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as a militant journalist with Greeley, the pioneer of socialism, her advocacy of the woman movement, her admiration for Goethe and for things German, and, finally, her connection with Mazzini and the Italian revolution, all issues which were as unpopular in America then as their present-day continuations, with the exception of the woman movement, are now, place her in the forerank of the champions of human progress and fully justify the biographer's successful effort to restore her memory in the annals of American literature and civilization.

JULIUS GOEBEL

RICHARD WAGNER VON MAX KOCH; Dritter Teil, 1859-1883. (Geisteshelden: Dreiundsechzigster bis fünfundsechzigster Band.) Berlin; Ernst Hofmann & Co. 1918. XVI + 774 pages.

"Inter arma silent musae" may explain, to a certain extent, the comparative dearth of Wagner literature in the last seven years. One outstanding achievement is, nevertheless, to be chronicled, the completion of Max Koch's third and last volume of his Wagner biography. The text was, to be sure, in press at the beginning of the war, but Koch was interrupted in his proofreading by the call to arms, and the final revision was not complete until 1917, the work then appearing in 1918, eleven years after the publication of the first volume.

In his review of Koch's first volume (M. L. N. April, 1908), Professor von Klenze prophesied that the completion of this *Life* "would be likely to make of this work the most comprehensive Wagner biography that we possess." The finished achievement fully justifies this judgment and we have now in Koch's completed work the Wagner Biography par excellence and one of the few really classic works in the great mass of Wagner literature. To be sure, it can not rival Glasenapp in wealth of material or fullness of detail, nor is it so stimulating and suggestive as Chamberlain's dazzling *Life*, which on every page rouses the reader to admiration or contradiction. Nevertheless, it far surpasses the former in judicious selection of the important as it does the latter in accuracy and reliability, in freedom from bias and *Tendenz*. The reader might perhaps welcome a still greater departure from the Glasenapp fullness and a nearer approach to the brilliant interpretative writing of Chamberlain. Oscar Wilde somewhere postulates for true artistic composition the utmost possible estrangement from facts. The inclusion of fewer facts concerning the cabals in Munich, Berlin and elsewhere would assuredly have enabled Koch to make certain passages more artistic and inspiring.

In every respect Koch was admirably fitted for undertaking this work. As one of Wagner's first champions he brought to his task an indispensable love for his hero, while his philological and literary-historical training enabled him to maintain the objectivity of view, the independent critical judgment, the ability to use sources scientifically which have, unfortunately, been lacking in so many writers in this field. Only in rare cases does Koch show unnecessary regard for the living members of Wagner's family. Such passages, however, in no wise indicate any prejudice on Koch's part in his discussion of Richard Wagner. Even Wagner's opponents are treated objectively and their motives appreciated.

In Koch's Wagner, appearing as it does in the series "Geisteshelden," it is natural that preference should be given to the significance of Wagner's life and works, his relationship to cultural movements of his time and indebtedness to the great minds of Germany and other lands rather than to a more technical discussion of purely musical questions. In any case, however, Koch, the literary historian, would have adopted this method of approach. He acknowledges, to be sure, in his foreword that his neglect of musical questions had been criticised by reviewers of the first two volumes and states that publisher and author had planned together to have a separate musical section written by a technically trained specialist, a feature which may still appear in a future edition. In the present work numerous references to music-technical treatises are given in the Bibliographical Notes. It is significant that there is no Wagner biography that treats strictly musical questions more at length than does Koch, who concludes from this fact that, as Hans Sachs says: "Wohl müss' es so sein." Certainly Wagner's own wish and conception of his life work demand a general treatment of the dramatist and outstanding figure in modern European culture rather than a more restricted treatment of the technical musician. The interrelationship of inspiration in the arts belongs to a field scarcely cultivated as yet, but in Wagner's case it can already be seen that his musical production and his art form were, to a large extent, due to the inspiration derived from the literary works of all periods and countries. More than any other biographer Koch has shown the influence of German and foreign writers upon Wagner. Conversely Koch emphasizes Wagner's influence, not only upon music but also, chiefly through the Bayreuth festivals, upon German art and culture in general, and upon the drama and theatrical technique in particular.

Since the completion of Koch's first volume, much important source material has been rendered accessible, notably the *Autobiography* and the many collections of letters. All this has, of course, been utilized in volume II and III. Koch's attitude

toward *Mein Leben* is that of critical coolness. By no means are all statements of *Mein Leben* accepted at their face value, especially where the statements of the *Autobiography* disagree with Wagner's letters. The whole treatment of the Wesendonk episode is, according to Koch, far from agreeing with Wagner's assurance of "unadorned veracity" as given in the preface to *Mein Leben*.

Even Koch was unable to command the immense material at his disposal and each succeeding volume of his "Wagner" surpassed the former in size until in Vol. III we have 609 pages of text as compared with the 392 of Vol. I, while bibliography and index carry us to page 774. This disparity will doubtless be adjusted in later editions. One might wish that the long discussions of Wagner's conflicts with his adversaries, for example, the account of the vexatious and sordid relations in Munich, might have been abbreviated. Koch has included such discussions "in order that the conscience of the present might be aroused to a greater appreciation of hard earned cultural gains." Certainly the inclusion of so much such matter has made Koch's Vol. III less fascinating reading than Vols. I and II in spite of the great achievements chronicled. On the other hand, Koch has shown commendable restraint in his discussion of Wagner's aesthetic and philosophical writings, judging wisely that for posterity the art works themselves are of greater and more lasting worth than the labored and sometimes prolix theoretical disquisitions written to explain and defend them.

Vol. III carries us in Books V and VI from Wagner's residence in Paris (1859-1861) and the unfortunate Tannhäuser fiasco to the final achievement at Bayreuth and Wagner's death. Comparable with the rôle played by Liszt and Weimar in Vol. II is that given to Bülow and Munich in this final volume. Less space is devoted to Wagner's development—he had attained the zenith of his powers in Vol. II—than to the less edifying struggle against court cliques, theatrical cabals or calculated neglect. Such passages are doubtless necessary, but often somewhat tiresome. Whenever Koch is in his own familiar literary-historical field, as in the discussion of the genesis and working out of the *Meistersinger* or *Parsifal*, the reader's interest quickens immediately. New and illuminating is Koch's rehabilitation of King Ludwig as a true patriot whose vision and statesmanlike wisdom were of no avail in the hopeless struggle against the short-sightedness and narrow-mindedness of the Bavarian court. In the end Munich's rejection of Wagner and the Nibelungen-Theater proved to be an immense financial as well as artistic loss to the Bavarian capital.

The concluding pages of the really valuable work would have been more edifying if the disagreeable but momentary episode

of the "Gralsraub," i. e. the refusal of Germany to reserve the Parsifal rights for Bayreuth, had been less emphasized. Moreover, Koch's work, objective as it is in its treatment of Wagner himself, would have been even more classic if all personal polemics had been banished, still less space devoted to the House Wahnfried, and all slurring remarks omitted that have no bearing on Wagner himself. For example, on page 148 the harsh criticism of Gerhard Hauptmann is quite gratuitous, as are the slighting remarks about America, page 523 and elsewhere. In the first enthusiasm of the war and the pardonable pride of the professor in uniform, it was perhaps natural that Koch should sign himself "Major d. L. und Kommandeur des I. Bataillons etc.," and should "feel the spirit of Wagner hovering over the German banners." But it was the Breslau professor and philologist and not the soldier who wrote the Life of Wagner. The completion of the text before the outbreak of the war fortunately prevented the introduction of other patriotic but irrelevant matter. In general the practice of discussing an earlier master's probable reaction to political events occurring decades after his death is an interesting and comforting but wholly unscientific procedure.

We must blame the times, which were out of joint at the publication of Vol. III, rather than printer or publisher for the wretched paper of the book and the many blurred pages which disfigure the Bibliographical Notes and the Index to the three volumes. The notes in themselves are most valuable and comprehensive, the index convenient and fairly complete. Typographical errors are surprisingly few. In a future revision, Koch will doubtless remodel the few carelessly written sentences which escaped him in this first edition.

To conclude: No Wagner student can afford to be without this classic biography and all those interested in Wagner and his art, whether as scholars or laymen, must feel a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Koch, who may well be congratulated upon the successful completion of what was evidently for him a labor of love.

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THE STONYHURST PAGEANTS. Edited with Introduction by Carleton Brown. *Hesperia, Ergänzungsreihe, Vol. VII.* Göttingen, 1920.

The Stonyhurst pageants may lay claim to preëminence in three ways, as being the latest and longest and dullest of Old Testament play cycles. They are preserved in a single fragmentary manuscript at Stonyhurst College in Northern Lancashire. Nothing is known of their history, not even how