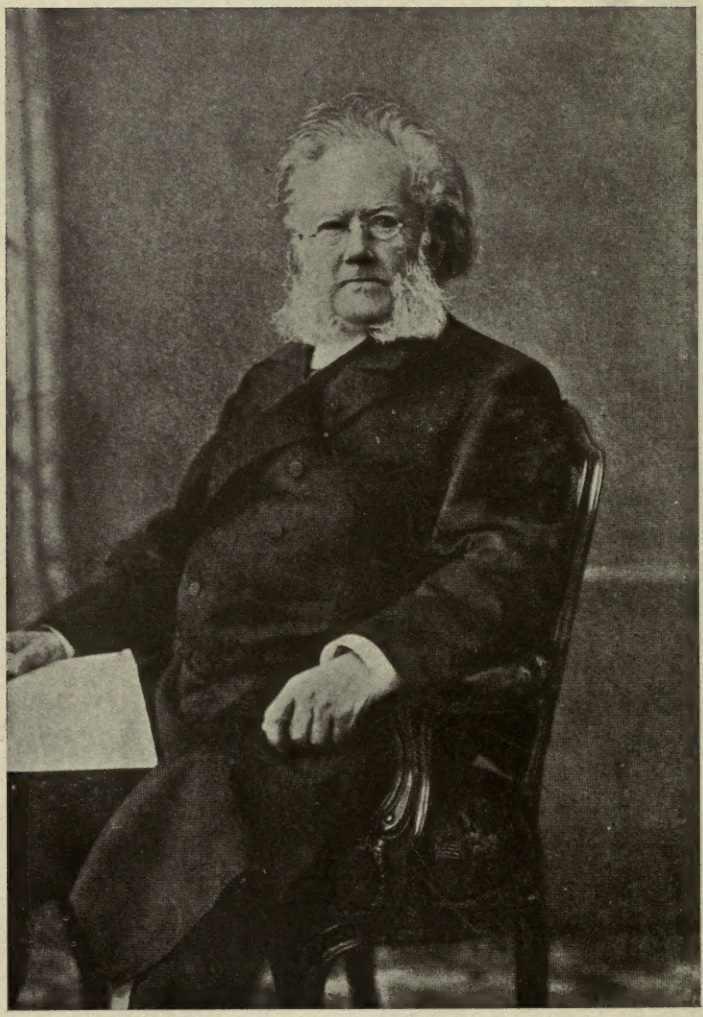
IBSEN'S SPEECHES AND NEW LETTERS



Henrik Ibsen.

SPEECHES AND NEW LETTERS

HENRIK IBSEN

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AND A

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

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PREFACE

ALL of Ibsen's Speeches and New Letters here submitted (excepting those on pp. 69-92, 106-114, 117-120, a rendering of which appeared in *Poet Lore* for January, 1909, by Louis J. Bailey and myself) are now for the first time translated into English. The Speeches comprise all those included in the Norwegian edition of Ibsen's Collected Works (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1902). The time and place of publication of the New Letters are noted under the individual letters.

My most cordial thanks are due to Dr. Lee M. Hollander, of the University of Michigan, for his careful revision of the translations and for his introduction to the book; to Louis J. Bailey, librarian of the Gary (Ind.) Public Library, for his valuable collaboration part of the time and many important suggestions ever since; and to Karl T. Jacobson, of the Library of Congress, for his indefatigable work in finding good and idiomatic expressions.

I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Sigurd Ibsen for his kind permission to have the translations made.

ARNE KILDAL

Library of Congress,
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SPEECHES AND NEW LETTERS OF HENRIK IBSEN

INTRODUCTION

"I CONSIDER him to be a true Hero; heroic in what he said and did, and perhaps still more in what he did not say and did not do; to me a noble spectacle, a great heroic, ancient man, speaking and keeping silence as an ancient hero, in the guise of a most modern, high-bred, high-cultivated Man of Letters." These words of Carlyle on Goethe might be applied with still greater force to Ibsen,— "heroic in what he said and did, and perhaps still more so in what he did not say and did not do."

It will not be a difficult task, whether for the present or the future biographer of the greatest literary figure of recent times, to marshal his materials on the facts of Ibsen's life; for we may say with truth that we know as little of him as it is possible to know of a man whose fame was world wide during his life, and who lived in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century. Though much of his Sphinx attitude is a figment — as we are assured by his Boswell, the poet John Paulsen — still he seemed to be fully aware of the advantage of essential aloofness and silence concerning himself and his work. And though fiercely outspoken when needful, he habitually excelled in "the invaluable talent of silence," in the larger sense of that term.

Outside information being thus meagre, and

skimmed from the very surface at best, and pending the discovery of the autobiography he mentioned frequently as under consideration, and which for all we know *may* have been written and may come to light yet, his letters continue to be the chief source of information for his life and works. Yet these letters are but few in number, comparatively, and written at long intervals, rarely mention personal circumstances, and are almost entirely silent on the development of his works. Moreover, they are but the obverse of a coin the reverse of which we shall probably never behold but can only surmise, not one single letter *to* Ibsen having been found. At any rate, we shall do well to be on our guard in judging a question solely from his own masterful attitude to it.

On the other hand, his letters certainly are trustworthy, so far as they go; for they were undoubtedly written without any thought whatsoever of their later publication — Ibsen being singularly free from the smaller vanities of the literary tribe. Unfortunately, they are self-revelations only to a small degree. He himself was aware that this faculty was denied him. In his very first letter to his friend Björnson he admits, "I know I labor under the deficiency of being unable to come into close and intimate contact with the persons one feels one ought to reveal one's self to frankly and unreservedly. I am of the nature of the Skald in "The Pretenders"—in so far as I cannot ever get to strip myself completely. I am conscious of having

at my disposal, in personal relations, only a false expression for what I conceal within my innermost self; hence I prefer to shut that up within me. . . . " And there is all reason to believe that this tendency, whether conscious or unconscious, grew rather than waned with increasing years.

The great bulk of Ibsen's letters* was published during the poet's lifetime (1904), with an excellent introduction and valuable notes, by Halvdan Koht, assisted by Julius Elias. Since then additional material has been forthcoming, which is here presented for the first time in a collected form.

In order to appreciate the bearing and biographical value of the most important of these letters, it will be necessary to trace the general conditions of the poet's existence at the respective time — on which they, in their turn, will throw additional light. On the whole, they will not be found to modify our conception of the poet to any great extent — with the sole exception, perhaps, of the ones addressed to Clemens Petersen. To some these will come with the shock of surprise. The attitude of Ibsen, whom we have learned to regard as the inexorable, unflinching, undaunted one, humbly asking the favors of the official critic, is certainly a novel one, requiring explanation.

The principal facts in Ibsen's life up to this time (1863) will be familiar to most, through numerous biographies — his cheerless childhood, in a

*The (unauthorized) translation, by J. N. Laurvik and Mary Morison (New York, Fox, Duffield & Co., 1905), is to be used with caution. The very necessary preface (and identity!) of the editors is withheld, likewise the highly useful indices; the notes are much condensed, for the most part judiciously.

family soured by misfortune, the most receptive and telling years of life, from his fifteenth to twentieth year, passed as apothecary's apprentice in the stifling atmosphere of a diminutive, out of the way town, his inauspicious beginning as an author in the capital, continued with indomitable courage as stage manager in Bergen. The tide of life seemed about to turn definitely in his favor when he marries happily and wins some local recognition as poet; but he allows himself to be lured back to his well-hated Christiania, where he accepted the tempting offer of the artistic leadership of the newly founded National Scene.

It turned out to be anything but an improvement. In fact, the next years are the darkest in Ibsen's life, full of depressing misfortune, humiliations, and disappointments. The theater was a premature venture, and soon went into the hands of the receivers, leaving him without regular employment and fixed income, with a family on his hands. Ibsen was not versatile, could do but little to keep himself above water. His pride had to submit to financial aid from good friends. The plays he had diligently written so far brought him next to nothing, and recognition was slow.

He did not mend matters, at this juncture, by publishing his " Comedy of Love "— that exquisite but none the less virulent satire, flaying the conventionalities, the prejudices, the hateful smallness of the society round about him. *Facit saeva indignatio versus.* It aroused a tempest of ill-will. Its ruthless outspokenness alienated the sympathies

of his best friends; he was literally tabooed in the circles in which he formerly had been intimate. " The only person at that time who approved of the book was my wife," as he writes in the preface to the second edition of that poem several years later. And he adds that both time and place were ill-chosen, that it ought not to have been printed in Norway at all; intimating, of course, that an earlier alliance with the enterprising and generous Danish publisher, which he was to make later on by the help of Björnson, as well as the introduction to the larger and a trifle less biased Danish reading public, would have been desirable already then.

A few copies of the poem did reach Copenhagen as reviewers' copies to the newspapers, and there elicited critical comments from the finely trained and more cosmopolitan Danish reviewers. It was especially the conscientious article of Clemens Petersen, reviewer for the influential paper *Fædrelandet*, that aroused Ibsen's attention and led him to take the step of thanking him in a personal letter, August 10, 1863. Notwithstanding the all but favorable trend of the inordinately lengthy disquisition of Petersen on his poem, Ibsen felt that he owed him a debt of gratitude " for not putting (his) book aside in silence." It may be, also, that the recommendation of Björnson (to whom Petersen had attached himself as *fidus Achates*) moved Ibsen to think him an ally in spirit, to whom he might with impunity communicate his crushing sense of loneliness in Norway. Nevertheless, one is not able to suppress a feeling of

dissatisfaction at the tone of this and the following letters to Petersen. For all the assertions of independence, there is in them an air of exaggerated deference nowhere else seen in Ibsen and which, as we presently shall witness, not so very long after turns, as it was bound to, into the very opposite of scorn and defiance. It is an unnatural alliance— he feels that " instinctively " from the very first— between the great iconoclast, always ahead of his age, and the set, academic critic,— " one of the doctrinaire æstheticians who do much harm through their ready-made standards," as the Danish poet Hostrup remarks about Petersen. And it certainly seems most unlikely that a personal meeting and oral argument between them, such as Ibsen suggests, would have led to any other result than open enmity.

No doubt the hard-pressed poet hoped that a favorable reception of his last and following works by the " correct " and law-giving critics of Copenhagen would have influence in favorably inclining his home government. For just then Ibsen was anxiously awaiting the outcome of his second petition (in March) to the government, for a yearly grant of four hundred Specie Dollars, " to enable (him) to continue labors in the service of literature which (he has) reason to believe, the public does not wish to see interrupted," as he remarks with refreshing self-confidence. After a repeated, urgent petition to the king, and through the strenuous efforts of Björnson and other devoted friends,— Ibsen never did lack devoted friends,— the govern-

ment finally acceded to his request, allowing him a single travelling grant of the sum asked for. Spring of 1864 he sets out on his journey to the South, and remains one month in Copenhagen,—without seeing Petersen.

But the end of his troubles had not yet come. The first years of his Roman sojourn saw him again in dire straits. He becomes wellnigh penniless, and falls dangerously ill of the fever. For one thing, he is entirely unable, or unwilling, to earn money by journalism or smaller literary undertakings. He will not scatter his energies. With iron perseverance he concentrates himself for two years, and stakes his all on "Brand." And while anxiously awaiting the publication of this grand poem, the reception of which he knew would determine the future of his literary career, he again writes to the literary lawgiver of Copenhagen, entreating him to handle it as leniently as his conscience "in any way will permit." "Your review," he says outright, "will be a decisive factor in my countrymen's reception of the poem."

Even more extraordinary would it seem to us, at present, to reconcile ourselves to the view that Ibsen owns to a certain influence on form and contents of his poems from the part of Petersen, when he acknowledges that he often reflected about that critic's remark, "that the versified form with the symbolic meaning behind it was (his) most natural mode of expression." Yet we cannot doubt the poet's own words when he reaffirms in his foreword to the second edition of "The Comedy of

Love," "In general, I have good reason to be thankful for the criticisms of my book that were made (in Copenhagen). Many a remark in them was suggestive (*vækkende*) to me." Even in his grim letter to Björnson, presently to be mentioned, he admits that "there are many things to be learned from Clemens Petersen, and I have learned much from him." Indeed, Ibsen always welcomed honest criticisms and suggestions — witness the classical instance of how, on the suggestion of Brandes, Nora, in fact the whole idea of "A Doll's House," was developed from the germ in Selma, a secondary and rather superfluous character in the "League of Youth."

A third letter to Petersen was written at the suggestion of Hegel some five months before the completion of that most unorthodoxly Gothic *jeu d'esprit*, "Peer Gynt." It is only the fact of its existing, at that time, but in contours, least of all in all its profuse wealth of Gargantuesque details, which can explain the poet's hope that Petersen will acknowledge his progress.

What actually happened is what always will happen when new wine is put into old bottles, or, to use a more timely figure, when new things perforce are to be labelled and jammed into their proper academic pigeonholes. Petersen's main objection against both "Brand" and "Peer Gynt" was, in short, that they were what they were, mighty, tragic contrasts of two excesses of character. According to him, the over-lifesize embodiments of "All or Nothing" (Brand), and "Troll to Thy-

self be Sufficient" (Peer Gynt) have no poetic *raison d'être.* "When a poet, as Ibsen does in 'Brand,' depicts an error, a onesidedness, which is from first to last presented in an imposing light, it is not sufficient that he should eventually, through a piece of sensational symbolism, let that onesidedness go to ruin, and it is not sufficient that in the last word of the drama he should utter the name of that with which the onesidedness should have blended in order to become truth."

As to "Peer Gynt," he reckoned it to belong to polemical journalism, rather than to poetry, "because in the transformation of reality into art it falls half way short of the demands both of art and reality."

Ibsen was by far too robust a spirit to "be snuffed out by an article" either then or at any other time. Upon seeing Petersen's article there followed that famous outburst of wrath — his long and furious letter of December 9, 1867, to Björnson, culminating in those words full of splendid prophetic insolence: My book *is* poetry; and if it is not, it will be. The conception of poetry in our country, in Norway, shall be made to conform to my book.

We may see in this whole episode with Petersen but a precursor of the coming final struggle between the Hegelian system of æsthetics (introduced into Denmark by J. L. Heiberg), with its abstract systematization on the basis of the formal qualities of a work of art, their logical origin, and the mutual

dependence of its parts — and the new, psychologic-historic method (of Taine) on the other which seeks to understand a work of art as the product of given conditions and the artist's individuality — to be introduced into Scandinavia, single-handed, in a memorable struggle, by the youthful Georg Brandes. As it is, Ibsen relies on Petersen to do justice by his works, and act as his mediator with the public, until he found a doughty brother in arms in this young contemporary, who by his appreciation was the first to open the eyes of wider circles to the new master spirit that had arisen. It is pleasant to know that Brandes in his turn was nerved at a vital point in his career — second in importance only to Ibsen's — by the absolutely positive trust Ibsen reposed in his mission.

The relations between Ibsen and Björnson form a chapter in the literary history of Scandinavia quite as remarkable as that between Goethe and Schiller in Germany. Some of the recently published letters throw additional light on the period of hostility between these Dioscuri of the North.*

Björnson, at that time in Copenhagen, does not escape getting his share in the outburst of wrath directed at Petersen. Ibsen upbraids him in the most violent terms for having " permitted " Petersen to commit such an " intentional crime against truth and justice." If he, before, had been thankful to Petersen, " both for the written criticism, and for the one which lies in what is not expressed "

*See page 82 ff.

(March, 1867), he now charges him hotly with misrepresentation,— " there is a lie involved in Clemens Petersen's article — not in what he says, but in what he refrains from saying."

Next day he returns to the laceration, and then again pays his respects to Björnson. " All I reproach you for is inaction. It was not kind of you to permit, through negligence, such an attempt to be made to put my literary reputation under the auctioneer's hammer during my absence." But he refuses to have their old friendship interfered with by such " deviltries," and strives, rather, with might and main to retain the good will of his powerful rival who often enough had stood him in good stead.

Nevertheless, a breach became unavoidable. Both for political and personal reasons they were drifting apart. Björnson had cast himself heart and soul into the arms of the liberal party of Norway, the very party Ibsen held in abomination as directly responsible for undue parsimoniousness in matters cultural. Ibsen disapproved of this activity, fearing that Björnson would transfer into political struggles all the energy of his magnificent genius. He himself held consistently aloof from politics, feeling it a painful thing to be considered a party-poet. Björnson, on the other hand, was irritated by this " aristocratic " aloofness, and probably considered it but another symptom of the " atheism " into which he publicly declared Ibsen was fast lapsing.

Another more personal and trivial matter gave

the occasion for a final rupture. Björnson had reproached Ibsen, in a letter, for accepting decorations, which he considered to be undemocratic. This brought from Ibsen an unnecessarily sharp reply, in which he seemed to imply hypocrisy and vanity on the part of those refusing these external marks of distinction from a government from which they were at the same time accepting stipends.* Correspondence was then broken off between them. They watched each other from afar with increasing hostility.

In 1872 Ibsen who all his life long faithfully adhered to the *enfant perdu* of Scandinavism, and more or less hated Germany, was deeply grieved when Björnson called upon Denmark to " alter her signals " with regard to Germany, and relinquish all thoughts of revenge and of regaining Slesvic. In a fiercely sarcastic poem,† aimed plainly at Björnson, he goes so far as to call him a turncoat, " the weathercock on the tower " and priest of Pan-Germanism. Björnson, in his turn, very naturally had interpreted the figure of the noisy and unprincipled demagogue Steensgaard, in " The League of Youth," as a diatribe against himself. However, when Ibsen heard of this, he wrote to Hegel, their steadfast mutual friend and publisher, denying any such intention, and stating that it was " aimed at his lie-steeped clique." " For that matter, I shall write to him to-day or to-morrow, and hope that the affair, notwithstanding all differences, will

*On this whole controversy cf. Björnson's rather spiteful poem, " Post Festum."

†" Nordens Signaler."

end in a reconciliation." In this he was mistaken.

Years pass. After several unavailing overtures Ibsen, in 1877, makes still another attempt to renew direct relations by sending Björnson, through Hegel, a copy of "Pillars of Society," with a note which tells its own story. Björnson did not answer; their views were as yet incompatible.

The next step is taken by Björnson, in 1879, in a letter that seems to have contained, chiefly, an invitation to join in a petition to have the union mark struck from the flag of Norway. Desirous of reconciliation with him as Ibsen was, he prefers to say, in the most uncompromising form, what he conceived to be the truth. His reply is thoroughly characteristic in its acerbity and the severe attitude to home conditions. To him, the very question of "symbols" is untimely, and timely rather the regeneration of the individual in Norway. The question of removing the union mark he has only ridicule for — like Lie, who thought the same proposal "stupid." * Without entering into this complex matter, it is necessary to remind the reader of Ibsen's rejoinder that there was another side to the question — as it appealed to wellnigh the whole people, at that critical juncture in the Union with Sweden. None is more competent to state this other side than Björnson himself. In a speech made on his trip through the United States (printed

*See Björnson's reply in his cycle, "The Pure Norse Flag," 2:

It is "nonsense," your talk of the pure flag,
So speaketh the wise man now.
But the flag has poesie's nature,
And the nonsense, that art thou, etc.

under the heading of " The Constitutional Struggle in Norway," in *Scribner's* for 1881), he reasons as follows: " Although the constitution gave us our own flag, we could use it only on short voyages; our men of war, fortresses, and customs were obliged, against the desire of the people, to float the Swedish flag. This was first remedied by Oscar the First, son of Karl Johan (Bernadotte), though only in so far as he, of his own will, without the sanction of the Storthing, thereby violating the constitution, decreed that the flag of each nation should bear the union mark in one corner. Neither country was satisfied. We have found that this gives Norway the appearance of being merged in Sweden, as Ireland is merged in England. For a union flag is only carried by states which, like the United States, are centralized in a higher unity. We have, it is true, different flags, but the union mark leads people to overlook this fact. A party is growing in Norway which desires the pure Norse flag; that is, one without the mark of union. When the laws are not common, the colors should not be blended. The two flags, carried side by side, where they have common interests, would be sufficient evidence of the union of the states."

A few months after receiving Ibsen's reply, Björnson passed through Munich, where Ibsen was living then. Paulsen has a graphic chapter depicting the tense expectation with which Ibsen and his family awaited his visit. Björnson did not come.

" The reason," he explained, " was not Ibsen's various attacks on me; they were forgotten.

No, it was the Norwegian flag that caused it! . . . I had also turned to Ibsen about the matter; he was to help — I do not remember how. But I received a rebuff which wounded my patriotism. . . . I believe now, it was not well done; at any rate I have regretted it that I did not go to see him."

The final reconciliation came in 1882. As inevitably as these mighty personalities had grown apart, a decennium earlier, by their diverging development, just as inevitably did their subsequent development bring them together again. After a severe struggle, Björnson had broken with his old faith, and had ranged himself with Ibsen in matters of religion and morality — so far as to enter the lists, along with the still antagonized Brandes, in behalf of "Ghosts," and to write sociological dramas that outdo Ibsen in radicalness. Overjoyed at this generous action, Ibsen cries out (letter 161): "The only one in Norway who has stepped forth and defended me boldly and courageously is Björnson. It is just like him. His is, in truth, a great and royal soul, and I shall never forget what I owe him for this." He had, moreover, heard that Björnson had spoken in the highest terms of his dramas; in a letter memorable for its heartfelt warmth he then takes occasion to thank Björnson for what he has been to him. And the seal was set on their renewed friendship by a personal meeting, in 1884, at Schwaz in the Tyrol.

The acquaintance of our poet with Lie began on the benches of the so-called student factory of

Heltberg in Christiania, during the heroic period of that institution, when also Björnson and Vinje, among others since famous, were trying this approved means of preparing for matriculation in the university; and it was continued among the Bohemian circle of the "Dutchmen," which embraced some of the most promising young Norwegians of that time. Lie was four years younger than Ibsen; but still greater, doubtlessly, was the disparity in maturity, between the dreamy, unsettled Northlander, and his resolute friend who early had to stand on his own feet and form his own clear-cut opinions. As we are told, he initiated Lie in his great plans for the future — with some condescension, probably.

There had been but little actual communication between them ever since these days, but both had interestedly followed the other's progress. Fall of 1871, when Lie, after his late but brilliant début as novelist with "The Second-Sighted" had obtained a travelling grant and was preparing to come South, Ibsen writes to Hegel in words that disclose their genial relations: If Jonas Lie should come to Copenhagen on his journey abroad, you must tell him that he by all means must touch on Dresden (Ibsen's residence then) on his way to Italy, because I wish to give him a good scolding, and besides good advice, exhortation, and the like, all of which must be done orally.

But it is not until 1880 that both meet again, when they spend their summer together in Berchtesgaden. From that time on their relations

continue cordial. Lie was known as an excellent and voluminous correspondent — which Ibsen is ready to acknowledge, without trying to emulate him. His letters to Lie are, on the whole, disappointing — excepting, perhaps, as they furnish new instances of his canny grasp of the things of this world. In reading them one is steadily reminded of his own dictum that " you must not go in dreams, but learn to use your eyes. . . . For one who wishes to be a poet this is doubly necessary. . . . To be a poet one must see "; for by seeing he means quite as much shrewd observation of the trivial facts of every-day life as of the most occult and mysterious phenomena of soul life.

His criticism of Lie's novels is keenly appreciative, with that gently patronizing air which Ibsen, somehow, affected toward the great but very distrait novelist. " To me, at any rate, he has never shown the guarded, acrid, and reserved attitude people have written so much about. I have never seen it," declared Jonas Lie simply, in his reminiscences, on occasion of Ibsen's seventieth birthday.

Among the many friends Ibsen had won in Germany, none was truer than the Danish philologian Hoffory, afterwards professor at the University of Berlin. He had been unceasingly active in pushing the claims of Ibsen's dramas, functioning as intermediary between the poet and the theatrical world of the capital. This cordial relation endured to the very last — until an ultimately

fatal mental malady cruelly cut short this brilliant scholar's career.

Of their correspondence only the passage of the second letter, dealing with the origin of " Emperor and Galilean " — with the admission of indebtedness to the spiritual life of Germany — was previously known, in a translation which Hoffory had inserted in the introduction to his translation of that tragedy. An acknowledgment to the same effect is made in the last letter to Hoffory, at occasion of Dr. Schlenther's lecture. Both utterances mark the distinct change that had come about in the poet's views since the seventies, before which time Germany had been to him the arch-enemy, both of the Individual and of the Scandinavian countries.

The other letters are interesting chiefly as affording us glimpses of Ibsen's attitude on the minutiæ in the reproduction of his works. Curiously enough, Ibsen, though perfectly familiar with all the inner mysteries of the stage, through his directorship at the Bergen and Kristiania theatres, in later times steadily refused to take any really active part in the staging of his plays. He was unfailingly present at the rehearsals, but contented himself with attentive observation, confining his criticism — when asked for it — to vague praises of the actors, especially of the ladies. His young Boswell, Paulsen, relates the following anecdote: " When ' A Doll's House ' was produced for the first time in Munich, Ibsen was present at almost all rehearsals. . . . On the whole, the play was well presented — especially excellent was Frau Ramlo,

the impersonator of Nora — and after the performance Ibsen thanked all actors warmly.

One was tempted to believe that in Ibsen's eyes it had been a model representation. But later on, in Ibsen's home, when I spoke about the performance, which I for my part strongly praised, Ibsen made not a few objections. His objections were, not only that some of the actors had only imperfectly understood their parts, but he was also displeased with the color of the wall paper in the living-room,— it did not furnish the right *stimmung* he had desired,— and he even introduced subtleties such as that Nora did not have the right sort of hands."

The minute information on the past career and present appearance of the "Stranger" in "The Lady from the Sea" also shows how intensely the poet has lived himself into the lives of his creations. He has built them up, cell for cell, and after, finally, having breathed into their nostrils the breath of life, they start on an entirely independent existence — totally distinct from that of their maker, who merely keeps an indelible impression of their true nature and motives, and interestedly follows their careers. To have them represented ever so slightly different means to him simply a misrepresentation and falsification of a historic fact. The inevitable and painful discrepancy between characters created with such beguiling life-likeness, and the figures created by even the best of actors is, perhaps, sufficient to explain his apathy and his refraining from taking an active part in the inscenation of his dramas.

The new letters to Siebold concerning "Brand" show that Ibsen plainly was pleased at finding a translator — it was the first offer of the kind yet made to him — though he must have felt as convinced of the impossibility of translating, as of staging, his poems according to his own conception. "But in your beautiful language it is possible to work miracles," he encourages him; adding shrewdly, with an eye on advertising his fame, that, "It would be expedient to add to the German edition a preface containing a short account of the reception the book has had in the three Scandinavian countries." At the same time he is somewhat suspicious as to the character of the man, and asks Hegel for advice. He assures Siebold that he does not wish his biography to smack of humbug; yet his remark to his old friend Lorentz Dietrichson — who is to write this biography — is cynical enough: "My dear friend, write up something 'som passer for tyskerne'— that will suit the German sort of mind; write it as flatteringly as your conscience will permit you; woeful tales of a poet's misery don't draw any longer; tell them, rather, that government and Storthing have pensioned me, that I am travelling, and that I am staying 'in dem grossen Vaterlande,' etc."

The one thing that will immediately strike the beholder in all portraits of Ibsen is the line of immense repression around his mouth. It surely represents tendencies fought down with enormous will power — whether for good or ill — the dross

and impurities he speaks of as precipitated in various aspects of his poetry; among them undoubtedly the Peer Gynt-Steensgaard-Hjalmar Ekal tendency to scatter himself, to substitute unreal motives, to "go round about," to lose out of sight the principal aim of life. From his earliest times he realized the necessity of concentrating one's efforts, and unflinchingly stuck to the course once fixed upon. A dramatist he was to be. All else must be not merely subordinated, but eliminated, sacrificed at whatever cost. He has a decided talent for painting, but resigns the cultivation of his gift, to surrender himself wholly to literature. He deliberately forsakes his promising activities in the field of criticism, of folklore, to become a purely creative artist. He is, undoubtedly, an able stage manager, but interprets his call to be to revivify the drama itself. And to that narrowly delimited and self-appointed task he then confined his great intellect for the whole of a long life, to the exclusion of all else. But, again, being the dramatist, and with the sole purpose in mind to describe human life, the whole wide world is his to view, and he becomes the absorbed spectator of all humanity. Rarely has poet — that supposedly irresponsible, gay creature — lived a life so thoroughly *uno tenore* — of one piece.

The observation suggests itself that, as is the case with so many men of genius, the condition of his greatness also forms his limitation, and that Ibsen is trying to make a virtue of a defect. Indeed, his is not the richly flowing and many-facetted

genius of such as Goethe and Björnson, capable of producing masterpieces in all departments of literature; nor, for that matter, the more common spontaneousness of the great lyric poet, reflecting the world in iris-hued visions of beauty: excepting when aglow with his dominant passion of indignation and scorn — as in his patriotic lyrics — his manner is sober, subdued, reflective, rather than imaginative and fiery. Or, is this style but a result of his recognizing and accentuating his limitation?

The same inquiry may pertinently be made in regard to Ibsen's epistolary style. Nowhere, we should imagine, is a man's emotional nature shown so clearly as in a correspondence whose lifelong duration precludes deception. But here, again, we are constantly aware of efforts at repression. Ibsen surrounds his innermost nature with a triple wall of silence. He has no need to come forth and disburden himself to others. Friends were to him "an expensive luxury" — and letters, very probably, a downright nuisance. Hence the many and tediously iterated excuses for not having written with which he frequently begins some rather unimportant communication. Generally, he has been absorbed — for months — in intense work on a new drama; has been so busy as not to find mental leisure to write some little note: and when he finally does buckle down to the unavoidable task, nothing could be further removed from spontaneity.

Granting that the charm of letter-writing as an art consists in the entire absence of premeditation, in unwittingly and artlessly revealing the predilec-

tions, foibles, views of the writer, irresponsibly rambling on, *currente calamo*, in the manner and on matters most congenial to him, we can readily conceive that Ibsen's precise intellect would be disinclined to unbend to such a formless and slipshod mode of expression. His letters are composed.* He merely says what he has started out to say, business letter like. There is no amiable straying aside for a moment from the intended path; never no beauteous imagining, plucked like a flower from the roadside; no sudden flash of wit; no pensive lingering over some haunting vision. He seems to have made up his mind never to let himself go. And even when a warmer expression is warranted, as he remarks in the letter to Björnson above quoted, he is as often as not reserved, professorially correct and laboriously precise — with the one exception, perhaps, of the notes to Fräulein Raff, that show a paternally benevolent interest.†

Ibsen never made any pretensions of being an orator. For one thing he is in no wise an improvisator, and unable to give immediate utterance to the sentiment of the hour; he lacks the full-throated eloquence, the lyric fervor, and all the other attributes of the public speaker; but then his very temperament precluded even a premeditated attempt to speak publicly. His whole make-up is non-

*According to an oral communication from Halvdan Koht (editor of the promised edition of Ibsen's posthumous works), there has actually been found a rough draught for one of his letters.

†The letters to Fräulein Bardach are not included in the present collection, for various reasons.

declamatory — excepting, indeed, also here, when he blusters forth some scathing philippic. His is a nature that abhors platitudes, has a direct hatred of the commonplace, the current coin, the phrase. His most abject figures are Steensgaard and Hjalmar Ekdal, ready speakers both. In fact, the genuine ironist rarely is an effective speaker, and hardly ever wishes to be. Thus Ibsen is ever negative — sceptical, first of all, about public comprehension *en masse;* wishes to pour cold water on enthusiasm — cool down to reflection, rather than carry away and fire up the profane crowd with its own ideals. Like Kierkegaard, greatest individualist of modern times, he insists on appealing only to the individual, holding unions, clubs, and the like, in contempt.

Under such circumstances it is hardly probable that the carefully prepared utterances — called speeches for lack of a better term — found immediate appreciation, apart from the personality of the speaker. Of course, they are neither harangues, addresses, after-dinner speeches, nor do they belong to any other recognized category of oratorical effort. They are, perhaps, best to be likened with pronunciamentoes, declarations of faith, summarizing the general conclusions he had arrived at for the time.

Viewed as such, they are veritable gems of concise and incisive statement. As in all his works, he shows himself a master of exquisite form — that he is unrivalled in skilful exposition is sufficiently clear from his dramas. In his sparing use of

adjectives he reminds one of Lessing. No superfluous words, no emotional dross. Like well-directed blows of a hammer sentence after sentence of lucid statement and sound sense drives home the argument to the desired consummation; and, when starting under somewhat uncongenial or adverse conditions, a few deft strokes of his rapier suffice to disarm opposition and leave him free to start from his own basis.

As to the contents of these speeches, made at widely different times and at different occasions, we must remember that Ibsen never was a so-called " systematic " thinker of the schools. To live and swear by any philosophic system, even one of his own making, would have been to him an abomination. He was, rather, an existential thinker, one who conceives life in terms of existence. Truth is to him, like liberty, a process, never a consummation. So soon as you have attained to it, so soon its real essence has escaped you again. He remains a Doctor Stockmann to the very last — gloriously unconscious whither his thought will lead him, once its trend has satisfied him, ever ready with some tart paradox, absolutely unconcerned about the possible effect of his words on his audience. Least of all would it have caused him any uneasiness to have his attention called to flagrant contradictions to previous opinions — to him, all is subject to the law of change; what is true and helpful to-day may kill to-morrow.

This philosophic opportunism, this refusing to come to anchor and explain life from any one fixed

point of view has the advantage of never binding the poet in his search for truth, of never hampering him with preconceived notions of consistency. Ibsen himself insists in so many words that he has been more of a poet and less of a social philosopher than people are inclined to believe. But the poet, he also insists, " sees," is in intimate contact with his times, focuses and gives voice to what dimly moves in men's consciousness, and by his divinatory power foretells the future. Discoveries are not made by armed cruisers. Your philosopher, unless he be poet also, will ever but by main force occupy the new lands first touched upon and divined by the lighter craft of the poet.

If for all that Ibsen's philosophy in his later speeches strikes us to-day as essentially sound and thoroughly practical, it is because it is felt to grow naturally out of the central idea pervading all his lifework: his uncompromising individualism. To him, the only salvation to be hoped for lies in the individual working out his own life to the utmost limit of possibility, in his being true to himself. It is his own matter to steer between the Scylla of "Brand " and the Charybdis of "Peer Gynt." The main thing ever is that the individual becomes roused and asserts his sacred, innate rights over against the usurpations of the state, of his supposed duties, of the conventions of society. He will have none of the ethics of the ant-heap.

Helmer.— You are first of all wife and mother.

Nora.— That I don't believe any longer. I believe that first of all I am an individual.

And through all of Ibsen's works *that* is the ever-recurring burthen, that is the meaning of his unwearying calling upon the human spirit to revolt. When he is hailed by women's rights leagues — the world over — as their own great protagonist, he replies that he never consciously worked for their cause, that, in fact, he does not know what the " woman's cause " really is — that to him it has ever been a cause of human beings. If he warns against Germany, it is because he imagines that individualism is doomed in that country. When he is feasted at the Swedish Authors' League, he hastens to emphasize the awkward fact that an authors' league is essentially self-contradictory. In Christiania he rejoices at no longer being thought a party poet, but responsible only for himself. Speaking to the workmen of Throndhjem, he deplores that full liberty of belief and opinion is not yet granted to the individual, and fears that the present type of wishy-washy democracy, with its tyranny of the dominating party, will not truly liberate, unless infused with the element of individual " nobility." And, as to the evaluation of literature, his opinion is that only that poetry is of true value which is the subjective interpretation of the individual's own experience. He, for one, has much too keen an insight into history and human character fondly to believe that real progress ever was or will be made by 'collective effort '— that any appeal ever will stir man to the depths excepting it be addressed to *him*, to the Individual.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

SPEECHES

SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF THE MEMORIAL STATUE ON P. A. MUNCH'S GRAVE IN ROME,* JUNE 12th, 1865

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I HAVE been asked to say a few words on the occasion of the monument which has recently been erected here on the grave of my departed countryman.

As far as I can see, about all the Swedes and Danes who at present live in Rome are here to-day. This was not more than I had expected; for if there is anything in which the Scandinavian brother spirit has manifested itself hitherto as living and really existing, it is in a never-abating readiness to celebrate each other's festivals.

But my stay in Rome has a long time ago removed the prejudice, pardonable indeed, that the Scandinavian spirit of unity is out of the question except in connection with international festivities. However, it is true, down here we are not troubled by the trivialities of daily life, which dull and weaken, nor are we threatened by the moments in which great crises take place, and about which history gives evidence that in former days they uplifted and fortified nations as well as individuals, but which in our times have another effect.

However that may be, I thank you on behalf of

*Peter Andreas Munch, born in Christiania, 1810, died in Rome 1863. His chief work is the large and comprehensive "History of the Norwegian People" (in eight volumes).

my countrymen and myself because you have made your appearance here, and because I know with certainty that your presence is more than a mere form of politeness. Each of you has known the deceased, at least by name; his works are found among you, at least they are found on the shelves of our library;* several of you have lived part of your Roman life together with him, and I believe it would be difficult to come in contact with such a man without getting to love him.

My countrymen of course embrace his memory with all the esteem which is being shared by every Norwegian. The Swedes, who themselves have a great and rich and brilliant literature about their equally great and rich and brilliant past history, know and appreciate what Norway possessed and what she has lost in Munch.

With the Danes, however, the case is somewhat different. Munch's name is not as a rule mentioned with love in Denmark. I have myself experienced it, experienced it often, and it has grieved me. However, I believe that it is here as is so often the case, mere parrotry rather than a clear and vivid comprehension of the true nature of the question, which has spread this sentiment among the multitude. Whenever I asked a Dane: Why is it then after all that you dislike Munch? I have almost always received the answer: " Well, we dislike him first because of his theory of immi-

*The library of the Scandinavian Society in Rome, then located in the Palazzo Corca, one of the bastions of the ruins of Emperor Augustus' mausoleum. For a description of the Society and its library see Dietrichson, Svundne Tider, v. 3, p. 115 ff.

gration, according to which the Danes are of another origin than the inhabitants of the remainder of Scandinavia;* and next we dislike him for his advice to Denmark to become the admiralty state of Germany."

On the first point I will only say: Leave that to our scholars; among them it is in the best of hands. It has already given rise to many ingenious theories and shall probably give rise to still more, before the time comes, when nothing more can be said either for or against. But *one* thing I wish in this connection to say to you Danes, and for the sake of us all I would that I could say it in such a manner that it could be heard by all of your people: Exterminate by word and intellectual achievement, exterminate through your art and your literature, exterminate by your whole manner of living and thinking and being, that faction in your country which with such surprisingly sympathetical ties feels itself drawn toward the South, that faction in your country which does all its work with eyes turned thither, as if it had there its kin, its original home, and which to a layman almost furnishes proof that at least as far as some of you are concerned, there might after all be some truth in the theory of Munch.† This would be the most dignified way to protest; and if the assertion of our late historian might contribute its share to goad you on

*According to Munch, Norway and Sweden were settled from the North, while Denmark was largely settled from the South.

†Allusion to the danger threatening Danish nationality from Germany. The speech was delivered shortly after the Dano-Prussian war of 1864.

to this, then the time might still come when you, like ourselves, thank God that he threw out this theory, even if it should prove to be a delusion ten times over.

That his advice regarding the position which your country ought to hold in Europe has given you offense, I can understand; but it is inconsistent to make him the object of hatred on this account, while you at the same time, with the good nature which is peculiar to your nation, open your arms and hearts to the many among the brother countries' so-called correct Scandinavians who certainly never would have given you advice harsh and offensive in form, such as Munch gave it, but who, by failing you in your need, by staying away from the place where, in the moment of the common danger, we should have expected to find them, have in fact contributed to drive you so sadly far on along the way which you were so offended at Munch for pointing out as the one that was most suitable to you.

Whatever Munch has expressed was his conviction at the moment he gave utterance to it, of that I am convinced, and that ought to make your feelings toward him less harsh. Let, then,— this I say to you Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians,— let the consummation come about that the truth may become a power in our common companionship; we have seen what phrases lead to. We have so far in our national negotiations parleyed like diplomats, we have exchanged polite notes, we have been delicate like a perfume, and it was only when the

serious part of the feast was to begin that we realized sufficiently what the whole business so far had been, — a fragrance, neither more nor less.

People at home in Norway were wont to say of Munch that he was inconsistent, and abroad they have echoed this. But that depends on how it is looked at. A statesman, or on the whole a man who has a great, certain, imperative task to perform, may say that no storm shall drive him from his path, — and if the man is as strong as his words, no storm will drive him from his path, either.

But thus neither can nor shall the scientific investigator speak. He has not the road staked out before him: he must break it through thickets and mire, must many a time turn around and begin from a new starting point in order to reach his goal, which he cannot in advance arbitrarily fix, but which just through his investigation is laboriously to be discovered. In this respect Munch has been inconsistent; that shall be said to his honor here on his grave.

Thus I think that after all we are all assembled here in common love and respect for the memory of the deceased.

The stone which is here erected his nation has not placed over him; it originates from a small circle of his friends. But I will hope that the state will follow their example. I will hope that at home among us it will erect to him a visible memorial, in its way just as dignified as the one by which his grave here is marked.

I know that at home there are many who think

that there was done exceedingly much during his lifetime on the part of the state for Munch and his scientific work. This is a misunderstanding which I here shall protest against. The state has done its duty, nothing more. But the misunderstanding arises from the fact, that in most cases of the same kind the state does much less than its duty. This displaces the standard for what may with due right be demanded from it.

As long as the state authorities only regard themselves as called upon to take care of the *welfare of the political community*, and do not place the *development of the nation's life* on the same plane, so long have they solved only one, and that hardly the chief, half of their task. *States* like ours cannot defend themselves by their material prosperity, but *nations* like ours can, if they do their work in the service of culture, science, art, and literature, acquire for themselves a right to exist, a right which history shows that violence and power from without always have been careful not to attack.

In our home countries the individual has, as far as his ability goes, both heart and help for the activity that aims to support and lift our internal, national life; this I must from my own experience and with gratitude acknowledge, and I think that several of my countrymen here may likewise do the same. But the state as such in our countries sees as yet in free science, in art, and in literature only the decorations, not the pillars and the beams of the edifice. This humiliating state of affairs I should think, it might now be time to see ended. The

man who does the intellectual work in a nation has a right to carry his head high; he has a right to protest when for *his* task is offered only a part of the surplus which is left after the material needs of the state have been satisfied, and that even only provided these needs leave any surplus.

Things cannot continue thus. I will hope that the serious and sad events of the latter times have opened our eyes to the fact that it is the strength of the *nation*, and not of the *state*, which saves, if there is indeed a possibility of salvation — and in this lies a hint for every state which wants to preserve its own existence, and which has no superior might to depend upon.

Therefore, I will also hope that our state authorities, as one of the many things which are to testify to a more elevated program for the future, will erect a memorial to Munch at home, a memorial which is worthy of his country, of himself, and of his work.

SPEECH TO THE NORWEGIAN STUDENTS

SEPTEMBER 10th, 1874*

Gentlemen:

WHEN during the latter years of my stay abroad it became more and more evident to me that it had now become a necessity for me to see my own country again, I will not deny that it was with considerable trepidation and doubt that I proceeded to put my journey home into effect. My stay here was, to be sure, intended to be only of short duration, but I felt, that however short it was to be, it might be long enough to disturb an illusion which I should like to continue to live in.

I asked myself: in what sort of spirit will my countrymen receive me? The favorable reception which the books I sent home have found could not quite reassure me; for the question always arose: what is my personal relation to my countrymen?

For it certainly cannot be denied that at several points there has been a feeling of animosity. So far as I have been able to understand, the complaints against me have been of a twofold natrue. People have thought that I have regarded my personal and private relationsat home with undue bitterness, and they have furthermore reproached

*During the summer of 1874 Ibsen spent a couple of months in Norway, after an absence of ten years. On the afternoon of September 10th the students marched in procession to the home of the poet and greeted him in song and word. The speech that follows is Ibsen's answer to the students.

me for having attacked occurrences in our national life which, according to the opinion of many, deserved quite a different sort of treatment than mockery.

I do not think I could use this day, so honorable and joyful to me, to better purpose than to make an explanation and a confession.

My private relations I have never made the direct subject of any poetical work. In the earlier hard times these relations were of less importance to me than I have afterwards often been able to justify to myself. When the nest of the eider duck was robbed the first and second and third time, it was of illusions and of great hopes of life that it was robbed.* When at festival gatherings I have been sensible of recollections like the bear in the hands of his tamer, it has been because I have been co-responsible in a time which buried a glorious thought amid song and feasting.†

And what is it then that constitutes a poet? As for me, it was a long time before I realized that to be a poet, that is chiefly to see, but mark well, to see in such a manner that the thing seen is perceived by his audience just as the poet saw it. But thus is seen and thus is appreciated that only which has been lived through. And as regards the thing which has been lived through, that is just the secret of the literature of modern times. All that I

*Cf. Ibsen's poem, "The Eider Duck" ("Ederfuglen"); translated into English in A. Johnstone's "Translations from the Norse" (Gloucester, 1876), and in P. W. Shedd's "The Oceanides" (New York, 1902).

†Cf. Ibsen's poem, "The Power of Memory" ("Mindets Magt"); translated into English in P. W. Shedd's "The Oceanides" (New York, 1902).

have written, these last ten years, I have, mentally, lived through. But no poet lives through anything isolated. What he lives through all of his countrymen live through together with him. For if that were not so, what would establish the bridge of understanding between the producing and the receiving mind?

And what is it, then, that I have lived through and written on? The range has been large. Partly, I have written on that which only by glimpses and at my best moments I have felt stirring vividly within me as something great and beautiful. I have written on that which, so to speak, has stood higher than my daily self, and I have written on this in order to fasten it over against and within myself.

But I have also written on the opposite, on that which to introspective contemplation appears as the dregs and sediment of one's own nature. The work of writing has in this case been to me like a bath which I have felt to leave cleaner, healthier, and freer. Yes, gentlemen, nobody can poetically present that to which he has not to a certain degree and at least at times the model within himself. And who is the man among us who has not now and then felt and acknowledged within himself a contradiction between word and action, between will and task, between life and teaching on the whole? Or who is there among us who has not, at least in some cases, selfishly been sufficient unto himself, and half unconsciously, half in good faith, has extenuated this conduct both to others and to himself?

I have thought that when I say this to you, to the students, it will reach exactly its right address. It will be understood as it is to be understood; for a student has essentially the same task as the poet: to make clear to himself, and thereby to others, the temporal and eternal questions which are astir in the age and in the community to which he belongs.

In this respect I dare to say of myself that, during my stay abroad, I have endeavored to be a good student. A poet by nature belongs to the far-sighted. Never have I seen the fatherland and the actual life of the fatherland so fully, so clearly, and at a closer range than just from afar and during my absence.

And now, my dear countrymen, in conclusion a few words which are likewise connected with something I have lived through. When Emperor Julian stands at the end of his career, and everything collapses round about him, there is nothing which renders him so despondent as the thought that all which he had gained was this: to be remembered with respectful appreciation by clear and cool heads, whereas his opponents lived on, rich in the love of warm, living human hearts. This motive has proceeded from something that I have lived through; it has its origin in a question that I have at times put to myself, down there in the solitude. Now the young people of Norway have come to me here to-night and given me the answer in word and song, have given me the answer so warmly and so clearly as I had never

expected to hear it. This answer I will take along as the richest result of my visit with my countrymen at home, and it is my hope and my belief that what I experience to-night is an inner experience which sometime shall find its reflection in a coming work. And if this happens, if sometime I shall send such a book home, then I ask that the students receive it as if it were a handshake and a thanks for this meeting; I ask you to receive it as the ones who have a share in it.

SPEECH TO THE WORKINGMEN OF TRONDHJEM, JUNE 14th, 1885

EIGHT days ago I returned home again to Norway after an absence of eleven years.

During these eight days at home I have experienced more of the joy of life than during all the eleven years abroad.

I have found immense progress in most lines, and I have seen that the nation to which I most closely belong has approached the rest of Europe considerably more than formerly.

But the visit at home has also caused me disappointments. My experience has shown me that the most indispensable individual rights are not as yet safeguarded as I believed I might hope and expect under the new form of government.

A ruling majority does not grant the individual either liberty of faith or liberty of expression beyond an arbitrarily fixed limit.

So there is still much to be done before we may be said to have attained to real liberty. But I fear that it will be beyond the power of our *present* democracy to solve these problems. An element of *nobility* must enter into our political life, our administration, our representation, and our press.

Of course I am not thinking of the nobility of *birth*, nor of that of *wealth*, nor of that of *knowledge*, neither of that of *ability* or intelligence. But I think of the nobility of *character*, of the nobility of will and mind.

That alone it is which can make us free.

This nobility which I hope will be granted to our nation will come to us from two sources. It will come to us from two groups which have not as yet been irreparably harmed by party pressure. It will come to us from our women and from our workingmen.

The reshaping of social conditions which is now under way out there in Europe is concerned chiefly with the future position of the workingman and of woman.

That it is which I hope for and wait for; and it is that that I will work for, and shall work for my whole life so far as I am able.

It is with these words that I take pleasure in extending to you my most hearty thanks for all the honor and joy which the Trondhjem labor union to-night has given me. And while extending my thanks I propose a long life to the laboring class and its future.

SPEECH AT THE DANISH STUDENTS' BANQUET, COPENHAGEN, October 3d, 1885

I DO not like it at all to hear my praises sung so loudly. I prefer solitude, and I always feel an inclination to protest when the health of an artist or a poet is proposed with a motive such as: There stands he, and there far away are the others. But the thanks given me contains also an admission. If my existence has been of any importance, as you say it has, the reason is that there is kinship between me and the times. There is no yawning gulf fixed between the one who produces and the one who receives. There is kinship between the two. I thank you for the kinship I have found here among you.

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET IN STOCKHOLM, September 24th, 1887

Ladies and Gentlemen:

MY most sincere thanks for all the friendliness and good understanding which I have also at this time received proofs of here. A great happiness is experienced in the feeling of possessing a greater country. But to reply fully to all the words of praise of which I have just been made the object lies beyond and above my power. There is, however, one particular point in these utterances which I should like to consider for a moment. It has been said that I, and that in a prominent manner, have contributed to create a new era in these countries. I, on the contrary, believe that the time in which we now live might with quite as good reason be characterized as a conclusion, and that from it something new is about to be born. For I believe that the teaching of natural science about evolution has validity also as regards the mental factors of life. I believe that the time will soon come when political and social conceptions will cease to exist in their present forms, and that from their coalescence there will come a unity, which, for the present, will contain the conditions for the happiness of mankind. I believe that poetry, philosophy and religion will be merged in a new category and become a new vital force, of which we

who live now can have no clear conception.

It has been said of me on different occasions that I am a pessimist. And so I am in so far as I do not believe in the everlastingness of human ideals. But I am also an optimist in so far as I firmly believe in the capacity for procreation and development of ideals. Especially, to be more definite, am I of the opinion that the ideals of our time, while disintegrating, are tending towards what in my play " Emperor and Galilean " I indicated by the name of " the third kingdom." Therefore, permit me to drink a toast to that which is in the process of formation,— to that which is to come. It is on a Saturday night that we are assembled here. Following it comes the day of rest, the festival day, the holy day — whichever you wish to call it. For my part I shall be content with the result of my life's work, if this work can serve to prepare the spirit for the morrow. But above all I shall be content if it shall serve to strengthen the mind in that week of work which will of a necessity follow.

I thank you for your attention.

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET* IN CHRISTIANIA, March 23d, 1898

WHEN I just now asked for silence it became so quiet all around. At least so it seemed to me. But if you have expected that I should answer fully to all those warm, kind words which have been spoken to me, you are mistaken. I can express my most cordial thanks for them only in a general way; and likewise for all the honor and homage which is being shown me here to-day.

Or perhaps you have expected that I should begin to speak of my books? But that I would not be able to do. For in that case I should have to bring in my whole life. And that by itself would make a mighty thick book, that alone.

And, furthermore, I now really have in mind to *write* such a book. A book which will link my life and my writings together into an explanatory whole. Yes, for I think that I have now attained so ripe an age that I might be permitted to allow myself some little breathing time,— take one year's vacation — for such a book would, indeed, be vacation work compared with the exciting and exhausting writing of dramas. And a vacation I have never really had since I left Norway thirty-four years ago. It seems to me I may need it now.

But, ladies and gentlemen, you must not on that

*On the occasion of Ibsen's seventieth birthday, March 20th, 1898.

account think that I intend, definitely, to lay aside my dramatic quill. No, I intend to resort and hold to that until the last. For I still have sundry whimsies in stock which I have not so far found opportunity to give expression to. Only when I have well rid myself of these will it be time to lay aside my dramatic quill. And how easy would it be to stop *then* as compared with the time when I was yet in the midst of the beginning! How silent and empty it was around one then! How the individual fellow-combatants stood scattered, each by himself, without coherence, without connecting links between them! Many a time it would seem to me then as if — once passed away — I had never been here. Nor my work, either!

But *now!* Now it has become populous round about. Young forces, confident of victory, have joined. *They* do not any longer have to write for a narrow circle. *They* have a public, an entire people to whom they may speak and to whom they may direct their thoughts and feelings. Whether they meet *opposition* or *adherence* — that is immaterial. It is only the *inability*, the *unwillingness to hear* which is of evil. That have *I* felt.

I sincerely regret that I have come in contact so little with many in this country who are to continue the work. Not because I would, if such was the case, attempt to exert any pressure, but that I myself might reach a deeper comprehension. And particularly would I have used that closer relation to remove a misconception which has in many ways been a hindrance to *me*,— the misconception

namely, that there should be a feeling of absolute happiness connected with that rare fairytale fate which I have had: to gain fame and name yonder in the many lands. And I have gained warm, understanding hearts out there, too. *That* first and foremost.

But this real inner happiness,— that is no find, no gift. It must be acquired at a price which may often be felt to be heavy enough. For *that* is the point: that he who has gained for himself a home out in the many lands,— in his inmost soul he feels nowhere quite at home,— hardly even in the country of his birth.

But perhaps that may come yet. And I shall regard this evening as a starting point.

For *here* I behold something that resembles an agreement. *Here* all views, all diverging opinions have been able to gather about one and the same thing. I have here no longer the painful feeling of being regarded as the poet of a party, either of the one or of the other. His entire people a poet must have around him — either in adherence or in opposition. And then the idea of unity will go further towards larger aims and higher tasks.—That is my hope and my belief.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to accept my most cordial thanks for all your kindness and friendliness.

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET IN COPENHAGEN, April 1st, 1898

PROFESSOR HANSEN'S speech has confused me and upset my answer. I must now extemporize and kindly ask for your attention. To-day is the first of April. On the same day in the year 1864 I arrived for the first time in Copenhagen.* That is now thirty-four years ago. Remember the date and the year! I travelled southward, through Germany and Austria, and passed through the Alps on the ninth of May. On the high mountains the clouds hung like great dark curtains, and underneath these and through the tunnel we rode until we suddenly found ourselves at Miramare, where the beauty of the South, a wonderfully bright gleam, shining like white marble, suddenly revealed itself to me and placed its stamp on my whole later production, even though not all in it was a thing of beauty.

This feeling of having escaped from the darkness into the light, from the mists through a tunnel out into the sunshine, that feeling I again experienced when the other morning I gazed the length of the Sound. And then I found here the trusty Danish eyes. It seemed to me that these two journeys acquired an inner connection, and for this I give you most cordial thanks.

*Ibsen seems to forget that he had been in Copenhagen in 1852.

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET OF THE SWEDISH AUTHORS' LEAGUE, STOCKHOLM, April 11th, 1898

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I WISH to thank you cordially for this evening. It has been a rather peculiar experience for me to be present here. I do not know that I have ever belonged to any association, and I almost think that it is altogether the first time that I have been present at such a gathering. It is true that there is a society in Christiania which is of somewhat the same nature as this one, but there I am a member for the sake of appearance only, and for several reasons never take any part in its meetings. Here for the first time I have appeared at a club, and so it is something new to me. For the truth is, a society does not suit my temperament. And in a certain sense it would seem as if organization were least of all something adapted to authors; for authors must go their own wild ways — ay, as wild as they can ever wish, if they are to fulfill the mission of their lives. I think, however, that such a club as this may after all in certain respects have its tasks to perform. Real cultural tasks. One of these tasks is this, that authors jointly protect themselves outwardly, something which may many times be of great necessity. Then there is another task which I think is of no less importance, and which I cannot fail to emphasize here. It is unfor-

tunately true that dramatic authors must be translated; but the northern peoples? — for I really cannot give up my old idea of a united North as a cultural unity,— should they not be able to agree to avoid as much as possible reading each other in translation? For that which we read in translation is always in danger of being more or less misunderstood; since unfortunately the translators themselves are too often somewhat lacking in comprehension. I think that if we would read each other in the original we should reach to a far more intimate and deeper understanding of the content. To work for improvement in this direction will be one of the noblest tasks of this club.

In conclusion will you let me say that I always feel so well here in Sweden. I have found here an old established culture, founded on a strong tradition — stronger than in many other countries — and which reaches deeper than many think. And then I have met here so many good and cordial characters. Such I do not easily forget when I have once learned to know them.

I shall always hold in imperishable memory this evening and all those here who have shown me the honor to wish to be with me. My hearty thanks to you!

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET IN STOCKHOLM, April 13th, 1898

IT seems to me like a dream, this my visit here in Stockholm; and indeed it is a dream. The first figure that met me in the dream was His Majesty the King.* He bestowed upon me the greatest demonstration of honor that could have been accorded me. I was surprised. I who came to express my gratitude received still more to be grateful for. And now I am invited to this splendid and brilliant gathering here, so representative in every way. When His Majesty the King met me with such a demonstration of honor, it all appeared to me like an ingenious royal eccentricity. And something similar I feel also in this place. I do not see in this homage which is here paid me a mere personal homage. I see in it an approval of literature as a cultural power, expressed by the Swedish people. And what effect this must have on me I am sure you can imagine. My life has passed like a long, long, quiet week, and as I stand here in the real passion week, my life is transformed into a fairy play. I, the old dramatist, see my life remolded into a poem, a fairy poem. It has been transformed into a summer night's dream. My thanks for the transformation.

*Oscar II (1829-1907), King of Norway and Sweden, 1872-1905, King of Sweden, 1905-1907.

SPEECH AT THE FESTIVAL OF THE NORWEGIAN WOMEN'S RIGHTS LEAGUE, CHRISTIANIA, MAY 26th, 1898

I AM not a member of the Women's Rights League. Whatever I have written has been without any conscious thought of making propaganda. I have been more poet and less social philosopher than people generally seem inclined to believe. I thank you for the toast, but must disclaim the honor of having consciously worked for the women's rights movement. I am not even quite clear as to just what this women's rights movement really is. To me it has seemed a problem of humanity in general. And if you read my books carefully you will understand this. True enough, it is desirable to solve the problem of women's rights, along with all the others; but that has not been the whole purpose. My task has been the *description of humanity*. To be sure, whenever such a description is felt to be reasonably true, the reader will insert his own feelings and sentiments into the work of the poet. These are attributed to the poet; but incorrectly so. Every reader remolds it so beautifully and nicely, each according to his own personality. Not only those who write, but also those who read are poets; they are collaborators; they are often more poetical than the poet himself.

With these reservations I undertake to thank

you for the toast which has been given to me. For this I recognize, indeed, that women have an important task to perform in the particular directions this club is working along. I will express my thanks by proposing a toast to the Women's Rights League, wishing it progress and success.

The task always before my mind has been to advance our country and give the people a higher standard. To obtain this, two factors are of importance: it is for the *mothers* by strenuous and sustained labor to awaken a conscious feeling of *culture* and *discipline*. This must be created in men before it will be possible to lift the people to a higher plane. It is the women who are to solve the social problem. As mothers they are to do it. And only as such can they do it. Here lies a great task for woman. My thanks! and success to the Women's Rights League!

LETTERS

I*

TO CLEMENS PETERSEN†

CHRISTIANIA, August 10th, 1863

Mr. Clemens Petersen:

I CAN never get on with letter writing, mostly because I apprehend that my authorship in this line may, with good reason, be characterized in the same fashion as you — rather harshly, it would seem to me — characterize my prose in general; nevertheless I must write you a few lines to thank you, sincerely and cordially, for your review of my book. I thank you both for that in which I agree with you (which is not exclusively those parts of your criticism complimentary to me) and for that about which, when I am sometime fortunate enough to meet you personally, I shall at least try to argue with you. Especially do I thank you because I see that you have not so much against me, after all, as until now I had instinctively imagined; this has to me an importance it would be difficult to convince you of, who do not know to how terrible a degree I feel intellectually alone up

*Letters I-X were first published in the Norwegian magazine *Samtiden*, February, 1908.

†Clemens Petersen was a leading literary critic of the day. From 1857 to 1868 he contributed to *Fædrelandet*. He had considerable influence, and his views were a strong determining factor in public opinion. He reviewed rather favorably some of Ibsen's earlier works, among them "Love's Comedy," referred to in the letter, which was reviewed at some length in *Fædrelandet*, July 18, 1863.

here. My "friends'" view of me does not, by the way, do me any harm; for I see, with regard to myself, in all points clearer than all my friends—and this certainly not to my advantage. I am now working on a historical play in five acts,* but in prose, I *cannot* write it in verse. You do me some little injustice when you hint that I have tried to imitate Björnson's manner; "Lady Inger of Östraat" and "The Warriors at Helgeland" were written before Björnson had yet written a line. (N.B. it is possible that "Between the Battles" existed at the time when I wrote "The Warriors," but it did not and could not come under my eye.) As to "Love's Comedy" I can assure you that if ever it was necessary for an author to rid himself of a sentiment and a subject it was so with me when I began that work. I shall follow your kind advice to send "Lady Inger" to the Royal Theatre; I only wish that I might handle the matter in the right way and that it might succeed. I have felt a strong desire to send you these few grateful lines, for I have a deep, personal feeling that you have done me a good service by not putting my book aside in silence.

Yours obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

*"The Pretenders."

visende Bølkning og Lydning, som mine senere arbejder fra så mange hold har været genstand for.

Kun ved at opfatte og bilægge sig min samtlige produktion som en sammenhængende, kontinuerlig hélhed vil man modtage det tilsigtede, bestaffende indtryk af de enkelte dele.

Min venlige henstillen til læserne er derfor, kort og godt, den at man ikke vil lægge noget skjékke forelöbig til side, ikke forelöbig springe noget over, men at man vil bilægge sig værkerne — gennemlæse og gennemleve dem — i den samme rækkefölge som den, hvori jeg har digtet dem.

Kristiania i Marts 1898.

Henrik Ibsen.

II

ROME, December 4th, 1865

Mr. Clemens Petersen:

NEXT Christmas there will appear a dramatic poem* by me which I most urgently ask you to interest yourself in as far as your conscience in any way will permit. The meanness and hopelessness in my home country have compelled me to look into myself and into the condition of affairs; out of this the sentiment and the content of the poem have developed. You once wrote of me that the versified form with the symbolic meaning behind it was my most natural mode of expression. I have often thought about it. I believe the same myself, and in concurrence therewith the poem has shaped itself. But I have not been able to avoid striking with hard hands. I ask you, if you can, not to examine this feature under any magnifying glass. Your review will be a decisive factor in my countrymen's reception of the poem and of those truths which I have not been able to withhold; but of course I should like as long as possible to avoid any martyrdom.

The journalistic scribblers that are criticising in Norway will not understand it. I therefore urgently ask that as soon and as strongly as possible you will support me in all those points where

*" Brand " which did not appear, however, until the spring of 1866.

you find that the matter or I myself deserve it. Should you have anything to communicate to me that does not find a place in your public review — which I await with assurance and eagerness — I would thank you most heartily for a few lines; I have an insufferably oppressive feeling of standing alone.

Yours truly,

HENRIK IBSEN

III

ROME, March 9th, 1867

Mr. Cand. Mag. Clemens Petersen:

ALTHOUGH I have confined myself — for nearly a year now — to expressing to you by means of a third person my thankfulness for your review of "Brand" and the advantages thereby secured to me, it is certainly not from a lack of appreciation of your services; but you once took occasion to write a word about undue intimacy after short and hasty acquaintance, and that word has made me somewhat shy. I feel very sure, however, that there has been no such "affectation" in my appeals to you; yet the characteristic, such as you interpret it, is at any rate so truly Norwegian that I can easily see that it was a Norwegian who gave you opportunity for the observation and the remark.

In spite of this I still venture to send you my thanks for the review — both for the written criticism and for the one which lies in what is not expressed. The first has been a great personal joy to me and to my advantage with the public, the latter has surely not been any joy to me, but has, thereby, been all the more helpful as against a self-analysis that may not be shirked with impunity.

But I have more to thank you for than the review of "Brand" and my other works. I want

to thank you for every word you have written besides, and I hope that in my new work* you will acknowledge that I have taken an essential step forward.

I have been told that you once said that you did not believe it would be of any use to review my works, as I would probably not follow suggestions for improvement. I would certainly not be able to follow directions upon the strength of mere authority, for thus I would become untrue in my own sight, and such a blind following of your suggestions would, I am quite sure, afford you no satisfaction either. But this step forward that I have mentioned consists in just this fact, that hereafter there can be no question of " want to be," but of " must be "; and across that yawning gulf you have helped me, and therefore it is that I now thank you and always shall thank you.

Hoping that in these lines you will not see anything more or less than our certainly remote acquaintance grants me the privilege of writing, I am,

Your ever thankful

HENRIK IBSEN

*" Peer Gynt " (see Ibsen's Letters, p. 144 *seq.*).

IV

TO P. F. SIEBOLD*

DRESDEN, February 10th, 1869

Mr. P. F. Siebold:

I MOST urgently ask you to forgive me for waiting until now to answer your kind note of the sixth of last month. A new literary work which at present demands all my time and all my thought must bear the blame for this long delay.

I am extremely grateful to you that you have chosen to translate " Brand " into German. The undertaking is certainly very difficult; but in your beautiful language it is possible to work miracles.

Do you not think it would be of advantage to add to the German edition a preface containing a short account of the reception the book has had in the three Scandinavian countries? In the course of three years five large editions have appeared. Councillor Hegel† will be glad to give you any other needed information.

If you had not already chosen your publisher, I should have advised you to apply to the proprietor of the Scandinavian bookstore in Leipsic, Mr.

*P. F. Siebold was a commercial traveller who had become acquainted with northern literature on his travels in the North.

†Frederik Hegel had, since 1850, been the head of the well-known Gyldendalske publishing firm in Copenhagen. From 1861 he had been the publisher of Björnson's works and of Ibsen's from 1865.

Helms, who has already published many translations from the Danish and Norwegian, and who, besides, is highly esteemed here.

We shall hardly meet at Christiania next summer. I do not intend to return so soon to the home where I find it too cold — in every sense of that word. I do not give up the hope, however, of sometime having the pleasure of personally making your acquaintance. Please give my regards to our mutual Scandinavian friends; and wishing and hoping that you may soon and successfully overcome all the difficulties connected with the editing, I am,

Yours respectfully and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

V

DRESDEN, May 9th, 1869

Dear Mr. P. F. Siebold:

I HAVE to ask your pardon for much. First, I must ask you to pardon the state in which I return your manuscript; in destroying some of my useless rough drafts I unfortunately happened to tear your preface in two and only discovered afterward what had happened. My delay in answering your greatly esteemed notes is due to the fact that I have been waiting for answers to certain inquiries I have had made in Leipsic. According to information that I have now received, Dr. Helms is not longer connected with the Scandinavian bookstore there. Literary friends have advised me to handle the matter in the following way: you are connected with the Leipz: *Illustr: Zeitung;* if it were possible for you to get in a biography of me there, I could furnish the necessary portrait. Councillor Hegel would furnish you with the needed material.* Such a biography ought only to contain favorable matter; the German critics will surely find enough that is objectionable, later on. I should particularly like, in

*Based on information furnished by Professor Lorentz Dietrichson, Mr. Siebold contributed a biography of Ibsen to *Illustrierte Zeitung* for March 19, 1870; his translation of "Brand" did not appear until February, 1872.

case you think it helpful, that you would mention what I had to struggle against in the earlier days, and that you would also emphasize the fact that the Cabinet and Storthing, acknowledging the position I hold in Norwegian literature, several years ago unanimously granted me a pension for life, besides providing ample travelling stipends, etc. My dear Mr. Siebold, you must not understand me as wishing this in any way to partake of humbug; that is against my nature; but people assure me those things are necessary. If my name were in that way introduced into Germany it would be far easier to get your translation published. If you would later on send it to me I would take it to Leipzig, have the translation reviewed in some of the periodicals, talk with those concerned, and not yield until the book is published. The preface might then be made considerably shorter, by referring to the biography. If you favor this plan write to me. Henceforth I shall have time at my disposal and will do everything possible to advance an enterprise which is so much to my own interest. I have a belief that "The Pretenders" might also be suitable for translation, and could be performed in German theatres; the content of the play is remarkably well suited to later German conditions; the unification of parts of the country under one head, etc.; and were I first known there, I have no doubt but that I could induce the present theatre manager of Leipsic, Heinrich Laube, to make a beginning. These last plans, however, are for the future. At present I await your answer regarding

the biography, and pray you to remember me, as I shall ever remember you, gratefully.

Yours respectfully and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

VI

DRESDEN, March 6th, 1872

My dear Mr. Siebold:

IT was a double pleasure to receive your kind letter after so long a silence. I am quite sure I wrote you after the biography appeared in *Illustr: Zeitung;* immediately afterward the war broke out, I went to Copenhagen, and all interest was entirely taken up by the grand world events. I assure you I often thought of you during that turbulent time; for I did not know whether or not you were an officer in the militia, and I imagined all kinds of possibilities. Fortunately they were only imaginings, and I thank you that you now have seriously set about introducing " Brand" to the German reading world.

I have not received the book yet; I am very desirous to see it, but do not doubt at all that the translation will satisfy me. It is high time, though, that your work should appear, for here in Dresden there is another translation ready that should even now be at the printer's. This translation is by the novelist Julie Ruhkopf, who has sent me the manuscript for approval. I consider it a matter of course that she — under the present circumstances — will not publish it. In a Berlin bookseller's periodical is announced a translation of " The Pretenders " and " The League of Youth " at the same time

that this latter play is being *localized* for the theatre in Vienna. I do not know that you have heard of my having been involved this winter in a controversy with the magazine *Im neuen Reich*, which appears in Leipsic under the direction of Dr. A. Dowe and Gustav Freitag. It was occasioned by some utterances in my poems with regard to Prussian politics. The controversy is conducted in a very chivalrous manner, however; the explanation which I have given of my standpoint has been considered satisfactory, and the matter, which was at first very disagreeable to me, will only — as my literary friends here assure me — advertise the translation of my work.

You are mistaken when you think that I do not recognize the greatness of a man like Bismarck; but I see in him an essential obstacle to a good and friendly relation between Germany and Scandinavia. The present estrangement is unnatural between two people so nearly related; there must and ought to be a closer alliance; the interest of both parties demands that. On the whole, during my long stay in Germany I have changed my views in many respects, but that subject is too long to take up in a letter; I shall have to save it until I again have the pleasure of meeting you personally. And so, for this time, a hearty farewell from

Yours truly,

HENRIK IBSEN

VII

TO BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON

(*On a calling card, with "The Pillars of Society"*)

To Björnstjerne Björnson:

YOUR words on the occasion of Georg Brandes's departure* have given me joy and deeply affected me. In them you are entirely yourself. Would you be disposed to receive the enclosed book from me and give it to your wife?†

H. I.

MUNICH, October 28th, 1877

*Georg Brandes moved in 1877 to Berlin.

†This advance on the part of Ibsen took place after several years' estrangement between the two poets. Cf. introduction, p. 20 ff.

VIII

AMALFI, July 12th, 1879

Björnstjerne Björnson:

IT was a great pleasure to receive a letter from you; but it would have been a still greater pleasure if the letter had treated of a matter in which I could feel that I might join you. But such is not the case. To the proposal in regard to the flag in its most vital essence I must object and I will briefly show why.*

In the first place I think that the protest against the union sign should have been made at the time it was proposed to put the sign there or else not at all. Now the sign has grown to be a fact and hence it must stay. For you cannot eradicate the consciousness of union from our minds; what satisfaction can it be, then, to take the sign from the flag? That it should be a sign of dependency I cannot at all understand. The Swedish flag bears the same mark. That shows that we are not more dependent on the Swedes than they are on us. For that matter, I do not have any great liking for

*In 1844 the so-called " union flag " was introduced, having a union sign in the upper corner nearest the mast. This sign consisted of the colors of both Sweden and Norway,— red, white, blue, and yellow, and was to be displayed in the commercial, post, and customhouse flags. In 1879 a proposal was made that the union sign should be taken out of the commercial flag, and after this proposal had been carried three times in the Storthing, it finally, in 1898, became law without the royal assent. By the dissolution of the union in 1905 the union sign was removed from all flags.

symbols. Symbols are not in keeping with the times any longer, except in Norway. Up there the people are so very busy with symbols and theories and ideas that practical progress can make no advance. And there is something enervating in occupying one's mind with unproductive problems.

But the main reason why I am not satisfied that such a proposal was made is that I think it is a sin against our people to make burning questions of those that are not so. More than *one* burning question at a time can never seriously come to the front among a people; if there are more, then they naturally detract from each other in interest. Now we have with us a single question which ought to be a burning one, but which—I am sorry to say—does not seem to be so. We have with us not more than a single matter for which I think it worth while to fight; and that is the introduction of a modernized popular education. This matter includes all other matters; and if it is not carried through, then we may easily let all the others rest. It is quite unessential for our politicians to give society more liberties so long as they do not provide individuals with liberty. It is said that Norway is a free and independent state, but I do not value much this liberty and independence so long as I know that the individuals are neither free nor independent. And they are surely not so with us. There do not exist in the whole country of Norway twenty-five free and independent personalities. It is impossible for such ones to exist. I have tried to acquaint myself with our educational matters — with school

courses, with schedules, with educational topics, etc. It is revolting to see how the educational hours, particularly in the lower grades of the public school, are taken up with the old Jewish mythology and legendary history and with the medieval distortion of a moral teaching, which in its original form undoubtedly was the purest that has ever been preached. Here is the field where we, one and all, should claim that a "pure flag" be displayed. Let the union sign remain, but take the monkhood sign out of the minds; take out the sign of prejudice, narrowmindedness, wrong-headed notions, dependence, and the belief in groundless authority,— so that individuals may come to sail under their own flag. The one they are now sailing under is neither pure, nor their own. But this is a practical matter, and it is hard for such matters to attract interest to themselves with us in Norway. Our whole educational system has not yet enabled us to reach that far. For this reason also our politics still appear as if we were under a constituent assembly. We are still engaged in discussing principles. Other countries have long ago arrived at clearness concerning principles, and the struggle concerns the practical applications of them. When with us a new task turns up it is not faced with assurance and presence of mind, but with bewilderment. It is our popular education which has brought us to a point where the Norwegian people are thus confused. It appeared clearly in the flag matter, and that on both sides. The seamen, undoubtedly,

had the clearest view, after all; and that is natural, for their occupation carries with it a freer development of the personality. But when mountain peasants from the remotest valleys express, in addresses, their need of ridding the flag of the union sign, then it cannot possibly be anything but the merest humbug; for where there is no need of setting free one's own personality there can much less be any need of setting free such an abstract thing as a society symbol.

I must limit myself to these few suggestions of my view in this matter. I am entirely unable to agree therein; nor can I agree with you, when you say in your letter that we poets are preferably called to forward this affair. I do not think it is our task to take charge of the state's liberty and independence, but certainly to awaken into liberty and independence the individual, and as many as possible. Politics is not, so far as I can see, the most important business of our people; and perhaps it already holds a greater sway with us than is desirable in view of the necessity for personal emancipation. Norway is both sufficiently free and independent, but much is lacking to enable us to say the same with regard to the Norwegian man and the Norwegian woman.

With our best regards to you and yours,

HENRIK IBSEN

IX

ROME, March 8th, 1882

Dear Björnson:

I HAVE been thinking for a long time that I should write to you and ask you to accept my thanks because you so frankly and honestly stood up to my defence at a time when I was attacked on so many sides.* It was really no more than I might have expected of your great courageous chieftain mind. But after all, there was no compelling reason for you to step forward and express yourself as you did, and because you did not hesitate, nevertheless, to throw yourself into the struggle, of that, you may rest assured, I shall never cease to be mindful.

I am also aware that during your stay in America you have written of me in kind and complimentary terms.† For this also I thank you, and let me at the same time tell you that you were hardly out of my thoughts all the time you were away. I was unusually nervous just at that time, and an American trip has always seemed to me to be an uncomfortably daring deed. Then, too, I heard that you were ill over there, and I read about storms on the ocean just when you were expected to return. It then became so vividly

*Refers to Björnson's defence of "Ghosts."

†Björnson lectured in America from the autumn of 1880 until May, 1881.

impressed on my mind of what infinite importance you are to me — as to all the rest of us. I felt should anything happen to you, should a great calamity befall our countries, then all the joy of production would depart from me.

Next summer it will be twenty-five years since "Synnöve"* appeared. I travelled up through Valders and read it on the way. I hope this memorable year will be celebrated as it deserves to be. If circumstances arrange themselves as I wish, I too would like to go home for the celebration.

One matter I ought to mention to you. Through *Dagbladet*,† or in some other way, you have probably become acquainted with the contents of the letter which I wrote Auditor Berner about a year ago.‡ I had then no opportunity to confer with you; but I do not think I could well imagine that you would have any essential objection to either the contents of the letter or the application itself. To me it seems a burning injustice that we should so long remain without any legal protection for our literary property. I have now

*"Synnöve Solbakken," Björnson's first peasant novel.

†Norwegian radical newspaper, appearing at Christiania.

‡Hagbard Berner was from 1880 to 1888 one of the most influential members of the "Left" (Liberal and Radical) party in the Storthing. Ibsen's appeal to him concerned an increased government pension as a compensation for lack of protection to authors. In compliance with this appeal Mr. Berner brought forward, and on various occasions supported, a proposal to increase Ibsen's and Björnson's pensions by the sum of twenty-four hundred kroner per annum in consideration of their services to their country and of the small remuneration which they received from their works owing to the existing state of the copyright laws. Some of the members of the "Right" wing disputed the statement that Ibsen's writings had been of benefit to his country, and maintained — what was really the case — that the losses of both authors were not due to the lack of copyright law in Norway, but to the lack of them in Denmark, in which country their books were printed and published.

written to Berner again and given him a survey of what I think I, for one, have lost. This amounts, considering only the two royal theatres of Stockholm and Copenhagen, to about twenty-five thousand kroner. "A Doll's House," which was paid according to the regulation, yielded me in Copenhagen nine thousand kroner. Each one of your plays that were performed there would surely have yielded you at least as much had we had the convention. Count over what this all amounts to. And then Germany!

To be able to work with full and undivided power in the service of the mental emancipation one must be placed in a position economically somewhat independent. The stagnation party plainly counteracts the spread of our books, and there are theatres which refuse to perform our plays. It will be best for the people themselves if in our future production we are not compelled to pay any regard to this.

I therefore hope that you will not disapprove of the step I have taken. I have simply asked for justice, nothing further.

Give your wife our best regards, and you yourself accept repeated thanks from,

Yours truly and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

X

ROME, January 9th, 1884

Dear Björnson:

THANK you for your New Year's letter. And pardon me for waiting until to-day to send you an answer. You must not think that in the mean time I have been in doubt regarding the matter. To me there was nothing to consider; immediately after I had read your letter I had the answer ready, and here it is.

I neither can nor will take any leading position at the Christiania Theatre. My theatrical experiences and the recollections of home are not of such a nature that I should feel any inclination to revive them in practice. I might certainly feel a responsibility and a duty in the matter if I thought that as director I could do anything to the advantage of our dramatic art; but of this I despair greatly. Our theatre staff is demoralized, will not submit to discipline and yield absolute obedience; and moreover, we have a press which is ever ready to support the refractory ones against the leader. This is the chief reason with us why we cannot, as in other countries where the anarchistic tendencies are less developed, obtain any real ensemble. I do not think I could succeed in changing these conditions to something better; for they are too closely connected with our whole national

view of life; and moreover, my inclination for the practical business of the theatre is too small. Therefore I would not under any circumstances undertake this matter.

But, dear Björnson, the main point, however, is *this*, that it is not me at all whom the committee wants. For it is you and no one else. Whether the hesitation which you feel in accepting the offer is quite unconquerable I naturally cannot judge; but I would feel a hearty joy for the sake of the whole matter if it were not. I shall of course assume under all circumstances that you will reject the offer only after the closest consideration.

But whatever you make up your mind to do yourself, the proper authorities ought to provide that your son be attached to the theatre — that is if he is willing. Last fall I exchanged a couple of letters with him concerning other affairs, and I still further gained confirmation of my conviction that in him we would be able to get just *that* technical theatrical officer whom we most of all need. Schröder might then, in case of need, remain,— that is provided you cannot by any means accept the committee's offer.*

Besides, I must say that I am not quite sure whether the Christiania public at present really feels the need of a good theatre. The concourse which the operettas and equestrian performances

*Björnson did not accept the offer, but his son, Björn Björnson, was engaged in September, 1884, as a stage manager at the Christiania Theatre. Schröder remained as chief from 1879 to 1899. In 1899 the new building of the National Theatre was opened and Björn Björnson was its chief from that date to 1907. The present chief is the author, Vilhelm Krag.

at Tivoli almost always can enjoy, and the interest which is shown in the students' and shopmen's amateur performances, seems to me to suggest a point of culture which not yet quite grasps the true dramatic art. For that reason I regret that the opera at the Christiania Theatre was abandoned. The opera requires less culture of its public than does the drama. Therefore, it flourishes in the large garrison cities, in the mercantile cities, and wherever a numerous aristocracy is gathered. But from an opera public may be gradually developed a dramatic public. And for the theatre's staff, also, the opera has a disciplinary power; under the baton the individual has to place himself in perfect submission.

The other points in your letter I shall return to at another time. Cordial thanks for the photographs. Best regards to your wife from us. Also regards to the Lie family. I wait with great anxiety to learn your final decision in the theatre matter. Thanks, thanks, and may success attend "A Gauntlet" and "Pastor Sang." Stage them yourself now. Farewell for this time.

Yours truly,

HENRIK IBSEN

XI*

TO JONAS LIE†

ROME, May 25th, 1879

My Dear Jonas Lie:

I HAVE been guilty of great negligence in postponing so long an answer to your letter. Many a time have I thought that I now ought to write to you, but have unfortunately not followed up my good intention.

You wish advice concerning a place for your future residence in Germany. Probably the advice comes too late now, for I presume you have already made your choice; but, nevertheless, I shall tell you what I know. Dresden, when we arrived there, in 1868, was an inexpensive place to live in; but after the war the price of rent and other necessaries went up so that during the later years that we remained there, until the spring of 1875, we spent yearly about twice the sum that had been sufficient in the first part of our residence. I must add also that during our last residence we lived in considerably greater style than before. But under no circumstances is living inexpensive in Dresden any longer, unless the prices should have been re-

*Letters XI-XIV were first published in the Norwegian daily *Verdens Gang*, Christiania, July 12 and 14, 1906.

†Jonas Lie (1833-1908), one of Norway's greatest novelists, frequently called "the poet of the homes."

duced since my departure. I have not heard, however, that such is the case. On the other hand, the climate in Dresden in winter is usually very mild and agreeable, and in summer there is ample opportunity to find in one of the many neighboring country towns or villages along the Elbe a both inexpensive and easily accessible lodging place, in beautiful scenery and in healthy and bracing air. Particularly would I call your attention to Pillnitz, an hour's ride by steamer from Dresden. The Dresdeners themselves do not associate much with strangers; nor do the strangers themselves mingle very much, or at least only with those of their own nationality; but in the winter there are usually a number of Norwegians living there.

I must very decidedly dissuade you from spending your summer at Salzburg. The city is so situated that it is visited either by oppressive heat or by much and excessively long rain. It would be much more satisfactory to choose one of the neighboring places, either Reichenhall, or the less expensive and more country-like Berchtesgaden. At both places are to be found mineral baths, and probably you might be able to avoid going to Gastein. If you should make up your mind for Berchtesgaden, then I would recommend you to inquire for lodging at Wagemeister Hasenknapf's or at Bergmann Jakob Kurz's; they are plain, simple people, good and worthy, and I feel sure that you would be satisfied there. The surroundings of Berchtesgaden are quite the finest imaginable; the Königsee is but an hour's walk distant,

and there is opportunity for a number of excursions elsewhere.

But tell me one thing: have you never thought of trying Munich as a living place? There the climate is more severe in the winter than at Dresden, but I know that many rheumatic people feel very comfortable at Munich; the chief thing is to choose lodgings with a southern exposure. As for me, I feel in excellent health in the climate of Munich; there is a healthy, strengthening air, and one feels plainly the nearness of the Alps. Munich is less expensive than Dresden. There is there, also, a very good technical school where many Norwegians are studying. It has been my experience that there is more opportunity for social intercourse at Munich than at Dresden, and a more varied and interesting public life.

I just wanted to direct your attention to this. Of course, it is not any advice, for I cannot know what is most suitable for your state of health.

As for ourselves, we spent last summer in the Tyrol and came here in September. Next fall we shall again be in Munich. My son* who became a student there previous to our departure, and who has been studying this year at the University of Rome, will, in October, continue his studies at Munich for a couple of years; afterward, of course, it will be necessary for him to complete them at Christiania. Whether we shall accompany him

*Sigurd Ibsen, Henrik Ibsen's only child, was born in Christiania on the 23d of December, 1859. He entered on a diplomatic career, was a member of the Norwegian cabinet from 1902 to 1905, and is at present (1909) living in Rome.

thither is still uncertain; I do not feel any particular desire to do so. Life out here in Europe is, anyhow, freer and fresher and larger.

I am busy at this time with a new dramatic work, which I hope to have finished in another month or so.* I have been told that you also are working at something new.

We should be very glad if we could meet you in some place or other, and we hope that it will so happen. Until then we send our best regards to you all.

Your devoted

HENRIK IBSEN

*"A Doll's House," published at Copenhagen on December 4, 1879.

XII

ROME, June 22d, 1882

My Dear Jonas Lie:

I MUST not any longer put off writing to you; to my disgrace I have already put it off too long, but as for letter-writing I feel that I am, unfortunately, about incorrigible.

Let me then first and foremost from a full heart thank you for and congratulate you upon your new book.* It is a new proof of the fact that among the writers of sea stories there is not in the present generation a single poet who can think of equalling you. The pictures of the herring fishery are perfect masterpieces in every respect; they occupy all senses; I actually smelled herring when I read them, I saw herring scales glisten wherever I turned my eyes, and it seemed to me as if I stepped into the slippery herring entrails wherever I walked or stood. That is the way it should be done!

Well, of this book you have surely had much joy already. For opinions cannot well be divided; the twaddling critics of the newspapers will hardly find anything with which to pick a quarrel. So far as I have seen, their opinions have been unanimous.

Thank you also for the letter with which you delighted me when the war against "Ghosts"

*"Gaa Paa" ("Go Ahead"); never translated into English.

raged fiercest. It came to pass as you then wrote: the storm has subsided, and there are in many quarters signs of a more dispassionate consideration of the book. In Sweden it has occasioned a whole literature of pamphlets and periodical articles. Most cowardly, as usual, the Norwegians proved themselves to be; and the most cowardly of the cowardly ones, of course, were the so-called liberals. They were in downright bodily fear that they should not be able to clear themselves of the suspicion of being in any kind of agreement with me.

Day before yesterday I finished a new dramatic work in five acts.* I am not yet sure whether I shall call it a comedy or a drama; it partakes of the nature of either, or lies half way between; it will be printed in the course of the summer, but will not appear until late fall.

Yesterday Sigurd took the second part of the law examination and passed with great credit in all subjects. In about fourteen days he will take the third and last part, the so-called laureat examination, and immediately afterward he is going to defend his thesis for the degree of doctor of law; the thesis has already been sanctioned and treats of " The Position of the Upper House in Representative Constitutions "; it amounts to over one hundred closely written quarto pages.

When these affairs are finished we leave Rome

*" An Enemy of the People." According to Halvorsen's Forfatterlexikon, this work was " finished at Gossensass in the Tyrol, in the first part of 1882." On the authority of this letter it must now be corrected to " Rome, June 20th, 1882."

temporarily to spend the summer in the Tyrol. Next fall we come here again.

And what plans have you and yours for the summer? Is there perhaps a possibility that we might meet? It would be a very great joy to me. We had originally thought of going to Norway this year; but as the examination comes so late that the best part of the summer will be lost we have had to give up that plan or put it off until next year.

Perhaps this letter will not reach you in Hamburg, but I hope that it will reach you anyhow. Best regards to your excellent wife from us, and likewise to the children. I often speak of the pleasant times together in Berchtesgaden.

Your devoted friend,

HENRIK IBSEN

XIII

ROME, November 20th, 1884

Dear Jonas Lie:

MANY thanks for the letter which just reached me here. I do not know your address in Paris, so I am sending you these lines at once, hoping that they may still reach you in Berchtesgaden. I suppose you can imagine what great joy it gave me here in the solitude to receive such a message from you and your wife at the occasion of "The Wild Duck." How it will be looked upon and judged at home I do not know as yet.

You may be sure that we have often thought of you and spoken of you lately. A rumor stated that you still had a large part of your new story* unfinished, so that it was doubtful if it could appear in time for Christmas. But now I see you are through and we wish to utter our most hearty wishes for its success. I hope and expect that this time also you have put forth a work that will stand on a level with your two latest masterpieces, "One of Life's Slaves"† and "The Family at Gilje."‡

But when will the time finally come that we

*"En Malström" ("A Whirlpool"); not translated into English.
†"Livsslaven," translated by Jessie Muir under the English title mentioned above (London, Hodder, 1895).
‡"Familjen paa Gilje," never translated into English.

shall be able to enjoy fully the fruit of our work outside the Scandinavian countries? It is said that they are now considering at home the possibility of making international agreements. But in that way alone they cannot remedy the injustice already done us older poets. It is the duty of the state to increase our poet pensions, and I think you ought now to take some step in that direction before the Storthing meets. If the new cabinet really means its protestations of liberal and modern views, then there ought not to be for a moment any doubt as to what is its plain duty in this matter.

I regret very much that you could not be present at the meeting at Schwaz this summer.* There were several subjects which did not receive the explanation that they might have had if we three could have met together. Otherwise I am extremely glad about my meeting with Björnson; I have come to understand him far better than before.

Now I will only wish that the cholera may not make your winter in Paris too disagreeable. At present it seems to be receding, and, moreover, the cold has set in and that the doctors consider desirable. Here the hotels are all empty but the sanitary conditions are good.

Once more I thank you for your letter and wish you good luck to your new book. My wife asks

*Ibsen paid a visit to Björnson at Schwaz (north of Gossensass) in the middle of September, 1884, immediately after the dispatch of "The Wild Duck." It was then more than twenty years since they had last met.

me to give her best regards to you both. I add mine to hers. Yours most sincerely,

HENRIK IBSEN

XIV

MUNICH, January 27th, 1887

Dear Jonas Lie:

DAY after day I have intended to write to you. But, as usual with me, something else has always come between. Now, however, I will put everything else aside and send you a few lines.

First and foremost, then, I will ask you, on behalf of both my wife and myself, to accept our cordial congratulations on the occasion of "The Commodore's Daughters."* I suppose you can yourself imagine what a joy it was to us two lonely people out here to receive this living message from home. Neither of us has ever been in those regions where most of the events take place, but from the very beginning of the book it seemed to us that we were, so to speak, quite at home there.† And, above all, the people! We see them and we know them. We feel now as if we had known them a long, long time beforehand. Jan and Marte have our deepest sympathy. And what has happened to us in reading this work it seems to me must happen to every reader who possesses even but a trace of imagination and vision.

*Translated under this title by H. L. Braekstad and Gertrude Hughes (London, Heinemann, 1892).

†Recollections from the poet's years as a naval cadet at Fredriksværn, a small village on the seashore in the southeastern part of Norway, give to the story a very distinct local color.

And next I will thank you for the kind letter with which you delighted me a couple of months ago. Since then I have been in a great bustle, and a part of the time absent travelling. The after-effect of this still makes itself felt in the shape of a great quantity of letter-writing, which, moreover, has to be carried on almost exclusively in German, which condition naturally increases the work considerably. That under these circumstances I should secure sufficient time and peace to grapple seriously with any new dramatic whimsies is out of the question. But I feel a number of such buzzing inside my head, and in the spring I hope to get some method into them.*

We are seriously considering the possibility of spending the coming summer up at the Skaw if everything goes according to our wishes. The place has for a long time been a haunt of painters, and the great wide sea powerfully attracts us. At any rate we shall not go clear up to Norway. The conditions, the spirit, and the tone up there are to me quite unattractive. It is extremely distressing to see with what voracious eagerness they throw themselves into all kinds of bagatelles, just as if they were all-important affairs.

We have had a rather mild winter here with clear weather, and feel well in every respect. I hope the same is the case with you. When you have an opportunity to see Björnson remember me to him and give him my thanks for the letter which he recently wrote me, and which I shall soon

*His next work was "The Lady from the Sea."

try to answer. But above all, give your wife and the children most cordial regards from both of us. Farewell all of you!

Yours most sincerely,

HENRIK IBSEN

XV*

TO JULIUS HOFFORY†

MUNICH, February 4th, 1887

Dear Professor:

SINCE my return from Berlin I have almost every day thought of writing to you. But there has always been some hindrance until now you have forestalled me with your kind letter, for which I ask you to accept my most cordial thanks.

I wrote to Mrs. von Borch yesterday and informed her that, except for a few more definitely stated conditions regarding the proofreading, I have no objection to her translation of "The Wild Duck" being published by Mr. Fischer, instead of by Reclam.

As regards "Lady Inger," on the other hand, that is an old play which appeared about ten years ago in a German translation by Emma Klingenfeld from the publishing house of Theodor Ackermann here in Munich. The edition is not yet exhausted, so that under the circumstances a new translation of the drama should hardly be considered at present.

*Letters XV-XVIII were first published in the Norwegian magazine *Samtiden*, February, 1908.

†Julius Hoffory was a Danish scholar and, from 1887, professor of Northern philology at the University of Berlin. When Ibsen wrote this letter he had just returned from Berlin, where he had been present at the first performance of "Ghosts," January 9th; two days later he was signally honored by a great banquet.

It was also an extremely great pleasure for me to learn, through *you*, that the German edition of " Rosmersholm " has had such a favorable reception in Berlin.

I look forward to your note on " Ghosts " with great expectation, and send you in advance my thanks for it.

My visit in Berlin and all connected with it I regard as a great and true personal happiness. It has had a wonderfully refreshing and renewing effect on my mind, and will quite certainly leave its traces in my future production.

I ask you, my dear professor, to accept my most cordial thanks for the large and important share which you had in all this, and to extend similar thanks to Dr. Brahm and Dr. Schlenther, and also to as many as possible of all the kind people with whom I had the good fortune to come in contact.

Your appointment as professor I have read in the Danish papers and I extend to you, on this occasion, my heartiest congratulations. Henceforth you will be associated with another political community. But I suppose that in many respects your scientific work will involve a continued connection with the northern countries.

And now I say farewell for this time, and am

Yours indebtedly and truly,

HENRIK IBSEN

XVI

MUNICH, February 26th, 1888

My dear Professor:

I THANK you most heartily for your two letters, which I now answer.

Brausewetter's translation I have feared for a long time* as I heard a rumor that such a one was in preparation; but I hoped to the very last that the time for its appearance could not be so near. Both he and Mr. Reclam have kept entirely silent to me.

A double pleasure it is to me under the circumstances to learn that the Berlin edition will be hastened as much as possible. I also feel greatly obliged to Mr. Fischer for this, and hope that his competitor will not cause him a very great loss, if he can immediately announce his own legally authorized edition as soon forthcoming.

Of my latest photograph, which I regard as the best one, but which is no longer on sale, I have now the promise of a few copies for to-morrow and I shall then take pleasure in sending you one without delay.

I ask you to use my letters in any way that you may find most serviceable for the matter in hand, and above all I am heartily thankful for the helpful

*Translation of "The Wild Duck," published by Reclam, in 1887.

introduction which your hinted promise has given me the pleasure to anticipate.

" Emperor and Galilean " is not the first work I have written in Germany, but, indeed, the first I have written under the influence of German intellectual life. In the fall of 1868, when I arrived from Italy and took up my residence in Dresden, I brought with me the plot of " The League of Youth," and wrote that play the following winter. During my four years' stay in Rome I had made multifarious historical studies and collected many notes for " Emperor and Galilean," but had not devised any clear plan for its working out, and hence still less written any of the play. My view of life at that time was still the national Scandinavian, and so I could not make progress with the foreign subject. Then I experienced the great time in Germany,— the year of the war and the development afterward. To me all this had in many ways a transforming power. My view of the history of the world and of human life had been until then a national view. Now it broadened to a racial view, and I could write " Emperor and Galilean." It was finished in the spring of 1873.

What you tell me of that sentiment still so favorable to me in Berlin pleases me greatly, and not the less so that perhaps I may now have an opportunity of getting one or more of my plays performed at the Schauspielhaus. My next work, when such a one is ready, will be offered there with great pleasure.

Cordial thanks for all your sacrificing friend-

ship, and the same to all the others who so faithfully and indefatigably care for my affairs. How far would I have reached, I wonder, if I had been under the necessity of depending upon myself? Be sure that I in thankfulness deeply acknowledge this.

Yours truly and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

XVII

MUNICH, February 14th, 1889

My dear Professor:

YOUR kind letter which I received yesterday I now hasten to answer. So Mr. Anno* desires that on the programs and in the performance the name "Bolette," which is not known to Germans, be replaced by "Babette" or some other girl's name. As the scene is not laid in Germany the reason advanced by him for the change can hardly be his only or chief one. I suppose that he has still another one and I therefore accede to his wish with pleasure. Babette may therefore be put in its place,— provided, of course, that Arnholm's saying that the name is ugly will not seem inexplicable to a German audience. As to this I can have no sure opinion, but trust wholly to you in this matter also.

I must, however, decidedly object that there should be placed on the program "Ein Seemann" or "Ein fremder Seemann" or "Ein Steuermann." For he is not any of these. When Ellida met him ten years ago he was second mate. Seven years later he hired out as common boatswain, consequently as something considerably less. And now he appears as passenger on a tourist steamer.

*Mr. Anno is a German manager who put on the stage "The Lady from the Sea" in Berlin for the first time March 4th, 1889, Ibsen being present.

To the crew of the ship he does not belong. He is dressed as a tourist, not as a travelling man. Nobody should know what he is, just as little should anybody know who he is or what he is really called. This uncertainty is just the chief point in the method chosen by me for the occasion. I kindly ask Mr. Anno to have attention directed to this during the rehearsals, otherwise the true vein of the presentation might easily be missed. But if the expression "Ein fremder Mann" possesses a comical flavor for the Berliners — could not the program have merely "Ein Fremder?" I have nothing to object to that. But should not even this improve the matter, then I do not think there is anything to do but to let the eventual gayeties have their free course. It is to be hoped they do not cause any more serious or lasting harm.

It is a great comfort for me to know that you, my dear professor, will have an eye upon the rehearsals, at least the last ones. For there may be so many things in the foreign conditions with which manager Anno is not quite familiar. And so I hope for a good result.

According to a telegram from Christiania "The Lady from the Sea" was performed there for the first time the day before yesterday and with quite extraordinary applause. From Weimar, where the play was to be given about this time, I have not yet heard anything. With best regards, I am,

Yours truly and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

XVIII

MUNICH, March 26th, 1889

My dear Professor:

EVERY day since my return have I thought of you and the other friends in Berlin, and intended to send you a few words. But during my absence there had accumulated such a stack of business letters that I have not yet quite mastered them all.

Still to-day I write a few preliminary words to ask that you accept and — when you have an opportunity — forward my most cordial thanks to our many mutual acquaintances who contributed toward making the week in Berlin the brightest time in my life. When I look back upon it, all seems to me like a dream. It makes me almost uneasy.

The following week I spent in Weimar. There also " The Lady from the Sea " was quite excellently played. The interpretation and representation of the characters had a strange resemblance to that at the Schauspielhaus. Here Wangel, however, was not quite so finely finished in details. Nor was Lyngstrand so incomparably and truly conceived and individualized. But " The Strange Man " I cannot wish or hardly imagine better done than here — a tall, slender figure with the face of a hawk, piercing black eyes, and a splendid, deep, and subdued voice.

I have gone through my whole collection of books without finding any copy of the second edition of " Love's Comedy," in which the preface appears,— for in the later editions it is left out. I have therefore some days since written to Chief Clerk Larsen requesting him to secure a copy and send it to you. I hope he will succeed.

From Vienna I have received various letters, from which I can see that Dr. Schlenther's lecture has had a strong effect there. And the strangest part is that these communications and declarations do not arise from German, but from Magyarian and Polish circles, the whole fundamental view of which, on life as well as on literature and its advancing aims, would seem to be so exceedingly divergent from our Germanic view. I suppose the explanation lies in the universality of the Germanic nature and the Germanic mind, which predestines it to a future empire of the world.

That I have been allowed to take part in these currents I clearly and deeply feel that I owe to my having entered into the life of German society.

I have to stop for to-day; hope soon to hear from you; send most cordial regards to our mutual circle, and am,

Yours truly and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

P. S.— I wish to express gratefulness, particularly for Dr. Brahm's article in *Frankfurter Zeitung* and for Dr. Schlenter's in *Die Nation.*

H. I.

XIX*

TO EDITOR SCHIBSTED†

MUNICH, March 27th, 1888

Mr. Editor Schibsted:

ALLOW me herewith to offer you my kindest and best thanks for the attention you have been good enough to show me by including in your paper for the twentieth of this month the series of articles published on the occasion of my sixtieth birthday.

I wish to assure you that I shall always be grateful for the pleasure which you have thereby given me. And this pleasure was so much the greater as it was unexpected.

One of the things that have pained me most in my literary relation to my home country is, that for a number of years, as far back as the appearance of "The League of Youth," I have been appropriated by one or the other political party. I who never in my life have busied myself with politics, but only with social questions! And then the supposed opponents' unwillingness to understand! It is not praise or adherence for which I thirst. But understanding! Understanding! The hand

*Letter XIX was first published in the Christiania daily, *Aftenposten*, May 26, 1906.

†Amandus Theodor Schibsted (born 1849), editor and owner of the Norwegian daily paper, *Aftenposten*, since 1879.

which you have kindly extended to me I am delighted to grasp, and sign myself,

Yours respectfully and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

XX*

TO HELENE RAFF†

Late Friday night,
MUNICH, September 30th, 1889

Dear Child:

HOW kind, how lovable of you to visit us yesterday. My wife is so truly, heartily fond of you. And I too. As you sat there in the twilight and told us various things so thoughtfully and understandingly, do you know what I then thought, what I wished? No, that you do not know. I wished — Alas, if I only had such a dear and lovely daughter.

Come and see us again real soon. But in the mean time you must keep busy at work artist-like in your atelier. There you must not be disturbed for the present.

Blessings on your dear head,

Yours devotedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

*Letters XX-XXII were first published in the Norwegian magazine *Samtiden*, February, 1908.

†Helene Raff is a German artist whose acquaintance Ibsen had just made in Gossensass, and this letter is written in German.

XXI

CHRISTIANIA, March 30th, 1892

Dearest Miss Raff:

ALLOW me to send you my warmest, my most heartfelt thanks for your kind letter, which reached me on my birthday, and also for your wonderfully charming picture, which I had the unspeakably great pleasure to receive a few days ago. It is now hung in a good place in my study, so that I may constantly satisfy myself by the view out over the broad, open sea,— and constantly increase my desire to meet the dear, dear lovely young girl who has created the beautiful little work of art. And who during its execution has thought of me from afar. Oh — if I might only have the opportunity to render thanks personally, thank you in such a way as I should like to. The sea I love. Your picture carries me in thought and sentiment to what I love. Yes, you have surely enriched me for life by what you have given me. Now little Solveig* shall be hung beside the sea picture. Then I will have you wholly and altogether before me — and within me.

Such warm recollections of Munich arose in me when I received those remembrances in words and colors from you. How I should like to be down there again now. For I belong there so heartily.

*Miss Raff had given Ibsen, in 1890, as a birthday present, a sketch of a young girl's head which he at once named "Solveig."

But then there are so many things in life which place a restraint upon a man's wishes and desires.

You have acquired an incredible ability in handling the Norwegian language. Do you never think of making a summer trip up here? To dream a bright fleeting summer night's dream among the mountains or out by the sea?

Give me an answer to that some time, dearest Miss Raff. Will you? It would make me unspeakably happy—of course at your convenience—again to receive a few lines from you.

Yours truly and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

XXII

TO OSSIP-LOURIÉ*

CHRISTIANIA, February 19th, 1899

Mr. Ossip-Lourié:

I AM much obliged to you for your kind offer of the plan to publish some thoughts extracted from my works, and with great pleasure grant the desired approval.

I only ask you to remember that the thoughts expressed in my dramas belong to my dramatic characters, who express them, and are not directly from me either in form or content.

Yours respectfully and obligedly,

HENRIK IBSEN

*Mr. Ossip-Lourié is a French-Russian author whose book, "La Philosophie Sociale dans le Théâtre d'Ibsen," appeared in 1900.

A Chronological Bibliography of Ibsen and the interest manifested in him in the English-speaking countries, as shown by translations, performances, and commentaries. With an alphabetical index

Prefatory Note

In this outline an effort is made to record as fully as possible all the English and American translations and performances of Ibsen's dramas and the commentaries on his life and works. As the material would otherwise be too overwhelming, shorter magazine articles on Ibsen are not considered, and for a similar reason none of the lectures on his works are included. Attention is called to the alphabetical index at the end, in which may be found any desired item.

A. K.

CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

IT is a curious fact that not until twenty-two years after the publication of Ibsen's first drama ("Catilina," 1850), and several years after the publication of some of his greatest and most important works ("Brand," 1866, "Peer Gynt," 1867), did there appear in the English language a sketch of the poet and his writings. To the eminent English literary critic, Edmund Gosse, belongs the honor of having first introduced Ibsen to the English-speaking public. In the number of the *Spectator* for March 16th, 1872,* there is a review of the small volume of his poems which was published in Copenhagen in 1871; it is not signed, but is written by Mr. Gosse. This review fills the space of about one and one half columns of the magazine; it gives a short outline of Norwegian literature previous to Ibsen, mentioning the names of Wergeland, Welhaven, and A. Munch, and also a few biographical data about Ibsen, calling attention to some of his works, as "The Feast at Solhaug" and "The Pretenders," but strangely enough not to "Brand" and "Peer Gynt." The heading is "Ibsen's New Poems," and it starts in the following way: "The distin-

*Not April 22, 1872, as noted in the English ed. of Ibsen's Letters, p. 230, footnote. The letter from Ibsen, which is thus annotated, is dated April 2, 1872, and addressed to Mr. Gosse, thanking him for the review of the book. The mistake is repeated by Mr. Moses in his recent biography of Ibsen. (Moses, Montrose J. "Henrik Ibsen; the Man and His Plays." New York, 1908. p. 8.)

guished Norwegian writer whose name stands at the head of this article has won his laurels almost exclusively in dramatic literature. His plays are highly esteemed among his countrymen, and have gained him a place in their estimation second to none of his contemporaries. At last he has gathered together the lyrical poems of his later years in the little volume now under review, and they are found to possess all the grace and vigour that his earlier work would lead one to expect."

In the same year that this article appeared in the *Spectator*, there was published in Bergen, Norway, a small book of translations, called "Norwegian and Swedish Poems, translated by J. A. D." (published by the translator). It includes pieces by Wergeland, Welhaven, A. Munch, and Björnson, and gives a full translation of Ibsen's long and famous poem, "Terje Vigen." The translator's name is Johan Andreas Dahl, a native of Bergen, who had lived in America for about ten years, having followed different occupations. After returning to Norway he was chiefly engaged as a teacher of the English language, occasionally also giving lectures on America, English and American literature, etc. In 1875 he was made a member of the British Scandinavian Society, London. His translation of "Terje Vigen" is not particularly satisfactory, but as far as can be learned it is the first translation into English of any of Ibsen's writings.

1873

Edmund Gosse did not intend to discontinue

his work of making Ibsen known to the English public. In the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1873, he has an article of fifteen pages, signed with his full name, and entitled, " Ibsen, the Norwegian Satirist " (*Fortnightly Review*, v. 19, p. 74). In it he gives a great deal of biographical information about the poet, and reviews at considerable length " Love's Comedy," " Peer Gynt," and " Brand." Several extracts from the two first named works are given in a rather satisfactory translation. The review is full of sympathy and admiration for the poet ; expressing as his opinion that neither Germany, France, Italy, nor Denmark can produce among its younger men " a single accredited world poet," Mr. Gosse continues: " it is my firm belief that in the Norwegian, Henrik Ibsen, the representative of a land unknown in the literary annals of Europe, such a poet is found." The same article was reprinted in the magazine *Every Saturday* for February 1, 1873 (v. 14, p. 133). It was of wider and more far-reaching significance than the same writer's short review in the *Spectator*, but some years were yet to pass before Edmund Gosse enlisted any followers in his work of calling attention to the literary genius of the North.

1876

In 1876 appeared the first translation of any of Ibsen's dramatic works: " Emperor and Galilean; a drama in two parts, translated from the Norwegian by Catherine Ray." It was published by Tinsley, London, and is a rather bulky volume of

three hundred and twenty-six pages. The translation is of some merit, but not wholly satisfactory; it did not seem to circulate widely in England, and as to its record in the United States Mr. Thorvald Solberg says, "Miss Ray's book . . . does not seem to have circulated in the United States, and is now out of print" (*Nation*, January 23, 1890, v. 50, p. 67). Of the translator little more is known than that she later wrote some novels of slight significance, partly on subjects taken from Norway. She never again entered the field of translating from Ibsen.

In the same year appeared a book called "Translations from the Norse, by a B.S.S." [i. e. a member of the British Scandinavian Society]. The author's name is A. Johnstone. It was published in Gloucester, and, according to the title page, "printed for private circulation." The volume is not dated and there seems to be some disagreement among the authorities as to the actual time of its appearance. The British Museum Catalogue gives the date as 1879, with a query after it; the Norwegian bibliographer Halvorsen gives it at one place 1878, but later always 1876 (*Bibliografiske Oplysninger til Henrik Ibsen's Samlede Værker*, 1901. pp. 2, 37, 40, 42); William H. Carpenter gives it as 1876 ("A Bibliography of Ibsen." *Bookman*, v. 1, p. 276). It contains a translation of the first act of "Catilina" and gives a summary of the two following acts; also a translation of "Terje Vigen," partly metrical, partly in prose, and of several of the shorter poems. The translations are not very good.

1879

The next important event to be chronicled is the publication, in 1879, of Edmund Gosse's "Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe," by Kegan Paul & Co., in London. It includes his article on Ibsen first published in the *Fortnightly Review* six years previously, but in somewhat enlarged form; the additional matter is chiefly concerned with reviews of "Emperor and Galilean" and "The Pretenders." The former play does not seem a success to the critic, whereas his admiration for the latter is deep and abundant: "The dramatic power displayed in this poem quite raises it out of any mere local interest, and gives it a claim to be judged at a European tribunal."

1880

In December, 1879, "Et dukkehjem" was published in Copenhagen, and the following year an English translation appeared,— a remarkable translation, indeed: "Nora; a play in three acts, from the Norwegian by T. Weber. Copenhagen, Published by Weber's academy, 1880." It is dedicated

"To Her Royal Highness
Alexandra
Princess of Wales.
Your Royal Highness's Most Humble Servant
T. Weber."

Mr. Weber was a Danish school teacher, who had only a dictionary knowledge of the English language, and his translation is therefore full of

peculiarities and absurdities. The famous Ibsen translator, William Archer, refers to this book as a "translation, published in Copenhagen by some gentleman who seems to have conceived that in order to write our language he had but to procure a Danish-English dictionary, look up all the words, and take the first meaning that came to hand" (*Theatre*, London, April 1, 1884). And in an article in the London magazine *Time*, for 1890, Mr. Archer gives several pages of extracts of the Weber translation as curiosities (*Time*, v. 22, p. 37). Probably very few copies of it were sold; as to its circulation in the United States Mr. Solberg says, "It is not likely that many copies of it reached this country" (*Nation*, v. 50, p. 67).

This same year is remarkable for the first performance in English of a play by Ibsen. On the afternoon of December 15, 1880, an adaptation of "The Pillars of Society," by William Archer, was produced at the old Gaiety Theatre, London, for a single performance only. The title given the play was "Quicksands, or The Pillars of Society." The translation was made by Mr. Archer, but remained in manuscript for several years until, in 1889, it was revised and published in book form (see below). The principal characters were played by the following:

Consul Bernick . . .	W. H. Vernon
Lona Hessel . .	Mrs. Billington
Dina Dorf . . .	Cissey Grahame
Johan Tönnesen . .	Arthur Dacre

According to the *Theatre* the performance was "fairly successful" (*Theatre*, London, February 1, 1881.)

1882

A second attempt at translating "Et dukkehjem" was made in 1882 by an English lady, Miss H. F. Lord. The title page reads: "Nora; a play translated from the Norwegian of Henrik Ibsen, by Henrietta Frances Lord. London, Griffith and Farran, 1882." The introduction (twenty-four pages) is intended to give the "life" of Ibsen, but is more of a critical essay on the translated drama, in which the writer tries to present Ibsen as the bold champion of women's rights. It is well written and not without interest. As to the translation itself, it may easily be stated, without saying very much, that it is a great improvement over the Weber version; but this rendering also suffers from many severe shortcomings. The great authority on Ibsen translations, Mr. William Archer, criticizes it as follows in the *Academy* for January 6, 1883: "The difficulty of translating from Ibsen's idiomatic Norwegian into our half-Latinized tongue has proved rather too much for the lady who has attempted an English version of 'Et dukkehjem.' She has neither a perfect knowledge of Norwegian nor a thorough mastery of English, so that she has perpetrated several mistranslations, while she fails throughout to reproduce the crispness and spon-

taneity of the dialogue." The translator is the author of a few rather insignificant writings concerning spiritual growth and power, among them a work on Christian Science, " with full explanations for home students " (London, 1888).

1883

It is only natural that the translations of " Et dukkehjem " should be followed by a performance of the play in the English language. The pioneer in this line was the famous Polish-American actress, Madame Modjeska, who died recently (April, 1909). Her full name was Helena (Benda) Modrzejewska (derived from the name of her first husband). She had created the part of Nora at the Polish theatre in St. Petersburg in November, 1881, and in Warsaw in February and March, 1882. On the 7th of December, 1883, she gave a single performance of the play in English at Macauley's Theatre, Louisville, Kentucky. The name of the play and the heroine was changed from Nora to " Thora "; Madame Modjeska herself played the leading part and was supported by Mr. Barrymore, Mr. Owen, and Miss Georgia Drew. In spite of Madame Modjeska's brilliant acting the performance was not a success; a rather unfavorable criticism of the play will be found in the Louisville *Courier-Journal* for December 8, 1883. The version used for this performance was made by the second husband of Madame Modjeska, Mr. Karol Chlapowski, a Pole, and her secretary, Miss Louise

Everson, a Dane. The style was corrected by Mr. Maurice Barrymore, the leading man of her company. A " happy ending " was used for the play. This is the first Ibsen performance in America, and the second given in the English language. According to Halvorsen " an English translation by the Danish-born Mrs. Stevenson (née Iverson) was intended for presentation at the Grand Opera House in Chicago, 1883, but the play was later withdrawn from the program. Whether this translation has appeared in print is not known" (Halvorsen, *Norsk Forfatterlexikon*, v. 3, p. 60, footnote). I venture the conjecture that the version thus referred to by Halvorsen is the same as the one used by Madame Modjeska for her performance of the play at Louisville.

A reprint of Edmund Gosse's " Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe " was published by Kegan Paul & Co. in London during the same year, which seems to testify well to the popularity of these excellent essays.

1884

An " adaptation " of " Et dukkehjem " was produced at the Princess Theatre, London, on the third of March, 1884, under the title " Breaking a Butterfly. A new play, in three acts, by Henry A. Jones and H. Herman, founded on Ibsen's Nora." The play departed so much from the plot and technique of its great prototype, however, that it has hardly any right to be called an " adapta-

tion." It was found to be rather insignificant and trifling and met with little success. Mr. Kyrle Bellew and Mr. Beerbohm Tree were the best-known names in the cast. Those who may be interested to see how the great drama was "adapted" are referred to an excellent article by Mr. Archer in the *Theatre*, London, for April 1, 1884. "In the word 'sympathetic,'" the critic writes, "lies the whole weakness of 'Breaking a Butterfly.' The adapters, or more properly the authors, have felt it needful to eliminate all that was satirical or unpleasant, and in making their work sympathetic they at once made it trivial." Of the authors the former is the well-known English dramatist, Henry Arthur Jones. The latter, Henry Herman, who died in 1894, is principally known as a writer of stories and dramas, partly written in collaboration with others.

1885

Miss Lord followed up her translation of "Et dukkehjem" by a translation of "Gengangere," which was printed in the columns of the socialistic journal *To-day* in 1885 under the title of "Ghosts" (*To-day*, v. 3, p. 29ff. 65ff. 106ff.) It did not create any great sensation, probably because in the socialistic magazine it did not attract the attention of the general reading public. The translation was a few years later revised and brought out in book form (see below, 1888).

According to William Archer the "first unmu-

tilated performance " of " Et dukkehjem " was given " privately by an amateur club at a hall in Argyle Street, London " (to be noted: the first unmutilated performance in England; *cf.* Modjeska's production in America). " Miss Lord's clumsy and inaccurate translation was used " (Collected Works of Ibsen. 1906-08, v. 7, p. x).

1886

In the following year Georg Brandes's brilliant work, " Eminent Authors of the Nineteenth Century," was translated into English by the Norwegian-American author and editor, Rasmus B. Anderson, and published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. It includes the famous critic's second essay on Ibsen (written in 1882), in which are given valuable and interesting interpretations of the works of the poet. The three essays which Brandes wrote on Ibsen have been brought together in a single volume (1899) and should be studied in conjunction.

1888

Finally a good translation of Ibsen's plays appeared. There is a long step, indeed, from the Weber version of " Et dukkehjem," via the two Miss Lord renderings, to the excellent translations contained in the collection which was published by Walter Scott, in London, in 1888: " The Pillars of Society and Other Plays. By Henrik Ibsen;

ed., with an introduction, by Havelock Ellis." This volume belongs to the Camelot series, ed. by Ernest Rhys, and forms No. 36 of the Scott library.* It contains: (1) " The Pillars of Society," translated by William Archer. This is the version that was used for the performance of the play at the Gaiety Theatre, London, December 15, 1880. It now for the first time appeared in print, having been revised by the translator. (2) " Ghosts," translated by William Archer. This translation was founded on Miss Lord's version of the play in *To-day* for 1885, several improvements being made. (3) " An Enemy of the People," translated by Mrs. Eleanor Marx-Aveling. This is also a very good translation. The translator is the daughter of the great German socialist, Karl Marx, and is married to Edward Bibbins Aveling, the English scientific and social writer. She has translated several of her father's works into English and, largely with the collaboration of her husband, has written some books along social lines. The introduction by Mr. Ellis (thirty pages) is interesting and well written, and the volume as a whole must be highly recommended. A proof of the interest which the reading public took in this valuable collection may be found in the fact that the publisher during the four years until the end of 1892 had sold 14,367 copies (Halvorsen. *Bibliografiske Oplysninger.* 1901, p. 52.)

*It may not be amiss to call attention to the many valuable volumes contained in this series; particularly the William Morris and Eiríkur Magnússon rendering of the Volsunga Saga with the excellent introduction by H. H. Sparling.

1889

With the year 1889 the events connected with the subject become so numerous that it will be necessary to arrange the items under the three separate headings: translations, performances, commentaries.

TRANSLATIONS.— Miss Lord's version of "Et dukkehjem" was brought out by Appleton & Co., New York, in 1889. It is an exact reprint of the London edition of 1882, but nothing in the volume serves to indicate this fact. As Mr. Solberg says: "Superfluous care has been exercised to remove from the pages of the introductory notice all trace of the previous publication of the volume, and the date which was subscribed to it, 'November, 1882,' has been erased,— a proceeding which does not recommend itself" (*Nation*, v. 50, p. 67). The title of the play was changed from "Nora" to "The Doll's House."

Another translation of the play, and finally a worthy one, appeared during the same year, from the competent hand of William Archer. It was an "edition de luxe," published in memory of the first performance of the play at the Novelty Theatre in London, June 7, 1889, and issued in an edition of one hundred and fifteen numbered copies signed by the publisher (Unwin, London) in his own handwriting. It is now all out of print. It contained a portrait of Ibsen and illustrations of the actors in the various characters of the play. Mr. Archer called his version, "A Doll's House,"

coming nearer to the original title than any of his predecessors in the work. A correct rendering of the title of the original would be " A Doll Home," and it is to be regretted that the play was not from the very first introduced to the English public under this name. In the same way both the English " Ghosts " and the German " Gespenster," are unfortunate and partly misleading translations of " Gengangere," whereas the French rendering, " Les Revenants," just hits the mark.

" Rosmersholm " found a competent translator in the French-born composer and dramatist Louis Napoleon Parker. Mr. Parker has translated several dramas from French and German, and has also written some original plays, partly in collaboration with others. His version of "Rosmersholm" was published by Griffith and Farran, London; in spite of a few rather peculiar renderings it may be recommended as a very good translation. Professor C. H. Herford, the zealous Ibsen student, writes that the translator must be " congratulated upon his idiomatic and often powerful version " (*Academy*, January 18, 1890). Another translation of the same drama, noted by Mr. Solberg as appearing in weekly installments in the Boston journal, the *Transatlantic*, is of too slight significance to be given any serious consideration (*Nation*, v. 50, p. 68).

Performances.— On June 7, 1889, the first great and really noteworthy Ibsen performance in English was given at the Novelty Theatre, London (afterwards: Great Queen Street Theatre), when

Miss Janet Achurch and Mr. Charles Charrington presented " A Doll's House " in the above-named version, by Mr. William Archer. The principal parts were in the following hands:

Helmer . . .	Mr. Herbert Waring
Nora	Miss Janet Achurch
Dr. Rank . .	Mr. Charles Charrington
Krogstad	Mr. Royce Carleton
Mrs. Linden . .	Miss Gertrude Warden

It was a brilliant performance, and attracted great attention. " It was this production that really made Ibsen known to the English-speaking peoples," writes Mr. Archer (Collected Works of Ibsen. 1906-08, v. 7, p. x). It started a fierce and not always temperate discussion, marked by extremely divergent opinions. A severe attack on the drama and its author was made by Frederick Wedmore in the *Academy*, June 22, 1889; it was answered very ably by Professor Herford in the next number of the periodical. All the daily papers were busy commenting on the play and its significance, some abusing the author, others praising him excessively. But even the unfavorable critics had to admit the greatness of the acting. Miss Janet Achurch (the wife of Mr. Charles Charrington) is known as one of the greatest actresses of the English stage, her specialty being Shakspeare characters.

Not long afterwards a noteworthy and interesting performance of the play was seen in America, when Miss Beatrice Cameron (afterwards Mrs.

Richard Mansfield) presented it at the Globe Theatre, Boston, October 30, 1889. Miss Cameron played Nora; Mr. Atkins Lawrence, Helmer; Mr. Mervyn Dallas, Krogstad; Mr. Herbert Druce, Dr. Rank, and Miss Helen Glidden, Mrs. Linden. The play was also presented by the same company at Palmer's Theatre, New York, December 21, 1889, and later in the season in Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Chicago, and St. Louis. It attracted wide attention and was the cause of much discussion in the papers.

Still another of Ibsen's plays was given a successful performance in London during the same year. On the 17th of July, 1889, " The Pillars of Society " was presented for a single performance at the Opera Comique Theatre, at the benefit matinée of Miss Vera Beringer (the little Lord Fauntleroy). The chief parts were played in a most competent and interesting manner by Mr. J. G. Grahame as Johan Tönnesen, Mr. W. H. Vernon as Consul Bernick, Miss Geneviève Ward as Lona Hessel, Miss Annie Irish as Dina Dorf, and Miss Vera Beringer as Olaf. The performance was also remarkable for the fact that Miss Elizabeth Robins, later so famous as an interpreter of Ibsen, for the first time appeared in an Ibsen play. She presented the character of Martha Bernick and made a great impression. This play also caused some comment in the press; the vitriolic Ibsen critic, Frederick Wedmore, has a very uncomplimentary criticism of the drama and its author in the *Academy* for July 27, 1889, which is not without interest.

1890

TRANSLATIONS.— The great success of the 1888 edition of "The Pillars of Society and Other Plays" led the publisher (W. Scott, London) to attempt a new collection of Ibsen's dramas, this time on a larger scale. Starting in 1890 and reaching its completion the following year, there was issued a collection, the half title of which reads: "Ibsen's Prose Dramas." It numbers five volumes, being edited under the careful supervision of William Archer, and bearing on the title page of each separate volume the statement: "Authorized English Edition." The first volume contains as frontispiece a portrait of the poet and a short biographical introduction by Mr. Archer. The plays included are the following: Vol. 1, "The League of Youth," "The Pillars of Society," "A Doll's House" (all translated by William Archer). Vol. 2, "Ghosts," translated by W. Archer. "An Enemy of the People," translated by Mrs. E. Marx Aveling. "The Wild Duck," translated by Mrs. F. E. Archer. Vol. 3, "Lady Inger of Östråt," translated by Charles Archer. "The Vikings at Helgeland," translated by W. Archer. "The Pretenders," translated by W. Archer. Vol. 4, "Emperor and Galilean, translated by W. Archer. Vol. 5, "Rosmersholm," translated by Charles Archer. "The Lady from the Sea," translated by Mrs. F. E. Archer. "Hedda Gabler," translated by William Archer. The translations are careful and idiomatic, and the collec-

tion as a whole met with great approval.

During the same years (1890-91) another collection of Ibsen's prose dramas was published in New York and London by the John W. Lovell company publishing house. It is called the "Prose Dramas of Henrik Ibsen" and appeared in three volumes, as nos. 2, 6, and 10 of "Lovell's series of foreign literature." The first volume contains an interesting biographical introduction by Edmund Gosse. The plays included are: Vol. 1, "A Doll's House," "The Pillars of Society," "Ghosts" (all translated by W. Archer). "Rosmersholm," translated by M. Carmichael. Vol. 2, "The Lady from the Sea," translated by Clara Bell. "An Enemy of Society," translated by W. Archer. "The Wild Duck," translated by Eleanor Marx Aveling. "The Young Men's League," translated by Henry Carstarphen. Vol. 3, "Hedda Gabler," translated by W. Archer. These plays have later been reprinted in cheap paper editions by U. S. Book Company, New York (successors to Lovell) and by Baker, Boston.

Several translations of individual plays also appeared in 1890. A new and revised edition of Miss Lord's translation of "Et dukkehjem" was published by Griffith, Farran & Co., London, the American edition being brought out by the Lily Publishing House, Chicago. The title this time reads: "Nora; or, A Doll's House," followed by the Norwegian form of the name in curves. It contains a "preface to the second edition," in

which the translator discusses the different criticisms which had been made of the drama.

There seemed to be a general feeling against the ending Ibsen had given the play, and several efforts were made to improve it and make it come out differently. One of these "continuations" of the drama is the English novelist, Sir Walter Besant's story, "The Doll's House — and After," in *English Illustrated Magazine* for January, 1890 (translated into Norwegian in the daily paper *Dagbladet*, Christiania, 1890, No. 2ff.). The author lets Nora's grown daughter become engaged to Krogstad's grown son, and Helmer is made a drunkard after the departure of Nora. Krogstad, who is opposed to the marriage of his son, scares his prospective daughter in law with a false draft written by her brother and she chooses to drown herself. This ending did not appeal to the late American authoress, Mrs. Edna Dow Cheney, who shortly afterwards published a small book, called "Nora's Return; a sequel to 'The Doll's House' of Henrik Ibsen" (Boston, Lee & Shepard). Mrs. Cheney was active in the movement for woman suffrage, and wrote some stories and biographies, which to a large extent were concerned with philosophical subjects. In "Nora's Return" she lets the heroine be educated as a nurse, and during an epidemic of the cholera she attends to the suffering Helmer in their own old home, and for the second time saves his life. During the time of convalescence Helmer recognizes Nora in the attire of the nurse; a reconciliation is

brought about, and Nora returns triumphantly to her husband and children.

Miss Lord's translation of "Ghosts," in the obscure periodical *To-day*, was reprinted in 1890 and published by Griffith, Farran & Co., London (American edition: Lily Publishing House, Chicago). This edition contains a rather interesting preface, which gives a criticism of the meaning and significance of the play, and in which the writer seems to hint that Oswald's idiocy might have been prevented, if his mother had only applied the methods of Christian Science to his ailments.

The translation of "The Lady from the Sea," by Mrs. E. Marx Aveling, which was published by Fisher Unwin, London, as a volume in the "Cameo Series" is an extremely good and readable version of this remarkable play. It contains a critical introduction by Edmund Gosse, which is excellent. It may be interesting to note that during the same year three different translations of "The Lady from the Sea" appeared: one by Mrs. F. E. Archer; one by Clara Bell, and the one just mentioned. Mr. Solberg also refers to a translation of the play by Mr. G. R. Carpenter, which was published in the *Harvard Monthly* for November and December, 1889. It was retranslated from the German version by Professor Hoffory, and consequently is only fairly successful.

PERFORMANCES.— According to Halvorsen, the American actress, Mrs. Winslow, gave recitals of "The Pillars of Society" in London and other

English cities during the year 1890 (*Bibliografiske Oplysninger*. 1901, p. 56).

COMMENTARIES.— Havelock Ellis published a collection of essays under the title of " The New Spirit " (London, Bell, 1890; 3d ed. London, Scott, 1892). Forty pages are devoted to a very interesting and appreciative discussion of Ibsen.

An enlargement of Edmund Gosse's " Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe " was published in London by Walter Scott, under the title, " Northern Studies." The chapter on Ibsen is in two parts, the former written in 1873 and revised in 1879, and the latter written in 1889. This second part is taken up with discussions of his social dramas and contains much valuable interpretation and criticism.

The standard Ibsen biography, by the late Norwegian critic, Henrik Jæger, was translated into English in 1890: " The Life of Henrik Ibsen; translated by Clara Bell, with the verse done into English from the Norwegian original by Edmund Gosse " (London, Heinemann, 1890). A translation of the same work by William Morton Payne appeared during the same year (Chicago, McClurg, 1890). Mr. Jæger is known as the author of a comprehensive history of Norwegian literature from the earliest times to the date of publication (1896). His biography of Ibsen is particularly valuable for the full and accurate information it gives of his childhood and youth, many facts having been obtained from the poet himself. The book had a very favorable reception in the English-speaking

countries: "A real biography at last," "a facile and vigorous translation," writes W. E. Simonds (*Dial*, Chicago, October, 1890).

1891

TRANSLATIONS.— Finally the time had come when "Brand" was to be presented to the English peoples in a complete translation. A few scattered selections from the drama had already been given in various magazine articles in 1890 and 1891, by more or less competent hands, and a translation of the whole work was made in the beginning of the nineties by the late Norwegian-American minister, Gerhard Gjertsen, Minneapolis, but this version was probably never published. (The brother of the translator, Rev. M. Falk Gjertsen, Minneapolis, has been addressed for information, but without result.) Mr. William Wilson was the first to translate and publish a full version of "Brand" (London, Methuen, 1891). His translation is in prose, and consequently much of the beauty and spirit of the poem is lost. Even as a prose translation the work is not always quite satisfactory, but none the less it attracted considerable attention.

A reprint of W. Archer's translation of Hedda Gabler, in v. 5 of the edition of Ibsen's prose dramas, was published by Scott, London, 1891. It is called the "Shilling edition," and the pagination of the collection is retained (pp. 241–364).

"Hedda Gabler" was also translated by Edmund Gosse during the same year (Heinemann,

London, 1891). Four different editions of this version appeared almost simultaneously: (1) A cloth edition, with portrait of the author; price 5 sh. (2) A so-called "Vaudeville edition" (paper); price 1 sh. (3) An "Edition de luxe," on large paper, with the portrait of the author in photogravure and photomezzotype pictures of Miss Robins and Miss Lea in the characters represented by them at the Vaudeville Theatre, London. It was limited to one hundred copies, and contains a preface by Mr. Gosse, giving some of the stage history of the drama. (4) An edition published by Heinemann & Balestier, at Leipsic, as no. 68 of their "English Library."

A facsimile edition of Mrs. Marx Aveling's translation of "The Lady from the Sea" (1890) appeared with the date of 1891 on the title page.

Mr. Charles Archer's version of "Rosmersholm" (Ibsen's prose dramas, Scott, v. 5) was brought out by Scott in a separate volume, with a prefatory note by W. Archer.

PERFORMANCES.— "Rosmersholm" was first produced in England at the Vaudeville Theatre, London, February 23d, 1891. The cast was as follows:

Rosmer	MR. F. R. BENSON
Kroll	MR. ATHOL FORDE
Brendel . . .	MR. CHARLES HUDSON
Mortensgaard . .	MR. J. WHEATMAN
Madame Helseth . .	MISS PROTHEROE
Rebecca West . .	MISS FLORENCE FARR

It was a fairly good performance, but the drama and its author met with an outburst of general disapproval and indignation from the press. For a few samples of the epithets bestowed on the work see Archer's "The Mausoleum of Ibsen," in *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1893 (v. 60, p. 79).

On March 6, 1891, "The Pillars of Society" was played at the Lyceum Theatre, New York, with George Fawcett as Consul Bernick, Alice Fischer as Lona Hessel, and Elizabeth Tyree as Dina Dorf.

On March 13, 1891, one of the most interesting Ibsen performances of the English stage took place. "Ghosts" was presented at the Royalty Theatre, Soho, by Mr. J. T. Grein's "Independent Theatre of London." The cast was as follows:

Mrs. Alving	Mrs. T. Wright
Oswald Alving . . .	Mr. Frank Lindo
Pastor Manders . . .	Mr. L. Outram
Jacob Engstrand .	Mr. Sydney Howard
Regina	Miss Edith Kenward

But a single performance of the play was given. The outburst of the English press was violent. The play was called (to choose only a few of the epithets) abominable, bestial, disgusting, loathsome, filthy, repulsive, revolting, putrid, sordid, foul, noisome, malodorous. "Merely dull dirt long drawn out," wrote the *Hawk*, and the *Evening Standard* characterized the poet's admirers as "lovers of prurience and dabblers in impropriety, who are eager to gratify their illicit tastes under the

pretence of art." Mr. William Archer compiled a "Schimpflexikon" — a Dictionary of Abuse — which was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of April 8th, under the title of "Ghosts and Gibberings" (reprinted in part in Shaw's "Quintessence of Ibsenism"). For a long time the violent discussion of the morality of the play continued.

(A parody on "Ghosts" was performed at Toole's Theatre, London, May 30, 1891: "Ibsen's Ghost; or, Toole up to Date." It was meant to be some kind of a fifth act of Hedda Gabler. The author was the English novelist and dramatist, James Matthew Barrie.)

In spite of the violent attacks on the Norwegian dramatist on the occasion of the performance of "Ghosts," the two American actresses, Miss Elizabeth Robins and Miss Marion Lea, ventured to present another of his dramas to a London audience. On the 20th of April, 1891, they gave an exceptionally interesting performance of "Hedda Gabler," at the Vaudeville Theatre, London. The cast was as follows:

George Tesman . . .	Mr. Scott Buist
Mrs. Hedda Tesman .	Miss Robins
Miss Tesman . . .	Miss Henrietta Cowen
Mrs. Elvsted	Miss Lea
Judge Brack	Mr. Charles Sugden
Eilert Lövborg . . .	Mr. Arthur Elwood
Bertha	Miss Patty Chapman

The house was crowded and the enthusiasm was great. It was a brilliant performance. It

" has been admitted by those who have studied the matter closely to be the most satisfactory rendering of Ibsen yet seen on an English stage," Mr. Gosse writes (" Hedda Gabler." Limited ed. London, 1891. Preface, p. 13). And speaking of Miss Robins's interpretation of the leading part the critic says in the same note: " She gave to play-goers such a novel sensation in tragedy as they had not experienced for years." All the parts were excellently played. The reviews in the press were of a less harsh nature than on the occasion of the performance of " Ghosts," but much of the same feeling found expression in their words. Five performances were given in all.

" The Lady from the Sea " was first produced in English at Terry's Theatre, London, May 11, 1891. The principal characters were played as follows:

Doctor Wangel . . .	Mr. Oscar Adye
Ellida Wangel . . .	Miss Rose Meller
Bolette	Miss V. Armbruster
Arnholm	Mr. L. Outram
A Stranger	Mr. Charles Dalton

The play was performed under the direction of Dr. Aveling, five times in all. It did not attract great attention, and Mr. Archer calls it an " inadequate production " (Collected Works of Ibsen, v. 9, p. xxvii).

During the years 1889, and particularly 1890, Miss Achurch and Mr. Charrington played " A Doll's House " in Australia and America (Mel-

bourne, September, 1889; Sydney, July, 1890). The play had a varied reception; at Sydney the audience met it with howls and mewing, and the comments of the press were full of scorn and anger. But at some places the public was more appreciative.

COMMENTARIES.— In his very interesting and readable book, " Impressions and Opinions " (New York, *Scribner*, 1891), the well-known Irish novelist and critic, George Moore, has a short chapter, called " Notes on Ghosts." It is a very favorable criticism of the performance of " Ghosts " at the *Théâtre libre*, Paris, May, 1890, when Antoine played Oswald, and Mlle. Barny, Mrs. Alving.

In the columns of the *Saturday Review* George Bernard Shaw took a lively part in the fierce controversy which raged about the name of Ibsen around the year 1890. As one of the stanchest admirers of the poet, he challenged angry opposition by the announcement that Ibsen was the superior of Shakspeare. On the 18th of July, 1890, he read a paper on Ibsen before the Fabian Society, London, and the following year, occasioned by the performances of " Ghosts " and " Hedda Gabler " in London, he published a somewhat enlarged edition of this paper, under the title: " The Quintessence of Ibsenism " (London, W. Scott; also brought out by B. R. Tucker, Boston, as v. 1, no. 7, of " Tucker's Library "). It is a vigorous defense of the poet against the abuses of the literary critics, " not a critical essay on the

poetic beauties of Ibsen, but simply an exposition of Ibsenism " (Pref. p. 7). This " exposition " is remarkably brilliant and interesting and caused considerable comment at the time of its appearance. It is " a brilliant distillation of the Ibsenic philosophy from the standpoint of the anti-idealist, concerning itself with Ibsen neither as poet nor as dramatist," Mr. Archibald Henderson writes in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1908 (v. 102, p. 260).

1892

TRANSLATIONS.— Archer's translation of " A Doll's House " was published by Walter Scott, London, in a " people's edition," in memory of the performance of the play at the Avenue Theatre, April 19, 1892.

Short extracts from " Peer Gynt " had been translated in numerous commentaries and criticisms of the poem in the magazines, but the work as a whole was for several years after its original publication not accessible to English readers. In 1890 a Norwegian-American, Chris. M. Waage, Oakland, Cal., translated " Peer Gynt," and wrote to Ibsen, requesting permission to have it published. But Ibsen did not grant the desired authorization and the work never appeared in print. (See Mr. Waage's article in *California Illustrated Magazine*, September, 1893.) In 1892 the first complete translation of the work was published: " Peer Gynt, a dramatic poem by Henrik Ibsen; authorized

translation by William and Charles Archer " (London, Scott, 1892). This volume contains a good explanatory preface and as an appendix translations of two tales from Asbjörnsen's "Norske huldreeventyr og folkesagn " (" Peer Gynt " and " Gudbrand Glesne "). The translation is undoubtedly ably executed, but as it is in unrhymed verse, much of the fine poetic beauty of the drama is lost.

PERFORMANCES.— In March, 1892, Miss Achurch and Mr. Charrington presented "A Doll's House " at the Khedive's Theatre in Cairo. A local paper says that " the house was packed, the performance excellent, and the applause lively" (cf. *Poet Lore*, v. 4, p. 528). Immediately after their return to London the same actors produced the play at the Avenue Theatre (April 19th). Mr. Charrington, who formerly played Dr. Rank, had now elected to take the part of Helmer, and Miss Marion Lea was a decided acquisition to the cast as Mrs. Linden.

A parody on " Ghosts," called " A Ghost, a spirited sketch, not by Ibsen," was performed at the Criterion, London, June 28, 1892, Mr. Owen Dove, Mr. George Giddens, and Miss Ellis Jeffreys playing the leading parts. It was not a great success.

A play which was intended to be a sort of a prologue to " Rosmersholm " was performed at the Globe Theatre, London, April 19, 1892, under the title of " Beata." It was an adaptation for the stage of the drama " Rosmer of Rosmersholm," which the author, Austin Fryers, had published the

previous year (London, Sonnenschein, 1891). The acting was beyond praise, but the play did not seem to appeal strongly to the public. A contemporary critic calls it "a fairly good play, but a very morbid study" (*Theatre*, London, May 1, 1892). The author tells the story of the married life of Rosmer and Beata on the basis of the account given of it by Ibsen in "Rosmersholm." The three chief parts were played by the following:

Beata	Miss Frances Ivor
Rebecca West . .	Miss Estelle Burney
Rosmer . . .	Mr. Leonard Outram

Commentaries.— Some important books and articles on Ibsen appeared during this year. The excellent book, "Studies at Leisure" (London, Chapman & Hall, 1892), by the English literary critic, William Leonard Courtney (the editor of the *Fortnightly Review*) contains a chapter called "Ibsen's Social Dramas," in which the author discusses these works in a most interesting manner.

The dramatic critic of the *Times* (formerly of the *Star*), Arthur Bingham Walkley, collected a number of his magazine articles and published them under the title of "Playhouse Impressions" (London, Unwin, 1892). Four of the articles are on Ibsen, one treating of his life in general and the rest being criticisms of the stage performances of "Rosmersholm," "Hedda Gabler," and "The Lady from the Sea" (originally published in the *Star*).

A most excellent little book on Ibsen appeared

in the beginning of 1892: "Four Lectures on Henrik Ibsen, dealing chiefly with his metrical works," by the English Unitarian minister, Philip Henry Wicksteed (London, Sonnenschein, 1892; American edition: New York, Macmillan, 1892). The author is well known as a university extension lecturer and a Dante scholar. His book, which does not contain much more than one hundred pages, is divided into four main chapters, one treating of the poems, one of "Brand," one of "Peer Gynt," and one of the remaining works. Some of the poems and a number of passages from "Brand" and "Peer Gynt" have been translated into English prose. The clever and sympathetic interpretations which are given in this little volume should be of great help and usefulness to the serious student of Ibsen. W. Archer comments on the book as follows: "Mr. Wicksteed is in such perfect sympathy with Ibsen in the stage of his development marked by 'Brand' and 'Peer Gynt,' that he has understood these poems, in my judgment, at least as well as any other commentator, whether German or Scandinavian" (Collected Works of Ibsen. 1906–1908. v. 4, p. xxii).

1893

A facsimile reprint of Miss Lord's edition of "A Doll's House" (London, 1890) appeared with the date of 1893 on the title page.

On December 12, 1892, the Norwegian edition of "Bygmester Solness" was published, and the

following year three English editions appeared. Edmund Gosse and William Archer jointly translated the play, which they gave the title, " The Master Builder " (London, Heinemann, 1893). The price was originally put at one shilling, but so large was the sale of the drama during the following years that the publisher, in 1898, felt himself justified in advancing the price to one shilling six pence. A " new edition " by the same competent translators appeared during the same year, containing, as additional matter, a bibliographical note by Edmund Gosse, and an " appendix for critics," by William Archer (London, Heinemann, 1893). Another version of the play was made by the Norwegian-American lawyer, Jno. W. Arctander, *i.e.* Karl Johan Ludvig Wilhelm August Arctander (Minneapolis, Waldemar Kriedt, 1893), but it is much inferior to the preceding work. It is natural that " The Master Builder " should have attacted wide attention, and it may not be without interest to note, as an extreme view of the meaning of the play, how one critic suggests that Ibsen by Solness meant to represent Gladstone, and that the work was full of references to the Irish question (*Saturday Review*, July, 1893).

PERFORMANCES.— A new performance of " Ghosts " was given at the Independent Theatre, London, January 27, 1893, Mrs. Alving being played by Miss Hall Caine, a daughter of the famous novelist.

A most interesting and significant Ibsen performance took place at the Trafalgar Square

Theatre (now the Duke of York's Theatre) London, on February 20, 1893, when "The Master Builder" was presented. The cast was as follows:

Halvard Solness	Mr. Herbert Waring
Mrs. Solness	Miss Louise Moodie
Dr. Herdal	Mr. John Beauchamp
Knut Brovik	Mr. Athol Ford
Ragnar	Mr. Philip Cuningham
Kaia Fosli	Miss Marie Linden
Hilda Wangel	Miss Elizabeth Robins

The performance was a great success. Mr. Archer writes of it: "This was one of the most brilliant and successful of English Ibsen productions. Miss Robins was almost an ideal Hilda, and Mr. Waring's Solness was exceedingly able. Some thirty performances were given in all" (Collected Works of Ibsen. 1906–08, v. 10, p. xxviii). And in the same strain, Mr. Gosse writes: "Of Miss Robins's impersonation of Hilda there could be no two opinions, even among those who disliked the play. The spirit of April laughed and leaped with her; the inconscience, the spontaneity of unreflective youth were rarely presented and sustained with such extraordinary buoyancy. Mr. Waring was serious, solid, and convincing as Halvard Solness, following with reverential consistency the vagaries of the character as Ibsen has conceived it. After a fortnight of matineés at the Trafalgar Square Theatre, "The Master Builder" was transferred, on the 6th of March, to the evening bill at the Vaudeville. Here some changes took

place. Mrs. Solness was played by Miss Elsie Chester; Dr. Herdal, by Mr. Charles Allen; and Knut Brovik by Mr. Charles Fulton; but there was no alteration in the two leading roles. In spite of the dramatic critics, the play continued to attract fair audiences to the Vaudeville, until Passion Week put a stop to the run. On the 30th of March, Mr. Waring and Miss Robins took the play down to Brighton. . . ." ("The Master Builder." Limited ed., London, 1895, Bibl. note, pp. 9, 10). It is worthy of notice that the English performance took place a couple of weeks before the play was produced in any of the Scandinavian countries, and that it was the third European performance, the drama having previously been presented only at Berlin and Leipsic.

From May 29th to June 10th revivals of "Hedda Gabler," "Rosmersholm," and "The Master Builder" were in progress at the Opera Comique. Two afternoons and two evenings were allotted to each, and in conjunction with the last play an act from "Brand" was submitted, this latter proving the chief attraction. In the cast of "Hedda Gabler" a few changes had taken place. Mr. Lewis Waller playing Mr. Elwood's part of Lövborg, and Miss Marie Linden replacing Miss Marion Lea as Mrs. Elvsted. In "Rosmersholm" Miss Robins and Mr. Waller as Rebecca and Rosmer created a deep impression. Mr. Waller replaced Mr. Waring as Solness, in "The Master Builder," and Miss Ivor played the part of Mrs. Solness instead of Miss Moodie. In the fourth act of

"Brand" Agnes was played by Miss Robins, Brand by Mr. Bernard Gould, and the Gipsy woman by Miss Ivor. Miss Robins made a profound impression, but Mr. Gould was not wholly satisfactory as Brand.

"An Enemy of the People" was first produced in English, at the Haymarket Theatre, on June 14, 1893, under the management of Mr. Herbert Beerbohm Tree,* who also played the leading part. Morten Kiil was played by Mr. Allen, Aslaksen by Mr. E. M. Robson, and Petra by Miss Lily Hanbury. Mr. Beerbohm Tree's presentation of Stockmann was beyond praise. "It is not very often that an actor improves upon his author when the latter is a genius. But Mr. Beerbohm Tree has done it," one critic writes (*Theatre*, London, July 1, 1893). The drama made a great impression, drawing good audiences, and Mr. Tree has repeated his performance of Stockmann a good many times in London, the provinces, and America.

According to Halvorsen (*Bibliografiske Oplysninger*, p. 102) Mr. and Mrs. Charrington reproduced "The Lady from the Sea" in London during 1893, but this performance does not seem to have attracted much attention.

In the above-mentioned article by Mr. Archer, called "The Mausoleum of Ibsen" (*Fortnightly Review*, July, 1893) will be found some rather interesting extracts from the captious comments on the

*An interesting biography of the famous actor appeared a couple of years ago: "Herbert Beerbohm Tree; by Mrs. George Crane" (London, New York, Lane, 1907).

Ibsen performances of the early nineties.

COMMENTARIES.— Some very clever travesties on Ibsen's plays appeared under the title, "Mr. Punch's Pocket Ibsen," the author issuing them under his well-known pseudonym, F. Anstey, which stands for the name of the English novelist, Thomas Anstey Guthrie (London, Heinemann, 1893; another edition, New York and London, Macmillan, 1893). The parodies, which are very humorously illustrated by Bernard Partridge, treat of "Rosmersholm," "A Doll's House," "Hedda Gabler," "The Wild Duck," and "The Master Builder." They are extremely witty and amusing, and attracted a good deal of attention; the book was translated into Norwegian during the same year (Punch's Lomme-Ibsen, Christiania, 1893).

In the work by the famous novelist, Henry James, "Essays in London and Elsewhere" (London, Osgood; New York, Harper, 1893) about twenty pages are devoted to discussions of "Hedda Gabler" and "The Master Builder." His comments on the two plays are rather favorable to the dramatist, and written in a delightful style, they will be both pleasing and interesting to the reader.

The English poet William Watson's volume of collected essays, "Excursions in Criticism" (London, Mathews and Lane; New York, Macmillan, 1893), contains a short chapter (only five pages) called "Ibsen's Prose Dramas." The idea of the author is that Ibsen is no great artist: "They [*i.e.*, the masters] deal with life; he [*i.e.*, Ibsen] deals only with death in life. They treat of society;

he treats only of the rottenness of society. Their subject is human nature,— his, human disease."

1894

TRANSLATIONS.— "No verse translation is worth the paper it is written on," Andrew Lang is reported to have said on one occasion. There are probably a good many proofs of the falseness of this statement; one at least is found in Professor Charles Harold Herford's excellent verse translation of "Brand" (London, Heinemann; New York, Scribner, 1894). It is rendered in the original meters and is a very able work, far above Mr. Wilson's prose translation of 1891. The introduction (ninety-nine pages) gives an interesting and valuable discussion of the drama. Mr. Herford was, at the time he made his translation, professor of English language and literature at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and is now Smith professor of English literature at the University of Manchester. However good a translation, it will never even approach the greatness of the original. "If you do not know 'Brand' and 'Peer Gynt,'" Mr. Archer writes, "you know Ibsen only as a fragment, a torso; if you know them in translations, you may guess at his true greatness, but you cannot realize it" (*The International Monthly*, February, 1901).

Another version of "Brand" which is only little known appeared during the same year from the hand of the late Anglo-African editor and poli-

tician, F. Edmund Garrett (London, Unwin, 1894). The translation is in verse in the original metres, and a small number of copies of it were published as a " limited edition."

A " second edition " of William Wilson's prose translation of " Brand " was also issued about the same time (London, Methuen, 1894).

PERFORMANCES.— The first performance of " Ghosts " in the United States took place at the Berkeley Lyceum, New York City, January 5, 1894, under the management of Charles J. Bell. The cast was as follows:

Mrs. Alving . .	MISS IDA GOODFRIEND
Oswald . . .	MR. COURTENAY THORPE
Manders . . .	MR. ARTHUR LAWRENCE
Engstrand . .	MR. HERBERT LEONARD
Regina	MISS ELEANOR LANE

The acting was excellent and the production was described by Mr. William Dean Howells as " a great theatrical event — the very greatest I have ever known." But it did not seem to appeal to the press and the public at large; " 'Ghosts' is a nasty play — totally distasteful to healthy persons," the New York *Dramatic Mirror* writes, and other papers express themselves to a similar effect. The same company presented the drama at the Tremont Theatre, Boston, April 18, 1894. (For a favorable criticism of this performance, see *Poet Lore*, v. 6, pp. 356-361.)

" An Enemy of the People " was produced at the Gentleman's Concert Hall in Manchester,

January 27, 1894, with Mr. Louis Calvert in the leading part.

One of the most interesting Ibsen performances in the United States was given at the Empire Theatre, New York, on February 15, 1894, when Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske presented "A Doll's House." The performance was given for the benefit of the maternity and training department of the Hahnemann Hospital; it took place during a period when Mrs. Fiske had retired temporarily from the stage, and received considerable attention from the press of New York. The principal characters were played as follows:

Helmer	COURTENAY THORPE
Krogstad	WILLIAM THOMPSON
Dr. Rank . . .	VINCENT STERNROYD
Mrs. Linden .	SYDNEY COWELL HOLMES
Nora	MRS. FISKE

The performance was excellent, and particularly did Mrs. Fiske as Nora create a deep impression. The criticisms in the press were partly favorable even to the drama, and full of praise for Mrs. Fiske's brilliant interpretation. "Such as the character is, it was ideally represented in the person of Mrs. Fiske," the New York *Dramatic Mirror* writes. Only one performance was given, but as will be seen later, Mrs. Fiske included the play in her repertoire.

"The Wild Duck" was first produced in English by the Independent Theatre Society, at the Royalty Theatre, London, on May 4, 1894. Mr.

W. L. Abingdon played Hialmar Ekdal, Mrs. Herbert Waring, Gina, Mr. Charles Fulton, Gregers Werle, and Miss Winifred Fraser gave " a delightful performance of Hedwig " (Archer, in Collected Works of Ibsen. 1906-08. v. 8, p. xx). The press notices of the drama were not very favorable; the late Clement Scott's pronouncement on it was that " to make a fuss about so feeble a production was to insult dramatic literature and to outrage common sense."

In the late autumn of 1894 Miss Robins presented " Hedda Gabler " and " The Master Builder," in Manchester and other English cities.

COMMENTARIES.— An interesting criticism on Ibsen and his works is the late Norwegian-American professor at Columbia University, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen's " Commentary on the Writings of Henrik Ibsen " (New York, Macmillan; London, Heinemann, 1894). It is a book of more than three hundred pages, a solid work based on extensive study, but full of contradictions and obscure statements, and written in an easy but rather flowery style. Much valuable information may be found in it, but it does not pay due attention to Ibsen's earlier plays. (Valuable review of the work, by William Morton Payne, in *Dial*, v. 16, p. 236.)

The book by the American novelist and lecturer, Hamlin Garland, " Crumbling Idols " (Chicago, Stone & Kimball, 1894), contains a short chapter (twenty pages) called " The Influence of Ibsen." It is written in a vivid style, and the cen-

tral idea is that "Ibsen has helped us in our war against conventionalisms, but he must not dominate us. His plays are not to be models."

A small volume (thirty-two pages), by Mary S. Gilliland, appeared during the same year: "Ibsen's Women; a lecture given before the London Ethical Society" (London, W. Reeves, 1894; being no. 1 of "The Bijou Library").

Allan Monkhouse's volume of essays, "Books and Plays" (London, Mathews, 1894), includes a rather insignificant chapter on Ibsen's social plays.

The dramatic critic, educator, and editor of the Liverpool *Daily Post*, Sir Edward Richard Russell, published a lecture on Ibsen (fifty-four pages) which he had delivered at the University College, Liverpool, "at the request of the Senate" on January 26, 1894 (Liverpool and London, Howell, 1894).

In Mrs. Ethel B. Tweedie's interesting book of travel, "A Winter Jaunt to Norway" (London, Bliss, Sands, and Foster, 1894), there is a chapter on Ibsen (twenty pages) in which is given an account of a visit to the poet's home at Christiania.

A book on Ibsen which is not generally much known, and which is frequently omitted by bibliographers of the subject, is the work written under the pseudonym Zanoni, called "Ibsen and the Drama" (London, Digby & Long, 1894). It is a book of about two hundred pages, discussing at some length the critics' hostility to Ibsen and the special features of Ibsen's dramas.

1895

TRANSLATIONS.— A new edition of Miss Lord's translation of " A Doll's House " was brought out by Appleton, New York, with the date of 1895 on the title page; it is identical with the same publisher's edition of 1889.

" Little Eyolf " was published at Christiania and Copenhagen on December 11, 1894. (Edition of ten thousand copies.) The following year William Archer issued his English version of the play (London, Heinemann, 1895). The same translation was also published by Stone and Kimball in Chicago during the same year, as one of the volumes of the " Green Tree Library."

Gosse's and Archer's translation of " The Master Builder " was published in a large paper edition, limited to sixty numbered copies (London, Heinemann, 1895). It contains, as frontispiece, a picture of Miss Robins in the character of Hilda Wangel. Mr. Gosse has furnished, as preface, a " bibliographical note," giving much of the stage history of the drama, and Mr. Archer, as an appendix, an open letter to Mr. A. B. Walkley, on " The Melody of 'The Master Builder,' " in which he explains and defends the play as against unfair misinterpretations.

PERFORMANCES.—Mr. Beerbohm Tree, in 1895, brought his company over to the United States, playing " An Enemy of the People."

When Mrs. Fiske returned to the stage, during the season of 1895-1896, " A Doll's House " was

included in her repertoire, and occasional performances were given in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Toledo, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. The principal parts were played as follows:

Helmer	JAMES NEILL
Krogstad	ALBERT GRAN
Dr. Rank	FRANK MILLS
Mrs. Linden	IDA WATERMAN
Nora	MRS. FISKE

COMMENTARIES.— A facsimile edition of Mr. Guthrie's book of parodies, " Mr. Punch's Pocket Ibsen " (1893), appeared with the date of 1895 on the title page.

During the years 1892 and 1893 there appeared in Germany a large, two-volume work, called "Entartung." The author was the Hungarian physician and writer, Max Simon Nordau, and the work attracted considerable attention. In 1895 it was translated into English under the title " Degeneration " (London, Heinemann; New York, Appleton, 1895). During the same year five editions appeared. A chapter of about one hundred pages treats of what the author calls " Ibsenism," and is a severe attack on Ibsen as a degenerate: " The psychological roots of Ibsen's antisocial impulses are well known. They are the degenerate's incapacity for self-adaptation, and the resulting discomfort in the midst of circumstances to which, in consequence of his organic deficiencies, he cannot accommodate himself " (p. 398). " And this

malignant, antisocial simpleton, highly gifted, it must be admitted, in the technique of the stage, they have had the audacity to try to raise upon the shield as the great world poet of the closing century" (p. 407). The attack was answered the following year by an anonymous writer in his book. "Regeneration" (see below).

The able and industrious student of Scandinavian languages and literatures, William Morton Payne, has in his book, "Little Leaders" (Chicago, Way & Williams, 1895), a short chapter (eight pages) called "The Ibsen Legend," in which he defends Ibsen against the many vigorous attacks of his opponents. It is reprinted from the *Dial*, Chicago.

In the third series of "Shadows of the Stage," by William Winter (New York and London, Macmillan, 1892-95), the well-known dramatic critic devotes a few pages to "The Ibsen Drama," in which he attacks the dramatist and the dramas, especially "A Doll's House," most violently. "Mr. Ibsen, as the writer of a number of insipid, and sometimes tainted compositions, purporting to be plays, could be borne, although even in that aspect he is an offense to taste and a burden upon patience. But Mr. Ibsen obtruded as a sound leader of thought or an artist in drama is a grotesque absurdity" (p. 336).

1896

TRANSLATIONS.— A reprint of the 1892 edition of Archer's translation of "Peer Gynt" was issued by Scott, London, in 1896.

PERFORMANCES.— On November 23, 1896, "Little Eyolf" was first produced in English at the Avenue Theatre, London. The cast was as follows:

Allmers	COURTENAY THORPE
Rita	JANET ACHURCH
Eyolf	STEWART DAWSON
Asta	ELIZABETH ROBINS
Borgheim	C. M. LOWNE
The Rat-Wife	MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL

The play was given a brilliant performance, Miss Achurch's Rita especially making a profound impression. But it failed to interest the public at large. "A dull, wordy, unpleasant, and prodigiously tiresome play," are some of the epithets bestowed on it (*Theatre*, London, January 1, 1897). Mrs. Patrick Campbell afterwards replaced Miss Achurch in the part of Rita, and played it in a short series of evening performances, but evidently not to the advantage of the piece.

COMMENTARIES.— The English novelist and essayist, Arthur Thomas Quiller-Couch, issued in 1896 a collection of short papers (largely reprinted from the *Speaker*) under the title, "Adventures in Criticism" (London, Cassell & Co., New York, Scribner, 1896). The book contains a short chapter (fourteen pages) called "Ibsen's 'Peer Gynt,'" in which the critic discusses this drama in a very interesting way, maintaining that whatever may be said of the moral of the work, it at least stands true that "Peer Gynt" is a great poem.

In the same year appeared the answer to Nordau's "Degeneration," referred to above. The work, which is by an anonymous author, is called "Regeneration" (New York, Putnam; London, Constable, 1896), and contains a chapter of fifty pages on "The Real Ibsen." The writer refutes several of the statements made by Nordau and reaches the following conclusion: "If our interpretation is right, it is impossible that Ibsen's work could in any way indicate degeneration. It ought, on the contrary, to be evident that his pieces, rendering objective as they do the struggle for a higher and better life, based not on pedantic considerations of immediate and unworthy advantages, but on the noble impulses of a strong and healthy nation, are at once a summons to rise higher, and signals pointing the way" (p. 181).

1897

TRANSLATIONS.— Reprints of some of the dramas included in the collected edition of 1890-91 were issued by W. Scott, London, as the so-called "Shilling editions." Each play constituted a separate volume, the paging of the original edition being retained. The dramas published in this way during 1897 were, "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," "The Lady from the Sea," and "The Wild Duck."

On December 15, 1896, the original edition of "John Gabriel Borkman" appeared at Christiania and Copenhagen, and not fully a month later

(January 6, 1897) William Archer issued his English translation (London, Heinemann, 1897). A few months later the same publisher brought out a so-called "popular edition" at reduced price. Archer's translation of the play was also published as one of the volumes of the "Green Tree Library" (New York, Stone & Kimball, 1897).

In commemoration of the production of the play at the Avenue Theatre in London, "Little Eyolf" was published in a so-called "Avenue edition" (London, Heinemann, 1897).

Selections from Ibsen's writings were edited in the form of a birthday calendar, giving one passage for every day in the year, under the following title: "Gleanings from Ibsen, selected and edited by Emmie Avery Keddell and Percy Cross Standing, with a preface on 'Ibsenism'" (London, Stock, 1897). It is a very neat and handy little volume.

PERFORMANCES.— "John Gabriel Borkman" was first played in English at the Strand Theatre, London, by an organization calling itself the New Century Theatre, on the afternoon of May 3, 1897. The cast was as follows:

Borkman	W. H. VERNON
Mrs. Borkman . . .	GENEVIÈVE WARD
Erhart Borkman . .	MARTIN HARVEY
Ella Rentheim . . .	ELIZABETH ROBINS
Mrs. Wilton . .	MRS. BEERBOHM TREE
Vilhelm Foldal	JAMES WELCH
Frida Foldal	DORA BARTON

The performance was not especially satisfac-

tory, and the critics used their old vitriolic epithets, as " dull, tedious, depressing, at times even ludicrous." Five matinees were sufficient to exhaust the drawing powers of the piece.

During the same month " The Wild Duck " was repeated at the Globe Theatre, London, this time with Mr. Lawrence Irving in the part of Hialmar Ekdal, and Miss Fraser again giving a brilliant interpretation of Hedwig.

The third performance in English of " Ghosts " was given at the Independent Theatre, London, on June 24, 1897, but only for especially invited persons, as a public performance of the " immoral " play was forbidden.

A few months after the performance of " John Gabriel Borkman " in England, the play was presented by the Criterion Independent Theatre, of New York (November 18, 1897). The cast was as follows:

Borkman	E. J. Henley
Mrs. Borkman . . .	Maude Banks
Erhart Borkman	John Blair
Ella Rentheim . .	Ann Warrington
Mrs. Wilton	Carrie Keeler
Vilhelm Foldal . . .	Albert Bruning
Frida Foldal . . .	Dorothy Usner

The American performance of the play was, on the whole, much more satisfactory than the one in London, and the drama seems also to have enlisted the interest of the public to a higher degree. The late E. J. Henley gave a brilliant interpretation of

the title role, " a memorable achievement " the New York *Dramatic Mirror* writes (November 27, 1897). But the play did not even here take a very firm hold on the stage.

COMMENTARIES.— A book full of enthusiastic admiration of the poet is " Ibsen on his Merits," by Sir Edward R. Russell and Percy Cross Standing (London, Chapman & Hall, 1897). It is in two parts (one hundred and eighty-nine pages), the former being a careful revision of Sir Edward Russell's lecture on Ibsen, mentioned above, and the latter written by Mr. Standing (English journalist; on the staff of the *Daily Dispatch* from 1907) except the last chapter, which is the joint work of the two authors. The book, especially the second part, is less critical than enthusiastic. " It is a disappointment," says W. S. W. McLay, in the *Citizen* (v. 3, p. 230).

1898

TRANSLATIONS.— A reprint of Mrs. Marx Aveling's translation of " An Enemy of the People," originally included in the edition of Ibsen's Prose Dramas of 1890-91, was brought out by W. Scott, London, under the name of " shilling edition " (pp. 101-237).

A fifth edition of Edmund Gosse's version of " Hedda Gabler " was published during the same year (London, Heinemann, 1898), testifying to the great popularity of this play.

PERFORMANCES.— On March 30, 1898, Miss

Elizabeth Robins appeared in " Hedda Gabler " at the Fifth Avenue Theatre in New York City. The principal characters were played as follows:

Tesman . . .	Leo Ditrichstein
Hedda	Elizabeth Robins
Mrs. Elvsted . . .	Maida Craigen
Judge Brack . .	William Courtleigh
L"vborg	Ernest Hastings

Miss Robins made a deep impression as Hedda. " It was, on the whole, the most satisfactory representation of an Ibsen play ever given in this city," writes the *Critic*. And about Miss Robins's interpretation of the title role the same periodical writes: " It was in every way a remarkable achievement " (*Critic*, April 9, 1898). Only one performance of the play was given, and Mr. Hapgood states that " it failed to interest the public enough to lead Miss Robins to continue contemplated Ibsen experiments " (*The Stage in America*, 1897-1900. New York. 1901. p. 212).

On March 20, 1898, Ibsen filled his seventieth year and was on this occasion presented with a large, beautiful silver goblet from English admirers.

1899

Translations.— A new impression of Herford's translation of " Brand " was issued by Heinemann, London, and a second reprint of Archer's version of " Peer Gynt " was published by W. Scott, London.

PERFORMANCES.— The second production of "Ghosts" in the United States was given by the Independent Company at the Carnegie Lyceum on May 29, 1899. The cast was as follows:

Mrs. Alving	MARY SHAW
Oswald Alving	JOHN BLAIR
Pastor Manders . . .	WILLIAM BEACH
Jacob Engstrand . . .	FRANZ REICHER
Regina Engstrand . .	EDITH KENWARD

The acting was extremely able, and Miss Shaw especially made a great impression. The contemporary press comments on the play not only testify to the faultless technical structure of the drama, but even to its truth and beauty. "Men and women as they passed out talked not only about strength in structure and in the performance, and, of course, about 'truth,' but even about beauty" (Hapgood. *The Stage in America*, 1897-1900. New York, 1901. p. 208). By most critics the play was referred to as "the master work" and "this marvellous drama." Miss Mary Shaw starred in it for thirty-seven weeks, going through the country as far west as Colorado, and was thus the first American actress to introduce the work of Ibsen to the general American public.

COMMENTARIES.— In 1898 Georg Brandes completed a third essay on Ibsen, which he published in book form, together with the two earlier "impressions" of the poet (written 1867 and 1882) and an "impression" of Björnson (written 1882). The work was translated into English under the

following title: "Henrik Ibsen. Björnstjerne Björnson. Critical Studies. By George Brandes" (London, Heinemann, 1899). The part on Ibsen (one hundred and twenty-two pages) was translated by Jessie Muir, and revised by William Archer, who also wrote a short introduction to the work. Probably few people ever stood in a closer relation to Ibsen than Brandes did during a number of years, and his masterful analysis of the poet's works and ideas is worth everything else that has been written concerning him. William Morton Payne wrote an interesting review of the book in the *Dial* for November 1, 1899; he disagrees with the Danish critic regarding a few points, but on the whole expresses himself very favorably on the work.

The Danish-German authoress, Laura Hansson (née Mohr), wrote, in 1896, some essays (under her well-known pseudonym Laura Marholm) which were translated into English three years later under the title, "We Women and our Authors" (London and New York, Lane, 1899). One of the essays (nineteen pages) is devoted to "The Author in the Cul-de-sac, Henrik Ibsen," which is chiefly concerned with Ibsen's ideas on woman.

1900

TRANSLATIONS.— A "new and revised edition" of "Prose Dramas of Henrik Ibsen" was published in five volumes during 1900 and 1901 (London, W. Scott, 1900–01; New York, Scribner,

1901). It was edited by William Archer and includes the following dramas (one drama to each volume): " The League of Youth," " The Pillars of Society," " A Doll's House," " Ghosts," and " An Enemy of the People." The translators were the same as previously.

One of Ibsen's dramas that had to wait a long time before it was translated into English was " Love's Comedy." William Archer had given a few selections from it in 1881 (*St. James Magazine*, v. 40, pp. 27ff. 104 ff.), but to the translator of " Brand," Prof. C. H. Herford, belongs the honor of having introduced the whole work to the English public. He translated it into verse in the original metres and supplied it with an interesting introduction and valuable notes. The translation was published by Duckworth, London, in 1900, as a volume of the series " Modern Plays," edited by R. Brinley Johnson and N. Erichsen. The version is exceedingly able, considering the immense difficulties of rhyme and rhythm. During the same year the American edition was brought out by Sergel, Chicago.

Shortly before Christmas of 1899 the original edition of " When We Dead Awaken " appeared at Christiania and Copenhagen, and in March the following year was published William Archer's translation of the play (London, Heinemann, 1900). The drama was in great demand, and a " second impression " was issued during the same year. An American edition of the same version was published as a volume of the Green Tree Library

(Chicago and New York, Stone & Co., 1900).

PERFORMANCES.— The first performance in America of "The Master Builder" was given at the Carnegie Lyceum, New York, on January 17, 1900, as one of the series of modern plays projected by John Blair and known as the "Course of Modern Plays." The cast was as follows:

Solness . . .	WILLIAM H. PASCOE
Mrs. Solness . .	JOSEPHINE WYNDHAM
Doctor Herdal	JOHN STEPPLING
Knut Brovik	RALPH YOERG
Ragnar Brovik .	FREDERICK G. LEWIS
Kaja Foslie	GRACE FISCHER
Hilda Wangel . . .	FLORENCE KAHN

A large and distinguished audience watched the performance, which made some impression, in spite of the somewhat inadequate acting. Mr. Pascoe did not quite master the difficult part of Solness, but Florence Kahn gave a wonderful impersonation of Hilda. "Miss Florence Kahn was an ideal Hilda Wangel," one critic writes (Helena Knorr, in *Poet Lore*, v. 12, p. 97). A "new acting version" was used for the performance, somewhat cut and considerably changed; it was made by Charles Henry Meltzer, but does not seem in any way to have improved upon Archer's very literary and intelligent rendering.

Miss Blanche Bates played "Hedda Gabler" at a matinee in Washington in the fall of 1900. "The performance," Mr. Hapgood writes, "was not as able, taken all round, as the one in which

Miss Robins played the title role. Blanche Bates, however, gave a striking exhibition in the central part. It was not as subtle and intricate as the character was portrayed by Miss Robins, but it had sheer force and plausibility. . . . As a sample of pure wickedness, she would be hard to beat " (*The Stage in America*, 1897–1900. New York, 1901, pp. 216, 217).

COMMENTARIES.— In William Leonard Courtney's excellent little book, " The Idea of Tragedy in Ancient and Modern Drama " (Westminster, Constable, 1900), there are a few interesting comments on Ibsen's plays.

In the book by the English newspaper man and war correspondent, George W. Steevens, " Things Seen " (edited by G. S. Street, after the author's death; Edinburgh, Blackwood & Sons, 1900), there is a chapter (twelve pages) on " Little Eyolf," which ends with the following passage: " This story of Alfred and Rita would have been better told in a novel. But it is a masterpiece none the less, and it is better to have it in a play than not to have it at all " (p. 113).

1901

TRANSLATIONS.— A third impression of Herford's translation of " Brand " (1894; second impression 1899) was brought out by Heinemann, London, in 1901.

A new edition of Gosse's and Archer's translation of " The Master Builder " appeared during

the same year (London, Heinemann, 1901); it contains an interesting introduction by William Archer.

PERFORMANCES.— In May, 1901, the Stage Society gave two successful performances of "The Pillars of Society," at the Strand Theatre, London. Mr. Oscar Asche played Consul Bernick; Mrs. Charles Maltby, Martha Bernick; Mr. Albert Gran, Johan Tönnesen; Miss Constance Robertson, Lona Hessel, and Master George Hersee, Olaf Bernick. "'The Pillars of Society' was, on the whole, given with great credit to everybody concerned," writes the dramatic critic, J. T. Grein. And he pays a strong tribute to Mr. Asche for his excellent impersonation of Consul Bernick. "If this play were to be placed on the boards of a regular London theatre, no other man but Mr. Oscar Asche should be selected to impersonate the principal part, for he has in him all that constitutes the making of it. It was a fine effort, worthy of a true artist" (*Dramatic Criticism*, v. iii, 1900–1901. London, 1902, pp. 209–212).

COMMENTARIES.— The American author and critic, Norman Hapgood (editor of *Collier's Weekly* since 1903), includes in his interesting book, "The Stage in America, 1897–1900" (New York, London, Macmillan, 1901), a short chapter on Ibsen (twelve pages). It is chiefly concerned with comments on the Ibsen performances which were given in the United States during the years mentioned on the title page, and contains much valuable information.

A second edition of William Morton Payne's translation of Jæger's Ibsen biography was published this year (Chicago, McClurg, 1901). What remained of the first edition of this work (published 1890) had been destroyed in the big fire at the McClurg publishing house three years previously. The new edition contains a supplementary chapter by the translator, which brings the information on the subject fairly well up to date. (Mr. Jæger died in the year 1895.)

1902

TRANSLATIONS.— A third reprint of Archer's translation of " Peer Gynt " (first published 1892) appeared this year (London, Scott, 1902).

But few efforts have been made at translating Ibsen's poems into English. We have seen how A. Johnstone made some attempts in this direction in his book " Translations from the Norse " (1876); also other works contain a few translations of the poems, as Gosse's " Northern Studies " (1879); Jæger's biography (1890); Wicksteed's Lectures (1892), and Boyesen's Commentary (1894). But in 1902 were published two books, which include a larger number of poems, partly arranged in a systematic way. One is Ibsen's " Lyrical Poems, selected and translated by R. A. Streatfeild " (London, Mathews, 1902), a small and attractive volume of thirty-eight pages. The translator, Richard Alexander Streatfeild, is the musical critic of the *Daily Graphic* and assistant in the depart-

ment of printed books of the British Museum. His versions are, as a rule, graceful and conscientious. The other of these books is Percy William Shedd's "The Oceanides, poems and translations" (New York, the Grafton Press, 1902), which includes thirty-six poems from Ibsen, among them "Terje Vigen" and "On the Upland" ("Paa Vidderne"). The translations are forceful but rather too free; the important and magnificent "Paa Vidderne" has found a much better translator in Mr. Hjalmar Edgren ("On the Highlands," *Poet Lore*, v. 13, pp. 335–48).

PERFORMANCES.— In the spring of 1902 Mrs. Fiske gave further performances of "A Doll's House." She played in Philadelphia on April 30, and at the Manhattan Theatre, New York, on May 21. The principal characters were played as follows:

Helmer	MAX FIGMAN
Krogstad	JAMES YOUNG
Dr. Rank	CLAUS BOGEL
Mrs. Linden . . .	ELEANOR MORETTI
Anna	MARY MADDERN
Nora	MRS. FISKE

As usual Mrs. Fiske made a deep impression in the character of Nora.

On May 5, 1902, the Stage Society gave a performance of "The Lady from the Sea" at the Royalty Theatre, London. The cast was as follows:

Dr. Wangel . . .	NORMAN MCKINNEL
Mrs. Ellida Wangel .	JANET ACHURCH

Bolette	Mary Allestree
Hilda	Muriel Ashwynne
Arnholm . . .	Charles V. France
Lyngstrand . . .	Arthur Royston
Ballested	Lionel Belmore
A Stranger . . .	Laurence Irving

The acting was, on the whole, very good; particularly were Miss Achurch and Mr. Irving excellent in the leading parts.

1903

Performances.— "When We Dead Awaken" was given its first performance in English at the Imperial Theatre, London, on January 25 and 26, 1903, under the auspices of the Stage Society. The principal parts were played as follows:

Professor Rubek . .	G. S. Titheradge
Mrs. Maia Rubek .	Mabel Hackney
Ulfheim	Laurence Irving
Irene	Henrietta Watson

"Mr. G. S. Titheradge and Miss Henrietta Watson worked hard in extraordinary roles. Miss Mabel Hackney did well as the girlish Maia, and the repulsive Ulfheim was portrayed with some vigour by Mr. Laurence Irving" (The *Stage*, London, January 29, 1903).

"The Vikings at Helgeland" was first produced in English at the Imperial Theatre, London, on April 15, 1903, with Miss Ellen Terry as the stage manager. Miss Terry played Hjördis, Mr.

Oscar Asche, Sigurd; Mr. Hubert Carter, Gunnar; Mr. Holman Clark, Örnulf, and Miss Hutin Britton, Dagny. The costumes were designed by Miss Edith Craig, and the scenery arranged by Miss Terry's son, Mr. Gordon Craig, who also experimented in this production with his theory of stage lighting. The performance was good on the whole, but it seems as if most critics agree that the part of Hjördis did not suit the temperament of Miss Terry. "The most daring imagination cannot picture Ellen Terry as the fierce warrior wife of Gunnar Headman," says Mr. Huneker (*Iconoclasts.* New York, 1905, p. 31). For an unfavorable criticism of the production by Max Beerbohm, see the *Saturday Review* for April 25, 1903 (v. 95, p. 517).

"Hedda Gabler" was the second Ibsen play in which Mrs. Fiske took part. It was presented at the Manhattan Theatre, New York, then under the management of her husband, Mr. Harrison Grey Fiske, for one week, beginning October 5, 1903. The performance aroused unusual public interest and received marked attention from the critics. The houses were crowded throughout the week. The cast was as follows:

George Tesman . .	William B. Mack
Judge Brack . . .	Henry J. Carvill
Eilert Lövborg . .	Hobart Bosworth
Hedda Tesman	Mrs. Fiske
Mrs. Elvsted . . .	Carlotta Nillson
Miss Tesman . . .	Mary Maddern
Bertha	Bella Bohn

1904

TRANSLATIONS.— A new edition of "Ibsen's Prose Dramas," with the same contents as the edition of 1890–91, was published in 1904 (London, Scott; New York, Scribner, 1904). Reprints of this edition also appear the two following years, with the dates of respectively 1905 and 1906 on the title page.

PERFORMANCES.— A few performances of "Hedda Gabler" were given at the Columbia Theatre, Boston, in January, 1904, with Miss Nance O'Neil in the leading part. According to an article in the *Review of Reviews* (New York, v. 34, p. 39), "The Pretenders" was played by an amateur dramatic club in Brookline, Mass., about the same time.

The first production in the United States of "Rosmersholm" was given on March 28, 1904, at the Princess Theatre, New York, by a company known as the Century Players. The cast was as follows:

Rosmer	WILLIAM MORRIS
Rector Kroll . . .	THEODORE ROBERTS
Ulric Brendel . . .	MARTIN L. ALSOP
Mortensgaard . . .	SHERIDAN TUPPER
Rebecca West . .	FLORENCE KAHN
Madam Helseth .	GRACE GAYLER CLARK

"The presentation was in almost every respect a disappointment," writes the New York *Dramatic Mirror*. "Not only did the players murder the

play; they buried its meaning so deep that many of the scenes were unintelligible" (April 9, 1904). And the New York *Dramatic News* and other papers write in a similar strain.

Not fully a month later another play of Ibsen was presented on the American stage. On April 15, 1904, "The Pillars of Society" was performed at the Lyric Theatre, New York, for the benefit of the Professional Woman's League. Mr. Wilton Lackaye played Consul Bernick; Mr. White Whittlesey, Johan Tönnesen; and Miss Jane Oaker, Dina Dorf. This production also was a "bitter disappointment"; "the performance as a whole was pitifully crude and unintelligent. It was, altogether, a piece of impertinence in art" (New York *Dramatic Mirror*, April 23, 1904). And the New York *Dramatic News* writes in a like manner: "At the Lyric everything went wrong. With a strong cast, the promoter seemed to be the busiest man of the lot. It is scarcely fair to give serious consideration to the performance, for the reason that much injustice would be done to the Ibsen play" (April 23, 1904).

Some months later Mrs. Fiske once again showed the public how an Ibsen play should be presented. "Hedda Gabler" was revived for a period of three and a half weeks at the Manhattan Theatre, beginning November 17, 1904, the number of performances being twenty-six. The cast had undergone a few changes since the production of the play the preceding year, Judge Brack now being played by George Arliss; Lövborg by John

Mason, Mrs. Elvsted by Laura McGilvray, and Bertha by Emily Stevens.

COMMENTARIES.— A new edition of Shaw's "Quintessence of Ibsenism" was published this year (New York, Brentano, 1904).

1905

TRANSLATIONS.— Mrs. Archer's translation of "The Wild Duck" appeared in a new edition (London, Scott, 1905).

In 1904 Ibsen's letters were published at Copenhagen and Christiania, edited by Halvdan Koht and Dr. Julius Elias. The following year an English translation by John Nilsen Laurvik and Mary Morison appeared (American ed., New York, Fox, Duffield & Co.; English ed., London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1905). It is a bulky volume of nearly five hundred pages, containing much of both biographical and literary interest which has not appeared anywhere else.* Reviews of the collection will be found in the *Fortnightly Review*, v. 83, p. 428 (March, 1905), by William Archer, and in the *Dial*, v. 39, p. 429 (December 16, 1905), by William Morton Payne. A review in the *Nation* for March 22, 1906, is not very favorable to the translation; the critic maintains that several mistakes occur in the rendering of certain phrases, that the index is not sufficiently complete, and that the volume is full of proofreader's errors.

*Cf. introduction to this book, p. 13 .

PERFORMANCES.— The first performance in America of " When We Dead Awaken " was given at the Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, on March 7, 1905. The cast was as follows:

Professor Rubek . .	FREDERICK LEWIS
Mrs. Maia Rubek .	DOROTHY DONNELLY
Inspector at the Baths	JAMES H. LEWIS
Ulfheim	FRANK LOSEE
Irene	FLORENCE KAHN
A Sister of Mercy . . .	EVELYN WOOD

The acting was excellent, but the play did not attract the interest of the general public, and only a few performances were given. " Even the excellent cast chosen for this representation of Ibsen's symbolic work could not make the embodying of a naked soul struggle either plausible or pleasing," writes the critic of the New York *Dramatic Mirror* (March 18, 1905).

Two different performances of " The Master Builder " were given in New York City this year, one at the Berkeley Lyceum in April, 1905, by the Progressive Stage Society, with J. H. Green and Eda Bruna in the leading roles, and the other on May 12, 1905, for the Mrs. Gilbert memorial, when William Hazeltine played Solness and Amy Ricard, Hilda.

An unusually successful production of " A Doll's House " took place at the Lyceum Theatre, New York, on May 2, 1905, with Miss Ethel Barrymore in the leading part. The other important parts were played as follows:

Thorvald Helmer . .	Bruce McRae
Dr. Rank	Edgar Selwyn
Nils Krogstad . . .	Joseph Brennan
Mrs. Linden	Sara Perry

" The performance in its entirety was charming," writes the New York *Dramatic News* (May 13, 1905). " The community will have to take off their hats to Ethel Barrymore. She has conquered Ibsen, and she has conquered the New York theatregoers."

According to William Archer (Collected Works of Ibsen. 1906–08, v. 8, p. xx), " The Wild Duck " was revived at the Court Theatre, London, in October, 1905, with Mr. Granville Barker as Hialmar and Miss Dorothy Minto as Hedwig.

On November 2, 1905, " An Enemy of the People " was revived by Mr. Beerbohm Tree, at His Majesty's Theatre, London. Mr. Tree and Mr. E. M. Robson played their former parts as Stockman and Aslaksen; otherwise the cast was entirely new. Morten Kiil was played by Mr. George Shelton and Billing by Mr. Nigel Playfair. The performance was very good and the large audience was not lacking in enthusiasm.

Commentaries.— In 1905 there appeared a book called " Living Dramatists: Pinero, Ibsen, D'Annunzio; collected by Oscar Herrmann " (New York, Brentano's, 1905). The essay on Ibsen (forty pages) is written by Mr. Henry Davidoff and gives a summary of the poet's life and writings, " intended to indicate the characteristic elements of Ibsen's

dramaturgic art with special reference to the technical methods that point him out as an innovator in form."

During the same year was published the well-written and unusually interesting volume by the American journalist and dramatic critic, James Gibbons Huneker (now art editor of the New York *Sun*); "Iconoclasts, a book of Dramatists" (New York, Scribner, 1905). The first one hundred and thirty-eight pages treat of Ibsen, for whom the writer has a deep admiration; interesting analysis of all the individual dramas are given. The students of Ibsen should not neglect reading this chapter.*

1906

Translations.— From 1906 to 1908 was published the standard English edition of Ibsen's dramas, under the name of "The Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen" (London, Heinemann; New York, Scribner, 1906–08). This edition is revised and edited by William Archer, and numbers eleven volumes, including all the dramas, with the exception of "Catilina." Most of the plays are translated by W. Archer; where he was not the actual translator, he at least thoroughly revised the work. Mr. Archer has written a new, helpful introduction to each drama, and the set is the most

*A few months ago the same author published a new book: "Egoists, a book of Supermen" (New York, Scribner, 1909). This book also contains an interesting chapter on Ibsen.

complete and most satisfactory edition of Ibsen's works in the English language. The price is $1.00 for each volume. " The introduction to each play throws valuable light on the plays and their author. Together, these introductions will form a pretty complete review of Ibsen's life as well as of his art. They form the first systematic survey of Ibsen in English " (*Nation*, v. 84, p. 17).

A number of new editions or reprints of individual dramas also appeared during this year. Edmund Gosse's translation of " Hedda Gabler " was published in a so-called " Theatre edition " (London, Heinemann, 1906). " The Lady from the Sea " and " Rosmersholm," both edited with introductions by William Archer, appeared in new editions (London, Scott, 1906). A fourth reprint of Archer's translation of " Peer Gynt " (1892) was published the same year (London, Scott, 1906). " Peer Gynt " also appeared in another version, " The Richard Mansfield acting version of Peer Gynt " (Chicago, The Reilly & Britton Company, 1906). The version is considerably cut and numbers only one hundred and seventy-three pages. The volume has as frontispiece a characteristic portrait of Mr. Mansfield. A new edition of Archer's version of " When We Dead Awaken " appeared in the same year (London, Heinemann, 1906).

Performances.— On January 28 and 29 " Lady Inger of Östraat " was played at the Scala Theatre, London, by the Stage Society. The principal parts were played as follows:

Lady Inger . . .	Miss Edyth Olive
Elina . . .	Miss Alice Crawford
Nils Lykke . . .	Mr. Henry Ainley
Olaf Skaktavl . .	Mr. Alfred Brydone
Nils Stenssön .	Mr. Harcourt Williams

The performance was successful.

On October 29, 1906, Richard Mansfield acted "Peer Gynt" at the Grand Opera House, Chicago. The play had never before been acted in English, except for a few selected scenes. Mr. Mansfield used the Archer translation, which is not wholly satisfactory, but he cut it considerably and it seems as if his version suffered in the process. Whole scenes were entirely left out, like the sæter-girl scene and the madhouse scene. Mansfield himself played the title role; Miss Emma Dunn, Ase; Miss Adelaide Nowak, Solveig; Mr. Henry Wenman, The Dovre King, and Miss Irene Prahar, Anitra. The performance was a great triumph for Mr. Mansfield. "The evening wore along through repeated bursts of applause to a triumphant issue . . . Mansfield and Ibsen had held the audience beyond all expectations. . . . It was a triumph for Mansfield as actor, as an imaginative and interpretative artist" (Wilstach. *Richard Mansfield.* New York, 1908, pp. 465, 466). However, in spite of the enthusiasm shown Mansfield at the first performance of "Peer Gynt," opinions of dramatic critics, more particularly among the Norwegians, seem to be somewhat divided as to his correct interpretation of the character. After

the Chicago performances Mansfield went on tour with "Peer Gynt," and played it in a number of cities in the West, South, and East, during the season of 1906–07. The part was a trying one, and his health finally broke down, never again to be restored.

In the year of 1905 the Russian actress, Madame Alla Nazimova, came to the United States and played at the Russian Theatre in New York City in the company of Orleneff's. At her arrival she could not speak a word of English, but she set about studying it industriously, and on November 13, 1906, she played in English the part of Hedda Gabler at the Princess Theatre, New York City. The other parts were played as follows:

Tesman	John Findlay
Brack	Dodson Mitchell
Lövborg	John Blair
Miss Tesman . .	Mrs. Thomas Whiffen
Mrs. Elvsted . . .	Laura Hope Crews
Bertha	Mrs. Jacques Martin

Madame Nazimova's interpretation of Hedda Gabler was wonderfully effective and made a great impression. All the critics testified at once to her remarkable powers. "In short, Madame Nazimova is a great actress, even judging only by her performance of Hedda," writes the New York *Dramatic Mirror* (November 24, 1906). She gave a number of performances of the play in New York City, and included the part in her repertoire, playing it in many cities in different parts of the country.

According to M. J. Moses (*Henrik Ibsen*, New York, 1908, p. 442), "The Wild Duck" formed part of Mr. Wright Lorimer's repertoire during the season of 1906–07 (in the United States).

COMMENTARIES.— On May 23, 1906, Henrik Ibsen died at his home in Christiania. All the literary magazines in England and America paid their tribute to the great dramatist. Among particularly interesting articles may be mentioned William Archer's, in the *Monthly Review* (London) for June, 1906, called "Ibsen as I Knew Him," and which is valuable for the glimpses it gives of the personality and character of the poet. In the *Academy*, v. 70, p. 501, Ernest A. Baker hails him as "one of the most remarkable men in all the history of literature." In the *Independent*, v. 60, p. 1249, Georg Brandes considers the influence Ibsen had on contemporary dramatists, among others on George Bernard Shaw, "thus having contributed to the development of this remarkably queer fellow." Edmund Gosse writes in the *Atlantic Monthly* (v. 98, p. 30), Edward Dowden in the *Contemporary Review* (v. 90, p. 652); Calvin Thomas in the *Nation* (v. 82, p. 442), W. D. Howells in the *North American Review* (v. 183, p. 1); Max Beerbohm in the *Saturday Review* (v. 101, p. 650), and James Huneker in *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* (v. 40, p. 351).

As an example of the remarkable growth of interest in the Norwegian poet, it may be worth while to note that in Poole's Index to Periodical Literature for the years 1802 to 1881 there are

recorded two articles on Ibsen; for 1882 to 1887, nine; and for 1902 to 1906, fifty-six articles.

1907

TRANSLATIONS.— The acting version of " The Pretenders," as used for the performance of the play by the Yale University Dramatic Association, was published with an introduction by Prof. William Lyon Phelps (New Haven, 1907). The version was judiciously cut. It contains portraits of the principal characters of the production.

PERFORMANCES.— On January 14, 1907, Madame Nazimova played Nora, in " A Doll's House," at the Princess Theatre, New York. The other leading parts were played as follows:

Helmer	DODSON MITCHELL
Dr. Rank	THEODORE FRIEBUS
Krogstad	JOHN FINDLAY
Mrs. Linden . . .	BLANCHE STODDARD

The performance was very successful and the comments of the papers showed great admiration for Madame Nazimova's brilliant art. The play was later transferred to the Bijou Theatre, where it drew large audiences for a long period, and the two following seasons it was produced in different parts of the Union.

In March, 1907, Mrs. Patrick Campbell played " Hedda Gabler " at the Court Theatre, London, and in the season of 1907–08 she produced the drama in New York.

The students of the American Academy of

Dramatic Arts gave a performance of "The Vikings at Helgeland," at the Empire Theatre, New York, on the afternoon of March 22, 1907. Örnulf was played by Peretz R. Spiro, Sigurd by Hugo Wallace, Dagny by Nancy Avril, and Hiördis by Alice Leal Pollock. "The acting would have been creditable to any group of actors," says the critic of the New York *Dramatic Mirror* (March 30, 1907), mentioning with especial praise the interpreter of Örnulf's difficult part.

In April, 1907, the students of Yale University Dramatic Association gave a few performances of "The Pretenders," two in New Haven, one in Hartford, and two in New York City. The performances at the latter place were given at the Waldorf-Astoria on April 2 and 3, 1907. Haakon was played by Gilbert Little Stark (class of 1907), Skule by Thomas Achelis (1908), Margrete by Thomas Lawrason Riggs (1910), Bishop Nicholas by Charles Roberts Hopkins (1907), and Peter by Harvey Tracy Warren (1910). The performance was eminently successful. "It is no mean debt the American stage and American public owe the Yale Dramatic Association for having produced this masterpiece," writes the New York *Dramatic Mirror* (April 13, 1907). "Indeed, Frank Lee Short, under whose direction it was produced, must have been imbued with that selfsame confidence Ibsen advocates, as well as enthusiasm, to have attempted such a task, the result of which would have been worthy of professionals of the first rank."

" Little Eyolf " was first produced in America on May 13, 1907, at the Carnegie Lyceum, New York City. Fru Oda Nielsen, from the Royal Theatre at Copenhagen, played Rita. The other parts were played as follows:

Alfred Allmers	Georgio Majeroni
Asta Allmers	Schultetus Burolde
Little Eyolf	Gretchen Hartman
Borgheim	Munroe Salisbury
The Rat-Wife	Sarah McVicker

The performance was an absolute failure. Mrs. Nielsen, who for the occasion had adopted the stage name of " Madame Oda," spoke too poor English to be understood by the audience, and her methods were too broad and melodramatic to make any impression. She did not get much assistance from her support. The performance was never repeated, although it had originally been the intention to do so.

On September 23, 1907, Madame Nazimova appeared as Hilda in " The Master Builder " at the Bijou Theatre, New York City. The other parts were played as follows:

Solness	Walter Hampden
Mrs. Solness	Gertrude Berkeley
Dr. Herdal	H. Reeves-Smith
Knut Brovik	Cyril Young
Ragnar Brovik	Warner Oland
Kaia Fosli	Rosalind Ivan

The performance was very successful and Madame Nazimova's impersonation of the leading

part greatly impressed the audience. " Her most recent attempt is a triumph for her art, for in spite of the dullness of the almost interminable dialogue, she compels her audience to pay serious attention to the business of the stage." (New York *Dramatic Mirror,* October 5, 1907). The drama was played for some length of time in New York City and later included in Nazimova's repertoire, being produced in a number of cities in various parts of the union.

About Mrs. Fiske's appearance as Rebecca West in " Rosmersholm " Mr. Harrison Grey Fiske writes me: " Mrs. Fiske for many years had contemplated appearing as Rebecca West in 'Rosmersholm,' and had made a long study of the role before producing it on December 25, 1907, at New Haven, Conn. It was brought to New York on December 30, 1907, to the Lyric Theatre, where it was given for four weeks, and following that was done on tour throughout the United States as far West as San Francisco, being played continuously and receiving one hundred and ninety-nine performances, I think the largest number of consecutive performances the play has ever received in any country. The cast was as follows:

John Rosmer	Bruce McRae
Rebecca West . . .	Mrs. Fiske
Rector Kroll . . .	Fuller Mellish
Ulric Brendel	George Arliss
Peter Mortensgaard .	Albert Bruning
Madame Helseth .	Florence Montgomery

The play excited exhaustive criticism,— much that was favorable and some that was unfavorable, — but on the whole Mrs. Fiske probably made a deeper impression upon intelligent playgoers in the part of Rebecca West than in any part she has assumed in her career."

In an article in *Putnam's Monthly* for May, 1907, Elisabeth Luther Cary compares "Peer Gynt" as performed by Richard Mansfield with a fragmentary production of the same play under the auspices of the City Club of New York, by the Scandinavian actors, Mr. Warner Oland and Miss Hilda Englund. The critic comes to the conclusion that the latter production (limited to the opening scene and the scene of Ase's death) excelled the former in poetic beauty and imagination.

COMMENTARIES.— The professor of English language and literature at Smith College, Mrs. Jennette Barbour Lee, republished in book form some articles she had contributed to *Putnam's Monthly* from November, 1906, to February, 1907: "The Ibsen Secret; a Key to the Prose Dramas of Henrik Ibsen" (New York and London, Putnam, 1907). It is a volume of a little over two hundred pages, and deals chiefly with Ibsen's employment of symbols. In a criticism of the book Archibald Henderson writes in the *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 102, p. 259: "In Ibsen's plays, Professor Lee has found something cryptic, lurking in and behind the mechanical framework — the symbol. Her theory is novel, not for the assertion of Ibsen's utilization of symbol, but for the insistence upon

the invariability of its employment. The ingenuity she displays in demonstrating her thesis is equalled only by her success in draining the plays of red blood and humanly vital signification."

In his book "Inquiries and Opinions" (New York, Scribner, 1907), the professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University, James Brander Matthews, has a short chapter called "Ibsen the Playwright." This essay is characterized not only by strong lack of sympathy with Ibsen, but also by a pronounced unfamiliarity with the subject discussed.

A biography of Ibsen of three hundred and twenty-six pages, written by the English novelist, Haldane Macfall (author of a biography of Sir Henry Irving), appeared during the same year: "Ibsen; the Man, his Art, and his Significance; illustrated by Joseph Simpson." (London, Richards, 1907; American edition, New York and San Francisco, Morgan-Shepard Company, 1907). It is written in a rather flowery style and is not always quite trustworthy. Mr. Henderson is of the opinion that the writer has "neither signal critical perception, nor personal acquaintance with the subject of his biography" (*Atlantic Monthly*, v. 102, p. 258).

The biographical work on Ibsen by the distinguished Russian author, Dmitriĭ Sergieevich Merezhkovskiĭ (author of an interesting biography of Tolstoi), was translated into English by G. A. Mounsey, under the following title: "The Life Work of Henrik Ibsen" (London, De La More

Press, 1907). It is a short sketch of seventy pages.

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TRANSLATIONS.— A new series of Ibsen's dramas, " The Players' Ibsen," commenced to be issued during the last month of 1908. So far (June, 1909) two volumes have appeared, namely, " A Doll's House " and " Little Eyolf " (Boston, London, John W. Luce & Co., 1908). They are edited with introductions and notes by Henry L. Mencken, the author of a biography of George Bernard Shaw. The name of the translator does not appear on the title page, but I have been informed that he is a distinguished man of letters who does not want to have his name published. The translation seems to be very good, and the introductions and notes are interesting and illuminating. The edition also contains much and valuable bibliographical material. The volumes are neat and attractive in appearance and of a handy and convenient size.

PERFORMANCES.— " Love's Comedy " was produced for the first time in English at the Hudson Theatre, New York, on March 23, 1908. The principal parts were played as follows:

Mrs. Halm . . .	MILDRED MCNEILL
Svanhild	MABEL WRIGHT
Anna . . .	CATHERINE WILLARD
Falk	WARNER OLAND
Lind	RALPH MORGAN
Guldstad	BURKE CLARKE

Stiver	Edward Saxon
Miss Jay	Mariana Thurber
Strawman	Mark Fenton
Mrs. Strawman . .	Vilma Sundborg

The play was, on the whole, well acted, and was favorably received by the audience.

The second production in America of " The Pretenders " was given by the Seniors of Smith College (Northampton, Mass.), on June 12, 1908. The performance was interesting, but according to Mr. Moses, much of the spirit of the play was lost. " Through the solicitude of the faculty the young ladies cut the text so as to improve the ' moral tone ' of the theme, especially in the instance of Ingeborg and the illegitimate Peter " (Moses. *Henrik Ibsen.* New York, 1908. p. 152, footnote).

Commentaries.— The well-known American art critic, Charles H. Caffin, in his book, " The Appreciation of the Drama " (New York, The Baker & Taylor Company) devotes five chapters to a minute analysis of " Hedda Gabler."

The dramatic critic of the New York *Sun*, Walter Prichard Eaton, has in his book, " The American Stage of To-day " (Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1908), a chapter called " Harps in the Air," which treats of Madame Nazimova's interpretation of Hilda in " The Master Builder," as well as of the drama itself. It is appreciative, well written, and interesting.

Edmund Gosse's biography of Ibsen (London,

Hodder & Stoughton, New York, Scribner, 1908) is a book of two hundred and forty-four pages, and forms a volume of the series of " Literary Lives," edited by W. R. Nicoll. It gives an admirable and unusually interesting pen picture of Ibsen, and is written in an elegant, vivid style. Mr. Henderson calls attention to the fact that it is particularly valuable for taking into consideration also the intellectual life surrounding Ibsen at home and abroad (*Atlantic Monthly*, v. 102, p. 261). But it must be stated that the author has also made a few mistakes concerning the life of the poet, which ought not to have occurred.

Towards the close of 1908 there appeared a voluminous biography of Ibsen, which has already been frequently quoted in this survey: " Henrik Ibsen, the Man and his Plays; by Montrose J. Moses " (New York, Mitchell Kennerley, 1908). Mr. Moses is the dramatic editor of *The Reader Magazine*, and has written a few critical studies. Probably the chief merit of his book on Ibsen (which is no less than five hundred and twenty-two pages) is the valuable bibliographical material he has collected, bearing not only on translations of the works, but also on the American and foreign stage history of the dramas. In a brief review of the book, the *Dial* writes (March 16, 1909): " The book is much fuller and better than the sketchy production of Mr. Gosse, and it has, of course, an advantage over Jæger's standard biography in covering Ibsen's whole life, and in possessing the many facts that have come to

light since his death. . . . Altogether, Mr. Moses has made a useful book, adequate in scholarship and sound in judgment."

The professor of Scandinavian languages and literature in the University of Wisconsin, Julius E. Olson, edited the Norwegian text of Ibsen's "Brand," with introduction and notes in English (Chicago, John Anderson, 1908), intending to have it used as a textbook in the numerous American universities where instruction in the Scandinavian languages is given. "The edition as a whole is a most creditable piece of bookmaking, and thoroughly to be recommended as a guide, both for the classroom and for the private study of this mighty poem. May it add to the number of the lovers and learners of Scandinavian letters!" writes Lee M. Hollander, in *Modern Language Notes* (v. 24, p. 142).

Such is the outline of the interest manifested in the great Norwegian dramatist in the English-speaking countries, as shown by translations and performances of his dramas and writings on his life and works. It is not a subject which will terminate with the year 1908, but, on the contrary, it will grow and develop and very probably yet bring to light many new and interesting discoveries.

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