and Schiller we can also discover likenesses to Shakespeare, although he does not so completely carry them away in maturity, as he did in their youth. One can hardly read Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell" without recognizing its similarity to "Julius Caesar." Maid of Orleans" recalls " Henry VI." Valentine's duel in Goethe's "Faust" brings to mind Tybalt's duel, while Margarethe's melancholy after her desertion by Faust is of the same stuff as Ophelia's in "Ham-Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship" contains an analysis of "Hamlet" that has become classical. In the same work, one of the characters, on reading Shakespeare for the first time, ex-

"I cannot recollect that any book, any man, any incident of my life has produced such important effects on me as these preclous works. The strength and tenderness, the power and peacefulness of this man, have so astonished and transported me that I long vehemently for the time when I shall have it in my power to read further. * * * All the anticipations I have ever had regarding man and his destiny, which have accompanied me from youth upward, often unobserved by myself, I find developed and fulfilled in Shakespeare's writings." How

But there are others who, since the days of Goethe and Schiller, the great twin



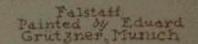
Rudolf Schildkraut Shylock

stars in the firmament of German litera-ture, are indebted to the "British Titan," as Heinrich Heine has characterized the Bard of Avon. Heine, in his essay on Shakespeare's women, has summed up the situation when he likens him to the first German Emperor, who, you will remember, was chosen such by all the ruling German Princes and Kings. He says: "A glittering array of literary kings, one after the other, raised their voices, and chose William Shakespeare as the emperor of liter-

To mention a few of the modern Germans who have shown their appreciation for Shakespeare, we find Paul Heyse, Otto Ludwig, and Ludwig Fulda. The first of the three has written a drama called "The Island," based on Shakespeare's "Tem Heyse himself says of his earliest play. " Francesco da Rimini," " its style, to be sure, still shows my dependence on that inevitable model, Shakespeare."

Otto Ludwig has left us but little original work by which we may judge how profoundly Shakespeare influenced him, but all the last years of his life, while he lay on his invalid's couch, he was an eager student of the great English dramatist. We may almost say that in Shakespeare alone Otto Ludwig was able to lose sight of his bodily allments and infirmities.

Ludwig Fulda, our German contemporary, who visited New York only a few years ago, must speak for himself. He says: "He [Shakespeare] has become not only a guest at the threshold of our culture, but has been granted the rights and privileges of the completest citizenship. Shakespeare



has become our Shakespeare, a German post of whom we are as fond as of our own great men, and from whose works countiess single passages and expressions have become part and purcel of the intel-lectual inheritance of the German nation." Nor does this intellectual inheritance con-

Nor does this intellectual inheritance confine itself to literature. Probably a greater percentage of Shakespeare music has been composed by Germana than by any other nation. Mendelssohn's musical version of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" is the classical example. Besides, we may mention Schumann's music for a song in "Tweifth Night" and his overiure to "Julius Caesar." Hans von Bülow is responsible for an "overture heroique" to "Julius Caesar," as well as a triumphal march intended for Caesar's entrance in the first act of the play. Weber's delightful setting to "Tell me where is fancy bred," from "The Merchant of Venice," is familiar to all music lovers. What is not generally known and is of interest in this connection is that Richard Wagner composed an opera based on "Measure for Measure."

In German art Shakespeare appears again and again, in the early nineteenth century, when German artists were painting whole series of pictures around one central theme, we find, together with Goethe galleries and Schiller galleries, Shakespeare galleries, that is, series of pictures illustrative of Shakespeare's plays. of these the most natable are the one by Wilhelm von Kaulbach and the later Bruckmann Shakespeare gallery, in which the greatest number of pictures is by Edward von Steinle. The German artist, Edward Grützner, has given us the classical portrayal of Falstaff. He has presented him to us in all his various pranks and adventures, and has managed to make of him such an engaging reason that one cannot be an engaging reason that one cannot be such as the suc such an engaging rascal that one cannot e angry with him. Anselm Feuert has painted Romeo and Juliet in the full beauty of their Italian home. Paul Thu-mann has illustrated "A Midsummer Night's Dream" and Gabriel Max " Mac-

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the deep root Shakespeare has taken in this foreign soil is the existence of the German Shakespeare Society, founded in 1864. The learned men of this association aim to increase and stimulate the study of Shakespeare in Germany, together with the presentation of his plays on the German stage. Each year they publish a Year Book con-taining valuable Shakespeareana.

Let us then realize that Shakespeare is to the German Nation no "hostile province." On the contrary, German critics above all others have for generations appreciated and loved our Shakespeare. Let us join with them in this appreciation, so that Shakespeare may truly become what he has been called by the French critic, Emile Faguet-" the man of all humanity-hu-

manity as it is to be." Copyright, 1918, by The New York Times Company

Was Lady Macbeth Intoxicated?

"Fleasures and Palaces." by Princess Lazarovich-Hrebellanovich of Serbia. (The Century Company.)

"HERE is in " Macbeth " almost a kind of grim, exalted comedy, such as Balzac meant in his expression, "La Comédie Humaine," where pity, too, has place. In the tragic poem of Macbeth, amid the strains of dirge for human frailty. amid the clamor of swords and shields, resound harsh notes like clash of strange wits, echoing the vanity of successful wrongdoing, the vain, outrageous arro-gance of the taker of life. Hecate prophetically flames this strident ridicule across the murky sky in the short, sharp measure of her exultant words that ring with demon's scorn and ironic laugh, ending:

And we all know, security is mortal's chiefest enemy!

If I had ever played Lady Macbeth in an ideal production of the piece, guided wholly by myself, I should have taken the part of Hecate, too, though in complete disguise. I cannot explain the value of this point, but it is clear to my inner soul. It has something to do with the identification of the spirit by which Lady Macbeth is possessed in answer to her invocation of that obsession in the hour when, drunk with ambition, she asks and obtains a temporary extension of the faculties, by which, in that intoxication of the imagination, she overleaps and overrides everything in her path. I think Shakespeare means her to be drunk in the murder hour; that is, drunk with ambition and the pictured greatness of the crown for Macbeth and herself. I think, too, he makes it clear that her mental exaltation in the hour of the deed is still further raised to the utmost pitch by a "wee drapple of the craythur," which sent the King's guards into heavy sleep. For hear her say, as if the eye of her soul were swollen by deadly nightshade and in the spirit of scornful Hecate; That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold: What hath quench'd them hath given me fire.

I used to enter the scene with a golden

goblet in my hand. Only when the deed is done and Hecate has ridden away across the moon does that fire begin to fall back out of her veins and the cold reality come down like snow-like an ice wind from the frozen world. Then, because she was in verity great, a proud and royal soul, the glorious palaced realms of the self-intoxicated mind utterly vanish and are gone, flown like witches in the night, and simple human truth remains, and takes her by all its bitter, stony way down to the tomb.

Shakespeare

Written for THE NEW YORK TIMES

By Philip B. Goetz

WHAT needs the master of eternal

phrase Our weak and tardy lauds as vain as

Naught gains he that in awe we thus

repeat Glibly the rote the meanest voice may

raise: Tis we win dignity who sound his praise,

Who in the brightness of his daring feet Learn where to follow for our thisving

Joy desperate lives in these after-lays, Unquickened had they slept had he ne'er

Yet master as he was, he saw not all. Nor all he said aye glows without a flaw; He from his height flashes no blinding law Save this, that fame yields never to a

thrall: True, free, unscared speaks the imperious tongue.

The Greatest Creator, After God Translated for The New York Times from Alexander S. Pushkin, (Russia's Greatest Poet.)

T was the study of Shakespeare and our history that are responsible for my conception of the idea of revising in the form of a drama one of the most dramatic periods in our history. In "Boris Godunoff" I imitated Shakespeare in his unconstrained and broad character draw-

Shakespeare felt for all humanity, and he was the creator of an entire humanity. After God, Shakespeare is the greatest creator of living beings. * * *

Shakespeare and the other English poets were first to discover and appreciate nature and its splendor. The French had to wait for Rousseau to find it out. Shakespeare has observed and described completely human nature, from its seed and root to its flowers, fruits, and Autumn leaves. There is not a single side to the human soul, mind, heart, human weaknesses, vices, and virtues which he has not

Shakespeare is not only a great poet, but a great philosopher. Not his verses, but his thoughts, should be studied. Goethethe Dante of Germany-owes much to

I did not read Calderon or Lope, but how magnificent is Shakespeare! As a trage-tian Byron is pitiable against him. Shakespeare is never afraid of compromising his characters. He makes them speak from the very beginning with all the abundance of life, because he is sure he will find words strong enough for the place and time to uphold them to the very end. The characters of Shakespeare are unlike those of Molière, which are typifications of certain passions, certain vices. They are living creatures, animated with many passions and many vices and virtues. The miser of Mollère is but a stingy, greedy person Shylock in Shakespeare is not only stingy, he is also shrewd, sagacious, revengeful, affectionate, ingenious.

Nowhere, perhaps, has the many-sidedness of Shakespeare been reflected in so many various ways as in Faistaff, whose vices, all linked together, form a funny, monstrous chain, similar to the ancient bacchanalia. Analyzing his character, we find that his chief feature is sensuality. In his youth, in all probabilities, rough and vulgar dangling after women was his best pastime. But he is past 50 already. He is fat and decrepit. Gluttony and wine have prevailed over Venus. Also, he is a cow-ard. But having passed his life amid scapegraces and loafers, subjected incessantly to their derision and tricks, he learned to conceal his cowardliness under an indirect and mocking daringness. He boasts by habit and calculation. He is not foolish, but has no principles at all. He has some manners of a person once used to good society. He is as weak as a woman. He needs strong Spanish wine, fat dinners, and money for his women. In ornot a real danger.

der to get these he will face anything, but In my youth accident brought me together with a man in whom nature, desiring to imitate Shakespeare, repeated his ingenious creation. It was Faistaff II., sensuous, cowardly, boastful, not foolish, funny, with no principles, tearful, and One circumstance added to him an original charm-he was married. Shakespears had no time to marry his bachelor. Falstaff died among his women, not having had time for becoming a cuckoid or a father of children. How many scenes lost to the brush of Shakespeare! Take, for instance, this one, from the life of Falstaff II.: His 4-year-old son, an exact reproduction of his father, a Faistaff III. in miniature, was once repeating these words in the absence

of his father: "How brave is papa! How much the Csar loves papa!" The child was overheard and asked, "Who told you that?" "Papa," was the answer.

Ephraim Lessing, the greatest critical mind Germany has produced, to proclaim this greatness throughout the length and breadth of Germany. The Germans at that time regarded the French writers, particularly Voltaire, as the models upon which they must pattern their literature. They had made veritable idols of them. With the sarcasm and wit of which he was a thorough master Lessing sought to tear down these false gods and to put in their stead Shakespeare, nature's child. Through Herder and Lessing the Germans have come to regard Shakespeare as the spokesman of nature, as the very embodiment of nature, and to revere him as the supreme master. All later German literature is permeated with this devotion to Shakespeare, no longer regarded as a foreigner be looked at askance, but as the embodiment of that great mother, nature,

that Wagner's operas be boycotted at the Metropolitan. You will remember how em-

the literary products of this time.

presses himself thus:

far this is autobiographical one can only

AND THROUGH HIM RUSSIA HAS FOUND HERSELF

S HAKESPEARE in Russia is not iden-tified with any certain period in Russia's spiritual development, but with the entire history of the Rus-sian stage and literature. Of all the great Western European minds who have exert-ed their influence on Russian thought, Shakespeare occupies the most peculiar place. Voltaire, Racine, Rousseau, Goethe, Schiller, and Byron have all had their days in Russia. Like meteors they have crossed suddenly the Russian horizons, illuminating the paths of Russia's intellectual progress. Not so with Shakespeare. In the dark seventeenth century he entered Russia and, step by step, growing in bright-ness, expanding in all directions, he devel-oped into the great luminary of today. Russia is now full of Shakespeare. Russia's soul is the Shakespearean soul. Rus-

sia's literature, art, music, philosophy, Russia's literature, art, music, philosophy, Russia's very political life, are permeated with the Shakespearean spirit.

In the dramas and lyrics of Pushkin, Russia's greatest poet, in the agonies of Dostoyevsky, in the philosophical and psychological quests of Turgenev and Tolerator, in the restlements and yearnings of payenological queets of Turgenev and for-stoy, in the restlessness and yearnings of Gorki and Andreyev, in the tunes of Tchaikovski, the impassioned art of Mot-chalov and Kommisarzhevskaya, Russia's greatest actors, the dramatic genius of Shakespeare has found its truest incarnation. There is not a race in humanity that is a better typification of the Hamlet of "To be or not to be" than the Russian. There are few, if any, nationalities that surpass the Russian in the depth of emosurpass the Russian in the depth of emo-tion stirred up by the raging passions of Othello or the heartrending tragedy of Romeo and Juliet. And what nation more than the Russian can boast of a profound understanding of Shylock, of a deep com-prehension of the sore problem of the Eter-

Shakespeare first appeared in Russia in the seventeenth century, when wandering troupes of English and German actors first touched Russia. Scenes from "King Lear" were included in their repertories. In the first decade of the eighteenth cenin the first decade of the eighteenth cen-tury a troupe of German actors presented in Petrograd before Peter the Great "A Comedy, Julius Caesar," doubtless an adap-tation of Shakespeare's tragedy. In 1748, the German actor Conrad Ackerman played in Petrograd a French adaptation of "Hamlet." Russian interest in Shakespeare dates from the same year. The beginning of a literature and the theatre in Russia belongs to the same period. At that time Russia was completely under the influence of France; her educated classes spoke French and worshipped Racine and Voltaire. The pseudo-classicism then dom-inating France was thus transferred to Russia. And for generations to come Rus-sian literature and art were merely blind

imitations of the French.

In 1748, A. Sumarokov, "the father of the Russian drama," published his "Hamlet, a tragedy by A. Sumarokov, printed by the Academy of Sciences." It was presented in 1750, and was, in fact, a translation of a French pseudo-classic adaptation of "Hamlet." In 1759 Dmitrievski, one of the founders of the Russian theatre, translated from the French "The Life and Death of King Richard III." In 1769 he made a journey to London, where Garrick made a journey to London, where Garrick acquainted him with the works of Shakespears. But the influence of the French was too powerful on him to make him deeply interested in Shakespeare. In 1769 the Russian periodical Adskaya Potchta printed the first review of Shakespeare in Russia. It was a consensus of Voltaire's notorious criticisms of the great dramatist. In 1772 N. I. Novikov, who shares with Dmitrievski the honor of being called "the parents of the Russian theatre." printed in his paper a translation of Romeo's monologue in the fifth act of "Romeo and Juliet." In 1783 a Russian version of Le Tourneur's adaptation of "The Life and Death of King Richard III." was pub-

An interesting page in the history of Shakespeare in Russia has been inscribed by Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia. She was a woman of literary aspirations. and wrote a number of plays and articles. Though she was a great admirer of Voltaire, with whom she corresponded for years, she became interested in Shakespeare. In 1786 she published a comedy in five acts, an imitation of "The Merry Wives of Windsor," entitled "This Tis to Have Linen and Buck-baskets! a free and loose adaptation from Shakespeare." This was the first play in Russia to bear the name of Shakespeare. Later the Empress published two plays based on Russian history, each of which bore the inscription: "An imitation of Shakespeare, a historical play, without conforming to the regular theatrical laws." This was an open revolt against the pseudo-classicism still dominating Russia, and only Catherine could dare do such a thing. It was an ominous warning to the pseudo-classicists, but it stimulated no desire in Russia to study Shakespeare and to seek new forms in art and literature. It was destined for Germany indirectly to open a new era in the Shakespearean development in Russia.

There was at this time a youth somewhere in Russia who was dreaming of great things. His name was Karamzine. the future famous historian of Russia. He was educated in Germany, and learned to regard contemptuously the French literature. He planned to translate Shakespeare into Russian from the original. In 1787 appeared his translation of "Julius Cae-sar," the first work of Shakespeare to be translated into Russian from the original. In his preface Karamzine said: "Shakespeare was one of those spirits whose fame lasts for ages. Time, the mighty destroyer of all, will never demolish the magnificent creations of Shakespeare." He defended Shakespeare from the "sophist" Voltaire. But Voltaire was the idol of Russia, while Karamzine was an unknown young man. He received little encouragement, and translated no more of Shakespeare. He. however, started the ball rolling. The press began to give translations of monologues from Shakespeare. The dramatist became frequently the subject of public discussion. In the world of Russian art and literature there appeared a small but strong group of admirers of Lessing, who took up the fight of liberating the drama from its pseudocinssicist shackles.

In 1792 the Zritel said: "The glorious Shakespeare put in his tragedies characters and actions that would degrade the lowest of farces; and though he compensated us at times with passages of sublime beauty. one can never approve of such methods. The beautiful in Shakespeare is like light-



French adaptation was published in Mos-

In the beginning of the nineteenth cent-ury the Russian Intellegentzia struck into Anglomania. This was the time when Alexander I. ascended the throne. The liberal Emperor was expected to grant a Constitution to Russia. The political and economical theories of Adam Smith were studied and widely discussed. The Magna Charta became the object of deep interest The press devoted columns to items on all phases of English life. The novels of Goldsmith. Young, Richardson, Fielding, Radcliffe, translated from the French, became very popular. Pseudo-classicism was on the decline, and romanticism began to replace it. The Russian public wanted Shakespeare, but not the true Shakespeare. It was not yet ripe for him. It wanted the pathetic, the sentimental, the tempestuous in Shakespeare. Ducis gave the French army of translators was soon at work, translating Ducis's Shakespeare into Russian. In 1806 "Othello" was for the firs' time presented on the Russian stage, but it was "Othello" à la Ducis. Such were also "King Lear," given at the Imperial Theatre in 1807, and "Hamlet," in 1817. Sept. 17 of the same year a Shakespearean opera was for the first time sung in Russia. was " Romeo and Juliet," music by D. Stelbert, the libretto being a translation from the French. In 1821 the ingenuous Prince A. Shachovskol presented in the Grand Theatre in Petrograd "The Tempest, or Shipwreck, a romantic fantaisle in three acts, taken from the works of Shakespeare." It had an enormous success. Prince Shachovskoi made numerous changes in the play, but preserved all its original beauty.

In the periodical literature, however, a more conscientious effort to study Shake-speare was being made. In 1802 there appeared in a magazine an article "On Tragedy," in which the works of the great dramatic poet were analyzed. The writer gives the first place to "The Tempest." the second to "A Midsummer Night's Dream." In an article "On Drama" the same writer, urging the reading of Shakespeare, says: "Kingdoms fall, generations vanish, mountains crumble away, monuments fall into ruins, but Shakespeare, Homer, and Ossian will live forever." dominating literary opinion was still anti-Shakespearean. In 1810 the editor of the Russki Vestnik reviewed "Romeo and Ju-Het" and "Othello," and expressed a rather unfavorable opinion of them. In 1811 the Vestnik Evropy derided the

Ghost in "Hamlet," and made fun of the whole play. On the other hand, the Dukh Zhurnalov printed in 1816 an article entitled "Comments of a Russian on Shakespeare, Schiller, and the best of the French dramatists." The writer challenged "the Messieurs French" to point out passages in their literature equal to the scenes between Hamlet and his mother or Brutus and Antony. He exclaims: "What a difference between these and French monotony! Even without following the names of the characters it is possible to recognize them. Each passion speaks in its own tongue, and not in the language of the sentimental French heroes."

The third decade of the last century marks the beginning of the modern, typically Russian literature. Pushkin, Lermontov, the Russian Byron; Griboyedov, and Zhukovski began to assert themselves. It was a short time after the death of Byron, and Byronism was still dominating all that was young in Europe. Not the least service of Byron to Russia was the stimulus he gave to the study of English. Pushkin took it up, and became soon an ardent admirer of Shakespeare. In a letter to a friend he wrote that he "preferred Shakespeare to the Bible." In his preface to "Boris Godunoff" he openly acknowledged that it was Shakespeare who gave him the idea of writing his famous drama. Some years later Pushkin began translating " Measure for Measure," but he never went beyond the first scene.

In 1825 a farce in two acts called "The Ghosts of Shakespeare," and dedicated to Griboyedov, was published. The author, in his preface, said that it was originally written for private use, but he published it in order to acquaint Russia with "the romantic mythology of Shakespeare." The

same year Prince Shachovskoi presented in Petrograd "Falstaff, a comedy based on 'Henry IV.,' a historical chronicle by Shakespeare." Like all the Prince's adaptations, it became very popular. When Zagoskin once referred to the author of "The Merry Wives of Windsor" as stupid, Prince Shachovskoi replied that "one cannot discuss Shakespeare with children and the feeble-minded," that the whole Russian literature in comparison with the English was not worth a penny, and that such a was not worth a penny, and that such a poor and backward people as the Russians would have long to live and much to learn before it understood and appreciated Shakespeare." In 1828 a translation of "Hamlet" in verse appeared. It was too exact for the theatre. And Polyevoy, in his Moscow Telegraph, demanded a translation of " Hamlet " in which Motchalov, the Moscow actor, could show his powers. When Griboyedov read before the Petrograd favorlte, Karatygin, a French translation of the fifth act in "Romeo and Juliet," the great tragedian fell to his knees, "as if gone insane, and begged the dramatist to translate the tragedy into Russian." But Griboyedov refused "to mutilate Shake-

translations of separate scenes, and monologues from Shakespeare's works became very frequent in the press. Pletney, in his "Thoughts on Macbeth," became so enthused with Shakespeare that he dreamed of giving up all other reading for the rest of his life and devoting it to his favorite. "Why read other writers, when he con-tains them all?" he asked. Another writer, in a sories of brochures which appeared in 1830-31, analyzed "The Merchant of Ven-ice," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Winter's Tale," and "Macbeth," devoting to the latter a great deal of space. A prominent magazine published a long blography of Shakespeare, full of praise and exopposition to Shakespeare in Russia. Its most eminent representative was Bulgarin. who recommended Shakespeare to a "museum of historical relics."

In the '30s romanticism in Russia reached its apogee. Walter Scott was very popular, paving a way for a broader and deeper study of Shakespeare. The young generation of authors turned to Hegel and Chelling and Shakespeare. The historical 'Stankevitch circle" came into existence

Stankevitch. Shakespeare was their idol. They worshipped him, studied him, discussed him incessantly. And when later all of them delivered their individual messages to the Russian people it was the sub-lime message of Shakespeare that they delivered. Meanwhile the introduction of Shake-speare into Russia continued. In 1833 the first translations of "King Lear" and "The Merchant of Venice" from the orig-inal appeared. The Moscow Telegraph did not find them satisfactory, but said that "bad translations would never kill the great poet." The Russian stage, however, was still in want of a good translation of Shakespeare, worthy of Karatygin, the "Russian Talma," or Motchalov, the Moscow genius. Polyevoy of the Moscow Telegraph then undertook the translation of "Hamlet" for the stage. After long per-suasion Motchalov agreed to play it. On Jan. 22, 1837, the first performance was given, with Motchalov in the rôle of Ham-

about that time, gathering into its ranks

the brilliant group of young men who were destined to become the creators of most

of the wealth of the Russian literature.

Turgenev, Belinski, Aksakoff, Ostrovski,

Hertzen-all came under the influence of

The late Vera F Kommisar zhevskaya dr Desdemona

She was the founder of

Art Theatre

the great-est Russian

tory of Shakespeare in Russia commences. Belinski thus describes the historic performance: "The proportions of the crowds who clamored for admission are beyond description. Those who were able to procure tickets felt the happiest persons in the world. It is a long time since Moscow has seen such a mighty and universal outburst of enthusiasm provoked by the love of art." The crowds did not diminish with the second and third per-formances of the drama. "Since Motchalov," said Belinski in another place, "the Russians understood that there is but one dramatic poet in the world, and that is Shakespeare." Motchalov's love of Shakespeare passed all bounds. On the monument erected to him on his grave the following words were inscribed: Mad Friend of Shakespeare."

let. With this date a new epoch in the his-

At the same time Karatygin played "Hamlet" in Petrograd with tremendous success. Russia went wild with "Hamlet." Shakespeare, who was before understood and appreciated only by few, sud-denly became the idol of the public. Shakespeare's struggle for recognition in Russia was at an end. All opposition disappeared. His triumph on the stage directly nfluenced the development of the Rusgan drams and theatre. Gogol wrote that Shakespeare planted the seeds of the mod-ern Russian theatre, as created by Ostrovski and Alexel Tolstoy. The Shakespearean tide turned Russian thought and art to the psychology of human nature, to the drama in the life of the individual, to the study of the subtleties of man and the vicissitudes and catastrophes of his life. Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Tchechov, Andereyev, and Gorky, under the influence of Shakespeare, dug deep into the mysterious abysses of the Russian soul, penetrating all its nooks and corners. Beginning with the '40s of the last

Fedor Ignatevitch Stravinski's drawing of himself an the role century Shakespeare's works, like an irrestetible flood, inundated Russia. Legions of translators took up the work of presenting the genuine Shakespeare to Russia. Numberless articles began to appear in the press devoted to all phases of Shakespearean history. In 1840 Blavin published his "Life of William Shakespeare." In the '40s and '50s Belinski. Botkin. Pissarev and Druzhinin were the apostles of Shakespeare in Russia. In 1860 Turgenev read his famous lecture on "Hamlet and Don Quixote." In 1864 Tichonravov's articles on Shakespeare made a profound impression on the Russian public. In 1865-68 the poets Nekrasoff and Gerbei edited a new edition of Shakespeare. In the '70s the first and greatest Shakespearean scholar appeared in Russia. It was Nikolal Storozhenko who established a course in "Shakespearology" in the Moscow University. In 1872 he published his "Predecessors of Shakespeare," and in 1876 his "Robert Greene," considered the best work on Greene. The two books were translated into English and German. Storozhenko proved in them that Shakespeare was influenced by Greene, Marlowe, and other English dramatists of the fifteenth century. Till his death (1906) Storozhenko continued to contribute articles and books to the Shakespeareans of the world. In 1879 N. Ketcher published his monu-

henko continued to contribute articles and books to the Shakespeareana of the world. In 1879 N. Ketcher published his monumental translation of Shakespeare's dramas. He worked on it twenty-eight years. Between 1873 and 1882 there existed in Moscow the historic "Shakespeare circle." Turgenev once witnessed a performance of "Henry IV." given by the "Circle." and he said that he never saw in Western Europe Faistaff better played than on that occasion. In the '80s Professor Sichevski toured Russia, lecturing on Shakespeare. In 1887 Timofeyev published his "Influtoured Russia, lecturing on Shakespeare. In 1887 Timofeyev published his "Influence of Shakespeare on the Russian Drama." In 1889 Tchulko's popular but rather superficial "Study of Shakespeare" appeared. In 1893 Konshin's translation of Shakespeare appeared. In 1896 I. Ivanov published his work "On Shakespeare." In 1896 Sokolovski's single-handed complete translation of Shakespeare appeared. If translation of Shakespeare appeared. It was a translation in verse, and he labored over it for thirty years. It is recommended by the Academy of Sciences. In 1900 Grand Duke Constantine published, his "Hamlet." Soon afterward Shestov's 'Shakespeare and Brandes" was published, a splendid contribution to the Shakespearean literature in Russia. In 1908 Tolstoy's famous article on Shakespeare

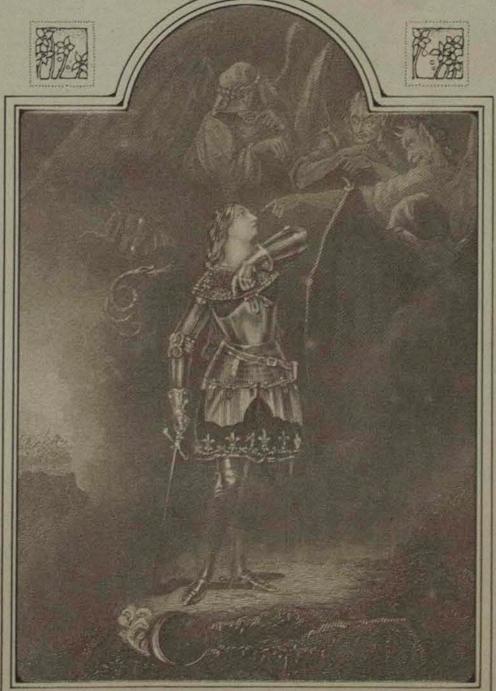
appeared.

The stage kept pace with the literary expansion of Shakespeare. A brilliant array of actors, from the days of Motchalov and Karatygin to our own have immor-talized the Shakespearean characters. Stchepkin, Stravinski, Kovalenskaya, Darski, and, finally, the great Kommisarzhevskaya, founder of the Moscow Art Theatre. and Yoozhin (Prince A. Sumbatov) have written indelible pages in the history of Shakespears in Russia. In 1890 Tchatkovski composed the music for "Hamlet" sung by Gitri in Petrograd.

A landmark in the international history of the theatre was the staging of "Ham-let" in 1912 in the Moscow Art Theatre, under the direction of Edward Gordon Craig, the English artist Craig's theory that the stage must be made real, not plotorially but architecturally, was first put to test there. To a large degree it has been rendered real, thanks to several years' preparations, during which time more than a hundred rehearsals of the play took place. V. T. Katchalov in the rôle of Hamlet was a great success.

What was the message of Shakespeare to the Russian literature and stage? One cannot say that the Russian drama is an imitation of Shakespeare, as it was in the case of Voltaire and Racine in the eighteenth century. Shakespeare's mission to Russia was this: Till the forties of the last century Russian art and literature could not find themselves. They blundered They embraced pseudo-classicism, followed the Encyclopedists, imitated Schiller and Byron, became infatuated with Walter Scott. But all these idols became Russia with ill-grace because Russia had in her those dramatic elements that had put her art and litera-ture in such a brief period into the fore-most ranks of the world's spiritual treasures. And there was no one to awaken Russia to the realization of her vast in-tellectual wealth. No one but Shake-speare. When the true, unadulterated, unmutilated Shakespeare was shown to Russia by Motchalov and Karatygin, spiritual Russia, as if touched by a magic wand. Copyright, 1915, by The New York Times Company)

The Last Scene of "Romeo" SHAKESPEARE did not intend that the morbid self-consciousness, and the enervat-



Joan of Arc summoning the fiends to the Aid of France.

I Henry VI, Act V, Scene III Collection of William P. Harvey

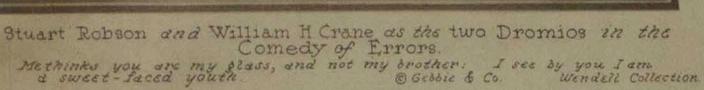
accomplished their lives. They loved perfectly. Romeo had attained to manhood. Juliet had suddenly blossomed into heroic womanhood. Through her, and through

feeling evoked by the last scene of this tragedy of "Romeo and Juliet" ahould be one of hopeless sorrow or despair in presence of fallure, ruin, and miserable collapse. Juliet and Romeo, to whom Verona has been a harsh stepmother, have anguish and joy, her lover had emerged from the life of dream into the waking life of truth. Juliet had saved his soul; she had rescued him from abandonment to spurious feeling, from abandonment to

ing luxury of emotion for emotion's sake What more was needed? And as secondary to all this, the enmity of the houses is appeased. Montague will raise in pure gold the statue of true and faithful Juliet; Capulet will place Romeo by her side. Their lives are accomplished; they go to take up their place in the large history of the world, which contains many such things. Shakespears in this last scene carries of the world, which contains many such things. ries forward our imagination from the horror of the tomb to the better life of man, when such love as that of Juliet and Romeo will be publicly honored and remembered by a memorial all gold.

HE DID NOT LOVE THE PEOPLE, SAYS BRANDES





Danish Critic Traces the Origin and Growth, Year by Year, of His Dislike for "the Mass"

From "William Shakespears," By Georg Brandes-Copyright, The Macmillan Company

SHAKESPEARE'S aversion to the mob have watched its growth with the passing was based upon his contempt for their discrimination, but it had its hatred of the mass as mass, can be traced was based upon his contempt for their discrimination, but it had its with public stupidity was at its height. He now, for the third time, finds in his Plutarch a subject which not only responds to the mood of the moment, but also gives him an opportunity for portraying a nota-ble mother; and he is irresistibly drawn to give his material dramatic style. It is the old traditional story of Corio-

with the populace of his native city, and was so roughly dealt with by them in re-

Plutarch, however, was by no means prejudiced against the people, and the subject had to be entirely refashioned by Shakespeare before it would harmonize with his mood. The historian may be guilty of serious contradictions in matters of detail, but he endeavors, to the best of his ability, to enter into the circumstances of times which were of hoary antiquity, even to bim. The main drift of his narrative is to the effect that Coriolanus had already attained to great authority and influence in the city when the Senate. which represented the wealth of the community, came into collision with the masses. The people were overridden by usurers, the law was terribly severe upon debtors, and the poor were subjected to incessant distraint; their few possessions were sold, and men who had fought bravely for their country and were covered with bonorable scars were frequently impris-oned. In the recent war with the Sabines the patricians had been forced to promise the people better treatment in the future. but the moment the war was over they

compelled to yield. Shakespeare was evidently incapable of forming any idea of the free citizenship of olden days, still less of that period of ferment during which the Roman people united to form a vigorous political party. a civic and military power combined, which proved the nucleus round which the great Roman Empire eventually shaped itself-a power of which J. L. Heiberg's words on thought might have been predicted:

broke their word, and distraint and im-

prisonment went on as before. After this

the plebelans refused to come forward at

the conscription, and the patricians, in

spite of the opposition of Coriolanus, were

will conquer the world, nothing less." Much the same thing was occurring in Shakespeare's own time, and, under his very eyes, as it were, the English people were initiating their struggle for self-government. But they who constituted the opposition were antagonistic to him and his art, and he looked without sympathy upon their conflict. Thus it was that those proud and self-reliant plebelans, who exiled themselves to Mons Sacer sooner than submit to the yoke of the patricians, repre-sented no more to him than did that London mob which was daily before his eyes, To him the Tribunes of the People were but political agitators of the lowest type. mere personifications of the envy of the masses, and representatives of their stupidity and their brute force of numbers. Ignoring every incident which shed a favorable light upon the plebelans, he seized upon every instance of popular folly which could be found in Plutarch's account of a later revolt in order to incorporate it in his scornful delineation. Again and again he insists, by means of his hero's passionate invective, on the cowardice of the people, and that in the face of Plutarch's explicit testimony to their bravery. His detestation of the mass thrived upon this reiterated accentuation of the wretched pusillanimity of the piebelans, which went hand-in-hand with a rebellious hatred for their benefactors.

Thus much, at any rate, can be declared with absolute certainty, that the anti-democratic spirit and passion of the play sprang from no momentary political situation, but from Shakespeare's heart of hearts. We

deepest roots in the purely physical in the faltering efforts of his early youth. repugnance of his artist nerves to their We may see its workings in what is unplebelan atmosphere. It was obvious in doubtedly Shakespeare's own description plebeian atmosphere. It was obvious in doubtedly Shakespeare's own description of Jack Cade's rebellion in the Second Part with public stupidity was at its height. of "Henry VI.," and we divine it again in the now, for the third time, finds in his the conspicuous absence of all allusion to Magna Charta displayed in "King John."

We have already stated that Shakehim an opportunity for portraying a notable mother; and he is irresistibly drawn to give his material dramatic style.

It is the old traditional story of Corlolanus, great man and great general, who, in the remote days of Roman antiquity, became involved in such hopeless conflict with the populace of his native city, and was so roughly dealt with by them in re
Smith remarks aside: "It will be stinking Smith remarks aside: "It will be stinking turn that he was driven, in his bitterness, law; for his breath stinks with eating to reckless deeds. And again in Casca's description of Caesar's demeanor when he refuses the crown at the Lupercalian fes-"He put it the third time by, and still he refused it; the rabblement hooted and clapped their chapped hands, and threw up their aweaty nightcaps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath because Caesar refused the crown, that it had almost choked Caesar; for he swooned and fell down at it; and for mine own part, I duret not laugh for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air" ("Julius Caesar," Act I., Scene 2.)

> Also the words in which Cleopatra (in the last scene of the play) expresses her horror of being taken in Octavius Caesar's

Now, Iras, what thinkest thou? Thou, an Egyptian puppet, shall, be shown in Home as well as I: mechanic slaves, with greasy aprons, rules, and hammers, shall Uplift us to the view; in their thick breaths, Rank of gross diet, shall we be enclosed And forced to drink their vapour.

All Shakespeare's principal characters display this shrinking from the mob, although motives of interest may induce them to keep it concealed. When Richard II., having banished Bolingbroke, describes the latter's farewell to the people, he says (" Richard II.," Act. I., Scene 4):

Curself and Bushy, Bagot here and Green, Observed his courtship to the common people;
How did he seem to dive into their hearts With humble and familiar courtesy, Woolng poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles
And patient underbearing of his fortune,
As 'twere to banish their effects with him. Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench, A brace of draymen bid God-speed him well, And had the tribute of his supple knee,
With "Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends."

The number of these passages proves that it was, in plain words, their evil smell which repelled Shakespeare. He was the true artist in this respect, too, and more sensi-tive to noxious fumes than any woman. At the present period of his life this particular distaste has grown to a violent aversion. The good qualities and virtues of the people do not exist for him; he believes their sufferings to be either imaginary or induced by their own faults. Their struggles are ridiculous to him, and their rights a fiction; their true characteristics are accessibility to flattery and ingratitude toward their benefactors; and their only real passion is an innate, deep. and concentrated hatred of their superiors; but all these qualities are merged in this chief crime; they stink.

Cor.—For the mutable rank-scented many, let them Regard me as I do not flatter, and Therein behold themselves.

(Act III., Scene 1.)

Brutus—I heard him swear.
Were he to stand for Consul, never would he
Appear I' the market-place, nor on him put
The napless vesture of humility.
Nor, showing as the manner is his wounds
To the people, beg their stinking breaths.
(Act II., Scene 1.)

When Coriolanus is banished by the people, he turns upon them with the outburst: You common cry of curs! whose breath I hate
As reck o' the rotten fens, whose loves I
prize
As the dead carcases of unburied men
That do corrupt my air,
(Act III., Scane 3.)

(Act III., Scene S.) When old Menenius, Coriolanus's enthu-

well know that the opinion of a connoisseur is worth more than the judgment of a hundred thousand ignoramuses. With Shakespeare, however, his artist's scorn for the capacity of the many did not confine itself to the sphere of Art, but in-

cluded the world beyond. As, year after year, his giance fell from the stage upon the flat caps covering the unkempt hair of the crowding heads down there in the open yard which constituted the pit, his sentiments grew increasingly contemptuous toward "the groundlings."

These unwashed citianes, " the understandtended their belief in the majority to a faith in its capacity for appraising their art. The most liberal-minded of them all ing gentlemen of the ground," as Ben Jonson nicknamed them, were attired in unlovely black smocks and goatskin jerkins, which had none too pleasant an odor. They were called "nutorackers" from their habit of everlastingly cracking nuts and throwing the shells upon the stage. Tossing about apple peel, cords, sausage ends, and small pebbles was another of their amusements. Tobacco, ale, and apple vendors forced their way among them, and even before the curtain was lifted a reek of tobacco smoke and beer rose from the crowd impatiently waiting for the prima donna to be shaved.

slastic admirer, hears that the banished man has gone over to the Volscians, he says to the People's Tribunes; You have made good work,
You and your apron-men: you that stood so
much
Upon the voice of occupation and
The breath of garlic-eaters!
(Act IV., Scane 6.)

came by this non-political but surely sen-suous contempt for the people we must search for the reason among the experi-ences of his own daily life. Where but in the course of his connection with the theatre would he come into contact with those whom he looked upon as human vermin? He suffered under the perpetual obligation of writing, staging, and acting his dramas with a view to pleasing the Great Public. His finest and best had always most difficulty in making its way, and hence the bitter words in Hamlet about the "excellent play" which "was never acted, or, if it was, not above once; for the play, I remember, pleased not the million.

And a little further on:

Into this epithet, "the million," Shakespeare has condensed his contempt for the masses as art critics. Even the poets, and they are many, who have been honest and ardent political democrats, have seldom ex-

Characters of the Comedies = / Here comes the clusters.

And is Aufidius with him? You are they
That made the air unwholesome when you
cast
Your stinking greasy caps up, hooting at
Coriolanus' exile. If we seek to know how Shakespeare

Jacob Adler as Shylock
I pray you, give me leave to so
from hence;

I am not well.

O villain! thou wilt be condemned into everissing redemption for this. Wendell Collection The fashionable folk of the stage and

ter reason than its fury against Cinna, called them stinkards. Abuse was flung backward and forward between them, the conspirator (Julius Caesar, Act III., and the pit threw apples and dirt, and even went so far as to spit on to the stage. In Third Citizen-You name, Sir, truly. the Gull's Hornebooke, (1609.) Dekker says: Cinna—Truly my name is Cinna. First Citizen—Tear him to pieces; he's a "The stage, like time, will bring you to most perfect light and lay you open: neither are you to be hunted from thence, conspirator. Cinna—I am Cinna the poet. I am Cinna though the scarecrows in the yard hoot at Fourth Citizen-Tear him for his bad you, hiss at you, spit on you." As late as 1614, the prologue to an old comedy, "The Hog Has Lost His Pearl," says:

mob murders Cinna, the poet, for no bet-

That is the very defect of the matter, Sir.

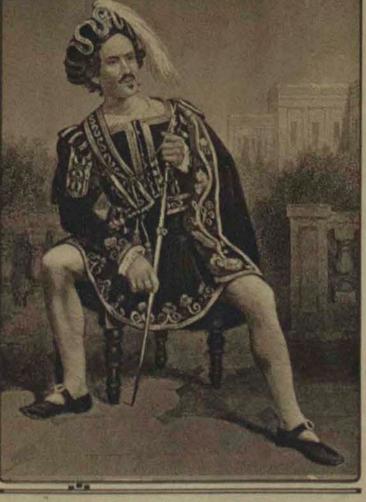
verses. Tear him for his bad verses.
Cinna—I am not Cinna the conspirator.
Fourth Citizen—It is no matter, his name's Cinna; pluck but his name out of his heart, and turn him going.
Third Citizen—Tear him, tear him!

All four citizens are alike in their bloodthirsty fury. Shakespeare displays the same aristocratic contempt for the fickle crowd, whose opinion wavers with every speaker; witness his complete change of front immediately after Antony's oration. It was the feeling, possibly, which was at the bottom of his want of success in dealing with Caesar. He probably found Caesar antipathetic, not on the ground of his subversion of a republican form of government, but as leader of the Roman democracy. Shakespeare sympathized with the conspiracy of the nobles against him because all popular rule—even that which was guided by genius—was repugnant to him, masmuch as it was power exercised. directly or indirectly, by an ignorant herd. This point of view meets us again and again in "Coriolanus"; and whereas, in his earlier plays, it was only occasionally and.

as it were, accidentally expressed, it has now grown and strengthened into deliberate utterance. * * * . . . We have no interest, however, in re-

fashioning Shakespeare. It is enough for us if our perception is fine and keen enough to recognize him in his works, and we must actually put on blinders not to see on which side Shakespeare's' sympathies lie here. He is only too much of one mind with the senators who say that "poor sultors have strong breaths," and Coriolanus, who is never refuted or contradicted, says no more than what the poet in his own person would indorse.

For the people he felt nothing but scorn, and he was now, more than ever, incapable of seeing them as an aggregation of separate individualities; they were merged in the brutality which distinguished them in the mass. Humanity in general was to him not millions of individuals but a few great entities amidst millions of nonentities. He saw more and more clearly that the existence of these few Hiustrious men was all that made life worth living, and the belief gave impetus to that hero-worship which had been characteristic of his early youth Formerly, however, this worship had lacked its present polemical quality. The fact that Coriolanus was a great warrior made no particular impression on Shakespeare at this period; it was quite incidental, and he included it simply because he must. It was not the soldier that he wished to glorify but the demigod. His present impression of the circumstances and conditions of life is this: there must of necessity be formed around the solitary great ones of this earth a conspiracy of envy and hatred raised by the small and mean. As Coriolanus says, "Who deserves greatness, deserves your hate."



From the East to Western Ind. No jewel is like Rosalina. E.L. Davenport Benedick What, my dear Lady Disdain! are you yet living? Collection of William P Horvey.

through every gallery; then, like unto ravens, when they spy the carrion, thither they fly and press as near to the fairest as they can." These fine gentlemen, who sat or reclined at full length on the stage. were probably as much occupied with their adies as the less well-to-do theatregoers. We know that they occasionally watched the play as Hamlet did, with their heads in their mistresses' laps, for the position is described in Fletcher's "Queen of Corinth" (Act I., Scene 2): For the fair courtier, the woman's man, That tells my lady stories, dissolves riddles, Ushers her to ber coach, ites at her feet At solemn masques, applauding what she laughs at

they were ever seeking occasion to brawl,

We may be pelted off fro what we know, With apples, eggs, or stones, from those below.

Who knows if Shakespeare was better

satisfied with the less rowdy portion of his

audience? Art was not the sole attraction

of the theatre. We read in an old book on

English plays: "In the playhouse at Lon-

don it is the fashion of the youthes to

go first into the yarde and carry their eye

Henrietta Crosman as Rosalina

Dekker (Gull's Hornebooke) informs us that keen card playing went on among some of the spectators, while others read. drank, or smoked tobacco. Christopher Marlowe has an epigram on this last practice, and Ben Jonson complains in his "Bar-tholomew Fair" of "those who accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at our theatres." He gives an elaborate description in his play. "The Case is Altered," of the manner in which capricious lordlings conducted themselves at the performance of a

"And they have such a habit of dislike in all things that they will approve nothing, be it never so conceited or elaborate; but sit dispersed, making faces and spitting, wagging their upright care, and cry filthy, filthy; simply uttering their own condition, and using their wryed countenances instead of a vice, to turn the good aspects of all that shall sit near them, from what they behold." (Act II., Scene 6.)

With his necessarily slight historical knowledge and insight Shakespeare would look upon the old days of both Rome and England in precisely the same light in which he saw his own times. His first Roman drama testifies to his innately antidemocratic tendencies. He seized with avidity upon every instance in Piutarch of the stupidity and brutality of the masses.

