



**The Golden Blade 1977**

# *The Golden Blade*

TWENTY-NINTH (1977) ISSUE

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POEMS BY CHARLES AUSTIN

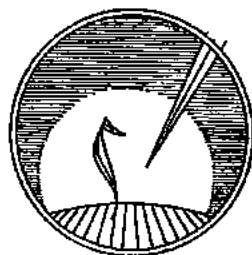
## BOOK REVIEWS

From Symptom to Reality—Rudolf Steiner's Work in the Arts—  
A Tribute to Owen Barfield

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Anthroposophy springs from the work and teaching of Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925). He spoke of it as "a path of knowledge, to guide the spiritual in the human being to the spiritual in the universe".

The aim of this Annual is to bring the outlook of Anthroposophy to bear on questions and activities which have relevance to the present time.

The title derives from a reference by Rudolf Steiner to an old Persian legend. "Djemjdid was a king who led his people from the north towards Iran, and who received from the God, whom he called Ahura Mazdao, a golden dagger, by means of which he was to fulfil his mission on earth . . . It represents a force given to man whereby he can act upon and transform external nature".

## EDITORIAL NOTES

### Europe and the Meaning of History

IN 1976 the peoples of North America seemed to be winning back confidence in their social order and their future, while Europe remained in profound uncertainty. The E.E.C. did not seem as if it were solving anything, or even making progress either in dealing with the differences in standards of living and economic strength within the Community or in its relationship to the Third World. Whatever discouragements come, America can always draw on the conviction that the future is great with unbounded possibilities. But Europe is haunted by the danger of becoming an organisation without a soul; and we feel that we must not let this happen so late in our history.

Can we learn from our history? And what *is* history? It is made of human lives: and all depends on the way in which we are able to see these lives. Were the notable figures of history just the products of their time, or were they makers of it, freely creative beings? Particularly in the last years of his life, Rudolf Steiner began to draw a picture of history as the work of individualities who return again and again to the earth and are capable of bringing about something fresh while they are here. He began to show that history is not only a sequence of earthly events, but should include what happens for individualities in the spiritual world which can inspire their thoughts and deeds between birth and death. He described this quite concretely, giving some examples. These were not chosen at random, but part of a delicate, carefully composed structure. This was harshly interrupted by his last illness and death.

In this issue of the *Golden Blade* brief descriptions are given of a number of human lives which have been very significant in the development of Europe—and one of them in America. Some are individualities mentioned by Rudolf Steiner in his Karma lectures, but we can see clearly that with all of them a full understanding would lead beyond the limits of birth and death.

A full understanding of history will not be concerned only with human individualities. Man has always beside him, profoundly attentive to his thoughts and deeds, his Angel. Countries with a real sense of community are inspired by an Archangel, who lives through the centuries with his country as it passes through the stages of youth, middle life and old age. He shares the deepest, most significant feelings of the people of his country. And each civilisation has behind it a being still greater than an Archangel, a member of the Hierarchy called by Rudolf Steiner the Archai, or the Spirits of Personality; for each civilisation on earth helps in its own way to develop human personality.

Rudolf Steiner described beings who can be regarded as Archangels, but have some characteristics of the Spirits of Personality. They give, one by one, the stamp of their character and intention to comparatively short periods of history—about three and a half centuries for each such Spirit. In this issue Mr. Darrell describes in some detail how this can be understood. And we can perhaps begin to see how such thoughts could lead further and further, until the history of the earth grows into one for us with the history of all the planets and of the Sun.

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One of the personalities described here appears separate from the rest. He did not make a great contribution to human thinking, or to political life; he died as a young man, and it was said of him before he died, by a good friend, that he was in no way remarkable. And yet he stirred deep feelings in many, above all through the great wrong that had been done to him. He became known as Caspar Hauser; and the evidence is very strong that he had been kept a prisoner, as he said himself, from early childhood to about the age of sixteen, in semi-darkness and utterly isolated from human contacts. His movements were very restricted and he was fed only on bread and water. When he appeared in Nuremberg at Whitsun, 1828, he had been taught a few words of a country dialect and to write down Caspar Hauser as his name. He was assassinated a few years later by an unknown.

The motive behind the extraordinary crimes against him has been the subject of endless study, as Peter Tradowsky says. A brilliant lawyer who befriended him, Anselm von Feuerbach, came

to the reasoned conclusion that he was the legitimate heir to the Grand Duchy of Baden, carried off secretly soon after his birth, a dying infant having been put in his place. Many writers have accepted this view and have brought additional evidence to support it. Other have rejected it with vehemence, and have suggested that Caspar Hauser was some kind of impostor. But nothing can argue away the anatomical evidence for his long imprisonment.

During the period after his appearance in Nuremberg, he showed phenomenal powers of memory and an extraordinary delicacy and sensitivity of sight, hearing and smell. What remained to him through the five-and-a-half years before his death was his boundless compassion for the sufferings of others. And in those who approached him with open hearts he aroused a love and devotion towards him which often endured through their whole lives, during many decades after his death.

Had he been only a member of one of the German princely families, thrust aside and then killed because his existence threatened ruthless dynastic ambitions, he might almost have been forgotten. It was not only the crime against him that was extraordinary; almost from the moment that he was found in Nuremberg men felt that they were in touch, through him, with another world. This does not apply only to those who actually saw him. It is as if even a few details about him, hardly more than the mention of his name, could open a door deep in human souls. Through this door shines the light of a heavenly garden, or of another, more blessed planet—those who want to express what they feel have to struggle for words.

Quite soon, someone came on a name for him that says a great deal: "The Child of Europe". It was felt that he did not belong just to one country, but that all Europe shared in some way in guilt for what had happened to him, but also in the promise for the future which shone in his being.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon had almost brought about by force of arms a Federation of Europe. About the time of Caspar Hauser's birth he had to accept his first great failure, in the retreat from Moscow. Napoleon was haunted by the terrible ghost which has had such tragic power over the history of Europe: the ghost of the Roman Empire. What came about was not the unity of Europe under the leadership of France, as he had intended, but the disunity of Europe under great and little

competing empires, jealous of each other's colonies all over the world.

Was this inevitable, or might something different have happened? A distinguished anthroposophical writer on history, to whom Mr. Tradowski pays tribute, the late Karl Heyer, wrote a series of books on the history of Europe, ending with one on Caspar Hauser and the destiny of central Europe in the nineteenth century. (This was first published in 1958, at Kressbronn; the second edition at Stuttgart in 1964. It has not appeared in English.) The book considers very carefully the primary sources about Caspar; and quotes also the best-attested statements of Rudolf Steiner about him. And in a tentative but very impressive way Karl Heyer indicates what might have happened had Caspar Hauser lived unharmed, and succeeded normally to the Grand Duchy of Baden.

Such "might-have-beens" need not be considered just as fantasy; they can have great reality in the spiritual world. A man will often encounter after death, for instance, what he might have achieved and did not. This will have real effects for him, and for others. If something that might have been does not come about, this may mean a failure; it may also be a sacrifice, for the sake of something greater.

There would have been two very positive influences, from within Caspar's own family. His great-grandfather, Karl Friedrich, who died in 1811, still lived in men's memories as one of the noblest, wisest and most selfless rulers, among all the princely families of Germany. He knew how to protect poets and thinkers on the one hand and the peasants and the poverty stricken on the other. And Caspar would have had the living presence of his mother, Stephanie de Beauharnais, who died only in 1860. She was a gentle and understanding woman, who loved both the country of her origin and that into which her marriage brought her. Napoleon, who made her a kind of adopted daughter, brought about her marriage with the intention that Baden should form a bridge between the countries.

Caspar's father, the second Grand Duke, died in 1818. He was succeeded by his uncle, Ludwig, who died, childless, in 1830. If Caspar had lived, he would by the crucial year 1848 have been thirty-six years old, and would have ruled effectively for some seventeen years. When the longing for freedom in Germany

came to a head in 1848, the prevailing mood among the rulers of Germany was a mixture of absolute incomprehension and firm hostility. "Against democrats nothing helps but soldiers."

Rudolf Steiner said of Caspar Hauser that through him *a new Priest-Kingship should have been founded*. (Heyer, *op. cit.* 2nd ed., page 213). There are three far-reaching consequences to be drawn from this saying. First, that the individuality who incarnated in Caspar Hauser was of a stature to carry out a great task in the history of the world. Secondly, that the initial circumstances of his incarnation were such as to make this task possible. Thirdly, that there could be a new kind of priest-kingship entirely consistent with a free spiritual life, as Rudolf Steiner often described this.

If we consider first the circumstances of Caspar Hauser's incarnation, this saying by Rudolf Steiner does seem to confirm Caspar's birth as Prince of Baden. Through inheritance he would have had a great opportunity to influence the political life of Germany; it was still the Gabriel age, in which physical inheritance was very important, as Mr. Darrell says. But could he have found the right helpers? Karl Heyer writes of the National Assembly of 1848-1849 in Frankfurt on the Main—later rather scornfully called the "parliament of professors"—as containing a spiritual aristocracy of the German people. And he speaks of a number of people who showed great promise at this time. They would have led Germany towards a unification of a quite different kind from that later achieved by Bismarck; a unification which would not have aroused profound hostility in the world, as Bismarck's Germany did.

In 1848 a young man suffered imprisonment for revolutionary activities. Ferdinand Lassalle was born at Breslau in 1825. He was thus thirteen years younger than Caspar Hauser. Like Marx, he was a deep student of Hegel, but drew different conclusions for social life. In his studies he went back from Hegel to Heraclitus, on whose teaching he published a book. He saw the history of human social life as consisting of three stages. In the oldest stage mankind possessed solidarity, but not freedom. From the French Revolution onwards, when the middle classes became dominant, men began to acquire freedom, and to lose solidarity. Lassalle looked to a future time when working men's associations would take over the means of production, under the benevolent guidance of the State, and men would have both solidarity and freedom.

In Lassalle such ideas were not simply theories; they were alive in his whole heart and will. His respect for freedom, in particular, illumined his personal life. He showed great practical ability in bringing into existence a working men's political party, the forerunner of the Social Democratic Party in Germany. But in 1864 he died in a duel fought over a woman. She loved Lassalle, but her father thought him ineligible and forced her to marry another man. (Much later, the same woman became an active member of an anthroposophical group in Munich. She is described in Rudolf Steiner's autobiography.)

If Lassalle had had the protection and friendship of a liberal Grand Duke of Baden from the eighteen-forties onwards, the course not only of German but of European history might well have been very different. Social democracy could have had a leader with a fire and intellectual capacity well comparable to those of Marx. It would not have been so easy to imprison him or to regard him as ineligible. And if there had been a great mediator, he might have been able to work with the most practically capable figure of all, Bismarck himself.

Bismarck was born in 1815, two and a half years after Caspar. He was basically, as he himself admitted, a mighty opportunist. He respected powerful human beings, not ideas. He wished his epitaph to be "A true German servant of Wilhelm I". Soon after his death, Rudolf Steiner wrote of the great difference it would have made for Bismarck if Lassalle had lived on. Bismarck had respected Lassalle. "In order to solve the social question at the right time in Bismarck's sense—for this Lassalle was lacking. Bismarck could do nothing with the socialist parties which developed as a political factor soon after Lassalle's death, not under the leadership of a living man but under the influence of Marx's abstract theories." Bismarck was the real founder of the Welfare State; but he did it in a bureaucratic way, without the participation and support of the working people his measures were intended to benefit.

The princely families and the aristocracy of Germany lived in general in an attitude of mind which Rudolf Steiner described with the vigorous expression "Nibelung-wildness". They did not like or understand either the educated middle classes or the working people. (Later on they made a disastrous alliance with the big

industrialists.) Above all, they had no inner understanding of Christianity. The sermons of Lutheran preachers, the works of poets and musicians, were brought into their courts as a kind of external decoration, through which the princes were for the most part glad to sleep. To one side of Bismarck's nature this mood very much appealed. But there was another side which longed for a deeper, more inward Christianity than could be found in the royal courts. If he had met a ruler who took his responsibility in the fullest sense as a priestly task, who can say what in him could have responded?

During the short years between his appearance and his death, lamed as he was by his imprisonment, Caspar Hauser aroused extraordinary love both among men of the educated middle class and among working people. He had for both a kind of instinctive sympathy. It would be worth considering carefully whether any actual ruler in Europe in the nineteenth century possessed such qualities. But the question also arises—did anyone know that in imprisoning and later assassinating Caspar Hauser, such far-reaching possibilities were being destroyed? Both Karl Heyer and Mr. Tradowski come to the conclusion that there were such people. We can look back to the Magi described in St. Matthew's Gospel, who knew that a great individuality was to be born in Judea. Were there dark, cold Kings in the nineteenth century, who knew that a great individuality was to be born at Michaelmas 1812, able to found a new Priest-Kingship in Europe—and wished to destroy him, as Herod wished to destroy Jesus?

Rudolf Steiner said in 1922 that Schiller's death in 1805 was not simply from natural causes but was partly brought about by his opponents, who feared that he would reveal occult secrets in his writings. There were certainly men alive at this time who had no scruples about such murders. But a very remarkable level of insight is needed to be able to perceive not only the spiritual capacities of a contemporary, but the approaching incarnation of a great individuality. That such insight was at work at the time might seem incredible, were it not that the actual measures taken against Caspar Hauser are hardly explicable in any other way. The desire to keep hidden, but alive, a dynastic rival would hardly be motive enough for the isolation in semi-darkness, the exclusion from all human contacts.

To take an aspect of this with which Mr. Tradowski does not deal directly: the imprisonment entirely covers what Rudolf Steiner often described as the second period of childhood, the time between the change of teeth and adolescence. In 1924 Rudolf Steiner spoke of this time in human life as under the healthy influence of the Mercury spirits, and related it to the Mercury period in the early Middle Ages. In childhood, the foundations are laid particularly during this time for artistic powers and a healthy development of the imagination. During all this period Caspar Hauser was kept without the sight of the sky, without the voice of a teacher, without being able to play with other children. It is thought that when it was necessary to change his clothing, he was drugged with opium.

There is a great and terrible background for this deed. Napoleon had acted on earth as a bearer of those Mars forces which work in outer warfare, and prepare men indeed for the conflict of all against all. But since the beginning of the seventeenth century, as Rudolf Steiner described, the Buddha has worked in the realm of Mars as an inspirer of peace and healing. Buddha, the great teacher of compassion, brought Mercurial impulses into the realm of Mars. Caspar Hauser, whose physical birth came about through the actions of Napoleon, was anything but a military figure. (He said he would not mind being a soldier, if there were no wars.) He would have brought potent Mercurial forces into the life of Europe. But the period when such forces could take hold of the earthly body, developing the great gifts of early childhood—upright stature, speech, and thinking power—towards their adult condition, was entirely blotted out for his earthly consciousness. Napoleon forgot what could have been the noblest element of his mission; Caspar Hauser was made to forget.

If we now look back on the events surrounding Caspar Hauser, this is not just a matter of historical interest, or of regret for what might have been. To concern oneself with Caspar Hauser, Rudolf Steiner said, is to concern oneself with the future. All the elements of his mission are present in the spiritual world, to be taken up and fulfilled by men under new conditions. When they *are* taken up effectively, Europe will find its soul afresh. This is not a question only of geographical Europe, but of the right continuation of the whole European Christian tradition.

Europe has to look westwards and eastwards, and to see that what it criticises in America and what it criticises in Russia and China are ultimately of its own making—for example Marxism and modern technology—and to face in the Third World the consequences of its own large and small imperialisms. It must seek for the Mercurial powers needed by man in an age of technology. These begin in compassion. And they continue in the profound self-education of the soul described by Rudolf Steiner in *Knowledge of Higher Worlds*.

This is not only a path by which individuals can develop spiritual organs of perception; it contains the principles of what Rudolf Steiner sometimes called “hygienic occultism” in general. Social life can be healthy in the future only if there are enough men and women who humbly and freely walk this path. And they will become above all the great advisers and helpers in the care of children. Technology threatens to imprison all children in a twilight world. This does not happen only in the cities, from which so many families have taken flight; but in pleasant suburbs and in the country, too. Farming country where a high level of technology is practised can be almost as imprisoning for children as the city.

It is the middle period of childhood, the school years up to adolescence, in which a healthy environment is particularly needed. The organs of the rhythmic system, which in the body of Caspar Hauser were inadequately developed, need to grow at this time as a foundation for health in the whole life that follows. By the end of this period, a child should be prepared to meet what Rudolf Steiner calls, in the lecture printed in this issue, “Revelation” and “Experience” (*Eingebung* and *Erfahrung*). These are both rich, many-sided concepts. Experience is a meeting of the world in action in such a way that we grow mature through the acceptance of our individual destiny, our joys and sorrows, our failures and achievements. Unconsciously, we meet here the beings of the First Hierarchy, as the lecture describes. “Revelation” brings to us both the abundant sense-impressions of Nature, and the shining universal ideas which awaken and develop our minds. Behind all these live the Third Hierarchy.

Goethe described these two realms in his wonderful fairy story as the country of the Green Snake, which is Experience, and the country of the Beautiful Lily, which is Revelation. Between them

flows a great River, which can grow stormy, and can be crossed only under special conditions. In the end, through a deed of sacrifice, a mighty bridge is built on which all can cross from one realm to the other.

The pictures of the fairy story very much enrich what Schiller had described more abstractly in his "Aesthetic Letters" as the realms of sense-necessity and rational necessity. Yet Schiller saw wonderfully how much depends on the middle condition, man's capacity to play, and to be an artist.

In the fairy story, the beautiful Lily has at first the terrible fate that living creatures are killed by her touch. The Young Man who loves her suffers death in this way, and has to be brought to life again by the harmonious work of all the other figures in the story. The spiritual achievements of Europe through the centuries, even including the spiritual knowledge developed by Rudolf Steiner, can paralyze the soul, until it finds how all its powers can work in harmony. The gold which comes from the spirit realm has to be digested by the Green Snake, the representative of Experience.

To take into our wills all the consequences of our destiny is the task of a lifetime. But to begin this work of assimilation need not take long. Many people today begin quite early in life their work at the great Bridge between the sense world and the spirit world: the recognition of Karma; not as a theory, but in its practical reality. The herald of this recognition is the true voice of conscience.

Outside, in social life in general, it is economic life which corresponds to the sphere of Revelation. Economic necessities continually threaten to paralyse the development of the social order. They must be met and overcome by the impulse of brotherliness which has always lived as the best element in the development of Trade Unionism. On the other hand, the social order receives the nourishment which sustains it and leads it on from age to age—just as the spiritual essence of our food sustains our development from period to period—from the spiritual sphere, which should be completely free.

Rudolf Steiner's teachings about history, culminating in his descriptions of individual karma and the work of the Archangels, given during the last two years of his life, are the essential nourishment for the social order—if a sufficient number of human beings

can assimilate them. True social development is possible only where we begin to overcome the tragic illusion, bred in us by the decadent influence of Mars, that there is an outer world on the one hand and a Self within the skin on the other. In our time, when the great streams of Buddhism and Christianity could flow together into one, we have to find the self in the world, the world in the self.

The great individualities who have shaped history are not only in the past, or somewhere outside us—they, and all other members of the great starry host of human individualities, are to be found if we look deeply enough into our own souls. But for this we need to understand something of their reality, not how they appear in outer Maya. Towards this reality the Karma lectures lead us; and they can help us to look at every human being we encounter with an open heart, aware that behind all that meets us as visible qualities the eternal, creative individuality is to be sought.

Through all the phenomena of Nature we can seek our way, as Rudolf Steiner has shown, towards the Christmas Mystery, where the Mother of Jesus lays her child in the manger among the animals at midwinter. Through all the phenomena of history we can seek our way to the Easter Mystery, to the Last Supper, to the Cross, to the grave, and to the Resurrection. In these events the destinies of all human beings and of all spirits, through the course of time, meet and are woven together.

A.B.

## A TURNING-POINT IN MODERN HISTORY

RUDOLF STEINER

*A lecture, previously untranslated, given at Dornach on 24 January, 1919\**

IT seems that it would be useful to consider matters concerned with the social life of the present in the light of our recent studies of Goethe. The nineteenth century represents a very significant turning-point in the history of mankind, particularly in relation to the social life of our own time. The middle of the century brought a much greater change in ways of thinking than is generally appreciated. When considering this change one could certainly start from personalities who were not German, for example Shaftesbury and Hemsterhuis. But these examples from England or Holland would not lead us so deeply into our theme as the study of Goethe can do. At the present time, when so much—far more than people realise—is tending towards the destruction of all that springs from middle Europe, it may be of use to link up with these things, which should live on in humanity in a way quite different from the way imagined by most Germans today.

If one looks at the present situation honestly and without prejudice, one cannot help feeling oppressed if one remembers a saying by Herman Grimm—the saying of an outstanding man who lived not very long ago. For this one need not be a German, but one needs to have some feeling for the culture of middle Europe. Herman Grimm once said that there are four personalities to whom a German can look if he wishes to find, in a certain sense, the direction for his life. These four are Luther, Frederick the Great, Goethe and Bismarck. Grimm says that if a German cannot look in the direction given by these four personalities, he feels unsupported and alone among the nations of the world.

In the nineties many people had no doubt at all that this remark was correct (though I was not one of them), but today it can give

\* From a shorthand report unrevised by the lecturer. Published in agreement with the Rudolf Steiner Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, and the Rudolf Steiner Press.

us a feeling of oppression. For one must admit: Luther does not live on effectively in the German tradition; Goethe has never been a living influence, as we have often had to emphasise, and Frederick the Great and Bismarck belong to conditions which no longer exist. Thus—according to Herman Grimm's remark—the time would have come already in which a German would have to feel unsupported and alone among the nations of the world. People do not feel deeply enough to realise fully in their soul what this signifies: less than three decades ago something could be taken as a matter of course by an enlightened spirit—and today it is quite impossible. If present-day men were not so superficial, many things would be felt much more deeply. It can sometimes be heartbreaking how little the events of the world are felt.

Looking back before the nineteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, we can observe a significant impulse. It was the impulse working in Schiller when he wrote his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*; this was the time, too, when Goethe was stirred by his dealings with Schiller. They led Goethe to express the impulse which lay behind Schiller's "Aesthetic Letters" in his own tale, "The Green Snake and the Beautiful Lily". You can read about the connection between Schiller's "Aesthetic Letters" and Goethe's fairy-tale in my recent small book on Goethe.

When Schiller wrote these "Letters", his intention was not merely to write a literary essay, but to perform a political deed. At the beginning of the "Letters" he refers to the French Revolution and tries in his own way to say what may be thought about the will behind it, and behind the whole revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. He had no particular expectation as to what would be achieved through a great political change, of which the French revolutionaries hoped so much. He hoped much more for a thorough self-education of man, which he regarded as a necessity of his time.

Let us consider once more the basic conception of these "Letters." Schiller seeks to answer, in his own way, the question: how does man achieve real freedom in his social life? Schiller would never have expected that men would be led to freedom simply by giving the right form to the social institutions in which they lived. He asks rather that by work upon himself, by self-education, man should reach this condition of freedom within the social order.

Schiller believed that man has first to become inwardly free before he can achieve freedom in the external world. And he says: Man has his existence between two powerful influences. On one side he faces the influence coming from physical nature; this Schiller calls the influence of natural necessity. It includes everything produced by the sense-nature of man in the way he desires and so on. And he says: If a man obeys this influence, he cannot be free.

Opposed to the influence of the senses there is another—the influence of rational necessity. Man can commit himself to follow rational necessity, as the other pole of his existence. But then he cannot be a truly free man, either. If he follows in a logical way this rational necessity, it is still something that compels him. And if this rational necessity is consolidated into the laws of an external State, or something of that kind, in obeying such laws he is still compelled. So man is placed between reason and sensuality. His sensuality is a necessity for him, not a freedom. His reason is also a necessity, though a spiritual one; under it, he is not free.

For Schiller, man can be free only if he does not follow in a one-sided way either the influence of the senses or that of reason, but succeeds in bringing the influence of reason into closer accord with his humanity; when, that is, he does not simply submit like a slave to logical or legal necessity, but makes the content of the law, the content of rational necessity, truly his own.

Here Schiller, in comparison with Kant, whom unfortunately he otherwise followed in many ways, is a much freer spirit. For Kant regarded absolute obedience to what he calls duty—that is, rational necessity—as the highest human virtue. “Duty, thou great and sublime name”, Kant says, on the only occasion when he becomes poetical, “having nothing that flatters or attracts us . . .” Schiller says: “I serve my friends willingly, and unfortunately I like to do it. And so it often worries me to find that I am not virtuous.” That is his satirical comment on Kant, who would regard serving one’s friends as a duty. Schiller means that while an unfree man may serve his friends as a duty, in obedience to the “categorical imperative”, a free man carries his humanity so far that he does it because he likes to do it, out of love, as an inner matter of course.

Thus Schiller seeks to draw down rational necessity into his human realm, so that a man does not have to submit to it, but is able to practise it as a law of his own nature. The necessity of the

senses he seeks to raise up and spiritualise, so that the human being is not simply driven by his sensuality, but can ennoble it, so that he may give it expression, having raised it to its highest level. Schiller believes that when sensuality and reason meet at the centre of his being, man becomes free.

It seems as if present-day man is not properly able to share what Schiller felt when he described this middle condition as the real ideal for human beings. If a mutual permeation of rational necessity and the necessity of the senses were constantly achieved, Schiller held, this ideal condition would be expressed in the creation and appreciation of art.

It is very characteristic of the time of Schiller and Goethe to seek in art a guide for the rest of human activity. The spirit of Goethe rejects everything Philistine and seeks for an ideal condition which is to be achieved in the likeness of genuine art. For the artist creates in a visible medium. Even if he creates in words, he is working in a sense-perceptible medium. And he would produce something terribly abstract if he gave himself up to rational necessity. He must learn what he is to create from the material itself, and from the activity of shaping it. He must spiritualise the sense-perceptible by giving matter form. Through the formal pattern (*Gestalt*) that he gives it, matter is enabled to have an effect, not just as matter, but in the same way that the spiritual has an effect. Thus the artist fuses spiritual and perceptible into one creation. When all that men do in the external world becomes such that obedience to duty and to the law comes about through an inclination akin to that of the artist, and when all that comes from the senses is permeated by spirit, then for individual human beings, and also for the State and the social structure, freedom is achieved, as Schiller understands it.

So Schiller asks: how must the various powers of the soul—rationality, sensuality, aesthetic activity—work together in man, if he is to stand as a free being in the social structure? A particular way for the forces of the soul to work together is what Schiller thought should be aimed at. And he believed that when human beings in whom rational necessity permeates sensual necessity, and sensual necessity is spiritualised by rational necessity—when these human beings form a social order, it will turn out to be a good one, by necessity.

Goethe often talked with Schiller, and corresponded with him, while Schiller was writing his "Aesthetic Letters." Goethe was a quite different man from Schiller. Schiller had tremendous inner passion as a poet, but he was also a keen thinker. Goethe was not in the same way a keen abstract thinker and he had less poetic passion, but he was equipped with something that Schiller lacked: with fully human, harmonious instincts. Schiller was a man of reflection and reason; Goethe was a man of instinct, but spiritualised instinct. The difference between them became a problem for Schiller. If you read his beautiful essay on "Naive and Sentimental Poetry", you will always feel that Schiller might just as well have written, if he had wanted to become more personal: On Goethe and Myself. For Goethe is the naive poet, Schiller the sentimental poet. He is simply describing Goethe and himself.

For Goethe, the man of instinct, all this was not so simple. Any kind of abstract philosophical talk, including talk about rational necessity, sensual necessity and the aesthetic approach—for these are abstractions if one contrasts them with one another—was repugnant to Goethe in his innermost being. He was willing to engage in it, because he was open to everything human and because he said to himself: A lot of people go in for philosophising, and that is something one must accept. He never rejected anything entirely. This is most evident when he has to talk about Kant. Here he found himself in a peculiar position. Kant was regarded by Schiller and many others as the greatest man of his century. Goethe could not understand this. But he was not intolerant, or wrapped up in his own opinion. Goethe said to himself: If so many people find so much in Kant, one must let them; indeed, one must make an effort to examine something which to oneself seems not very significant—and perhaps one will find a hidden significance in it after all. I have had in my hands Goethe's copy of Kant's *Critique of Judgement*; he underlined important passages. But the underlinings became fewer well before the middle, and later disappear altogether. You can see that he never reached the end.

In conversation about Kant, Goethe would not let himself become really involved in the subject. He found it disagreeable to talk about the world and its mysteries in terms of philosophical abstractions. And it was clear to him that to understand the human being in his development from necessity to freedom was not as simple as

Schiller had believed. There is something very great in these "Aesthetic Letters," and Goethe recognised that. But it seemed to him too simple to ascribe all the complications of the soul of man to these three categories: rational necessity, aesthetic impulse, sensual necessity. For him there was so much more in the human soul. And things could not simply be placed side by side in this way.

Hence Goethe was stirred to write his "Tale of the Green Snake and the Beautiful Lily," in which not only three but about twenty powers of the soul are described, not in concepts, but in pictorial forms, open to various interpretations. They are headed by the Golden King, who represents (not symbolises) wisdom, the Silver King who represents beautiful appearance, the Bronze King, who represents power, and Love who crowns them all. Everything else, too, indicates soul-forces; you can read this in my article.

Thus Goethe was impelled to conceive this path for the human being from necessity to freedom in his own way. He was the spiritualised man of instinct. Schiller was the man of understanding, but not in quite the usual sense: in him understanding was led over into perception.

Now if we consider honestly the course of history, we can say: this way of looking at things, developed by Schiller in an abstract philosophical way, by Goethe in an imaginative and artistic way, is not only in its form, but also in its content, very remote from present-day men. An intimate older friend of mine, Karl Julius Schröer, who was once responsible for examining candidate teachers for technical schools, wanted to examine these people on Schiller's "Aesthetic Letters": they were going to have to teach children between the ages of ten and eighteen. They staged a regular agitation! They would have found it quite natural to be questioned about Plato and to have to interpret Platonic Dialogues. But they had no inclination to know anything about Schiller's "Letters on Aesthetic Education", which represent a certain culmination of modern spiritual life.

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The middle of the nineteenth century was a much more incisive point in man's spiritual history than people can realise today. The

period before it is represented in Schiller and Goethe; it is followed by something quite different, which can understand the preceding period very little. What we now call the social question, in the widest sense—a sense that humanity has not yet grasped, but should grasp and must grasp later on—was born only in the second half of the nineteenth century. And we can understand this fact only if we ask: why, in such significant and representative considerations as those attempted by Schiller in his “Aesthetic Letters” and represented pictorially by Goethe in his “Tale of the Green Snake and the Beautiful Lily”, do we find no trace of the peculiar way of thinking we are impelled to develop today about the structure of society—although Goethe in his “Tale” is evidently hinting at political forms?

If we approach the “Aesthetic Letters” and the “Tale” with inner understanding, we can feel the presence in them of a powerful spirituality which humanity has since lost. Anyone reading the “Aesthetic Letters” should feel: in the very way of writing an element of soul and spirit is at work which is not present in even the most outstanding figures today; and it would be stupid to think that anyone could now write something like Goethe’s fairy tale. Since the middle of the nineteenth century this spirituality has not been here. It does not speak directly to present-day men and can really speak only through the medium of Spiritual Science, which extends our range of vision and can also enter into earlier conditions in man’s history. It would really be best if people would acknowledge that without spiritual knowledge they cannot understand Schiller and Goethe. Every scene in “Faust” can prove this to you.

If we try to discover what main influence was then at work, we find that in those days the very last remnant, the last echo of the old spirituality, was present in men, before it finally faded away in the middle of the nineteenth century and humanity was thrown back on its own resources. It lived on in such a way that a man like Schiller, who thought in abstractions, possessed spirituality in his abstract thinking, and a man who had spiritualised instincts, such as Goethe had, had it living in these instincts. In some way it still lived. Now it has to be found on the paths of spiritual knowledge; now man has to find his way through to spirituality in freedom. That is the essential thing. And without an understanding of this turning-point in the middle of the nineteenth century, one cannot really

grasp what is so important today. Take, for example, Schiller’s way of approaching the structure of society. Looking at the French Revolution, he writes his “Aesthetic Letters”, but when he asks, “How should the social order develop?”, he looks at man himself. He is not dealing with the social question in a present-day sense.

Today, when the social question is under review, it is usual to leave out the individual human being, with his inner conflicts, his endeavours to achieve self-education. Only the social structure in general is considered. What Schiller expected to come about through self-education is expected to come through alterations in outer conditions. Schiller says: If men become what they can become at the midpoint of their being, they will create a right social structure as a matter of course. Today it is said: If we bring about a right social structure, human beings will develop as they should.

In a short time the whole way of feeling about this has turned round. Schiller or Goethe could not have believed that through self-education men could bring about a right social structure if they had not been able to feel in man himself the universally human qualities that social life requires. In every human being they saw an image of human society. But this was no longer effective. In those days beautiful, spiritual descriptions of the best self-education could be written—it was all an echo or in a sense a picture of the old atavistic life, but the power to achieve real results was not in it. And to-day’s way of thinking about the best social conditions is equally powerless. It places man in an invented, thought-out social structure, but he is not effectively present there. We must look at human society in general, we must look out at the world and find ourselves there, find the human being.

This is something that only real Spiritual Science can do, in the most far-reaching sense. Take what is objected to most of all in my “Occult Science”: the course of evolution through Saturn, Sun, Moon, and Earth; everywhere *man* is there. Nowhere do you have the mere abstract universe; everywhere man is in some way included; he is not separated from the universe. This is the beginning of what our time instinctively intends, out of impulses that remain quite dark. The time before the middle of the nineteenth century looked at man, and believed it could find the world in man. The time after the middle of the nineteenth century looks

only at the world. But that is sterile; it leads to theories which are entirely empty of man. And so Spiritual Science is really serving those dark but justified instincts. What men wish for, without knowing what they want, is fulfilled through Spiritual Science: to look at the external world and to find there the human being. This is still rejected, even regarded with horror; but it will have to be cultivated, if any real recovery in this connection is to come about in the future.

At the same time there must be a development also in the study of man. A real understanding of the social organism will be achieved only when one can see man within it. Man is a threefold being. In every age—except for our own—he has been active in a threefold way. To-day he concentrates everything upon a single power in himself, because he has to stand entirely on the single point of his own self in this age of consciousness, and people feel that everything proceeds from this single point. Each man thinks to himself: If I am asked a question, or if life puts a task before me, I myself form a judgment, out of myself. But it is not the entire human being who judges in this way. The human organism has a “man in the middle”, with something above it and something below it; and it is the “man in the middle” who has the capacity to form a judgment and to act on it at any moment. Above is Revelation: what is received through religion or some other form of spiritual revelation and viewed as something higher, something supersensible. Below, underneath the faculty of judgment, is Experience, the totality of what one has passed through.

Present-day man takes little account of either pole. Revelation—an old superstition that must be overcome! To experience, also, he pays little attention, or he would be more aware of the difference between youthful not-knowing and the knowing that comes through experience. He often gathers little from experience because he does not believe in it. Most people to-day, when they have grey hair and wrinkles, are not much wiser than they were at twenty. In life a man may get cleverer and cleverer, and yet be just as stupid as before. But experience does accumulate and it is the other pole from revelation. In between stands immediate judgment.

To-day, as I have often said, one reads critical judgments written by very young people who have not yet looked round in the world. Old people may write lengthy books and the youngest journalists

may review them. That is no way of making progress. Progress can be made when what is achieved in later life is taken as a guide, when age is held to be more capable of judgment through the experience that has been acquired.

Thus man is a threefold being in practical life. If you read my book, *Riddles of the Soul*, you will find that revelation corresponds to the head of man, the man of nerves and senses; immediate judgment corresponds to the breast man; experience corresponds to the man of the extremities. I could also say: the man of the life of nerves and senses, the man of the rhythmical life, and the man of metabolism. No consideration is given today to this threefold nature of man, and so there is no recognition of what corresponds to it in cosmic terms. This cannot be discerned because of the general unwillingness to rise from the sense-perceptible to the supersensible.

Today, when a man eats—that is, unites external nourishment with his organism—he thinks: There inside is the organism, which cooks the stuff and takes from it what it needs, and lets the rest pass away unused, and so it goes on. On the other hand, I look out into the world through my senses. I take up the perceptible and transform it by my understanding; I take it into my soul, as I take nourishment into my body. What is out there, what eyes see and ears hear, I then carry within me as a mental picture; what is out there as wheat, fish, meat or whatever, I carry inside me, after having digested it.

Yes, but this leaves out the fact that the substances used in nourishment have their inner aspect. The experience of food through our external senses is not related to our deeper being. With what your tongue tastes and your stomach digests, in the way that can be confirmed by ordinary scientific research, you can maintain your daily metabolism; but you cannot take care of the other metabolism, which leads for example to the change of teeth about the age of seven.

The essential thing in this other metabolism lies in the deeper forces at work in it, which are not observed today by any chemical study. What we take as food has a deep spiritual aspect, and this is very active in man, but only while he sleeps. In your foods live the spirits of the highest Hierarchies, the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones. Hence in your food you have something cosmically

formative, and therein lie the forces which provide imperceptibly for the change of teeth, for adolescence, and for the later transformations of the human being. Only the daily metabolism is brought about by the things known to external science. The metabolism which goes through life as a whole is cared for by the highest Hierarchies. And behind the sense-perceptible world are the beings of the Third Hierarchy: Angels, Archangels, and Archai. Hence we can say: sense-perception, Third Hierarchy: foodstuffs, First Hierarchy: and in between is the Second Hierarchy, which lives in the breathing, in all the rhythmic activities of the human organism.

The Bible describes this quite truly. The spirits called the Elohim, together with Jahve, are led into men through the breath. The ancient wisdom was quite correctly aware of these things, in an atavistic way. Thus you are led through a real study of man into a true cosmology.

Spiritual Science re-inaugurates this way of looking at things. It looks for man again in the external world, and brings the entire universe into man. This can be done only if one knows that man is really a trinity, a threefold being. Today both revelation and experience are suppressed; man does not do them justice. He does not do justice to his sense-perceptions, or to the foods he eats, for he regards them merely as material objects. But that is an Ahrimanic distortion, which ignores the deeper life that underlies all created things, of which foodstuffs are an example.

Spiritual Science does not lead to a contempt for matter, but to a spiritualisation of it. If anyone were to look at food with contempt, he would have to learn that Spiritual Science says, in a way that would seem grotesque to him: the highest Hierarchies, Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones, *they* are alive in nutriment.

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In our time threefold man is put together in an unclear, chaotic way, and made into a single entity. In social terms, a precisely corresponding picture arises when everything is brought under the single entity of State legalism. In fact, society should be seen as a trinity, composed of three members. First, economic activity, the natural foundation of life. Second, legal regulation, which corresponds to the middle element in man, his rhythmic nature.

Third, spiritual life. Now we can see a trend towards making these three realms into one. Economic life, it is said, must be brought gradually under the control of the State. The State should become the only capitalist. Spiritual life came long ago under the dominion of the State. On the one hand we have man, who does not understand himself, and on the other the State, which is not understood, because man no longer finds himself within the social structure.

These three elements—economic life, legal regulation, spiritual life—are as radically different as head, breast and limbs. To burden the State with economic life is as if you wanted to eat with your lungs and heart, instead of with the stomach. Man is healthy only through the separation and co-operation of his three systems. The social organism, too, can be healthy only when the three elements work independently side by side, and are not thrown together in a single entity.

All legal regulation, which corresponds to the breathing, rhythmic system in man, represents a quite impersonal element, expressed in the saying: All men are equal before the law. Nothing personal comes into this; hence it is necessary that all human beings should be concerned with this middle realm and that everyone should be represented there. People are inclined to stop at this point, leaving a certain sterility on either side. We have to breathe; but we are not human beings unless nourishment is added to the breathing process from one side and sense impressions from the other. We must have a State, which rules through law, impersonal law. But economic life, which is half-personal, wherever men participate in it, and spiritual life, which is entirely personal, must work into the State from either side, or the social organism will be just as impossible as if man wanted to consist only of breathing.

This must become a new, fundamental doctrine: that the social structure has three members. You cannot live as human beings without eating; you have to receive your food from outside. You cannot maintain the State without bringing it the necessary nourishment from what human beings produce spiritually. This spiritual productivity is for the State what physical food is for individual men. Nor can you have a State unless you give it a certain natural basis on the other side in economic life. Economic life is for the State exactly like the element brought to the breathing process in human beings through sense-perceptions.

You can see that real knowledge of man and real knowledge of the social structure depend upon one another; you cannot reach one without the other. This must become the elementary basis for social insight in the future. The sin committed in relation to man by leaving out Revelation and Experience is committed by Socialist thinkers today when they leave out of account the half-personal element in which fraternity must rule and on the other side ignore spiritual life, where freedom must rule; while the impersonal element of the law must be ruled by equality.

The great mistake of current Socialism is its belief that a healthy social structure can be brought about by State regulation, and particularly by socialising the means of production. We must appeal to all the powers of the social organism if we are to create a healthy social structure. Side by side with Equality, which is the one aim today, and is absolutely right for everything which has the character of law, Fraternity and Freedom must be able to work. But they cannot work without a threefold social order. It would be just as senseless to ask the heart and lungs to think and eat, as it is to ask an omnipotent State to direct economic life and to maintain spiritual life. The spiritual life must be independent, and co-operate only in the same way as the stomach co-operates with the head and with the heart. Things in life do work together, but they work together in the right way only if they can develop individually, not when they are thrown together abstractly.

The facts of the present time really prove that this insight must be achieved. It is very much worth observing how people at the present time do not see the connection between materialism on the one hand and abstract thinking on the other, particularly in relation to the social question. One great reason for the rise of materialism is that the State has gradually taken possession of all the academic institutions which were originally free corporations. If you go back to the times when such things were founded, from an atavistic feeling originating in clairvoyance, you will see how the necessity of co-operation between these three elements was still felt. Only since the sixteenth century has everything flowed into one, with the rise of materialism.

In earlier times, if a man wanted to be an outstanding jurist, he went to a university distinguished for the law, perhaps to Padua; if he wanted to be an outstanding physician, he went to Montpellier

or to Naples; if he wanted to be an outstanding theologian, he went to Paris. These institutions did not belong to a particular State, but to humanity, and represented an independent member of the social organism.

Again, every school that is immediately under the power of the State is an impossible institution, and in the end unhealthy. Every undertaking concerned with production is unhealthy when managed by the State. You cannot pour anything into the lungs, not even water when you are thirsty. If this happens, you see how unhealthy it is.

Today people pour all kinds of economic and even spiritual undertakings into the realm which should be responsible only for the legal regulation of existing affairs. The radical parties go as far as wishing to separate the Church from the State, because they hope that people will be really interested only in what the State does. Then, in this clever, roundabout way, the Church could be expected to fade away entirely. But if you suggest to these people that schools need to be independent in order to restore productivity to spiritual life, they will contradict this very vehemently.

Every arrangement which makes for an intervention from the legal side into the spiritual life must lead to sterility. And in the same way it is false if the legal organisation intervenes in the initiatives necessary for economic life. The police, security, everything which belongs to social rights—not private rights and not penal law, which belong to the spiritual life—all these belong to the system of legal regulations. Everything economic forms an independent system and must be organised corporatively, in a way that is half-personal. All spiritual life must be a matter for human individuality; in no other way can it flourish.

Schiller describes the middle condition that lies for man between the demands of rational necessity and the demands of this sense-life, and he relates this ideal to the creation and appreciation of art. In his "Aesthetic Letters" he says boldly that man is fully man only when he is playing, and he plays only when he is man in the fullest sense of the word. Schiller regards playing as the ideal condition, but of course you have to think of playing as Schiller does: that the necessity of reason is transformed into inclination, and inclination is raised to a spiritual level like that of reason. He calls the earnestness of life a game, in his sense of the word, for then

one acts like a child who is playing, not obeying any duty but following one's impulses, and yet following them freely, because the necessities of life do not yet intervene in childhood.

A summit of human achievement is indicated in Schiller's "Aesthetic Letters": man is fully man only when he is playing, and he plays only when he is man in the fullest sense of the word. On the other hand, when we have to begin with the concrete reality of the entire cosmos in order to find man in it, it is necessary that we should say to ourselves: man will achieve real progress for humanity only when he can take the smallest things in everyday life, even the most everyday game, and understands how to raise them into the great seriousness of cosmic existence. Therefore it has to be said: a turning-point in the history of mankind has come in this present time, where earnestness is knocking most solemnly at our doors.

## CASPAR HAUSER AND HIS ENEMIES\*

PETER TRADOWSKY

*Editorial Note:— Those who study the life and significance of Caspar Hauser owe a great debt to three writers. First to Georg Friedrich Daumer, who was in quite special measure a teacher and friend to Caspar Hauser, as Wassermann's well-known novel makes clear. Rudolf Steiner says of Daumer that he can hardly be valued too highly and that he was "a last Rosicrucian." He lived in the hope of a new spiritual revelation. He died in 1875, having published two years earlier his final detailed defence of Caspar Hauser.*

*A second writer is the scholar Hermann Pies, who in forty years of research published six volumes of evidence, summed up in a seventh published in 1966. He could prove the falsity of a great deal in the writings of Caspar Hauser's adversaries.*

*The third writer is Karl Heyer, who sought out relevant indications by Rudolf Steiner given in personal conversations, and described Caspar Hauser's place in the spiritual history of the nineteenth century as a whole.*

*In his original German articles Mr. Tradowsky gives frequent references to the works of these three writers, but as their books are not available in English, we have omitted these references from our translation.*

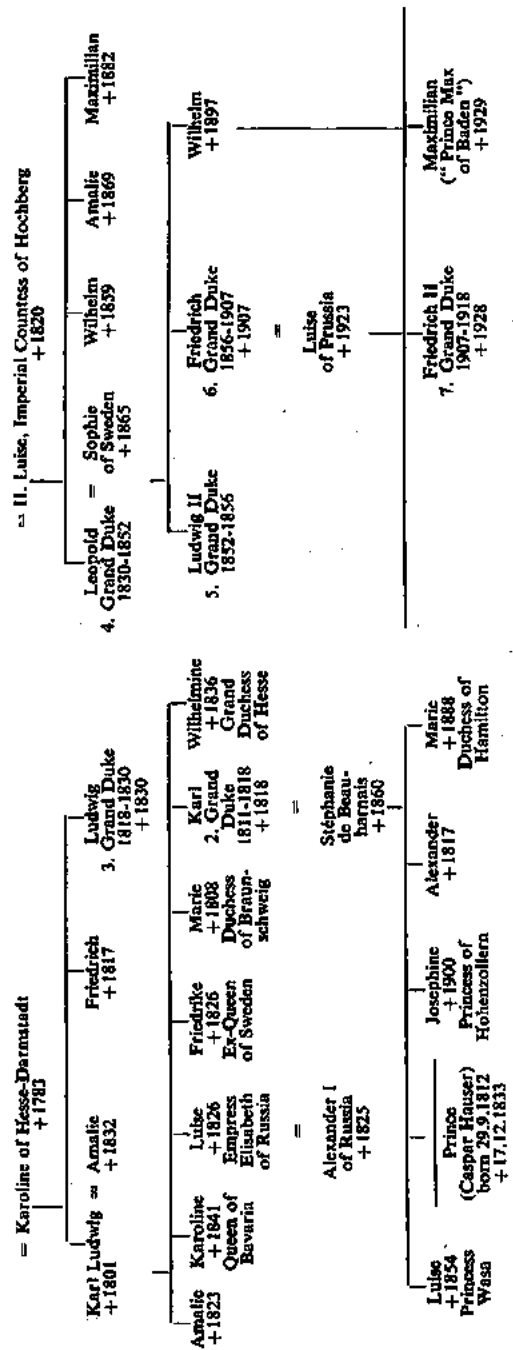
**I**N the light of all the research that has been done by now, there is no longer any reason to doubt that Caspar Hauser was born on Michaelmas Day, 29 September, 1812, and that he was a son of the ruling Grand Duke Karl of Baden and Stephanie de Beauharnais, the adopted daughter of Napoleon. (See table overleaf.) During the night of 15-16 October, 1812, the infant prince was exchanged for a dying child, Johann Ernst Jakob Blochmann, who had been born on 26 September, 1812.

Caspar was apparently well cared for, even vaccinated, and, although kept apart, allowed to develop as a normal child. Nothing was done to prevent him from learning to stand and walk. Speaking and thinking were also permitted to develop up to an elementary level. The decisive moment for those who perpetrated the crime against Caspar Hauser must have been just before the child could

\*From a series of articles written by Mr Tradowsky for *Das Goetheanum*, Dornach, nos. 3 to 8, 1976. This shortened translation is printed here with the author's permission.

# GENEALOGICAL TABLE

Karl Friedrich  
Grand Duke of Baden 1806-1811  
+ 1811



condition the walk to the police station was, as Feuerbach appropriately calls it, "a martyr's way."

The police, too, are at a loss how to proceed with him. The few words he repeats over and over again have no sense or coherence. Reaching into the lamp, he burns himself and starts to cry. Finally, a policeman gets him to write the name he is to carry with him into the world: "Caspar Hauser." With pain and suffering, caused by his efforts to walk, he is led to the prison, where he is put in with a journeyman butcher who has been told to sound him out. The boy sinks down on a straw bed and falls into a deep sleep.

In a way it was fortunate that he was brought to the prison, because there, on the second day of his life in the world, he encountered the warder, Hiltl, a man with remarkable experience in the observation and assessment of people. Hiltl was the first to realise that in this inconspicuous young man, unable to make himself understood, there dwelt a pure and innocent soul. Hiltl stood up for Caspar Hauser in a just and honest manner throughout his life; nothing could alter the first impression he received. With regard to the continually disputed innocence of Caspar Hauser he once said: "His innocence was so certain to me that I would have had to declare it even if God himself were to assert the contrary."

On 28 May, 1828, Caspar Hauser is brought to the court doctor, Dr. Preu, who is to determine whether the authorities are dealing with a deceiver or with a sick person. Preu is decidedly sceptical at first, but as a faithful phenomenologist he is led by his observations to the conclusion that he has to do with a unique case. "This man," he reports, "is neither insane nor dull-witted, but has apparently been forcibly prevented in the most disastrous way from attaining to any personal or social development." Preu's medical opinion, based entirely on objective findings, calls attention particularly to a peculiar malformation of both knees, so that when the boy sat on level ground his legs were stretched out in a posture never seen in normal persons.

This observation is especially significant in that it supports the later statements by Caspar Hauser concerning his imprisonment. It also indicates the period of time during which he was restricted to a sitting position in the cage. Only in a small child whose knees were still flexible could long years of sitting bring on such a malfor-



Caspar Hauser as he is said to have looked when he first appeared on the streets of Nuremberg

*From an engraving by Professor Hanfstaengl*

mation. To the best of my knowledge none of Caspar Hauser's opponents has discussed this phenomenon. The traces of his imprisonment are shown in the bones of his body, and yet some still refuse him belief.

On the basis of Preu's opinion that Caspar Hauser had been the victim of a crime, Binder, the town mayor, issued his famous appeal for a solution to the crime. Binder, like Hiltl, was a man of feeling who was shocked by the fate of Caspar Hauser. He gave him over to the care and upbringing of Daumer, who had already become interested Caspar Hauser while the boy was in jail.

Among those who came to know Caspar Hauser during this early Nuremberg period was a Professor of criminal law, Anselm von Feuerbach, President of the Court of Appeal in Ansbach. He was initially concerned with the case in his official capacity; very soon he was giving it his personal attention, and from then on he used all the force of his fiery personality to assert the innocence of Caspar Hauser and to investigate the riddle of his origin and destiny. It is known that in his *Memoire* to Queen Caroline of Bavaria, Caspar Hauser's aunt, in 1832, he solved the essentials of the riddle of Caspar Hauser's ancestry. Further investigations were brought to a halt by Feuerbach's illness in 1832 and his death on 29 May, 1833. Daumer was convinced that Feuerbach did not die a natural death.

Feuerbach's personal involvement in the case is apparent in a sentence he wrote shortly after the first appearance of Caspar Hauser: "In that soul of his, filled with a childlike goodness and tenderness that rendered him incapable of harming a worm or a fly, let alone a man; in that soul, which proved itself in every regard as spotless and pure as the reflection of the eternal in the soul of an angel, there was . . . no idea, no intimation of God; not a shadow of a belief in any higher, unseen presence went with him when he stepped out of his dungeon into the light of the world."

During this time in Nuremberg, when Caspar Hauser was in the care of Daumer, Binder arranged for Freiherr von Tucher to be his guardian. Hiltl, Preu, Binder, Daumer, Feuerbach and Tucher form a tight circle of destiny around Caspar Hauser. None of them ever lost confidence in him or joined the subsequent campaign of slander against him. They stood up for him all their lives out of conviction and a consciousness of the truth.

Through the announcement by Binder in the summer of 1828, Caspar Hauser became widely known in Germany and Europe. Like an echo the words came back (who coined them is unknown): "the Child of Europe." They express something of his true being and the scope of his mission—Europe.

He continued to progress so well under Daumer's tutelage that in the summer of 1828 his intention to write an autobiography was reported. But this was an exaggeration. From what we know of Caspar Hauser's own statements, including those he made to the police, he was in no position to remember any exact information dangerous to his malefactors. Those behind the crime against him had thrown him into the world with the aim of causing him to disappear or meet his death. The progress he had achieved in Nuremberg and the acceptance and sympathy he had found there must have made them realise that their immediate plan had failed. Coming on top of this, the news about his autobiography may well have alarmed them; they resolved to take extreme measures to protect themselves. Feuerbach writes: "Anyone who describes his own life must have something to tell. The talk of Caspar's autobiography must have struck close home in those who had every reason for wishing to remain in obscurity."

On 17 October, 1829, in Daumer's house, Caspar was attacked by a masked man. Feuerbach believed that this was a serious murder attempt and that only a quick, involuntary movement by Caspar caused the murder instrument to strike his forehead instead of his throat. He recovered fairly quickly, but a noticeable scar remained. Fuhrmann, of whom we shall hear more later, says: "His childlike mind felt only pain and fear at this event, absolutely no bitterness or anger."

At the time of the murder attempt, Lord Stanhope, who later came to play such a decisive and fateful role in Caspar Hauser's life, was in Nuremberg on personal business. He took no notice of Caspar Hauser, though in the eyes of Europe he was by then the best-known resident of the city. Was this show of indifference meant to cover up his true connection with Caspar?

At the end of May, 1831, Lord Stanhope appeared again in Nuremberg. As a malicious tempter he now approached Caspar and managed to blind the inexperienced youth with promises and gifts, while at the same time confusing his soul through incitements

to pride and dishonesty. Lord Stanhope must have been a splendid actor and diplomat, for he succeeded so well in convincing almost everyone of his selfless, noble motives that Tucher, Caspar Hauser's guardian—who saw the bad effect Stanhope was having on Caspar's soul and stood out against him—was unable to prevail.

Lord Stanhope now became Caspar's guardian. He separated the young man from Daumer and his friends in Nuremberg by bringing him to Ansbach. Only Feuerbach, who lived in Ansbach, remained in direct contact with him. Stanhope's next move was to place Caspar under the tutelage of a teacher named Meyer, with whom he was later to join in the campaign of slander against Caspar after Caspar's death. He even tried to enlist Daumer in this campaign, but succeeded only in at last opening the eyes of this unsuspecting man to his own true character.

In Ansbach, under Meyer's teaching, Caspar's spirit "suffered a second imprisonment," Feuerbach remarks. But a good turn of fate allowed him to receive confirmation lessons from Pastor Fuhrmann in Ansbach, and it was of great significance for him that in this Protestant minister he encountered a living, active Christianity. In Fuhrmann's published addresses concerning Caspar's confirmation and funeral, he appears as a man for whom the Gospels were a reality still surely felt, and who in his soul was deeply permeated by the fundamental facts of Christianity, beyond any doubt or scepticism.

On 20 May, 1833, a few days before the death of Feuerbach, Caspar was confirmed by Pastor Fuhrmann. That this was no mere formality is evident from words spoken later by Fuhrmann at Caspar's funeral: "On 20 May of that year he celebrated his confirmation and his first joyful Communion with such emotion, and with such a great raising of the heart to his Saviour, that all the witnesses and I myself were convinced that the Gospel of Christ, which blesses all those who believe on it, had taken deep root in his heart."

On 29 September, 1833, Caspar Hauser was 21 years old. Daumer was aged 33 years. After his birthday Caspar Hauser paid a visit to Nuremberg. He met Binder and Daumer again and decided to return to them if circumstances allowed. In his naïveté he hoped that Lord Stanhope would soon make it possible for him to leave his teacher, Meyer, in Ansbach, and lead an independent life.

One can imagine how alarmed the hidden criminals must have been by Caspar Hauser's progress. Were they aware that his spirit was seeking to spread its wings, despite all they had done to cripple them? It is certain that in the autumn of 1833 his murder was secretly resolved upon, for on 27 November, 1833, the child for whom he had been exchanged, now named Kaspar Ernst Blochmann, was officially declared dead.

On 14 December Caspar Hauser was stabbed by a stranger who had lured him into the park under a pretext and had given him a package to open to divert his attention. When on this Saturday afternoon he arrived with faltering steps at his teacher's house, Meyer refused to believe his story. He took hold of Caspar Hauser—who had, it was later found, received four fatal wounds—and forced him to return to the park. Nothing but an astonishing will to live can have enabled him to cover most of the distance there before he collapsed and was brought back to Meyer's house. Meyer took Caspar's story to be an invention, claiming that he had inflicted the wounds on himself. When the doctors found that his life was beyond saving, Meyer called him an involuntary suicide and, in general, an imposter and a liar.

On Tuesday, 17 December, 1833, at 10 in the evening, his life came to an end. Like a painful glance back at his unfulfilled mission were his words: "The monster was stronger." But the monster was not strong enough to hinder Fuhrmann from standing at his deathbed. In the moment of death the light of Christ shone brightly within him and Fuhrmann is history's witness of this event. Caspar Hauser thanks and forgives everyone, including Meyer and even his murderer. "In his passing he spoke words of forgiveness with his dying lips," Fuhrmann reports.

Still more decisive is the fact that through Fuhrmann the central event of Christianity was transposed into the consciousness of Caspar Hauser. In the course of his address at Caspar's graveside, Fuhrmann said: "Brothers and sisters, filled as you are with feelings of pain and sorrow, and seeing now among the graves by which we are surrounded the grave of this young man who captured the sympathy and attention of part of the world, hear at this time as comfort and teaching that the prayer we find in Matthew 26:39 was among his last words. And words on the edge of life, words near to death and to the throne of eternal justice do not come

easily out of a hypocritical heart. They express man's entire soul, granting us an unerring look into his innermost being."

Caspar Hauser, a victim of a criminal impulse, accepted his fate, accepted his death with the words: "Father, not my will but thine be done."

Fuhrmann called the dying boy's attention to the fact that Christ had spoken these words as he prepared to sacrifice himself in suffering and death. Thus filled in his soul with the Christ impulse, Caspar Hauser crossed the threshold of death into the spiritual world.

Daumer, too, speaks of the death of Caspar Hauser. At one point his description takes a surprising turn, one that deserves to be remembered: "Truly, terrible evil had been done to this poor man, even by those with whom he had lived and to whom he was subject; nevertheless, he said with his pure goodness: 'No one has done anything to me.' He died with a lie, but it was the lie of an angel."

What Fuhrmann says in his *Trauerrede* concerning this murder must be felt as wholly in accord with the spirit of Caspar Hauser: "With a Christian mind we pity the hand that brought his earthly life to an early end: with forgiveness in our hearts we pray for the unhappy one who criminally destroyed what might have been a fortunate turn in world destiny; and we must hold to the belief that those who can kill the body cannot succeed in spreading their dark power over the soul."



The Caspar Hauser story can only be termed, by anyone who pursues it, a riddle of its time. For historians there is no explanation of it apart from the bare establishment of facts and a reference to the successful dynastic plot. The complete story can be neither explained nor understood by the methods of present-day research. Daumer and Feuerbach clearly felt that the whole affair remained in the end enigmatic. To pursue such an important and dangerous crime through two decades required far-reaching motives. A whole series of people must have been involved with this crime over a long period. Elaborate methods were required and were employed.

We can discern at least two levels on which this crime took place. The dynastic plot, in which the Countess of Hochberg played a decisive role, cannot account for the particular form of imprisonment inflicted on Caspar Hauser. All attempts to explain it in this context have failed. But if anthroposophical knowledge is brought to bear on Caspar Hauser, a positively frightening light falls on the whole affair.

It is striking, in the first place, that the child was carefully looked after and allowed to develop until the "I" had taken hold of the bodily nature to the extent of walking, speaking and thinking. The perpetrators thus had an interest in the living Caspar Hauser, while the dynastic plotters would have preferred murder, as they had done with Caspar's brother, the Crown Prince Alexander, in 1817. Caspar was to be kept away from his earthly task, from his historical mission; and for this it was necessary that he should remain alive. Rudolf Steiner indicated that if he had been killed, he could quickly have incarnated again. A small child who carries into life a web of destiny reaching through an entire lifetime can soon seek another body for himself if he dies young, for whatever reason. The conspirators were aware of this and treated Caspar accordingly.

Then there is the cage built for him when he began to form lasting memories. These could no doubt have been dangerous for the conspirators later on. They anticipated this. The child was brought into a state somewhere between life and death, between waking and sleeping. It was made impossible for him to develop as a man on earth and he was also prevented from re-entering the spiritual world through death. He sank down, as he himself described it, into a sort of twilight consciousness. His physical development was sharply curtailed; his spiritual development, in essence, stood still. His life in the cage was not only a physical but also a form of spiritual imprisonment. He was to be estranged from his ego-development and the fulfilment of his destiny; forced down below the level he could have attained.

After more than twelve years in his cage Caspar was thrown out into the world by his enemies, so that he could meet his ruin there. The plan of having him disappear into a cavalry regiment failed. His development took a course that the hidden conspirator had not foreseen and could not accept. The murder attempt and the

actual murder testify to this, for they must have been dangerous last measures. The conspirators had not reckoned with the boy's potentialities or with the men to whom Caspar Hauser came, the men to whom he belonged and who understood him.

Lord Stanhope was sent into his path to further his ruin, once his development had strayed too far from what the criminals could permit. By infusing him with pride and leading him into lies, Lord Stanhope did all he could to impair the great process of recuperation which Caspar's soul was going through. He then prepared a second imprisonment for him in the form of the philistinism of the teacher, Meyer. He succeeded also in separating him, at least spatially, from such people as Binder, Daumer and Tucher. Through Lord Stanhope a second level of the crime against Caspar Hauser is indicated, and the trail leads inexorably to the West.

Finally, the murder of Caspar Hauser, just three months after his 21st birthday, was evidently connected with his growing up. His "I" was stirring. He had made a deep connection with Christianity during his confirmation. Certain supersensible experiences—as Wassermann, for example, reports in his novel—were coming before his soul. The plan of his enemies was, in a certain respect, shattered. His death was decided upon in order to forestal any further risk.

It becomes clear from this short analysis how certain groups of men in history have served negative powers. Behind the crime against Caspar Hauser was a profound occult knowledge. Even before his birth the approach and entry of this individuality, with his life-plans and earthly tasks, must have been observed. The Countess of Hochberg, with her ambitious plans and dynastic intentions, served aims of which she had no inkling. Behind her we can discern a "dark kingship" whose ice-cold wisdom places itself consciously against the Christ impulse and pursues far-reaching plans concerning the history of mankind. Its way of working is characterised by the fact that it gets people to serve its purposes without allowing them to understand what they are doing.

It is of fundamental importance to realise that there are people in the background of history who employ far-reaching spiritual knowledge—such as that of reincarnation and karma and the nature of man—to work against human evolution in a destructive manner. If in the destiny of Caspar Hauser we can come to recognise the

working of these cold, dark forces, some of their effective power can be destroyed.

In many souls there is something which makes them unwilling to recognise the existence of these dark, consciously evil, hidden forces in history. The destiny of Caspar Hauser will not have been in vain if it throws some light on this background, which would so greatly prefer to remain in darkness. Through a science which takes the spiritual world and its beings seriously, those who sought to destroy Caspar Hauser can be recognised and exposed. It rests with those who have come to an understanding of the spiritual through Anthroposophy to give this significance to Caspar Hauser's sacrifice.

After Caspar Hauser had died as the victim of these unholy powers, they worked on behind the scenes to paralyse his influence, bury his true nature and paint over his true image. This will seem perfectly consistent to those who understand the occult motives of the perpetrators and can see that they had to do everything in their power to remain unknown. The simplest method was to make Caspar Hauser appear to be a liar, fraud, vagabond farm-boy and suicide.

When the destiny of Caspar Hauser is looked at as a whole, including the course of events after his death, he appears as one derided, scorned, defeated. This can be understood as a Christian destiny in the 19th century. Seen in this way, something of the triumph of his opponents disappears.

There is still another way in which these events can be seen in a positive light. Through the destiny prepared for Caspar Hauser, he comes before us as one who leaves us entirely free. Superficially, he accomplished almost nothing while on earth. The historical record throws no light on the possibilities of his individuality. Only through supersensible knowledge does his true nature become understandable. Described in this way, a Michaelic life-mission emerges.

If we look back over the whole of Caspar Hauser's life, it can be seen, as Feuerbach said at the beginning, as a martyr's way, a path of sacrifice. At first his sacrifice was imposed on him by outer forces; his mission was blocked, his life's plan destroyed. A remark made to Friedrich Rittelmeyer by Rudolf Steiner after the first World War—and it holds good for many historical contexts—

can help us here: "Things *need* not have turned out as they have. But what has come to pass was, after all, inevitable." Caspar Hauser was acting in the sense of this difficult saying when at the moment of death he immersed himself in the words of Christ: "Father, not my will but thine be done." He took his cross upon himself and transformed his path of sacrifice into a free deed of sacrifice. The path of sacrifice culminated in a permeation of his individuality by the Christ. Thus another saying by Rudolf Steiner can be understood: "Next to Christian Rosenkreuz, Caspar Hauser felt most strongly the sufferings of Christ."

If a person accepts and transforms an inflicted suffering that has not been brought upon him by a karmic debt, and if he does so in a Christian way, as did Caspar Hauser, something takes place which the forces working against human evolution—and their human servants—cannot understand or anticipate. Through the effects of the sacrifice their plans are frustrated, the extent of their insight is revealed and their powers are again limited. To sacrifice, to death, resurrection belongs. For Caspar Hauser this begins with a spiritual awareness of his true being. Through his sacrifice, Caspar Hauser has become one of the great Christian figures in human history. Through his sufferings he is a companion of Christ. We can get some inkling of how his future deeds will manifest the strengthened Christ forces, and how he, upon whom evil forces were directed in such a horrible manner, collaborates to redeem this evil.

If we ask how Caspar Hauser stands in relation to his own destiny, we can find this decisively stated in Novalis's phrase: "All that happens, I will." We owe it to Caspar Hauser, as a Michael task, not to stand passively before the picture of a conquered victim. To do that would be to remain subject to the influence of the "dark kings." But we must still ask how it was that Caspar's enemies could gain so much power over him.

The influence that a great man can have on a wider circle depends not only on him, but also on the response that comes to him from the circle. This is particularly decisive in the case of a spiritual mission which depends on the free awareness and unselfish activity of many people. We can see clearly that even before the appearance of Caspar Hauser there was a certain imbalance of powers in the world. The French Revolution, with its ideal of freedom, equality

and fraternity, could not come to fruition within the social realities of the time. The impulse given by the Count of St. Germain could not be followed up. It was replaced by the work of Napoleon, and this could itself find no continuation.

It is important also to see clearly that the spiritual influence which went out from Goethe and Schiller was not taken up in the way it should have been. It is particularly striking that in 1805, seven years before the birth of Caspar Hauser, Schiller died during a spiritual battle while trying to portray the destiny of Demetrius—a destiny which resembles that of Caspar Hauser in some respects. Demetrius is manipulated from birth in accordance with the aims of an occult clique and is estranged from his own "I" and his own destiny. In Schiller's portrayal this plan was not to succeed entirely, and on this account was to reach a tragic end.

The impulses from the spiritual world which were astir in Goethe, Schiller and many others could not work adequately into physical life. The bridge between the spiritual and the physical worlds, as pictured in Goethe's fairy-tale, must be ever and again renewed for modern man if it is not to be torn down completely into the physical world. Thus a man was needed to rebuild the bridge. Caspar Hauser's path of sacrifice, in which he yielded up his personality, was this bridge-building. That is his significance for his own time and for far into the 19th and 20th centuries. Rudolf Steiner expressed the task of Caspar Hauser in these words: "If Caspar Hauser had not lived and died as he did, contact between the earth and the spiritual world would have been completely severed." This statement shows how, in place of a personal mission, a cosmic mission for mankind was fulfilled. The deeply Christian nature of Caspar Hauser's path of sacrifice becomes clear. He lived, he suffered, he died for others—for humanity.

So it is that with the aid of anthroposophical knowledge Caspar Hauser can be seen as a helper and consoler of humanity. In sacrifice he united and permeated himself with the Christ, and now, through those who choose to recognise him, he can work on into the present and future of mankind.

Three pictures will help to bring out clearly the whole course of events. They can be related to the challenging threefold epitaph on his tombstone:

*Hic jacet Gasparus Hauser  
Aenigma sui temporis  
ignota natiuitas  
occulta mors.*

Here lies Caspar Hauser  
a riddle of his time  
his origin unknown  
his death a mystery.

"His origin unknown." This picture points to his birth on Michaelmas Day, 1812, as heir to the throne of Baden, and to his life in so far as it can be outlined according to the facts that have become known.

"A riddle of his time." For historians, the abduction and imprisonment of Caspar Hauser are a riddle. Through Anthroposophy it is possible to recognise and understand the occult motives which led to this treatment of him. The dark background of the story becomes visible and must be courageously faced.

"His death a mystery." Something of the mystery can be made clear if his death is understood as the conclusion of a path of sacrifice which raised him to becoming a companion of Christ. His death achieved a cosmic significance for man and for the earth. Let us conclude with a verse in which Rudolf Steiner spoke of men of genius and of what we owe to these leading spirits:

*Es leuchten gleich Sternen  
am Himmel des ewigen Seins  
die gottgesandten Geister.  
Gelingen mög'es allen Menschenseelen  
im Reich des Erdenwerdens  
zu schauen ihrer Flammen Licht.*

They shine like stars  
in the heavens of eternal being,  
the God-sent human spirits.  
May it be that all human souls  
in the realm of earth will come to gaze  
on the radiance of their flames.

# Ballad of the Valley Beautiful

Charles Austin

In the valley where the river flows  
flows also death, my darling.  
You may choose aloof the cleaner hills  
but the valley's dead, my darling.

For polyglycolethelene  
1.4 dichlorobenzedrene  
and molbydopoxyacetone  
numb the marrow in the bone.

Sing low my love and long my love  
and dark the way we follow,  
for by our willing hand this day  
dies the doing of tomorrow.

The white fish corpse that sours the shallows  
along the turgid river narrows  
laps with discarded carton drum  
to merge in polystyrene scum.

For mercuricthiocyanate  
and tetrasteronepropionate  
with octofluorobutane  
contort the tissue of the brain.

Sing low my love and long my love  
and grey the way we follow,  
For through our arid thought this day  
dies the vision of tomorrow.

The trees that line the valley bed  
stand starkly bare and blackly dead.  
Only the ubiquitous sparrow  
disturbs the dust of barren farrow.

For nitrophenylacetate  
and monobutyltitanate  
with phenosulphonaphthalein  
freeze the blood within the vein.

How low my love, how long my love  
must the way stay dark to follow?  
And when shall we learn the love, my love,  
that will resurrect tomorrow!

## ARCHANGELS AND HUMAN HISTORY

JESSE DARRELL

ON the basis of his spiritual-scientific researches into human history, Rudolf Steiner spoke of a spiritual guidance of mankind whose essential concern is with the epoch-by-epoch development of human consciousness. This guidance, as he described it, is exercised by supersensible hierarchical beings, of higher or lower status according to the magnitude of change and the length of time for which they are responsible. The present will be concerned with the hierarchy of the archangels, who are represented in Steiner's Anthroposophy as having among their tasks not only the spiritual care of human communities but also the infusing of a basic character into relatively short periods of history. The two functions are connected, since in each of these periods certain peoples play a major role; a third related archangelic function is exercised in the evolution of particular languages.

The archangels carrying through the direction of history, Steiner says, are seven in number, who replace each other over the centuries in a kind of heavenly rota. They act in the service, so to say, of the mightier hierarchy of the archai next above them, members of which have the duty of inspiring much longer epochs of history. On average each period lasts about 350 years.\* Moreover, and this is the aspect of the anthroposophical picture of history which will be considered here, each archangel in his period of office, as indeed in all else he does, makes use of supersensible forces which are imbued with a particular planetary quality, the visible planetary bodies themselves being products of the same forces. In all the many ramifications of the great co-operative enterprise of evolution these forces play a decisively formative role.

What has been said so far with its reference to a divine guidance of history, to spiritual hierarchies, to creative planetary forces (which, be it added here without explanation, do not in this connec-

\* Trithemius of Sponheim, friend of Paracelsus and John Faustus at the turn of the 15th/16th centuries, gave each period as being of the same length, very exactly: 354½ years!

tion include those deriving from Uranus and his still remoter companions, but only from those spoken of before Copernicus)—all this at a first modern glance can be seen only as a mere rehash of long discarded fantasies. Such a glance is completely unscientific in any serious sense of the word, however, begging the question out of sheer ingrained partiality for the later speculations of nineteenth century materialism. The subduing of cognitional prejudices, the resolute thinking through of thought-sequences—familiar or otherwise—without interposing yeas and nays would represent the most important scientific-philosophical advance that could be made at present. Important, because it would ultimately demonstrate, through the inter experiences arising from it, that thinking is a moral, a spiritual activity which is part and parcel of the spiritual world process.

I attempt in what follows to indicate some essential period-characteristics which I regard as symptomatic expressions of the planetary forces at work in the archangel-periods extending from the sixth century B.C. to our own day. It must be borne in mind that it was during these two and a half millennia that humanity gradually developed that personal consciousness which is based on disconnection from spiritual reality, on anti-sociability in fact in the fullest measure, which is itself the indispensable condition for the free return to the spirit on which man's future depends. The foundation of the New Jerusalem can be laid only as the old one crumbles away, and the *modus vivendi* of each period to be considered, with all its joys and sorrows, its truths and errors, its productions and destructions, represents a symptomatically shifting balance between the two.

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A Michael-Sun period (600-200 B.C.)—we use the traditional names for the archangels—opens the epoch to be dealt with here. In it the capacity for abstract conceptual thinking at once begins to emerge for the first time in the human soul. The sun is premier in power among the planets, responsible for maintaining the balance of existence, including that which is secured through the adjustments of human destiny. In ancient politics the king as fountain of justice was always a *roi soleil*; in the human body the heart as sun-organ

seeks to balance the expansive and contractive extremes of the body's living processes. Thinking itself becomes pure sun-activity as it blossoms into the art of fully conscious judgment, whereby it weighs its experience of particular incidents against its experience of life as a whole.

For the Greeks, it was the sun-god Apollo, a dragon-slayer like Michael, who awakened thoughtful discrimination in them—at Delphi above all with his 'Know thyself', his 'Nothing in excess' and his Pythia with her riddling answers. Thinking for the Greek could be something of an artistic experience, an interior speaking, with a quality midway between that of the old life-filled clairvoyance and the *rigor mortis* of later intellectualism. In the Platonic dialogues, as in the dramas of Aeschylus and his mighty successors, speaking and listening alternated in a free human equipoise, as it did also, however imperfectly, in the give and take of *polis* democracy.

The Greek rejoiced to be a speaking man on earth, with some feeling still for the greater power than himself which also spoke in his speech, whether within or without, and in the free yet measured expression of his temple and sculptured gods. He prized so much the balance he thus experienced between gods and men, community and citizen, that he had little mercy even on the great Phidias when he carved his own face on Athena's shield, and on the great Socrates when he stressed the need for a questioning mind. They were upsetting the accustomed equilibrium, so it seemed, by their *hubris*. Yet the ancient balance had to go; progress was to be made through the descent into personality. If there was more of a feeling for the cosmic past in Plato, in his pupil Aristotle there was more sense for what must be sought for on the earth. They balanced each other in true Greek fashion, but the future was to take its direction from Aristotle.

It was from Aristotle also that Alexander carried to the East the wisdom it could use to awaken itself to the earth and yet preserve balance of soul. The East had once spoken to the West through its mystery-teaching for the West's cultural betterment; the roles were now reversed, as in a dialogue of history. Alexander was acting in the true sense of his age, as a man with a vision of mankind.

In the next period, that of Oraphiel-Saturn (200 B.C.-150 A.D.), it is in the expanding Roman empire that Saturnian impulses come most clearly into view. During the previous period the Romans had achieved the replacement of the old kingship by the republic, the plebeians' assertion of their rights as citizens, the passing of supreme political decision from the consuls to the debating senate and, as the inner force working through all these changes, the development of that creative sense for law and justice which testify to the working of the Michael sun-forces in the sub-conscious Roman soul.

In the Saturn-period, however, a fateful development occurred. By extending their conquests over the whole of the Mediterranean world at the same time as, after fearful internecine civil disorder, they exhausted their traditional civic virtues, the Romans at last exchanged their robust republican citizenship for a degrading and entirely anachronistic subjection to a despotic and utterly pseudo god-kingship. At a time when the political and the personal were hardly separable, this represented a total moral collapse.

It is, however, just the Saturn forces which require man to do his duty within the necessities both of his own destiny and that of his time. He owes his bodily upright stance to these forces, and therefore his rigid skeleton, but also the unconscious ego-impulse that makes nothing of its bony weight. It was now for Rome as if the skeleton were hardening the whole body, and the fire-element of the will were inadequate to keep it upright.

In more ancient times the uprightness in virtue of a people had been kindled by the moral impulses issuing from the all-significant Mystery-temples. The attainment within these, by the few capable of it, of a higher spiritual capacity, a Saturnian fiery devotion to the divine will, had spread its influence with inner power among the less conscious members of the community and shaped their life into a social whole.

Republican Rome had never known anything of such super-sensible realities; it had depended for its life on the devotion of its citizens to the laws they themselves had made, while its religious forms served essentially to confirm them in this. Its morality had been in the best sense political. In the empire the basis for such virtue, and for the contemporary experience of egohood bound up with it, disappeared. The ordinary man lost all civic initiative,

subdued to a rigidity bureaucratised tyranny he could only spinelessly obey. For Rome's rulers, there could in the end be no other purpose or policy than the maintenance of the *status quo* within a kingdom wholly of this world. In replacing the republic with a despotism, Rome was reversing evolution and entombing her future in the past. As far as she was concerned, man's story was finished and had no further significance.

It was to restore meaning to life and to man that Christ, the cosmic being on whom all evolution depends, abandoning the spiritual periphery for the material centre, came down to earth, and became man also. For it was mankind as a whole and not only the population of the Roman empire that was coming at that time to the end of its inner tether and of the ancient spiritual pastures of life. The final death of the old dispensation would make sense only if through the experience of it, and in no other way, the will to new life could be born. It was to evoke that will and provide that life and to make possible the gradual development of the freely ethical individual that Christ put on Himself the body of Jesus of Nazareth.

To win life out of death is the secret of all morality. It is a Saturn secret; for it is from Saturn's spiritual realm that we make our start for earth and its challenges, and to it again that we return from the death the earth has given us. Christ restored the balance to the Saturn-processes in man, so that in both inner and outer uprightness he could go forward again.

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During the succeeding Anael-Venus period (150-500 A.D.), when all individuals had left the earth who had seen Christ walk upon its ground, and through whom in some measure the historical actuality of the Mystery of Golgotha could still be directly experienced by others, a new phase opens for developing Christendom. The Venus forces of love enable the soul to unite in feeling with other souls in the warmth of a common experience. At what level and in what context these forces work depends on other factors, but without their operation, without the longing for, the joy in, the overcoming of the separateness of earthly existence, the human being would be incapable of all community and would die out in isolation.

Venus, like the other planets, works also in the body, in its intimate processes of nourishment and in the purifying activity of the kidneys, and she is true to these functions in the experiences she arouses in the soul that is aspiring to the heights. She was always present in the ancient Mysteries, where the noblest of human beings sought a conscious loving union with the spirit; true love always gives life to the lover as well as the beloved, and it prompts the endeavour to get rid of weaknesses and imperfections and become capable of ever truer love.

In the Venus period the Christian Church as an incorporated spiritual reality, a fellowship of love, added her witness to Christ to that which had once been given by those who had personally known Him on earth, or had known those who had known Him. And through her sacraments she nourished her children and through her disciplines sought to chasten them; through her love she sought to awaken love in them, for God and for each other. It was in these centuries that there developed that devotion to Mary, the Mother of God, on whose loving intercession the faithful were to count throughout the following centuries; the Church spurned the pagan Venus but found her own in the Madonna. After all, of all days of the week it was on that of Venus that the Son of Mary enacted His deed of love. So strongly did Ulfilas, the Arian apostle of the Goths in the fourth century, experience the Venus power within himself that he left out the books of the Kings from his translation of the Bible as being too full of wars! And Arian Christianity, as the great Theodoric was to show in Italy later on in this period, was deeply inclined to a loving tolerance that Athanasianism knew little about.

Indeed it becomes clear through the early history of the Church that the aggressive group-egoism of the earlier city-states, the Jewish people and the Roman empire itself was still immensely strong, as in fact it is in our own days. Christian love in most hearts had too small a place to moderate it, and was overwhelmed by the will to hate and to persecute even Christians when they differed from other Christians in group-belief and practice. The political power-impulse of the Roman State, so often defied by the martyrs, bedevilled the Church also when once the Church had been made free of the empire by Constantine during this period.

St. Augustine turned away from the Manichean teaching which looked even for the ultimate redemption of the devil himself—Mani like Augustine was of this epoch—and came at last to the fateful conclusion that force could be rightly used against the unbeliever. As his *Confessions* show, he was himself deeply imbued with the Venus-forces; the love of God and 'the dear city of God', as he called it, became mighty within him, but it had to contend there with the also mighty unregeneracy of Roman imperialism: Amor with Roma!

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The Anael-Venus period was followed by that of Zachariel-Jupiter (500-850 A.D.). The Jupiter forces work out of cosmic wisdom into nature and man, in the interrelationships and development of every kind of organism, in human language, in artistic creation of every sort; in all these an inner lawfulness prevails whereby the parts function together as a harmonious whole.

During this period a fundamentally significant change took place for the people of Western Europe and elsewhere, which called for a deep-going reorganisation of social and political life. The Teutonic invaders who had appropriated the imperial provinces had ceased from their wanderings—though the Lombards had still to strike southwards into Italy—and settled down in permanent territories, so that local attachments began to supplement and replace the ties of blood. They came to terms with the Roman legality and bureaucracy established among the conquered peoples, a system contrasting so strangely with their own ancient customs, and they turned from the warrior-enheartening gods of Asgard, if often reluctantly and incompletely, to follow the Prince of Peace within a Church whose teaching, rituals and vested clergy all men, high and low, strong and weak, were to reverence as established by His law. A new social life was formed—new also for the conquered people—with new usages, laws and language.

The vision of a united Christendom was in some degree realised under the Papacy, though the longer-lasting foundations of future national States were also laid in this time. The immense development of the wisely-planned monastic orders of Benedict and of Columba, with their cherishing of learning and culture during these

centuries, testifies also to the activity of Jupiter within the humanity of the time. The rhythmical alternation of work and prayer within the monasteries contrasted strongly with the often confused and violent life outside but worked into it with a formative and civilising influence.

In the same Jupiter centuries there was built up with extraordinary rapidity the widely extended realm of Islam. Here, too, a new organisation of unified life was achieved, though by quite different means and with quite different results from those of Western Christendom. All aspects of it were penetrated by laws that took the holy Koran as their foundation, while a vast corpus of organised knowledge was developed on the basis of a neo-Aristotelianism. The brilliant culture of the Baghdad of Haroun-al-Raschid and of other Mohammedan cities spoke of a scientific and artistic skill and wisdom which far outshone anything that Charlemagne's Frankland could muster. In the evolution of these two contrasting cultures there is a striking example of how the planetary forces of a period can influence life in varying ways; it depends on what other spiritual forces are at work within the different groupings of mankind.

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After the Zachariel-Jupiter period we come to that of Raphael-Mercury (850-1190 A.D.). The forces of Mercury have above all to do with healing, with inducing the differentiated stream of processes in an organism to work together in the sense of the whole. If Jupiter lays down the laws of life, so to speak, Mercury prompts the keeping of them. He encourages communication, through which separate individuals come to a realisation of their need of each other in community and of their power to produce something together; this is also a form of healing. In earlier times even ambassadors made their journeys and delivered their messages as representatives of Mercury!

We have spoken of the appearance in parallel of Teutonic Christendom and Islam. During the Jupiter period there had been little contact between them; and it was a famous event when Charlemagne and Haroun-al-Raschid sent gifts to each other. As far as the West was concerned, the Jupiter organising process, working so strongly in the political sphere, had tended to stiffen life

as it formed it. In the Mercury period the self-insulation of the West melted away. Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land greatly increased; western thinkers turned to the Arabs of Toledo and Palermo for Aristotelian science and—so appropriately in this period—for the alchemical medicine which then spread throughout Christendom, and the ports of Italy developed an ever-increasing trade which linked the East with Europe beyond the Alps.

If the Crusades left the western Christians with no permanent conquests in Palestine, they expanded the trade of such cities as Venice enormously. The merchant also was seen as a son of Mercury, his true task being to bring consumer and producer into a fruitful relationship. Within Europe itself, where in the previous period trade had dwindled to a mere trickle, many new towns now came to be founded, often in the first place as bulwarks against Danes or Magyars, but in time with older centres forming a whole circulatory commercial system; the initial phase in fact of the trade that spans the world today.

Feudalism, essentially hide-bound and oppressive to the underdog, now found itself confronted by sturdy, charter-protected, independent merchant-communities, behind whose city-walls escaped serfs could live as free enterprising men. The merchant-guilds which developed in many towns during the latter part of this period, for all their egotistical exclusiveness, protected the customer from false weights and shoddy goods, while at another level the Templar knights, throughout Christendom, brought the highest morality into their international banking.

Of the greatest significance in this period were the aspirations which arose in so many souls towards a more spiritual Christianity than the Church, battling in these centuries with emperors and kings for supreme political power, was able to provide. We see these souls in the esoteric communities to which the Grail poems of the twelfth century were pointing; in the School of Chartres despite its orthodoxy, as is shown so remarkably in the great poem, the 'Anti-Claudian', of Alanus ab Insulis; in the Templars themselves, who later were so maligned because of their secret mysteries, and in such crusaders as Godfrey of Bouillon, who had hoped to found in Palestine an *ecclesia catholica non Romana*. Many besides Francis of Assisi, himself so full of the will to heal, heard in some way the words from the Cross: 'Mend my church.'

During the next period, that of Samael-Mars (1190-1510 A.D.), the urge in western man to join forces as closely as possible with the material world grew ever more insistent. The downward drive of Mars had already been decisive throughout man's long descent from Eden, for it is through Mars that archetypal spirituality takes hold of the mineral world and gives shape to its innumerable particularised phenomena. In thought we can ponder the nature of the oak-tree as such and so prove our kinship with Jupiter, but with our bodies we can only see or climb the oak-trees actually around us in all their massive solidity. We draw on Mars for this, as we do in all our individual acts of will, each one of which changes something in the world; without his iron in our blood we should be quite helpless on the earth. His forces are needed in every form of individual struggle, bodily or otherwise.

During this period there was no lack of the cut-and-thrust of outer war. But hard fighting also went on at another level, over inner issues vital to the future of man, between the realist and nominalist theologians over the spiritual or material origin of ideas, for example, and between the Dominicans and the Arabic thinkers over individual survival after death. In both instances the victory went to those who felt more keenly the wind blowing off the heights and depths of the future.

The dichotomous experience of self apart from world, directly resulting from man's denser embodiment in matter, sharpens progressively as the Mars period advances. One aspect of it, the clear view of the world as entirely external, is indicated by the first appearance outside Mohammedan territory of the theory of experimental science, the scientific investigations of such men as Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, and the significant inventions of the mariner's compass, gunpowder and the printing press. The other aspect, the deepening awareness of the within-centred personality, announces itself unmistakably in Dante, Giotto, our own Chaucer, and indeed in all the many artists of the high Renaissance. We need think only of the great trio of Raphael, Michelangelo and Leonardo to realise with what sovereignty the artist-individuality asserted itself amid the common inheritance of medieval tradition.

The duality of modern consciousness, as it can be seen emerging in this period, can be countered only by the inner activity of the individual: by the wielding of Mars forces, that is, in the interior

combat with fear and self-seeking. The medieval feeling for community was fast giving way to the social egoism which reached such intensity in the next period. The cold skeleton of Death was appearing in drama and painting, and Tauler's Friend of God had more than a mere intimation of the soul's winter that was approaching. A new heroism of the inner man was called for, and we see this in the artists, but also in the great mystics of these times, in the heralds and inaugurators of the Reformation, in the discoverers of new ways and worlds across uncharted oceans, in the barely adult Joan of Arc; and, as bearers of a Christian esotericism that sought out the spirit in nature as well as in the soul, the withdrawn brotherhood of the Rosicrucians.

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We have seen that in the descent of man into matter during successive cycles of time the forces of Mars played throughout a centrally active role, and that they did so with added intensity in the last Mars period. And now in the Gabriel-Moon age (1510-1879 A.D.) which followed, the confinement of man's consciousness to himself in the material world was completed.

The moon has to do with the birth and renewal of organisms, in the kingdoms of plant, animal and man alike. Farmers used to take note of moon rhythms in the sowing of seeds, as some farmers with new enlightenment are beginning with effect to do again: midwives also, however they may explain them, cannot forget moon-rhythms entirely. Thus man owes his living body to the moon, and now in the Moon-period, at a time when he had at last lost all awareness of the spiritual world, his consciousness of his material body became acute. It was hardly possible for him to distinguish between his body and himself; indeed, English usage allowed him to refer to his fellows as busybodies and the like. No wonder then that he came to lay such weight on the overriding significance of bodily heredity for himself, and to see himself as simply top of the animal division. For him also the body, so he came to think, is the starting-point for everything. Even, some were prepared to say, for his powers of soul. The brain, so it seemed to them, secretes thought as a gland its juices; it was at bottom a purely organic process, in fact a moon-process, for them.

The moon is able to give form to the endless multitudes of organisms because into her realm there works the highest wisdom. It was not, however, this aspect of the moon to which man in his subconsciousness was at this time open. It was the unceasing productivity of her forces in organic procreation and cell-multiplication which he instinctively longed to emulate. When at last he had invented the power-machine, he could add his own endless stream of products to that of moon-ruled nature, turning out, as he does, countless replicas of the same form, though, unlike hers, they are devoid of life.

It was characteristic of his body-dictated attitude that man could see in the natural world only a struggle for existence, and was content to submit human economic life to the same principle. Competition, however fierce, must rule, and the price of goods, including the price of human labour, must depend on the free play of market forces. The readiness of western man during this period to count himself as nothing more than a part of nature, subject even in his inmost life to the unbroken necessity by which nature herself was ruled, arose out of a feeling of inner impotence. He could no longer find anything given within himself that could in any degree compete with the given forces of nature, either in his own instinctive being or in the outer world. Morally, he struggled to do his duty according to the established code; intellectually, he had always to support himself on the crutches of outer observation and equally outer logic or mathematics. Behind this position of weakness there was a moon-effect entirely opposite to that seen in the exuberance of cell-division: the life-process at work in the expansion of tissue must be differentially checked so that organic form can actually arise. Cancer, incidentally, is a one-sided moon-process in which the proliferation of cells in some degree escapes this aspect of the formative moon activity. In the brain the curtailment of growth—it is really a death-process—reaches a maximum, with the result that the thoughts produced with its aid are like itself devoid of life and experienced as such by the thinking soul. No alternative therefore was seen in this period but to seek certainty and power in what was extraneous to man's own inner experience.

Yet at this juncture western man was convinced that he has his future in his own hands. Previously he had turned to the past to catch sight of the higher levels of human existence, but he had

reversed his gaze and now sought his golden age in the future. Through his own knowledge and his own will he would progress towards it. He had in fact, through his confinement between birth and death, come to his maturity as a citizen of earth. He felt utterly dependent on his own resources in the valley-bottom he now found himself traversing, so that whether he would begin to climb the side of it in front of him would depend on his own free choice, would be guided by what as scientist he saw as man's place in the world, and what he thereby felt prompted in his heart of hearts to undertake for the future well-being of mankind.

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The present Michael—Sun period began in 1879. Like its predecessor two and a half millennia ago, it strikes the key-note of a new development in human consciousness which the following six periods will carry ever further. Whereas previously man has been borne along by the deeper currents of history willy-nilly in the direction of his advance, in the present age he himself, as we have implied, must now take the initiative. He has never been in such a position before.

At the beginning of our century Rudolf Steiner inaugurated this new age of individual spiritual initiative, having already, by writing his *Philosophy of Freedom*, begun to make public his findings about the spiritual nature of man and the world. In this way he offered the possibility for humanity to make up its own mind about the future it desired and could attempt to bring nearer. The scientific revolution has provided a factual knowledge which has made possible an endless succession of achievements in the material world. As the events of this century indicate, something more is now called for from man: he must seek achievement at another level. He must discover himself as something more than body if even his body and the bodily world are to survive. If in ancient Greece an older power of spiritual perception died into the clearer light of conceptual thought, in the present Michael-period it is the other way round: from within the life-bereft lucidity of the modern scientific mind a new spiritual consciousness which is capable of a creative management of earthly affairs must be brought to birth. *Ex occidente lux!*

## WILLIAM THE SILENT

### A Man for the New Epoch

EILEEN HUTCHINS.

**T**HERE are moments of transition in the history of mankind when old forms of life are beginning to disintegrate and new impulses are struggling to emerge. At such times there are periods of turmoil and confusion. The breakdown of hitherto established order is much more apparent than the first faint gleams of a new day.

In "The Driving Force of Spiritual Powers in World History," Rudolf Steiner speaks of the change which came about in human thinking during the post-Christian centuries. What was to take place on earth was already being prepared in the supersensible worlds. During the Greek period of culture the development of intelligence had been under the guidance of the Exusiai, the Spirits of Form. But in the fourth century A.D. the leadership passed to the Archai. Thinking became more connected with the awakening personality of man, and contact with the spiritual source of thinking was gradually lost. This was necessary in preparation for the succeeding cultural epoch of the Consciousness Soul. However, those spiritual powers who had remained in opposition worked to hinder the progress of normal evolution.

Among the many conflicting influences, such as the Gothic invasions and the impact of Arabism, the old forms of life, established through the intelligence of the Greeks and the organising ability of the Romans, were preserved into the late Middle Ages and provided the framework of law and order in Western Europe. The Catholic Church held complete authority; kings and emperors were empanoplied in divine right, and all forms of work had their accepted place in the social order. Great courage and energy were required to loosen these bonds so that man might become free to guide his own destiny. We see in the breakdown how disorder and confusion took their toll.

Amidst the conflicts between emerging self-consciousness and loyalty to past traditions, certain leading characters stand out. But those who acted as heroic liberators were not always the inaugurators of new impulses. For instance, a personality such as Calvin, who inspired undaunted forces of resistance to unacceptable authority, did not bring new religious concepts. His teaching was a return to Old Testament moral values. We can see also in Queen Elizabeth I a woman who was able to inspire her subjects to deeds of courage and initiative but who displayed at the same time immeasurable arrogance and duplicity.

Dynamic personalities who played their part on the stage of history at this time often appear to us today as egoistic and either extravagant or harsh. It is rare to find one who can be described as "the wisest, bravest and gentlest man who ever led a nation." Yet these are the words used by G. M. Trevelyan about William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, widely known as William the Silent.

As relatively few people in England know the details of his career, and as it is difficult to judge his character and achievements without a fair knowledge of the part he played in the liberation of the Netherlands, it is important to give a brief sketch of his life-story.

Born in 1533, William spent his early years in comparative obscurity. His father, the Count of Nassau-Dillenburg, a secluded domain on a tributary of the River Lahn, had avoided the religious wars of the neighbouring German States and concentrated his attention on cultivating his land and founding a school for children of noble families, so that his sons could have suitable companions. Until he was eleven years old William grew up in these quiet country surroundings.

Suddenly everything was changed. Through the death in war of a wealthy cousin, William became Prince of Orange, Count of vast estates in the Netherlands and Italy, and one of the richest nobles in Europe. In his twelfth year he was summoned to Brussels by the Emperor Charles the Fifth to be trained for his new position.

We might well imagine it to have been a traumatic experience for the young lad to leave the simple Lutheran household at Dillenburg to be plunged alone into the most sophisticated court of Europe, where he had to observe an elaborate etiquette and be admitted into the Catholic faith. There is no record of William's thoughts and feelings. All we know is that within a very short

time he had won the affections of the ageing Emperor and his sister, the Regent of the Netherlands. Charles soon began to rely on the young Prince of Orange as his companion and to require his presence at interviews on the most serious affairs of State, so that from his early years William learned to listen and observe. He showed already that he had mature judgement and could be trusted to keep secrets.

Before he was of age he became the official host for visitors of State, keeping open house for princes, delegates and ambassadors. He was famous for his generous hospitality. William's social sense enabled him to win the friendship of almost all he contacted, so that he was charged with important diplomatic missions. In his role as a public figure he seems to have entered with zest into all the recreations, the hunting, fencing and dancing, of the young nobles of his time.

C. V. Wedgwood, in her vividly interesting and appreciative biography,\* is somewhat disparaging of William's character during this period. While recognising the charm which enabled him to win the hearts of all who spoke with him, she describes him as "overanxious for popularity, suggestible and rather vain." She also judges that he had little religious inclination.

This seems to be lacking in insight. William's social graces sprang from a deeper source than a wish to be popular. His ability to make friends with people of all classes rose from his perception of the essentially human qualities in every one he met of whatever rank or calling. He showed by his later conduct that he was prepared to risk loss of popularity in performing what he felt to be right. His religious convictions lay deeper than the observances of any particular creed. If the fortunes of the Netherlands had continued to prosper, William's noblest qualities might never indeed have come to light. He might well have remained a successful magnate, wise, lovable and generous, but in no way heroic. However, the tenor of his life was soon to change.

When the Emperor, worn out with his many cares, appeared before the nobles of the Netherlands to declare his resignation in favour of his son, Philip, it was upon the shoulder of the young Prince of Orange that he leant. He urged his son to respect the rights of the citizens and to consult with the nobles concerning his

\* Published by Jonathan Cape, 1944.



William the Silent

This portrait, attributed to Adriaen Key, was painted in 1581, to celebrate the choice of William as Head of the Government of the Netherlands. Now in the Mauritshuis at The Hague

policy. He especially recommended the Prince of Orange as an adviser. Philip was by nature suspicious, retiring and morbidly religious; there was little chance of his favouring one whom he regarded as a rival. He was determined to take all authority out of the hands of the native Counts and entrust it to a small committee devoted to his own interests.

At this juncture peace was concluded with France and William was sent as one of the delegates to confirm the peace terms. During a hunting party in the woods of Chantilly, the King of France, Henry II, assuming that William would be well informed of Philip's intentions, began to discuss with him French and Spanish plans for collaboration in exterminating heresy in their kingdoms. This would include strong measures in the Netherlands, where already the teachings of Calvin had won a wide following.

William listened with horror, but without revealing the fact that he had hitherto known nothing of this plot. He led the King on to describe it in detail. It was this incident which won for him the title of "The Silent." In conversation he was by no means taciturn, but, through his ability to listen and withhold his own comments, he merited the term. From now on he saw there were dark clouds ahead. It was a decisive moment in his life. He knew, as he said later, that he was called on to serve "a country to which I had so great an obligation."

At this time the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands formed the most flourishing and highly populated area in Europe. They were famous for the production of glass, tapestries, fine linen and lace. Industry had grown up round the coal and iron mines in the south. There were many handsome cities; Amsterdam was the corn stable for Europe; Antwerp the money market of the world. However, there was no unity. Each province had its separate privileges and each city its independent rights. In the south the population was mostly Catholic and the language French; but among the Dutch-speaking citizens of the north Calvinism had gained a firm hold.

When the overlord of the Netherlands, Philip of Burgundy, married the Spanish heiress, Joanna, there was no feeling of love for Spain. Philip's son, who became the Emperor Charles the Fifth, regarded himself as a native of the Low Countries and took pride in their prosperity, but his successor, Philip II of Spain, felt

himself a Spaniard and could make no connection with this country of energetic, boisterous financiers, merchants and craftsmen.

Philip aimed first of all at curtailing all the political rights of the Counts. William became their spokesman. For twelve years he struggled to remain loyal to the King while repeatedly championing the demands of the Netherlands. He won the first round and Philip was driven to withdraw the Spanish troops and recall his most unpopular adviser.

Philip retaliated by demanding a more vigorous extermination of heresy. The Inquisition had been introduced into the Netherlands in 1524, but, owing to the many privileges claimed by the various overlords, it had not been widely supported. Now the nobles were ordered to hunt down suspects and ensure that the convicted were condemned to the stake. It was noted that in the territories where the Prince of Orange held authority, those under suspicion mysteriously disappeared before they could be brought to trial.

Oppressive taxation in addition to the religious conflict began to enflame violent opposition in almost all classes and soon there were dangerous riots. William still proved loyal to the administration and endangered his own popularity as well as his personal safety by quelling disorders. At the same time he insisted that the demands of the rioters should be met. Philip now decided on extreme measures and dispatched his most ruthless general, the Duke of Alva, with an army to subdue these insubordinate subjects.

William was not unprepared. He was believed to have a number of supporters in Philip's court who kept him well informed, so he knew that the King was planning the destruction of all who had opposed him. For the sake of those people amongst whom he had made his home, he decided that he must now bring the conflict into the open. He warned the Counts Egmont and Horn, who had hitherto supported him, and sought their help; but neither could conceive that the King would attack nobles of their standing. Alone, except for his family and retinue of servants, William withdrew to mature his plans in the Dillenburg estate in Germany, now administered by his brother John.

There followed a long and painful interval while William tried to gather allies and raise an army to invade the Netherlands. He was in constant touch with financiers and merchants anxious to further his cause; and he hoped for help from the Lutheran princes of

Germany. But few had confidence that a group of disunited provinces could possibly stand up against the most powerful country in Europe.

As soon as Alva reached Brussels there were savage reprisals. Thousands, including Egmont and Horn, were executed as traitors and the persecution of heretics was carried on with savagery. The most gifted craftsmen began to flee from the country in great numbers and the wealth of this flourishing district declined disastrously. But Philip had one aim only—to obtain complete, unquestioning subservience.

When, by obtaining loans and recruiting mercenaries, William was at last able to invade, he hoped that the people of the Netherlands would rise and support him; but the grip of the Spanish garrisons was too strong and, when payment was no longer forthcoming, the mercenary army melted away. Gravely ill and pursued by creditors, William made his way alone back to Germany. Never could a cause have seemed more hopeless; but his determination was unshaken. "With God's help," he wrote, "I shall go on."

As often happens when new impulses are coming to birth, help came from an unexpected quarter. Many Dutch rebels had taken to the sea and under title of the Sea Beggars lived a half-piratical existence coasting the Channel, secretly helped by sympathisers. A wild storm in April 1572 drove them for shelter into the haven of Brill. The Spanish garrison was taken by surprise and the town was captured. Others in the north followed suit. They rose against their Spanish garrisons and declared for the Prince of Orange. The time had come for William to enter the Netherlands once more and join the insurgents. "I have come," he wrote, "to make my grave in this land."

During his five years of exile, William's reputation had suffered. Many complained that he had escaped to safety and left his adopted country to its fate. But his return brought a wave of enthusiasm, for he was the only one who could unite the many different elements in the provinces. He was accepted as commander-in-chief, general adviser and arbitrator in all disputes; but to hold together the many factions, to restrain the more violent elements, and win support for his own far-reaching policy—these were tasks of the greatest magnitude. For twelve years after his return he had to face an unremitting struggle. At one time he wrote to his mother: "We

are as deep in war as ever we were; today we win, tomorrow we lose." But a secure bridgehead had been established in Zeeland and Holland.

They were still in grave danger. The Spaniards were beginning to recapture some of the liberated towns and a terrible fate was meted out to the inhabitants. A dramatic turning point came with the siege of Leyden. If this key position were to fall, all might be lost. The citizens, who could not agree among themselves, had failed to carry out William's instructions to lay in stores and ammunition. However, once the city was beleaguered, the more courageous elements took over the leadership and were determined not to yield.

William organised the cutting of the dykes and arranged for a convoy of barges laden with food to reach the town as soon as the tides came in to flood the land. But it was a hot summer and only a slow trickle of water flowed through the breaches. The citizens undertook to hold out for three months, but already nearly four had passed and no help had reached them. They were reduced to eating vermin, and many died of starvation. The more timorous began to threaten the Burgomaster, Adrian van der Werf; but, realising that yielding to the Spaniards would bring a worse fate than death by starvation, he declared, "Here is my sword, plunge it into my breast to appease your hunger, but expect no surrender as long as I remain alive."

In the meantime the Prince had fallen seriously ill, not only from anxiety and exhaustion but also from grief at the death of three of his brothers who had lost their lives fighting for him. During his illness relief measures languished. In the long hot summer days, plague appeared in the city and hopes began to fade. Suddenly there was an unexpected change. The wind veered and, blowing violently from the sea, swept the rising tide over the land. The fleet of barges was able to approach, but there was still the grave danger that the Spaniards, encamped on the great raised road near the town, would be able to block their way. The Spaniards, however, terrified by the rising water, had retreated during the night, and the flotilla sailed through to be welcomed with rapturous joy by the starving inhabitants. The siege had lasted from May 26th to October 4th, 1574.

William did not commemorate the siege by bestowing an imposing monument but, with a far more imaginative gesture, by founding a University which later became one of the most famous in Europe.

Through the long years of sorrow and suspense William had attained an unshakeable serenity. Adversity had never embittered him, he was accessible to all and was their sure stronghold in the ever-changing tides of fortune.

Spain was beginning to suffer severely from this long drawn-out struggle. Philip relied for his economy on the stream of gold from the West and, under the decaying feudal system, there was a declining development of resources in the home country. When payment for the Spanish troops in the Netherlands failed to appear, the soldiers took matters into their own hands. In 1576, in the course of widespread rioting and looting, the wealthy city of Antwerp was sacked.

The predominantly Catholic southern provinces, where the nobles were envious of William, had hitherto submitted to Spanish rule; but the uncontrollable disorder led them to call on him for help. William was under no illusions. In a district of untrustworthy nobles and the most bitter religious enmities, there was no understanding of his tolerance. In the north he had been obliged to rely almost entirely on the Calvinists and had come to share their form of worship, but he had always insisted on freedom of conscience. This would be difficult in the south. However, in the hope of uniting the seventeen provinces and restoring their former liberties, he was ready to come to their aid.

Deeply disturbed at the turn of events, Philip played his last card. He set a price on the head of the Prince of Orange as "the chief disturber of the whole state of Christendom." A reward of 25,000 ecus and a free pardon were offered to the one who could "take him from the world as a public enemy."

William replied with his famous Apology, a powerful condemnation of the King's policy in the Netherlands. Translated into most European languages, it was sent to nearly every court in Christendom. The claim was made that when a king was no longer worthy of his position his people might legally renounce him. In his final words, after declaring himself in the hand of God, William addressed the Estates as his Masters. "Command me—send me to the ends of the earth—I will obey. If you judge that the remainder of my property and of my life can yet be of service to you, I dedicate it

to you and to this country." He closed with his motto, "*Je maintiendrai*," "I will uphold."

The Apology was followed by a meeting of the Estates at the Hague on July 24th, 1581. Here they made their solemn Act of Abjuration and renounced for ever their allegiance to Philip. William was nominated Head of the Government.

Then came a period of unrelenting labour in which William had hardly time to eat or rest, and for a while it looked as though his hopes of uniting the seventeen provinces might be fulfilled. They clamoured for him to become their Overlord. However, he considered that it would be impossible to hold the situation without the support of a leading European power. The Duke of Anjou, brother of the French King, was willing to accept the position. The provinces were not enthusiastic; it was William they wanted. He had patiently to persuade them that they needed someone with more resources than he could command. But help from a foreign power was to fail the Dutch. Though agreeing to their terms, Anjou planned to seize power for himself and attempted an attack on Antwerp. He failed; but his treachery threw all William's carefully-prepared plans into confusion. The situation was saved only by Anjou's death in January, 1584. William himself had only six more months to live.

In the meanwhile a cabinet maker's apprentice, Gerard Balthasar, fired by fanatical zeal, set out to accomplish Philip's demand. Although one attempt had already been made on William's life, he refused to take precautions and was readily accessible. Gerard approached him on the pretext of needing a passport and William agreed to meet him after the midday meal. As William left the dining room, Gerard, who had concealed himself in the vestibule, fired straight at his heart. Sinking down upon the stairs, William cried out: "O my God, have mercy on my soul, have mercy on these poor people." Before a doctor could be fetched, he was dead.

There was universal mourning, people wept openly in the streets and even the Spanish soldiers refused to rejoice. The murderer, though atrociously tortured, seemed unmoved by his sufferings, so that he was commonly believed to be under the influence of witchcraft.

The Netherlanders were thrown into the deepest despondency, for no one could take William's place. At that moment they could not foretell that his sixteen-year-old son, Maurice, would become a brilliant leader and complete his father's work; while the child who had been born only a few months earlier would live to preside during the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic in the following century.

In honour of their great leader his grateful people caused to be engraved on his tomb at Delft, "To the Glory of God and to the everlasting memory of William of Nassau, Father of the Fatherland, who valued the fortunes of the Netherlands above his own."

The southern provinces fell back under Spanish control; only William could have held them. However, this was probably inevitable. In their religion, their general culture and their language, they were more nearly related to the Mediterranean countries than to the liberty-loving North. They might well have exerted a retarding influence on the initiative of the seven provinces that finally constituted the Dutch Republic.

In his lecture-course, "From Symptom to Reality in Modern History,"\* Rudolf Steiner speaks of the Revolt of the Netherlands as an outer expression of the deeds of spiritual beings who behind the scenes were preparing the Age of the Consciousness Soul. Man had to become free from the fetters of the past and stand in his own strength. It was a Michaelic impulse. Steiner describes the forces emanating from Spain as the strongest resistance to the emancipation of the personality. But the transition brought great difficulties; self-discipline was essential for the mastering of instincts and passions and the directing of aims and ideals. Few could at first achieve this and there was the danger that the forces of personality would run riot. The temptations to egoism and evil were greatly enhanced.

Most of those taking part in the Revolt were only dimly aware of what was involved. The most determined core of the resistance—the Calvinists—had no new ideas. Many of the rebels fought from hatred of Spain and an urge for independence. William alone appeared as the conscious representative of the new impulses striving to emerge.

\* Nine lectures, Dornach, October-November, 1918. The first English translation of these lectures is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Through the separation from his family and race, William was prepared by destiny to stand alone. His gay early years at the Emperor's court gave him the joyous energy and worldly experience which were later transformed into steadfast endurance. Through the long years of defeat and humiliation he acquired unshaken confidence in divine support. He emerged with unique qualities of leadership. He could mingle with people of all classes and conditions and win them to his service because he valued them as human beings.

His awareness of the essential individuality of every person convinced him that in religious matters there could be no coercion. The historian A. J. Grant wrote of him: "He was the first European statesman to try and found a State on religious toleration." He had to rely on very unsatisfactory supporters. His army consisted chiefly of mercenaries who in any crisis were liable to desert. His European allies all failed him and many of his ministers had little understanding of his ideals. Yet he was always prepared to accept the positive qualities, even of those who might betray him, for he had faith that the rightness of the cause would ennoble the one who served it.

He realised that one should no longer rule by authority alone, but by inspiring initiative and harmonising dissension. On that account he refused to be the Overlord of the United Provinces but regarded himself as their servant. Finally he succeeded in awakening in the people he had liberated the qualities he himself had matured.

Many of the impulses of our modern age were apparent among the Dutch during the decades following William's death. This minute Republic of seven heterogeneous States, deficient in natural resources, became one of the leading influences in Europe. It was the chief bulwark against the overwhelming power of Spain and France. It was the refuge of the persecuted, including Jews, who brought new stimulus to the intellectual and economic life of the country. It led the world in the techniques of boat-building and organising the fishing industry. The cities had the most effective circulation of news and the best relief measures for the poor of any civilised State. And this great period of expansion saw the flowering of their art.

Sir William Temple, who visited the Netherlands on diplomatic missions wrote: "It is hardly to be imagined how all the violence and sharpness, which accompanies the differences of religion in other countries, seems to be appeased or softened here. Men live together like citizens of the world, associated by the common ties of humanity."

With the accession of William the Silent's great-grandson, William the Third, to the throne of England in 1689, there was a shift of emphasis. England rose to take the leading position in world affairs. It would seem that the Dutch exerted a quickening influence and passed on to a sister power some of their achievements. But we ought to recognise the importance of their leadership at this turning-point of time in the sixteenth century.

## TIMES AND SEASONS

Charles Austin

### October

Fall leaves, falling spent and spread  
and scented with the rightful smell of death.  
Fall through weak sun that can no longer urge  
tired sap to surge, wanting only earth  
and sleep, and deep and mystical  
communion with half-buried sun.

Fall leaves, leaving bare form fanned for winter,  
exhausting fire and only silhouette of fine  
and skeletal bough remains reminder mark  
where tree-green summer stood and flower shook out,  
now folding inward to discern its secret self  
in fused union with the profound earth.

Fall leaves, like fire snow sweeping  
red flame to black branch. We all fall  
into a nadir of dark, pole opposite to summer noon  
and June-stretch of universe. Not yet despair  
knowing slept light will wake when season due,  
majestic as the certain turning sun.

### Summer Days

Bee-buzz in humming time  
heat-haze and sun-glow.  
Softly the summer days  
golden go.  
Sheep-bleat in elm-shade,  
shimmer on silent pool  
blue-deep in noon sky  
under-leaf cool.  
No wind in water-reed,  
no breath on lake glaze.  
All warm and summer-soaked  
sail the long days.

### Bereft

Would that I might use  
the services of a Muse  
for inspiration. Muses  
ceased to have their uses  
long since, and we were left,  
as they would have said, bereft.  
We don't quite know where to begin  
now that the Kingdom is within.

## STUDIES IN SUCCESSIVE EARTH-LIVES\*

Tacitus: Matilda, Countess of Tuscany:  
Ralph Waldo Emerson

Pliny the Younger: Beatrice, Countess of Tuscany:  
Herman Grimm

### INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH the teaching of reincarnation and Karma occurs at an early date within the whole body of Rudolf Steiner's spiritual scientific research, actual examples were hardly ever given until 1924, one year before his death. There are some notable exceptions to this, particularly in connection with Elijah, John the Baptist and others referred to in more intimate circles. Rudolf Steiner himself had the firm intention of introducing what he called "Practical Karma exercises" at a much earlier date. But he had to desist from doing so because of the timidity of the members of the Theosophical Society at that time, who were not ready to receive revelations of such a nature.

Anyone who has read a number of the so-called Karma lectures will have probably had two questions at the back of his mind, barely coming to the surface but which could be expressed as follows:

1. Why did Rudolf Steiner choose the particular sequences of incarnations that occur in these lectures?
2. Is it possible to detect the pattern of a later incarnation in any given example by studying the earlier incarnation?

The sequences given at the head of this article were chosen because of the special interest they aroused on reading the Karma lecture given by Rudolf Steiner in Dornach on 23 April, 1924, in consideration of the facts that Tacitus and Pliny in the 1st century A.D. were close friends; the two Countesses were not only close relatives, but also very close to one another in a more spiritual

\* These studies are by four members of a larger group who met at irregular intervals for two years because of their special interest in Rudolf Steiner's teaching on Karma.

sense. Emerson and Grimm were again close friends, holding one another in high esteem. Lastly, four of the personalities have left much written material to posterity; the remaining two are well known and well recorded historic personalities who lived in a very important period of European history. W.M.

## TACITUS AND PLINY

JOAN RUDEL

On 24 August in the year 79 A.D. a disaster struck the ancient world. Vesuvius erupted. The beautiful city of Pompeii, so recently rebuilt after the earthquake seventeen years before, was engulfed by floods of molten lava. The event was chronicled in two letters written by a law-student of eighteen, who had himself barely escaped death, to a lawyer friend a few years older. These letters, both in subject-matter and in the style of writing, show a degree of self-control and objectivity as well as a clarity and economy of self-expression, remarkable in such a young man. Pliny the Younger, as he is usually named—Pliny the Elder, his uncle, had died during the disaster—was writing to his friend Cornelius Tacitus.

The life and careers of these two personalities, Roman citizens of the 1st century A.D., were strikingly similar. Both came from good families and received the kind of education, with its emphasis on rhetoric and oratory, that was customary for young men of their station. They both studied and practised law. Both progressed through the ranks of successive political posts to the final honours of consulship and provincial governorship. Pliny became consul at the early age of thirty-nine and Tacitus at forty-one. The list of their titles is witness to the respect in which they were both held, and it is remarkable that under a succession of changing emperors, some of them unstable and violent characters, both Pliny and Tacitus occupied positions of trust without violation of their own high moral standards. Being able thinkers and eloquent orators, skilled in the rapier-exchanges of the courts, it was obvious that both men would also use their talents in writing.

It is to Tacitus that we owe the *Annals* and the *Histories*, the surviving books of which give us vividly detailed pictures of life

under several emperors during the stormy years of the first century A.D. Among his monographs are the *Agricola* and the *Germania*, studies of contemporary life in Britain and Germany. From Pliny, on the other hand, we have no long works. Perhaps he thought his uncle, a very voluminous writer, had done enough for the family in this direction. But he published during his lifetime a selection of his personal letters in nine volumes, and after his death appeared a tenth volume, his official correspondence with the Emperor Trajan while he was governor of Bithynia. Their own writings, therefore, provide a valuable source for an assessment of the strikingly different characters of these two men, who were yet such close friends.

The fact that Tacitus reveals nothing of a personal nature in his writings is itself an indication of a rather reserved and perhaps even withdrawn character. *Agricola*, the famous governor of Britain from 78-84 A.D., whose biography Tacitus wrote, was actually his own father-in-law. But we never know even the name of the daughter Tacitus married! He observes matters keenly and describes them impartially in general, evincing neither sympathy nor antipathy, although on certain occasions in the histories he does express moral indignation. His description of the British climate in the *Agricola* is an example of his direct, matter-of-fact style. "The climate is wretched, with its frequent rains and mists, but there is no extreme cold. Their day is longer than in our part of the world"; or, of the people then resident in Britain, "The Britons readily submit to military service, payment of tribute, and other obligations imposed by government, provided that there is no abuse. That they bitterly resent."

This cool, factual but penetrating element of observation is always evident, whichever of Tacitus' writings one takes up. In the *Germania*, Tacitus describes in terse but lively fashion the land and customs of the various tribes of Germany where he has obviously travelled extensively. "No nation indulges more freely in feasting and entertaining than the German," he writes. "The host welcomes his guest with the best meal that his means allow. When he has finished entertaining him, the host undertakes a fresh role: he accompanies the guest to the nearest house where further hospitality can be had. . . . No distinction is ever made between acquaintance and stranger as far as the right to hospitality is

concerned. As the guest takes his leave, it is customary to let him have anything he asks for; and the host, with as little hesitation, will ask for a gift in return."

Or, in an equally non-committal tone a different facet of life is portrayed: "The Assembly is competent to hear criminal charges . . . Traitors and deserters are hanged on trees; cowards, shirkers and sodomites are pressed down under a wicker hurdle into the slimy mud of a bog. This distinction in the punishments is based on the idea that offenders against the State should be made a public example of, whereas deeds of shame should be buried out of men's sight."

Tacitus' style of writing is regarded by Latin scholars as outstanding, even in a nation of great writers. Harold Mattingly, who translated the *Agricola*, says: "Tacitus is fond of short sentences and shuns the long period. He is terse, fond of variety, given to inversion and poetic forms of expression . . . He was a great stylist—perhaps the greatest of the Roman Empire."

In his wonderfully lucid style Tacitus writes a great deal about many first-century personalities. But of his own private life we know little beyond the list of his appointments and that he married *Agricola's* daughter in the year 77, together with the fact that he was a close friend of Pliny, whom he outlived by a few years.

The fact that Pliny chose to publish late in life his own letters, a form of literature always closely linked to the element of individual feeling, is indicative of his open friendly nature and a sense of identification with the people and things in his surrounding. Certain aspects of his personality come continually to expression: his warm-hearted concern over the welfare or suffering of his fellows, his modest bearing, shown for instance in his asking the opinion of others even in fields of knowledge where he was himself an expert, his buoyant sense of humour and quick wit. All these attributes combine with the wide scope of his special interests to give a remarkably living all-round picture of the man.

One of his lasting loves was the world of nature, something not usually of great interest to the Romans. Many passages in the letters testify to this. He writes to Tacitus, "The mere fact of sitting alone in the depths of the woods, in the silence necessary for hunting, is a positive stimulus to thought," or again to Domitius Appollinaris, "The countryside is very beautiful. Picture to your-

self a vast amphitheatre such as could only be a work of nature; the great spreading plain is ringed round by mountains, their summits crowned by ancient woods of tall trees . . . Down the mountain slopes are timber woods interspersed with small hills of soil so rich that there is scarcely a rocky outcrop to be found. Below them the vineyards spreading down every slope, weave their uniform pattern far and wide. The meadows are bright with flowers, covered with trefoil and other delicate plants which always seem soft and fresh, for everything is fed by streams which never run dry."

The most enthusiastically lyrical passages are when he describes his villa and gardens in Umbria, just over the border of Tuscany. A few sentences give the mood: "Behind it [the house] is the Apennine range, though some way off, so that even on a still and cloudless day there is a breeze from the mountains." Or: "Here the straight part of the course [the riding-ground] ends and changes its appearance, becoming darker and more densely shaded by the cypress trees . . . whereas the inner circuits . . . are in open sunshine. Roses grow there and the cool shadow alternates with the pleasant warmth of the sun."

Water in all its forms was a fascination for Pliny—at one point he was elected president of the Tiber Conservancy Board—and it is hard to choose between the many passages about rivers, lakes and fountains. Perhaps the long description in the letter to Clusinius Gallas of Lake Vademon, "subdued in colour, pale blue with a tinge of green" is one of the most striking.

Coupled with his appreciation of the beauties of wood and mountain, lake and stream and flower, was Pliny's love of poetry. He spent many an evening listening to his friends reading their poems, and he wrote some himself: "My verses are read and copied. They are even sung set to the cithara or lyre by Greeks who have learned Latin out of a liking for my little book." He often quotes from Homer (but not from Aristotle!). "Literature," he says, "is both my joy and my comfort: it can add to every happiness and there is no sorrow it cannot console."

He had, too, a keen eye for architectural detail, and enjoyed—although he insists he is an amateur in judging works of art—a Corinthian bronze statue he had bought: "It represents a standing figure of an old man; the bones, muscles, sinews and veins and even

the wrinkles are clear and lifelike, the hair is sparse, receding from a broad brow, its face is lined and neck thin, and it has drooping shoulders, a flat chest and hollow stomach. The back view gives the same impression of age."

Added to all these attributes of a truly cultured soul, Pliny had a quick mind, as witnessed by his verbal repartee in difficult political situations and his fame in the legal world. His views on oratory are expressed thus in a letter to Tacitus: "I am always having arguments with a man of considerable learning and experience, who admires nothing in forensic oratory as much as brevity. I admit that this is desirable if the case permits but if it means that points that should be made are omitted, or hurried over when they should be impressed and driven home by repetition, one can only end by betraying one's client. Most points gain weight and emphasis by a fuller treatment, and make their mark on the mind by alternate thrust and pause, as a fencer uses his foil." On one occasion in the courts, so he reports, he spoke for five hours on end!

Two important threads in Pliny's life must still be examined. One was his great friendship with Tacitus. He writes to him: "I was still a young man when you were already winning fame and glory, and I aspired to follow in your footsteps. So I am all the happier to know that whenever conversation turns upon literature our names are mentioned together" or: "I am delighted to think that if posterity takes any interest in us the tale will everywhere be told of the harmony, frankness and loyalty of our lifelong friendship"; or: "I believe that your histories will be immortal: a prophecy which will surely prove correct"; or: "You are never satisfied with yourself, but I never write with such confidence as when I write about you."

For Tacitus's part, there can be no doubt that he valued Pliny's judgment, as Pliny valued his. He sent him one of his books for an opinion on it. Pliny writes to him: "It was not as one master to another but as a master to his pupil that you sent me your book," but in another letter he does not withhold his advice: "I have read your book, and marked as carefully as I could the passages which I think should be altered or removed, for if it is my custom to tell the truth, you are always willing to hear it."

The last year or two of his life Pliny spent as governor of Bithynia on the southern shores of the Black Sea, chosen for this post by the Emperor Trajan. To this period belong the letters of his final book. Just as a young man he had witnessed the momentous eruption of Vesuvius, in his last years he was concerned with another current of the first century A.D. which was to grow into a stream even more powerful than that of Vesuvius in sweeping away the traditions of the ancient world. But Pliny had no inkling of this! To him it was relatively unimportant, even less pressing than the economic and organisational problems about which he also consulted Trajan. "How shall I treat the Christians?" he asks in perplexity and indecision.

Pliny was a pious Roman, full of reverent feeling towards the gods, but as a man of his time he could not approach Christianity. This, he considered, was "a degenerate sort of cult carried to extravagant lengths."

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## BEATRICE AND MATILDA OF TUSCANY

### SIEGFRIED RUDEL

The second study in this series takes us into the Lombardy of the 11th century A.D. The intervening millenium had been full of dramatic events. For some time still Roman legions had continued to move North and Westwards into Gaul and Britain and back again to Rome, and to the East, as under the emperor Julian. Then, early in the 5th century, Alaric and his Visigoths wintered in Lombardy before pouring Southwards. Before the end of that century the Huns had followed in their tracks and Vikings had been to pillage Pisa.

Early in the 6th century Ostrogoth dominion had been established, centred on Ravenna, only to be broken up by Byzantine armies half a century later. Irish missionaries had arrived to found new

churches, among them that of Frediano of Lucca. Finally Charlemagne, before being crowned Roman Emperor in 800, had added Lombardy to his Frankish realm, thus forging a link between Lombardy and Middle Europe.



The lives of Beatrice and Matilda of Tuscany, mother and daughter, are intimately connected with Canossa. Each of them in turn was lady of the castle for 30 years or more. Beatrice was called from her native Germany to be wedded there, but never really came to love it. She felt more drawn to the sunny Lucca further South. Matilda was born at Canossa. She fought to defend it more than once. She was hostess to Pope Gregory during those dramatic winter days in early 1077 which made Canossa famous.

Where is Canossa, then? When a line drawn on the map from Venice to Genoa is taken at its half-way mark, the castle of Canossa lies just South of it. From its bleak height of 1,500 feet it looks down Northwards into the sunny plain of Lombardy, seven cities of which can be seen from the towers when the weather is clear, while to the South the ridges of the Apennines rise ever higher. Three concentric walls, they say, surrounded the keep when Azzo, Matilda's great-grandfather, first built the castle, of which only ruins remain today.

During the 100 years that followed more and more was added to Emperor Otto's first endowment, so that when Matilda at the age of 7 became heiress of Canossa, it was the largest realm in Italy and one of the richest in Europe. Not the least of the "conquerors" had been her father, Boniface the Magnificent, an indomitable warrior, a generous host, a superb story-teller. His sudden death—was it really a hunting accident or was it murder?—cast the first great shadow on the lives of the two.

Throughout the years of Matilda's minority her mother, Beatrice, had to hold the reins not only of the household of Canossa, but of that large realm which stretched across the width of Northern Italy, from one coast to the other. Hers was a gentle disposition. The niece of the German Empress Gisela, she had grown up at the Imperial Court and had brought to Canossa an element of great sensitivity and soulfulness, and also the gift to mediate and harmon-

ise which endeared her to her people. She it was, too, who drew to the court many of the scholars and theologians of the day, so that her daughter Matilda received an excellent education, most unusual for that time in its depth and many-sidedness, and all that contributed to it—we must realise—was suffused with deep religious feeling.

It is due to her mother Beatrice, a "sapient, brilliant and learned princess," that Matilda in her young years did not only grow up to be a keen rider, skilful in handling weapons of all kinds and a lover of the chase, as her father had been, but became as learned as her mother in every way. Before long she was fluent in French, German and Latin, and besides the more customary skill in embroidery, acquired such knowledge of botany and chemistry that her proficiency in the art of healing served her well on the battlefield in later years.

However sudden the death of Boniface had been, Beatrice must have been well aware of the jealousy with regard to the growing realm of Tuscany on the part of Henry III, her own cousin, who maintained that this realm was held only in feudal tenancy from him, the Emperor. This smouldering resentment burst into flame when two years later, in 1054, Beatrice married again. This is the marriage mentioned in Rudolf Steiner's lecture of April 23, 1924. It was to Godfrey of Lorraine, rebellious vassal of the Emperor and already exiled by him.

Henry III lost no time. He crossed the Alps with armed forces, ostensibly to aid his cousin who, he said, had been forced into this marriage by his faithless vassal. Such was the impact of this news that Beatrice, having first persuaded Godfrey to abandon his challenge to meet the Emperor in open combat, herself left the protection of the castle, taking the nine-year-old Matilda and her still younger son Frederick with her, to plead with the Emperor at Mantua, while at the same time asserting her right to marry whom she wished. The answer? Henry had her seized and taken back to Germany. Accounts vary, but it seems more than likely that Matilda went with her and that young Frederick died.

Here was a small drama taking place against the background of a turbulent century. The Saracens had invaded Southern Italy and the Normans, first an added threat but later becoming papal allies, had followed. The Arabs had made their way across

Northern Africa and now entered Spain to remain there until the days of Columbus. And in the very year when Beatrice was taken forcibly North across the Alps by the German Emperor, the Church had suffered that great schism which has divided it, up to the present day, into the Western Church and what became known as the Greek Orthodox Church.

From now on the lives of the two personalities with whom we are concerned became ever more closely connected with the history of the times. Just over a year later, Henry III having died, they returned with the new Pope-elect and were present in Rome at his consecration. With them, perhaps for the first time, travelled Hildebrand, who had been for some years Abbot of Cluny and was later to become Pope Gregory VII. As the years went by Beatrice came to look upon him as the fatherly guide of her daughter Matilda. Other future popes, no less than five, now became frequent visitors at Canossa to which Godfrey, of course, had also returned. Anselm of Canterbury, too, then a brilliant young scholar of 24, visited Canossa, and this early encounter with young Matilda led, it seems, to a lifelong association.

Another more dramatic visit to Rome occurred seven years later when Cadalus, an anti-pope, who had crossed the Alps and entered Tuscany at the head of an army, had his troops dispersed by a Tuscan force quickly rallied by Beatrice. Although herself "of sweet and yielding disposition," and wishing, with Godfrey, to remain neutral, she had allowed 15-year-old Matilda to take the lead in the field, and her men had indeed utterly confused the German army as they rushed into the fight shouting "St. Peter and Matilda!"

A second battle took place near Rome. This time Godfrey's active help had been enlisted, but at a price, it seems: Matilda consented to marry Godfrey, the Hunchback, her stepfather's son to whom, still a child, she had been engaged when her mother married again. This marriage, therefore, always bore the marks of a political concession. On the other hand, the gratitude of Pope Alexander II towards both mother and daughter was assured.

Beatrice's concern for harmony in human relationships and her acknowledged gift of mediation are witnessed by the fact that, being aware of the growing disparity between Church and State, she did her utmost to prevent an open rift. Through the death

of Godfrey the Elder (1069) she was widowed for the second time. It was her Imperial nephew, young Henry IV, as yet uncrowned as Emperor, who was letting the lingering disagreements between Pope and Emperor grow into open conflict. No doubt painfully aware of conflicting loyalties, Beatrice interceded with Pope Alexander on Henry's behalf and in 1084, a year after Pope Gregory's consecration, at which she also had been present, we see her once again travelling to Germany, this time in the company of papal legates, to ensure that the papal reforms—e.g. enforcing the celibacy of the clergy and terminating lay investiture—were properly understood and carried through.

The Emperor Henry III, her cousin, with all his tempestuousness, had been a forceful promulgator of Church reform, himself perhaps the last "Rex et Sacerdos" and, as such, a mediator between clergy and people, but his son, young King Henry IV, was none of that. To appreciate the change that was beginning to take place we need but recall that when Henry III, father of Henry IV, was crowned Emperor in Rome 1046, his own Chancellor became Pope on the same day, as Clement II.

Beatrice must have suffered greatly to see the rift grow larger, not only between the persons of her revered friend in the South—Pope Gregory VII—and her own nephew in the North—King Henry IV—but between the worlds they represented. She could not prevent the excommunication of Henry, who had insisted on the right of lay-investiture. Admittedly, Gregory's "Dictatus Papae" (1075) had been a challenge. Among its 27 pronouncements was that "he [the Roman Pontiff] can alone depose and reinstate bishops," "that he may depose emperors" and "that he may absolve subjects of unjust men from their fealty."

A year later Henry wrote to Gregory: "Henry, King not by usurpation, but by the pious ordination of God, to Hildebrand, now not Pope, but false monk," and this same letter had ended: "Relinquish the Apostolic See which you have arrogated. Let another mount the throne of Saint Peter, another who will not cloak violence with religion, but who will teach the true doctrine of Saint Peter. I, Henry, King by the Grace of God, together with all our bishops, say to you: Descend! Descend!"

Now came the deposition by the Pope (1076): "O blessed Peter . . . mercifully incline thine ear, we pray . . . through thy power

and authority, I deprive King Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, who has rebelled against thy Church with unheard-of audacity, of the government over the whole Kingdom of Germany and Italy . . . ”

The scene was set for the dramatic climax at Canossa. Beatrice, however, did not live to witness it. She, who had always been “of a naturally frail constitution,” became ailing and was taken to the Roman baths (!) not far from Lucca and died, still in the same year (1076), in that sunny valley, much beloved by her, of abounding olive and orange groves, vineyards, palms and almond trees, and near her oft-time residence at Lucca where she had collected treasures of classical art for many years. Matilda, who was then 31, was present at her death.



The winter of 1076/77 was particularly severe. Many of the Alpine passes were blocked. At the end of January the snow lay deep around the grey towers of Canossa. But out in the bitter cold, on three successive days, stood a bare-footed penitent knocking at the closed door. Inside were Pope Gregory VII and a number of his clergy who had sought refuge with “our daughter, the Countess Matilda” while on his journey North into Germany, at the news of Henry’s approach. It was indeed Henry IV, the yet-uncrowned emperor of Germany, who had crossed the Alps on foot, accompanied only by his wife and child and one or two faithful serving-men, because he had been put upon by his vassals to unburden himself of the papal bond of anathema. He now urged his cousin Matilda to leave the stronghold of her castle and come to meet him at a nearby chapel where he asked her to plead with the Pope on his behalf. Gregory at last relented and received the penitent back into the bosom of the Church, Henry signing his submission to the Pope and assuring him of his protection. Matilda was one of those who signed as witnesses.

It is neither possible nor necessary in our particular context to describe what followed in every detail. Suffice it to say that Henry’s word proved to have been without substance. Even before his own return to Germany he roused Tuscans to rebellion and attempted to capture the Pope. In 1080, there was a second excommunication. Henry IV then besieged Rome. There, too, Matilda was with the Pope. But while she eluded the sentinels and returned

to Canossa to prepare for its defence, Gregory was kidnapped and taken to safety by Robert Guiscard, the ageing king of the Normans, who conducted him to Salerno. “I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity. Therefore I die in exile.”



Even before Gregory’s death Matilda had decided that the personally-owned part of her land and possessions should be bequeathed to the Church after her death, and this was confirmed in a later document (1102) which is still extant. Matilda remained a supporter of the papal cause. Thus she welcomed Urban II at Cremona when he returned from his historical visit to Clermont in 1095 where he had preached the First Crusade. She was present at Lucca when he blessed the thousands of crusaders before they moved on to Bari from where they set sail.

All the same, Matilda’s allegiance to the Popes was not an unquestioning one. Thus in 1110, she withheld active support from the then Pope who compromised over the question of investiture. By the same token she had the new young emperor—it was Henry V now—stay with her for three days at Bianello, at the same place, that is, where 33 years earlier she had foiled his father’s attempt to capture Pope Gregory. Respect seems to have been mutual, the Countess accepting nomination as his “Vice Regina of Liguria” and the young sovereign “swearing that in the whole earth there cannot be found a princess her equal.”

Matilda was now 65. But there seems little evidence that her spiritual, or even her physical powers, were on the wane, as some modern biographers suggest. It was during these last years that Anselm of Canterbury, now 70 years of age, re-visited Matilda and, after his departure, sent her a copy of his “Meditations.” And when the city of Mantua was rebelling against the governor whom Matilda had appointed and even her own castle of Ripalta was being attacked, the news could not indefinitely be kept from her, though she was ill. Her mere appearance at the head of a quickly gathered army—and that at the age of 69—turned the tide. The Mantuans opened the gates to their “Gran Contessa” and all thought of revolt was apparently forgotten.

Not long afterwards a grant both of land and of privileges was made to the Abbey of San Benedetto and, remembering Matilda’s

strong connection with her mother Beatrice, it is perhaps noteworthy that this bequest was made "pro mercede et remedio animae nostrae et parentum nostrorum" (for the granting of mercy and the salvation of our soul and that of our parents).

Our final observation is that Matilda of Tuscany in her later years had begun to grant charters to some of the Lombard cities, and also that she gave instructions that after her death, which occurred in July, 1115, all her serfs should be liberated.

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### RALPH WALDO EMERSON

25 May 1803 - 27 April 1882

#### BRIEN MASTERS

Compared with Matilda, and even with Tacitus, the biographical facts of Emerson are well-known, or at least easily accessible. He came from a long line of Unitarians, and was himself connected with that Church until 1847 as a preacher, having retired from the ministerial position he had held in his home town of Boston in 1832, though it would be true to say that nonconformity flowed more deeply in his veins than in the Church he represented.

Already after his graduation at Harvard it seemed as though he were striking out independently of his background when, not without some urging from an aunt, he taught for three years at his brother's school. Later in life, when writing on the subject he shows how vital and far-reaching his attitude to the child was:

The secret of Education lies in respecting the pupil. It is not for you to choose what he shall know . . . he only holds the key to his own secret . . . Respect the child . . . wait and see the new product of nature. Nature loves analogies but not repetitions. Respect the child . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. X, *Lectures and Biographical Sketches: Education*.

But this was not to be his path of independence, for, immediately after his teaching experience, he embarked upon a course in Divinity and subsequently entered the Church.

If his statement that "Nature loves analogies but not repetitions" holds good for contemporaries sitting side by side in the classroom, how much more does it hold good for the successive earth-lives of an individuality? One can see in Emerson's unparalleled gift of eloquence—both in its early manifestations, when he distinguished himself at University in declamation, ethical dissertation and poetry, and later in his lectures, articles and essays which are irradiated with a style as magnificent as the rising sun flashing simultaneously across the highest peaks of a mountain range—not a repetition of but an analogy to Tacitus' power of rhetoric or to Matilda's astonishing political achievements through the word. Moreover, in his nineteenth century incarnation his awareness of the significance of human converse comes to characteristic expression: "But there is an art which is better than painting, poetry, music or architecture, better than botany, geology, or any science; namely, *Conversation*.\* Wise, cultivated genial conversation is the last flower of civilisation and the best result which life has to offer us—a cup for the Gods, which has no repentance."<sup>2</sup>

Emerson also travels, in the first place, perhaps, more to meet his contemporaries<sup>3</sup> than to observe. Yet his observations include that which is reminiscent of the *Agricola* of Tacitus (for instance his reference to the English climate<sup>4</sup>), or his description of the poor Irish-woman recounting some experience of hers, her speech flowing like a river . . . "so unconsidered, so humorous, so pathetic, such justice done to all parts! It is a true substantiation—the fact converted into speech, all warm and colored and alive, as it fell out."<sup>5</sup>

Rudolf Steiner draws particular attention to the way in which Emerson ranges freely through literature,<sup>6</sup> a metamorphosis of,

\* Vol. XI, *Miscellanies: Woman*.

<sup>3</sup> *Culture*, 1860 (and many other references to Thomas Carlyle whom he first met while in Scotland).

<sup>4</sup> *English Traits: Land*, 1856.

<sup>5</sup> *Eloquence*, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> *Karmic Relationships* Vol. II (23 April, 1924).

\*Single asterisks mean that the italics are mine. B. M.

rather than an analogy to, his travelling as Tacitus. It is therefore not unexpected, yet nonetheless remarkable, to find a reference to the classics among his writings.<sup>7</sup>

There is a great choice of ways to bring the student through early Rome. If he can read Livy he has a good book . . . The poet Horace is the eye of the Augustan age; *Tacitus*\* the wisest of historians . . .

But perhaps the greatest resonance of his Roman incarnation is to be heard in the lines written at Rome:<sup>8</sup>

Virtue alone is sweet society.  
It keeps the key to all heroic hearts  
And opens you a welcome in them all.  
Scorn trifles and embrace a better aim  
Than wine or sleep or praise;  
Hunt knowledge as the lover woos a maid  
And even in the strife of your own thoughts  
Obey the nobler impulse; that is Rome  
That shall command a senate to your side.

Although Emerson quotes Tacitus on several occasions, nothing comes nearer to the heart of his Roman incarnation than the climax of this poem. One only has to recall what Tacitus was able to survive in the Rome of his day to realise what intensity and poignancy lie behind these lines.

It is significant that one of Emerson's biographers touches on the same quality of uprightness: "His white shield was so spotless that the least scrupulous combatants did not like to leave their defacing marks upon it." Emerson clearly preached what was common practice in his own life: ". . . we must play no games with ourselves, but deal in our privacy with the last honesty and truth . . ."<sup>9</sup> His praise of Shakespeare knows no bounds, particularly in the realm of the moral:

Let Timon, let Warwick, let Antonio the merchant, answer for his great heart . . . What point of morals, of manners, of economy, of philosophy, of religion, of taste, of the conduct of life has he not settled? . . . What King has he not taught state? . . . What maiden has not found him finer than her delicacy? What lover has he not out-loved? What sage has he not outseen? What gentleman has he not instructed in the rudeness of his behaviour?<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Books*, 1870.

<sup>8</sup> 1833. His first journey after retiring from the ministry.

<sup>9</sup> *Illusions*, 1860.

<sup>10</sup> *Shakespeare; or, The Poet*, 1850.



Ralph Waldo Emerson

Nor did he find social classes any hindrance: "If there is grandeur in you, you will find grandeur in porters and sweeps . . ." <sup>11</sup> Yet his mixed feelings about the feudal system seep through in several places, and one sees two of Matilda's traits very clearly: in his feelings about the duty of protecting land held through noble birth; <sup>12</sup> and in the way he traces the defects of the feudal system as it survived in the social barriers which surrounded him. <sup>13</sup>

We have seen Tacitus as an impartial observer; we have followed Matilda as an intense observer of the historical situation she found herself in—consider how her allegiance to the Popes was not an unquestioning, blind following of ecclesiastical power; and we may discover that for Emerson *observation itself* became one of the gateways of human experience. In referring to Aristotle's "Man is the measure of all things", he points out that the human eye "appreciates finer differences than art can compose", a fact which Grimm was to illustrate exquisitely time and time again; indeed, the Sistine Chapel itself was by no means barred from his far-seeing gaze.

It is generally accepted that in Emerson's essay on "Character in English Traits" a meeting is implied with his contemporary J. M. W. Turner—one of the supreme masters of observation. His description of the *man* reveals that degree of observation which will not overlook a tuft of hair on an ugly wart; yet his vision of the *artist* catches more than a glimpse of the heights:

Here was lately a cross-grained miser, odd and ugly, resembling in countenance the portrait of Punch with the laugh left out; rich by his own industry; sulking in a lonely house; who never gave a dinner to any man and disdained all courtesies; yet as true a worshipper of beauty in form and color as ever existed, and profusely pouring over the cold mind of his countrymen creations of grace and truth, removing the reproach of sterility from English art, catching from their savage climate every fine hint and importing into their galleries every tint and trait of sunnier cities and skies; making an era in painting . . .

Emerson's descriptions of the antics of infants again reveal how his seeing eye observes not merely phenomena but essence within the phenomena. "He wishes to ride on the necks and shoulders of all flesh . . . uncles, aunts, grandsires, grandams, fall an easy

<sup>11</sup> *Worship*, 1860.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. X, *Lectures and Biographical Sketches: Aristocracy*.

<sup>13</sup> *English Traits: Result*, 1856.

prey: he conforms to nobody, all conform to him; all caper and make mouths and babble and chirrup to him. On strongest shoulders he rides, and pulls the hair of laurelled heads." He draws attention to Coleridge's observation on infancy which "presents body and spirit in unity." But again his perspicacity remains wide awake; the dimples of a baby do not speak the same language as the eyes: "Look into the eyes\*. . . . Don't be deceived by dimples and curls. I tell you that babe is a thousand years old."<sup>14</sup>

If it is true to say that Tacitus' observations tend to strings of detail and that his sentences are terse, then one may turn to Emerson and rove with him amongst the vast connections which the vistas of his enormous sentence-constructions open up.

Neither will he sit there and simply hear the Bible quoted: like St. Dunstan at the forge, his eye only needs to see one cloven hoof for him to know who is nestling comfortably behind the hypocritical quotation. "There is no help but in the head and heart and hamstrings of a man . . . To interpret Christ it needs Christ in the heart." In Ralph Waldo Emerson seeing with the human eye is raised to that faithfulness which allows the God in the heart to "interpret."

After their long-anticipated meeting in Florence, Herman Grimm, in commenting on Emerson's features, says of his eyes that they were of an unbelievably deep blue; ". . . something like a streaming light shines out of these eyes towards you." This stream of light poured over every aspect of life, freshening it with truth, appreciation, righteous anger, combined with all that flowed from the nobility of his spirit.

Emerson's unsparing eye, directed against slavery, and his epigrammatic: "We must get rid of slavery—or we must get rid of freedom,"<sup>15</sup> are well known. He fought slavery on all levels, particularly when so-called Christians tried to justify the keeping of slaves.<sup>16</sup> On her deathbed, Matilda had a vision of the future which she embodied in a will that liberated her serfs. Emerson sees the significance of man's immortality in full consciousness:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Old Age*, 1870.

<sup>15</sup> 26 May, 1856.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. XI, *Miscellanies: Fugitive Slave Law*.

<sup>17</sup> *Immortality*, 1876.

Sir Walter Scott's "lesser" characters delighted him; he warmed to the Englishman's feeling for the importance of the Individual (though he was not blind to the "fire" of steam power as an escape from the "frying pan" of serfdom);<sup>18</sup> he proclaimed that men were becoming bound to the material and needed the vision of their true being; and he affirmed that their true being consisted of "the Eternal in each perishing man."<sup>19</sup>

This was the spark which kindled into his vision of a new Church; the morality which could develop into a moral science (though in his terms still like a naked babe), ". . . a Church of men to come, without shawms or psaltery or sack butt; but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters; science for symbol and illustration, it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture and poetry."<sup>20</sup>

During the Christmas of 1832, as soon as he has turned his back on the church without, he makes his first voyage, and on his return enters the following in his diary: "A man contains all that is needful for his government within himself . . . The purpose of life seems to be to acquaint man with himself. The highest revelation is that God is within every man." No wonder that one who sees such potential in man calls, "Respect this child."

That Emerson had the courage to speak of such matters on the most public of platforms, can be seen from his Phi Beta Kappa oration on "The American Scholar" given in Harvard<sup>21</sup> as also in the address given before the graduating class of the Divinity College:

Yourselves a new-born bard of the Holy Ghost—cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity. . . . let us do what we can to rekindle the smouldering, nigh-quenched fire on the altar . . .

And to conclude his address:

I look for the new Teacher, that shall follow so far those shining laws, that he shall see them come full circle; . . . shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; . . . and shall show that the Ought, that Duty, is one with Science, with Beauty, and with Joy.<sup>22</sup>

These were early days when he was on the crest of his retirement. In his last sermon<sup>23</sup> as their minister he tells his congregation that

<sup>18</sup> *English Traits: Factitious*.

<sup>19</sup> *Character*, 1856.

<sup>20</sup> *Worship*, 1860.

<sup>21</sup> 31 August, 1837.

<sup>22</sup> Cambridge, Mass., 15 July, 1838.

he cannot continue to serve them (in his capacity as minister) because of their difference of opinion over the Sacrament. Emerson saw the priesthood—if not all men ultimately—administering not through the elements of bread and wine but through the power of the word. Whether he had an inkling that there might be a ritualistic form of expression for this we do not know.

In the cities of eleventh-century Lombardy it was the inhabitants themselves who benefited from the free charters which Matilda had granted them. The members of Emerson's Unitarian congregation were the professed dwellers in the earthly City of God. In the sermon of the Lord's Supper he leaves them free to continue to receive the sacrament. He had besought them to free him from his obligation to "sacrifice" the elements, but had received a negative response: they saw no benefit in this freedom. It was an obligation he would not neglect out of hand, but clearly wished for a mutual decision.

Harvard conferred an Hon. LL.D. upon Emerson in 1866, one of the outer signs that he was a man of the Word right from the very depths of his being. Whether he would have been able to give his lectures, his essays, his letters and his poems had his break with the ministry not taken place is an open question. In him the pedestrian word was elevated into his exceptional style; one might say the word became so alive as to be transubstantiated. And that which dwelt in *him*, bringing the word to life, enabled him also to recognise the essential greatness in Goethe, Shakespeare and his other Representative Men.<sup>23</sup> This he puts in one of his incomparable, Emersonian nutshells: "Shakespeare is the only biographer of Shakespeare; and even he can tell nothing, except to the Shakespeare in us; that is, to our most apprehensive and sympathetic hour."

Or again, when he stands before the wonder of the second part of Faust, he is not lost in wonder, but takes wing in yet another flight of unfailingly apt style: "One looks at a king with reverence; but if one should chance to be at a congress of kings, the eye would take liberties with the peculiarities of each. These are not wild miraculous songs, but elaborate forms to which the poet has confided the results of eighty years observation."

<sup>23</sup> Vol. XI, *Miscellanies: The Lord's Supper*.

<sup>24</sup> 1850.

One commentator said of Emerson: "More than any other great writers of the age *he is a voice*. He does not argue but announces; he speaks when the spirit moves him but not longer." One might add, the spirit moved Emerson very often, and his *style* is the result. It is this style, this magnificently eloquent, free-moving, gem-like, epigrammatic, truth-elevating style—and may we not think of style as the result of that individual power, latent in each of us, which transubstantiates the element of the common word?†—which inspires the one who concerns himself with the word of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and which inspired Herman Grimm in the Karmic manner that Rudolf Steiner describes.

† Even the practice of quoting could have this elevating quality in it, as Emerson pointed out in his "Quotations and Originality," 1876.

## HERMAN GRIMM - Beatrice - Pleno WILLIAM MANN

Herman Grimm was born on 6 January, 1828, four years before Goethe's death, as the son of Wilhelm Grimm, one of the brothers Grimm, the collectors of the famous fairy tales. The two brothers lived and worked together all their lives, united by a common task and a common admiration for Goethe, with whom they were in contact for twenty years of their lives. Herman Grimm, moreover, was married to the daughter of Bettina von Arnim, Gisela. Her mother was a poet and became famous because of Goethe's correspondence with her. These letters were published under the title *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*.

Strangely enough, as we learn from the correspondence between Emerson and Herman Grimm, Emerson was acquainted with Gisela von Arnim and wrote to her, though they had never met.

The greatest event in Herman Grimm's childhood happened when he was nine years old, the age when the growing child for the first time feels a separation from the world around. At this point in his life Herman's father and uncle were dismissed from their posts as Professors at Göttingen University because of their protest against a high-handed breach of the constitution by the King of Hanover.

Herman Grimm later said that he attributed to this event the ability to describe historical events so vividly that they were experienced as contemporary by readers. His family was actually robbed of the means of livelihood on account of the dismissal. Mention must also be made of another uncle, "Lui" (Ludwig) by name, for whom Herman had the greatest admiration because he was a painter and opened his nephew's eyes to the wonders of art. In this connection we remember descriptions of nature, of the garden in his estate on the borders of Tuscany and a work of art, by Pliny the Younger. Also how Beatrice of Tuscany when residing in Lucca, where her favourite palace was situated, was already then not only an admirer but a collector of works of art.

In later life Herman Grimm loved to be in Tuscany, and could describe every square and building in Florence as if he were a native.

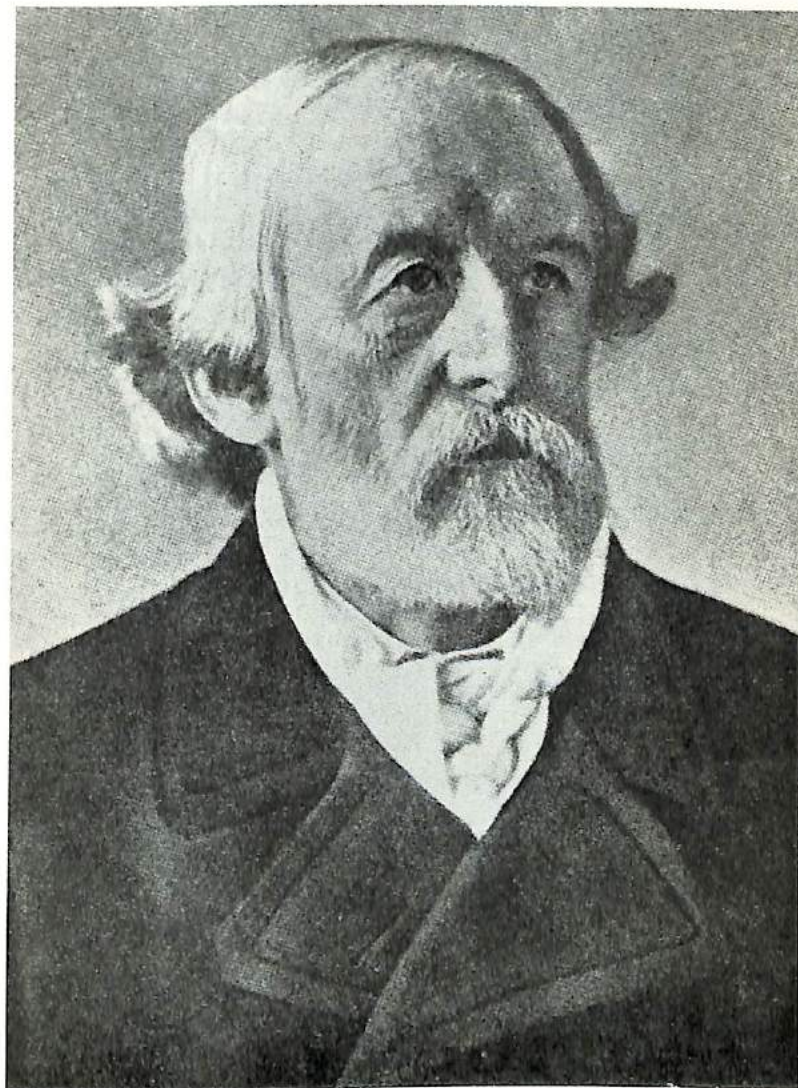
Actually Herman began by studying law, which is what Pliny, too, had done, and was much influenced by the strict academic discipline with which he was surrounded. But this was not his real element, however far-reaching and detailed his studies were. He could hold his own with any specialist in the field of the arts, his main study, but for him research was only the preparation for an intense involvement with the very spirit of a work or a creative artist, leading to an almost intuitive assessment of the subject in question, as will be shown later.

The real catalyst in his life was a chance visit to an American friend in Berlin (see Grimm's essay on Emerson, one of his first important publications):

Years ago, on a visit to an American friend, I chanced to see a book of Emerson's essays lying on a table. I looked into it, read a page and was astonished to realise that I had hardly understood a word although my English was really quite good, at least in my own estimation.

In answer to an enquiry about Emerson, I was told that he was the best known essayist in America, but that sometimes he himself could not explain his own sentences. I got hold of Webster's dictionary and began to read and soon discovered the secret. These were real thoughts—a real language, a real man was confronting me . . . I bought the book and have not ceased reading Emerson's works since.

Grimm then goes out of his way to discover what it is that makes Emerson's writings so attractive. He reflects on what it is in the



Herman Grimm

works of great men such as Raphael, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Goethe that can so elevate us, and he continues:

These men don't put a magnifying glass or a microscope to our eyes, they show us things as they are. All they touch turns to gold; it is beautiful as if the finger of God were pointing it out and a mysterious voice were whispering: "Look at it and know it—that is, acquire the knowledge of it," and I would have the power to acquire that knowledge as long as they were showing it to me. This feeling I have with Emerson in the highest degree.

Grimm now begins to recommend Emerson to many friends and acquaintances. Not always is he able to kindle the flame of enthusiasm he himself has. "I spoke of Emerson as of a newly discovered continent." And when the response is only lukewarm or even hostile he says:

What could I do? I do not feel it to be my task to convert people to Emerson with fire and sword. The genuine article will always find its way. Bring a coppered gold coin and a gilded copper one into circulation—they will soon exchange their roles.

Finally I will restate why it is that I find such comfort in his writings—comfort is the right word.

Then follows a long discourse on the subject of freedom, culminating in the words:

We are not educated for it, but are working towards it. The man who stands at its pinnacle is Emerson.

He does not hate, neither does he contradict nor combat, because his understanding of man and his weaknesses is too great, his love for him too mighty. I can't help following in his footsteps and wondering at the way he gently, and without passion, divides the chaos of present-day life into its several provinces.

The sentence "I can't help following in his footsteps," calls to mind a passage from a letter of the younger Pliny to his friend Tacitus:

Already as a very young man, when you were at the pinnacle of your fame, I had the most lively wish to follow you, indeed to be the nearest to you even if only at a great distance. There were many excellent minds living at that time, but such was our relationship to one another, my conviction was: it was you above all others I should strive after.

On the writing of history, Herman Grimm praises Tacitus for having the ability to relate the individual case to something of general human interest and to give his descriptions such a monumental form that single sentences turn to inscriptions, rich in content and containing long trains of thought. This ability he

also attributes to Emerson and to Carlyle. Elsewhere he says of Emerson's style: "The learned style is not my style at all. *This* is my style, the style I want. I cannot help admiring it."

Unfortunately, discussing matters of style can hardly be done satisfactorily in two different languages. However, some examples of Grimm's style will be given in which something of his harmonious yet terse sentences may be discerned.

Grimm's most important works are: 1. The monumental work on Michelangelo and his times; 2. Raphael as a world power, the title given at the fourth attempt to write a worthy biography of the painter; 3. Goethe lectures. All three works are outstanding creations in world literature. The Michelangelo book has been described as a great epic; the Goethe lectures as a masterpiece of lyrical style.

From Goethe's relation to the pictorial arts:

Phidias is supposed to have gathered his first idea on the Olympic Zeus from a few lines of Homer's, which don't seem to contain much of value for a sculptor.

Homer describes how Thetis embracing the knees of Zeus demands satisfaction and revenge for the offence to her son.

In doubt as to whether she can trust his word, she asks of him a binding promise. Zeus, or Cronion as Homer calls him, grants her the most solemn and sacred confirmation of which he is capable: an affirmative nod of the head. Then follow Homer's lines:

"And the Ambrosian locks of the king fell forward  
in waves from that immortal head—  
the heights of Olympus quivered."

No more than a nod, and a few locks falling over his forehead are hinted at. But the addition that "the heights of Olympus quivered" imparts to Zeus' gentle nod the power of an earthquake.

But what about the mutual relationship of the two men, Emerson and Grimm? We will turn to their letters to one another.

In April, 1856, Grimm writes to Emerson:

Honored Sir,

The departure of Mr. Alexander Thayer gives me the opportunity of addressing a few words to you. A year ago I first became acquainted with your writings, which since that time have been read by me repeatedly, with ever-recurring admiration. Everywhere I seem to find my own secret thoughts—even the words in which I would have preferred to have expressed them. Of all the writers of our day you seem to me to understand the genius of the time most profoundly, to anticipate our future most clearly. It makes me happy to be permitted to say this to you.

I have taken the liberty of enclosing with this letter some of my essays and poems. I do it, not in order to receive thanks from you—indeed I do not even think of your reading them, but it is, nevertheless, a great satisfaction to me to send them to you. The thought makes me proud that they will come into your house and into your hands.

With true veneration and esteem,

Yours,

Herman Grimm

Emerson's reply comes two years later, in June, 1858, beginning with an explanation for the cause of "this tardiest reply to your goodness." The letter continues:

I can only now recall how happy I was in the proffered sympathy of a scholar bearing your honoured name, and, well proved by what I read worthy to bear it.

It was an easy work of love to read the dramas, the poems and the essays in the *Morgenblatt*.

Again a year later, July, 1859. After mentioning having read a poem Grimm has sent him, Emerson writes:

The only question I ask, and, in this case with impatience, is, "How many years does my poet count?" . . . But I will allow you more years than you have, as I choose to ascribe to you the rare felicity of carrying into maturity the heat of youth . . . I have just been reading, with great content, the paper on Michelangelo in the *Essays*. The views taken are all wise and generous . . .

But I give you fair warning that, as I alone in America at this day possess this book of yours, I intend to use my advantage. I advise you to watch me narrowly. I think I shall reproduce you in lectures, poems, essays—whatever I may in these months be called on to write. I have already been quoting you a good many times, within a few days, and it was plain, nobody knew where I became so suddenly learned and discerning . . . I like well what you say, that, when you are at liberty, you will come and see us. After the fine compliments you pay me, I might well think twice of allowing you to undecieve yourself. I shall pay you the higher compliment of entire trust. I shall not run away. You and I shall not fear to meet, or to be silent, or to prize each other's love of letters less, because we can be modest nobodies at home . . .

Finally Emerson writes:

My little book, long delayed, which I call *Conduct of Life*, I mean to send you in the autumn, and an enlarged, and I hope enriched edition of *Poems*. Yet it is not books, but sense and sympathy, which I wish to offer you.

Yours affectionately,

R. W. Emerson

Grimm's reply to Emerson is dated October, 1860, and begins with an account of several personal losses he has suffered. Then:

Thus the last years have been an exceptional period for me. I only wish to tell you how often during this time I have opened your books and how much comforting ease of mind I have drawn from them . . . The love which you have for all mankind is felt so strongly that one thinks it impossible that you should not have thought of single preferred persons, among whom the reader counts himself. What a happiness for a country to possess such a man . . . When I read your words, the course of years and events appears to me like the rhythm of a beautiful poem, and even the most common-place is dissolved into necessary beauty through your observation.

I have endeavored to write my book about Michelangelo in this sense—every page, so that it would stand the test if I could read it aloud to you . . .

So far no reference has been made to Grimm's incarnation in the Middle Ages as Beatrice, Countess of Tuscany. In a very interesting article by Wolfgang Schuchhardt in No. 108 of the *Mitteilungen aus der anthroposophischen Arbeit in Deutschland*, a very relevant comment is made.

Beatrice had died in 1076 and must have been intimately concerned with the events her daughter was involved in, bearing in mind the close connection between Beatrice and her daughter Matilda that Rudolf Steiner speaks of. In an essay published by Herman Grimm late in his life, entitled "Henry and Henry's Lineage," he treats of the incidents that the daughter had to deal with. What could have been the reason for him to concern himself with the XIth century? As far as is known, he did not do so on any other occasion.

Possibly a theatrical production of a play by Wildenbruch in Berlin which Grimm attended could have brought up subconscious memories from a past life:

Let the reader ask himself the question as to which Henry it was who stood freezing in his shirt outside the castle of Canossa and why he stood there.

It was certainly not due to any special interest in Henry IV, the son of Henry III, that prompted me to go to the theatre on that particular evening . . .

And yet, that occasion made an unforgettable impression on me. I sat motionless, listening to act after act. We are still as Tacitus describes us. While experiencing the four acts of "King Henry" with eye and ear, I was as if steeped into our past.

Rudolf Steiner remarks that it was in the life as Beatrice that the sense for historic connections was awakened in Herman Grimm.

It seems very clear that as every human individual is different from all others, so also must successive incarnations be quite distinct from one another. The close connection that exists between the pairs of human beings involved is unique and it was this situation that made the study of them so rewarding.

It is hoped that the essays concerning these six individuals will encourage others to study examples of reincarnations, as given in Rudolf Steiner's so-called Karma lectures, and in due course to publish their findings. There is much work to be done.

## POSTSCRIPT

One day it will become important for the consideration of human history that we do not merely look at human beings as they live on earth up to the moment of their death, but in their working beyond death.

RUDOLF STEINER

Herman Grimm on The Last Judgment by Michelangelo:

It is difficult if not impossible to speak of such matters: our feelings about them dwell in depths which we are unable to illumine with clear light.

As yet we naturally dare not declare the corporeal pictures which have been handed down to us as sacred heirlooms to be mere shadows; but in the way that spiritual development presents itself to me, these conceptions must grow paler and paler and be replaced by something else, which can stand as a symbol for matters of eternity.

Here Rudolf Steiner interpolates:

Herman Grimm can see that something else must take the place of former conceptions, but he looks out for it in vain in what is accessible to him by way of the thought and culture of the times he lives in.

Grimm continues:

Yet however much we may concede that symbols are mere parables, empty for anyone who does not fill them with content drawn from his own soul, we cannot live without them, be they visible pictures or thoughts. But as the last judgment appears to us on the wall of the Sistine chapel it is no longer a parable for us, but a memorial to the phantastic soul-life of an age that is past and of a foreign people in whose thoughts we do not share.

Rudolf Steiner:

A spirit such as set down these thoughts has passed into the spiritual world in our time.

Where, where O soul, you who once, looking upon the Christ lying in the grave, penetrated into the holiest secrets of world evolution, where will you find new thoughts and feelings in regard to this secret?

And now you will understand the significance of words I spoke to you in this very room a few days ago:

There were souls who passed through the portal of death and who were given a *new feeling* of what man really is, when our friend Christian Morgenstern joined their company with a consciousness, *illuminated* and *spirit-filled* by Spiritual Science, with a clear consciousness of all that these souls had missed. Imbued with the awareness of the new Christ-proclamation, he carried the new thoughts about the Christ-development and its connection with the development of humanity through the portal of death up into the spiritual world. The souls who were yearning for these new thoughts found in our friend the companion who could enlighten them.

From an Easter lecture, Dornach, 3 April, 1915.

## ST. NIKLAUS VON FLÜE

How he brought unity to Switzerland

ISABEL WYATT

THE *Vitae Patrum* gives us moving descriptions of the self-discipline and religious devotion of those Early Christian hermits in Egypt and Syria whom we know as the Desert Fathers. Later, in the fifteenth century, we find the same self-discipline, the same religious devotion, shaping the eremitic life of St. Niklaus von Flüe. But also we find his deep spirituality being placed in a very special way at the service of the Time-Spirit, and playing a practical and healing part in mid-European history.

Bruder Klaus (as he came to be known to high and low) was born on March 22, 1417, on a Swiss alp, the Sachterberg, in the canton of Unterwalden. His family name was Lowenbrügger, but in those days the Alpine farmers were known by the name of the mountainside they owned and farmed; so, as Niklaus was born on Flüeli ("the meadow"), he grew up as Niklaus von Flüe, Nicholas of the Meadow.

Already for more than four hundred years the mountain folk of those regions had been known for their piety and good works; and Heinrich and Hemma von Flüe, Niklaus' parents, were no exceptions. Indeed, Hemma belonged to that mediaeval mystical brotherhood known as the *Gottesfreunde* (Swiss and German members of which Tauler had met on his travels in 1339); and under her guidance both her sons, Niklaus and Peter, also grew up as Friends of God. Niklaus is frequently referred to by his contemporaries as "this highly esteemed Friend of God," and his whole pattern of life conformed to the strivings revealed in his daily prayer:

My Lord and my God,  
Take everything from me  
That may divert me from Thee.

My Lord and my God,  
Give to me all  
That may lead me to Thee

My Lord and my God,  
Take me and make me  
One with Thee.

\* \* \*

When Niklaus von Flüe died (on his seventieth birthday, March 22, 1487) it was decided that memories of his life should be collected throughout the canton and beyond while they were still fresh in his compatriots' minds. Our intimate knowledge of that life's earlier unfolding we owe to Heinrich Wölflin, a young schoolmaster in his native Berne, a Master of the Fine Arts, who was appointed to this task. These memories, which he recorded in Latin, he would accept only if they were given under oath as to their truth. This labour of love, begun in 1493, he completed in 1501.

Heinrich's biography goes back to before the time of Niklaus von Flüe's birth. He records that while still in his mother's womb Niklaus saw a star which outshone all the stars about it and lit up the landscape below; also that at his birth he knew both his mother and the midwife, and at his christening recognised not only all who were gathered about the font with the exception of one old man, but also the rocky gorge through which he was carried to this sacrament in the neighbouring church of Sachseln on the Sarner See.

Rudolf Steiner refers to this recognition in his lectures, *Die Geburt des Christus im der menschlichen Seele*:

One can say: only seldom have men risen to the height of being able to look at the Mystery nature of birth. Seldom, but then in images which speak to the depths of the soul. So it is with Niklaus von Flüe in the fifteenth century. It is said of him—and he himself has related it—that before his birth, before he could breathe physical air, he saw a picture of himself as a human being, of the body he would have after his birth. He also saw his christening and those who were present then and at later events in his life. Later he recognised all but one elderly person.

The lecture goes on to say that we can see from this example what a thin wall it is that hides from our ordinary sight the fact that birth is not a physical event alone.

Alongside this it may perhaps be helpful to place the following passage from Dr. Karl König's *Embryology and World Evolution* (he is speaking here of various approaches to a study of embryology):

There is also the possibility—and that is a wonderful thing—of studying embryology from the point of view of psychology. This means trying to learn more and more of how the child's subconsciousness develops within the mother's womb. A great number of observations have already been made in this field.

We forget, for instance, that the child—I mean the embryo, or, better, the foetus—is much more awake in the third and fourth months, and has a much better and more comprehensive consciousness, than at the moment when the foetus begins to kick. Also that the eyes of the embryo are open at first and that the lids close later, which indicates that the developing child is then entering into deep sleep and will begin to awaken again only slowly, step by step.\*

Rudolf Steiner tells us:

When man today enters on a new earth-life, in his descent he seeks to establish a harmony between the course of the stars and his coming life on Earth. In old times this harmony existed as a matter of course, because the divine-spiritual was still active in the stars. But today, when the course of the stars is only a continuing of the manner in which the divine-spiritual worked in the past, this harmony could not exist unless man sought it.

And Dr. Vreede reminds us:

If you take the passages in our literature in which Dr. Steiner speaks about astrology, you will find how again and again he emphasises that astrology must be something *social*, which pays no attention to the individual but has *social aims*.

We can think then of Bruder Klaus, on his way down to birth, as seeking this harmony, and so firmly establishing it that his subsequent earth-life becomes a preparation for the unique part he was to play in the history of his times.

\* \* \*

Heinrich Wölflin records that in the family of mountain farmers into which Niklaus was born, from childhood he took his place with the rest, working in the fields, taking the cattle to new pastures, doing whatever tasks were required of him, but already, even as a boy, dropping behind on the way home, when the working day was over, to seek some withdrawn place in which to pray and meditate.

\*From the first of six lectures given by Dr. König at seminars in Freiburg in Breslau in October, 1965 and March, 1966 and later published by the Verlag die Kommenden. An English translation of these lectures appeared in successive issues of *The British Homoeopathic Journal*, 1968-69, and was afterwards reprinted as a pamphlet.

The fasting which later was to assume the proportions of a miracle had its small beginnings in his childhood's fasting on Fridays, increasing quickly to four days a week, and in his privately keeping Lent with such rigour that throughout its forty days he allowed himself daily only one small crust of bread and a few dried peas.

From adolescence onwards, periods of prayer and meditation frequently brought him spiritual direction in the form of visions. When he was only sixteen, for example, he saw, while praying, a tower rising out of the pasture on which he knelt, and with great humility he recognised and acquiesced in his own future destiny of one day becoming a tower of help to his fellow men.

In another vision he saw a noble and very ancient man coming towards him, singing with three voices harmoniously blended. As he drew near he held out his hand in a gentle gesture of inviting alms; then, gratefully and graciously accepting Niklaus' offering, he suddenly vanished from his sight. It seemed to Niklaus that something of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity had been revealed to him in this vision. By such experiences his inner life was nourished, deepened and enriched.

\* \* \*

The history of mediaeval Switzerland is a chronicle of the gradual emergence, through centuries of warfare, of an integrated community out of what was originally a miscellany of cantons which had had neither race nor language in common. The first seed of a united Switzerland had been sown in 1291, when the *Waldstätte* (the Three Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwys, and Niklaus' native Unterwalden) had together founded the Everlasting League for mutual defence and peaceful settlement of dissensions among themselves.

Lucerne in 1332, Zürich in 1351, Berne in 1353, Glarus in 1358, Zug in 1368 had joined the alliance; and in 1393 this Eight-State Confederation had formulated its enlightened Laws of War, controlling looting, repudiating deserters, and protecting women, children and church property.

The three cantons which took the initial step have been truly called "the heart of Switzerland." Perhaps in no other cantons had the farming communities been so free from overlordship, and

for so long. That the *Gottesfreunde* could there spread such deep and tranquil roots points to this heritage of inner freedom, which could foster a new impulse in worship while still remaining wholly within the fold of Mother Church. Later, at the coming of the Reformation, the Three Forest Cantons showed the same marriage of freedom with conformity in welcoming the reforms of the Council of Trent while still remaining loyal Catholics. One has a strong feeling that Niklaus and those angels who guided his destiny chose, in this heart of Switzerland, the perfect *milieu* for his preparation for the work he came to do.

In 1436 a quarrel broke out between Zürich and Schwys over the partition of the Toggenburg inheritance, and developed into a war between Zürich and the other members of the Confederation. In 1439, when he was twenty-two years old, we find Niklaus, as a native of Unterwalden, being called upon to take part in this war. Obedient to authority, in spite of his life-long love of peace, he fought in the ranks before becoming standard-bearer to the Obwalden troops. (Obwalden and Nidwalden together made up the canton of Unterwalden.)

Mercenaries sent in 1444 by Charles VII of France swelled Zürich's army to ten times the size of that of the confederates, who bravely fought on against overwhelming odds until the battlefield was heaped with the dead and wounded. The impact of their epic courage was greater than that of their defeat, causing France to recognise the Confederation and to seek friendly relations with it. The Peace of Constance in 1446 brought Zürich back into the Confederation's fold.

\* \* \*

After Niklaus returned from this war he married Dorothea Wissling, a Friend of God whose sober and quiet piety matched his own. Until now he had lived with his parents, their family and their farm servants, in the commodious wooden chalet his father Heinrich had built for his mother Hemma on the family pastures of Flüeli. Now Niklaus in turn built one for Dorothea nearby. Both Flüeli houses still stand. In the course of five centuries both have been modernised, but in Dorothea's one room has been left just as it was when Niklaus first built it and furnished it with home-made wooden stools and benches, its metal cooking-

pot swinging over an open fire of logs sunk in the crazy pavement of the bare stone floor, providing a vivid domestic background to all we are told of Niklaus' life from the time of his marriage until he became a hermit.

The life of these two together was marked by great harmony. They had a family of ten, five sons and five daughters. Heinrich Wolflin records that when the eldest son, Johannes, was a boy, the Devil, "who regarded Niklaus with great misgiving and did his best to harm him," threw him into a thornbush, where Johannes, running from the cattle he was tending, found him bleeding and unconscious. His father's comment on regaining consciousness was: "The Devil threw me down with great force; but that also was God's will."

One of the treasured freedoms of the Three Forest Cantons was that of choosing their own magistrates—a rare right in those days of feudal lordship. On his return from the war Niklaus was appointed to such a post, as his father Heinrich had been before him; in this capacity he also represented Obwalden at cantonal councils. He had been remarkable even as a child for his sound judgment, and it was with the greatest humility that he was later to admit to his friend Father Heinrich Imgrund, the parish priest of Stans, that God had given him the spirit of counsel.

But one day he saw a flame of fire coming from the mouth of a fellow magistrate whom he knew to be pronouncing a wrong judgment. Shaken by this, he himself relinquished public office, lest he too should be at fault in his dispensing of justice. Because of his gift of wisdom and the veneration in which he was held, he was again and again pressed to accept the highest post in the canton—that of governor; but his humility was such that always he refused.

Then, in 1460, the confederates took Thurgau from Sigismund of Tyrol, and Niklaus was called upon to fight a second time, this time as Captain of an Obwalden company.

For him and for his men this short Thurgauer campaign closed on a note of mercy, for when his men were clamouring to burn down a monastery near Diessenhofen in order to destroy the enemy Austrians who had taken refuge in it, Niklaus stood before the gate with outstretched arms, turning his body into a cross, and by his words and presence alone won them from their purpose.

One day he had been approached by three noble old men in white robes, who had given him a small wooden cross; as he bore this about with him, he began to feel ever more deeply what he thought of as "the lack of the presence of God." Even when the end of the campaign released him to return to the home and family he loved, the sense of this was still with him, bringing with it a restlessness of the spirit, so that Johannes, his eldest son, says of him: "My father retired to rest at the same time as his children and servants; but every night I saw him get up again and heard him praying in his room until morning. Often, too, he would walk through the silent night to the ancient church of St. Niklaus or to other holy places."

During the next seven years vision followed vision, each seeming to him to bear the message that the life of a mountain farmer was no longer the life God required him to lead.

One such vision he experienced on a working day when, having tended his cattle, he sat down in their pasture to meditate. Suddenly he was aware of a most delicate and delicious fragrance, and found that it was spreading from a beautiful white lily growing out of his own mouth, its stem rapidly reaching up towards the sky.

As he gazed at it, his herd of cattle swayed slowly past him, followed by his horse, in whose beauty he took great delight. And suddenly the lily bent down out of the sky towards the horse, which proceeded to demolish and eat it.

Now for the first time he clearly understood that if he wished to rise to higher worlds he must renounce all earthly possessions.

In another vision Niklaus came to a wonderful castle, in the hall of which he found a fountain of oil, wine and honey, and heard a voice say: "Whosoever is thirsty, let him drink."

Above the fountain rose a staircase with ten steps. Mounting these, he found a great basin from whose brim the contents dripped to make the fountain below. No-one entered the castle. No-one was drinking from the fountain, either above or below.

Leaving the castle, he found himself in a field full of busy people. Some were placing a gate across the path, where all who wished to pass must pay toll. Others were building a bridge across the river; all who wished to cross this must pay toll too. Others carried musical instruments, which they would play only for a fee.

It seemed to Niklaus that external affairs left these busy people no time to drink from the holy fountain. More and more he himself felt the call to withdraw into a life of contemplation.

So now he gently told his beloved Dorothea that the time had come when he must live in solitude and devote his life to prayer and meditation. She, their family and his old father all accepted his need in faith and love, for such a vocation was taken seriously among the Friends of God. So, after tender farewells, barefoot, bareheaded, clad in a dark grey-brown habit, bearing his rosary and his staff, in the autumn of 1467 he set out in search of a secluded spot in which to spend his future life.

\* \* \*

Niklaus first turned his steps towards the frontier of Alsace. It has been suggested that he was seeking advice as to a peaceful retreat in that country from the Friend of God there who had given him the only outward help he used in meditation—a page of small pictures of the life of Christ surrounding the Trinity.

Darkness fell as he approached the frontier, and he gratefully accepted the hospitality for the night offered him by a passing peasant. It transpired that his host was also a Friend of God; he warned his guest that the Swiss were not liked in Alsace "because of our rough manners," and that it might therefore not be easy for him to find a retreat for contemplative solitude there.

During the night Niklaus was awakened by a terrific thunder-storm. As he watched, the jagged flashes of lightning seemed to be casting tongues of flame into the little town of Liechstall just across the frontier. Taking this as a sign confirming his host's warning, he began next day to retrace his steps towards the countryside he knew.

As night came on, he lay down to sleep beneath a tree. Suddenly he was stabbed awake by a brilliant beam of light which blazed down from the dark sky and entered his body with the sharpness of a knife. From that hour onwards he lost all desire for—and indeed all need of—bodily food and drink.

Reaching his home country, he went deep into the Melchtal, a valley through which the River Melchaa flows, bordered by high rocks. Here, under a larch tree, he made himself a shelter of boughs, and had stayed there fasting for a week when a passing

hunter saw him and brought news of his presence to his brother Peter.

Peter, with other friends, came in haste to beg Niklaus to make his retreat in a place less exposed to wind and weather. Together they went in search of such a haven, and came to a valley called Ranft. Into this valley a beam of light fell from the sky like a burning candle; and by this sign Niklaus knew that here was the hermit's retreat appointed him.

So here, above a narrow gorge in which a mountain torrent roared and frothed, Niklaus built himself a little cell of rough-hewn logs in which he lived and prayed and fasted until, when the news had spread round the countryside, the people of Obwalden came and built him a chapel dedicated to the Mother of God, and behind it a cell from which he could see the altar without himself being seen.

The fact that no food ever entered Niklaus's cell did not pass unnoticed, and led to much debating among the local mountain-folk. After having neither eaten nor drunk for the first eleven days after entering his cell, Niklaus had sought a spiritual consultation with the parish priest, who, moved by his humility, saw this fasting as a way of serving God. Later Niklaus confided in him that when watching him partake of the Bread and Wine at Mass, or when meditating alone in his cell on Christ's Passion, he himself was aware of receiving wonderful forces of sustenance which made physical nourishment unnecessary.

Some of the local peasants being of the opinion that material food was being brought to Niklaus secretly, for a month each village took its turn to keep watch day and night. For a month, also, the cantonal magistrates had a similar watch kept. Nothing was ever brought to Niklaus' cell; the paths remained empty, the gorge and mountainside undisturbed.

The Archduke Sigismund sent his personal physician to investigate; envoys from the Emperor Frederick III arrived on the same errand. All returned to their masters convinced of the truth of Niklaus's fasting.

Then Bishop Thomas of Constance visited Niklaus' cell to make an ecclesiastical investigation. He brought with him bread and wine, and commanded Niklaus to partake of them. Niklaus asked humbly for permission to break one of the three small pieces of bread

into three even smaller fragments. When this was granted, the swallowing of even one of these fragments caused him the greatest agony, as also did taking the merest sip of wine.

Bishop Thomas, completely convinced of the reality of Niklaus' fasting, reported: "What is happening here to a Friend of God is wonderful!"

The peasants of the neighbourhood, fully accepting now that Niklaus did not live on earthly substance, decided among themselves that he was being nourished either by the bread of angels or by food brought to him by a raven, but that he was too modest to mention this. Remembering the feeding of Elijah by ravens in the Old Testament, and the ministering of angels to Jesus of Nazareth after the Temptation in the New, one reverently realises that these surmises of simple folk were in fact true archetypal images for what was indeed a spiritual reality.

Once they had accepted the miracle of Niklaus's fasting, the peasants of the Ranft found no marvel beyond him, and in any time of crisis turned to him for help. Heinrich Wölflin records that in 1468, less than a year after Niklaus had come among them, a great fire broke out in the valley, sending them in consternation to his cell. As he looked down from the ridge above the valley, he saw that there were twenty-two houses either already burning or in danger. Lifting his arm, he made a great sign of the cross; while he stood and watched, the fire slackened, then ebbed, then slowly went out.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, Niklaus' life had found its own new rhythm. Going barefoot and bareheaded all the year round, clad only in his grey-brown woollen habit; sleeping—also all the year round—on the bare wooden floor of his cell with a stone or a log for a pillow, and only in the rigours of midwinter snows allowing himself the poor comfort of one thin blanket, he rose each midnight to spend the hours till noon in prayer and meditation. The afternoons he set aside for those who sought his counsel—he always had supersensible preknowledge of their coming—and for visits from his family, with whom he was still deeply and lovingly united.

During the nineteen years of his life as a hermit, Niklaus saw his children, one by one, reach maturity. Dorothea had given them

all an excellent training for life on a deeply religious foundation, and, where it was indicated, an education unusual in those parts and times in a farming community.

The post of governor which had been so often offered to Niklaus, and as often refused by him, was offered to, and accepted by, Johannes, his eldest son, during Niklaus's lifetime. Johannes could read and write, which Niklaus could not, and when later events brought Niklaus letters from far beyond the confines of his own canton, it was Johannes who read them to him and who wrote the answers at his father's dictation. (Niklaus had a special seal with which he signed them.)

Niklaus's youngest son, also during his father's lifetime, studied at the University of Basle and became parish priest at Sachseln, where Niklaus had been baptised and in due course would be buried.

Heinrich Wölflin tells us of a son studying at Paris University who sent two letters to his father by a fellow-student passing through Switzerland. The student lost one of the letters on the way and approached the Ranft in great trepidation. Niklaus came down the mountainside to meet him, carrying a letter. He greeted the nervous youth with great cordiality, remarking: "See, the letter lost in Sequanerland has already reached me."

With strangers who came to consult him he was invariably courteous, though he was always aware when they came out of curiosity. When they came honestly seeking spiritual counsel, he never failed in his response. Many spoke later of the shock they had received when entering his cell; it had seemed to them that a light surrounded him.

The last years before his death were warmed by the presence on the mountainside of Bruder Ulrich, a recluse who had been his friend at Flüeli. To him Niklaus—who had precognition of such matters—had confided the day and hour of his own death. As the years went by, Ulrich longed greatly to be with his friend before and at his departing; and, visiting him at Ranft, begged for and obtained Niklaus's consent.

So another tiny hermitage was built, higher on the mountainside; and on those afternoons when Niklaus was supersensibly aware that no-one in need of counsel would be visiting him, he would climb up to Bruder Ulrich's cell, where the two old hermits, sitting

at its door in the snow and the sunshine, shared the spiritual matters that were closest to both their hearts.

All the years from the time Niklaus was led to the Ranft until his death, he never left it except to take part in the great yearly Musegger procession in Lucerne or occasionally to visit the monastery of Einsiedeln. Albert von Bonstetten, the Dean of this monastery, who knew Niklaus well and greatly revered him, describes him as "tall, brown, wrinkled, with grizzled locks, a short beard, bright eyes, teeth white and well-preserved, and a shapely nose."

The bright eyes and shapely nose are clearly recognisable in the photograph of the earliest known portrait of Niklaus painted in 1492, five years after his death. For many years this portrait was used as one of the altar-wings in Sachseln church (the other depicting Christ on the Mount of Olives) until it mysteriously disappeared. It was found again in 1945 (two years before the canonisation of its subject), and was carefully restored and given back to Sachseln Church by the councillors of Lucerne.

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While Niklaus was living this withdrawn life as a contemplative, the Eight-State Confederation was going from victory to victory and from strength to strength in its struggle with Charles the Bold of Burgundy for independence. But while all without was full of glory, all was not well within. There were quarrels over the division of the spoils of war, and internal disruptions threatened over the respective rights of town and country.

The towns of Friburg and Solothurn, with whose help the victories of the Confederation had been won, desired in return to be themselves admitted into the Confederation. But to this the country members of the union were strongly opposed; to them it seemed that the admittance of further towns would upset the balance between town and country, and that the country would be ruled by the towns. The curious anomaly arose that even in the town-states already included in the union—Lucerne, Zürich and Berne—their farmers resisted the inclusion of more towns. More than thirty conferences had been held without agreement being reached.

When in December, 1481, the confederate leaders met at Stans in council, agreement was reached on other points at issue and em-

bodied in the Edict of Stans. But on the burning question of the acceptance of Friburg and Solothurn into the union there was still no agreement in sight when the meeting broke up. Dissension on this point was, in fact, so rife that civil war within the Confederation seemed inevitable.

It was at this moment of peril that the parish priest of Stans, Father Heinrich Imgrund (called Father Heims Amgrund in some of the records) made the inspired suggestion that Bruder Klaus might be consulted. The suggestion was received with unanimous approbation; the deputies departed to their lodgings and Father Heinrich hastened to the Ranft, to consult with Bruder Klaus.

The chronicler Diebold Schilling, who was representing his father at this council of delegates, records the priest's return from his mission, "streaming with perspiration," his hasty descent on all the delegates in their lodgings, summoning them to immediate re-assembly in the Rathaus, "for God's sake and the sake of Bruder Klaus," beseeching them with tears to consider seriously the hermit's practical suggestions, and above all to respond to the heart of his message:

"Countrymen, stand together. Do not meddle in foreign affairs. Peace is to be found in God." (How far, one wonders, does Switzerland's modern will to neutrality derive from Bruder Klaus?)

"And black though things were," Diebold reports of the meeting that followed, "within an hour all was settled." On December 22, 1481, without a single dissenting voice, both Friburg and Solothurn were peacefully admitted to the union, making the Eight-state now a Ten-State Confederation.

There was much joy in Switzerland that Christmas; and many letters of gratitude, including one from the Stans Council, came to Brother Klaus in his tiny cell in the Ranft. Johannes read them to him and wrote down replies at his father's dictation. One such letter, signed with Niklaus's seal, is preserved in the Historisches Museum at Solothurn. It is addressed to the town of Berne and begins:

Reverend Gentlemen,

Christ be with you, and all our good wishes.

I thank you with all my heart for your kind gift. It shows your great love, which gives me more joy than the gift itself.

This gift provided a chantry and a chantry priest, so that Niklaus in his hermitage was now able to be present at Mass daily.

Preserved in the State Archives of Solothurn is the following letter of thanks sent to Brother Klaus by the people of that town:

Venerable Brother Klaus,

We, the Council and People of Solothurn, ask you to remember us in your prayers.

We know that by the grace of God and the Holy Virgin peace and unity have been achieved through your wise counsel. We pray that Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin may bless you eternally.

We send you twenty Gulden for the year, to use for any purpose for the praise of God, and ask you to pray for us to Our Lord for further protection.

Written on Saturday in the year 1481.

A letter written to Brother Klaus by the town of Constance, and preserved there in the Rosgarten Museum, breathes a warm human affection:

Our willing service and whatever is in our power to do we offer you, dear and devoted Friend of God and of the world.

You have now reached a state in your life where God the Almighty and all the heavenly host are looking down on you with benevolence.

Through your way of life we receive God's grace and blessings, and through your wise counsel the peace of our Swiss fatherland.

We ask you, when praying to our God, the Father of Peace, always to remember us, so that the friendship and peace amongst us may continue to God's glory.

Written on the Saturday after St. Paul's Conversion, 1482.

The Mayor of the Town of Constance.

Niklaus's reply gives, in his gentle fashion, that sound, down-to-earth admonition which was a characteristic of his spiritual consultations:

To the pious and wise Mayor and Council of the Town of Constance:

My dear Fathers,

Christ our Lord be with you.

My good wishes come to you all; and whatever good deeds I may do, I hope you will benefit from them. You ask me to pray for you, which I will faithfully do. In the end it is God's will that is always done.

I will do whatever is in my power towards peace among you, but you must do *your* best, too. Your good deeds will be repaid with

good deeds. If you cannot come to an understanding through love, then the law must decide.

God be with you.

Written Wednesday before St. Blasius' Day, anno domini 1482.

Bruder Klaus von Flüe.

As January 26 is the Feast of St. Paul's Conversion, and January 30 is St. Blasius' Day, one marvels at the rapidity with which these two letters passed between the hermitage above the Ranft and the distant town of Constance.

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On his seventieth birthday, March 21, 1487, having received the Last Anointing after eight days of suffering, spent lying, as always, on the bare floor of his cell, Niklaus died at the very hour on the very day he had confided to Bruder Ulrich.

His body was borne by hand on a bier through forests and gorges to the church in Sachseln in which he had been baptised, where his body lies and his worn-out habit is still preserved.

The Walliser Bishop Thordul read the Burial Service; many priests and people from all over Unterwalden and beyond were present with Niklaus's family and friends. When, the following day, Dorothea returned to pray beside the grave, a stranger already kneeling there spoke to her with awe of what his inner eye had seen as he was praying—Niklaus rising above the rock, a radiant being, in his hands a standard bearing the Bear's Paw.

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From the moment of his death Switzerland honoured Niklaus as a saint, though this was not formally sanctioned by the Church until 1669, and it was not until May 15, 1947, that he was officially canonised, when Pope Pius XII announced at St. Peter's in Rome: "We have today by the Will of God canonised Niklaus von Flüe. We hope that all will approach him with great reverence. The people of our dear Switzerland in particular we expect to venerate their new Saint, Patron and Protector."

We can well understand that the graveside vision of Niklaus bearing the Bear's Paw, the flag of the Confederation, must have been a comforting reminder of the great part he had played in

Switzerland's growth towards and eventually into unity. For us it can also have a second meaning, which did not emerge from the womb of time till nearly five centuries later—that in a very special way this was to be his own flag, since he was also to become the Patron Saint of the country his wise counselling had been instrumental in uniting.

We see working in him a destiny surely unique since the birth of the Consciousness Soul in 1413. We see in him a wise and gentle hierophant bringing together a new-born fatherland and its own Folk-Soul.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### BELOW THE SURFACE OF HISTORY

*From Symptom to Reality in Modern History*, by Rudolf Steiner. Nine lectures given in Dornach, October-November, 1918. (Rudolf Steiner Press, £3.75).

BELOW the surface of history there are all sorts of currents, interweaving and clashing and breaking through into historical events, sometimes "with the violence of a volcanic eruption." In these lectures the currents brought into view are those associated with the emergence of the Consciousness Soul from 1413 onwards. Some of the ensuing developments are familiar: a new emphasis on personality and personal independence, the rise of nationalism, the birth of modern science, the opening up of the world by exploration and colonisation, the coming of the machine-age, the rise of the proletariat as a new force in society and of socialism as a new social theory.

All these trends and some others are discussed here by Rudolf Steiner: he shows how they are related to the Consciousness Soul, how they have had different effects in different countries, how they have been opposed by impulses persisting from the past, notably by the conservative attitude of the Roman Catholic Church, which would in effect keep men at the stage of the Intellectual Soul. It is a complicated story, impossible to summarise. I will quote a few glimpses:

In what appeared in the French Revolution we see, to some extent, the soul of the fifth post-Atlantean epoch without social embodiment, without corporeal existence. It is abstract, purely emotional, a soul in search of embodiment . . . and this can be realised only in the course of millennia, or at least in the course of centuries.

I have been at great pains to follow the destiny of Napoleon's soul in its journey after death. I have been unable to find it and do not think I shall ever be able to find it, for it is probably not to be found.

The fundamental characteristic of the epoch of the Consciousness Soul is that on the physical plane we can create only if we are aware that everything we create is destined to perish. Death is inherent in everything we create . . . And the mistake we make is not that our creations are fraught with death, but that we refuse to recognise that they are vehicles of death.

In two of these lectures, VI and VII, Dr. Steiner brings some aspects of his own life into the history of the period. He tells us how he was led by the needs of the times to write *The Philosophy of Freedom*, how and why it was cold-shouldered in academic circles, and how his exposition of Goetheanism, as distinct from the official cult of Goethe in Weimar, met with a similar lack of understanding. There are also some interesting pages on his years in Berlin, when he ran the *Magazin für Literatur* and taught at the Berlin Workers' College. He acquired the *Magazin*

"in order to have a platform for ideas which I considered to be timely, in the true sense of the word, ideas which I could advocate publicly." But "the whole professoriate of Berlin University who had subscribed to the *Magazin* at that time, insofar as they were interested in philology or literature . . . gradually cancelled their subscriptions. I must admit that with the publication of the *Magazin* I had the happy knack of offending the readers—the readers and not the *Zeitgeist*."

The last three lectures are concerned with "the impulses which have determined the history of religions" in our epoch. Three main streams are distinguished: the People of the Christ, associated with the Russian people; the People of the Church, associated with Rome; and the People of the Lodges, associated with liberal humanism and the Deism of the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) period. The section on the People of the Church includes an account of the meditative exercises used in Jesuit training; this amplifies the similar account in the 1911 cycle, "From Jesus to Christ."

In view of the time when these lectures were given, during the closing weeks of the first World War, it is not surprising that they should often be sombre in tone. Rudolf Steiner felt it as a tragedy that so little had come of his endeavours through the Anthroposophical Movement to arouse in people an awareness of the underlying causes of "the chaos, the terrible catastrophe which has overtaken Europe and America." Yet for him the next seven years, from 1918 to 1925, were to be exceptionally strenuous and fruitful. While the world at large remains indifferent towards his central teachings, the seeds he sowed in many diverse fields of practical activity during those years are now bearing a widespread and expanding harvest.

The translation of these lectures, by A. H. Parker, is clear and forthright, and the volume is admirably produced, with a summary of contents for each lecture and helpful notes on the numerous persons mentioned. It is well equipped for the careful study it certainly requires. C.D.

## A BIOGRAPHY OF RUDOLF STEINER

*Rudolf Steiner: A Documentary Biography.* By Johannes Hemleben. Translated by Leo Twyman. (Henry Goulden, 5 West Street, East Grinstead, Sussex. Price £6.00 hardback; £3.75 softback; both editions sewn).

There should be a welcome for this translation of a book which has sold upwards of 100,000 copies in German since its publication in 1961. Its aim is to present Rudolf Steiner's life and work in the light of his own writings and the testimony of contemporaries. One must wish that more of this were on record, especially from people who knew Rudolf Steiner during the first half of his life, but the author has drawn on a wide range of reliable sources and woven them skilfully into his narrative.

He includes short introductions to some of Steiner's main teachings and an account of the various "practical activities" that have arisen from his work. Altogether, this fairly short book, clearly and quietly written, could be recommended to many inquirers; it is well illustrated with numerous photographs, some of which will probably be new to most readers, as they were to me.

Rather oddly, no word of information about the author has been added to this English edition. Many readers may not know that Dr. Hemleben, a biologist by training, was ordained as a priest in the Christian Community soon after its foundation in 1923. He has written a number of short biographies, mostly of scientists, for the Rowohlt Taschenbuch series (somewhat like our Penguins). His larger book, *Jenseits*, on concepts of life after death in historical perspective, is expected to be published in English by Henry Goulden next year. C.D.

## TRIBUTE TO OWEN BARFIELD

*The Evolution of Consciousness—Studies in Polarity.* Edited by Shirley Sugerman. (Wesleyan University Press, £9.80).

In one of his works—I have not been able to track down the place again—Owen Barfield says something to the effect that the future of man could come to depend on how he understands the word 'in'.

That this is indeed a matter of life or death is highlighted by a remark of Gilbert Ryle's, quoted by one of the contributors to this *Festschrift* in honour of Owen Barfield's 75th birthday. "Preoccupation with the theory of meaning" says Ryle, "could be described as the occupational disease of twentieth-century Anglo-Saxon and Austrian philosophy". To which I would say that blindness to the reality of meaning—to the inwardness of language, of nature, of man himself—has been and remains the occupational disease to which almost every educated person nurtured in the Anglo-Saxon intellectual climate is prone.

Owen Barfield's immense contribution—still barely known in Britain—has been to brave this climate and make a substantial hole in the grey clouds of positivism with the light and warmth of his writing. On the other side of the Atlantic some have noticed, and have begun to add their own prayers for a change in spiritual weather. This volume is a symptom, as well as a deeply-deserved salutation to Owen Barfield himself.

It is sad that this particular prophet has not so far found as much honour in his own country as he has across the Atlantic. Most of the contributors to this volume are at American universities. Together they span the continent, including Canada: Los Angeles, Detroit, Michigan, Missouri, Drew, Brandeis, Washington, McGill. They are nearly all engaged in literary studies of one kind or another. This has both its strength and weakness. Any serious concern with literature must bring some attentiveness to the main foci of Owen Barfield's lifelong work,

to language and the imagination of man. There is often a kind of vigour in American academic life which protects it from degeneration into the merely scholarly, so that there is an open ear for a voice which urges that in poetry, literature and our use of language there is a most intimate window into the evolution of human consciousness, and hence into the inward realities of the human soul itself. And because of this, a study of consciousness and language may not only be interesting but may actually matter for the future of life on earth.

This has not entirely prevented parts of this volume from being merely scholarly, and one would have welcomed a more urgent sense that these questions are relevant beyond departments of English literature or the Coleridge *cognoscenti*. The airs of academia can be rather stifling for the outsider.

I found most force in those authors who concern themselves most directly with Owen Barfield's own work and its implications. These are often the ones who recognise and appreciate most explicitly Barfield's own profound debt to Rudolf Steiner. Professor Meiners on the agony of the modern poet, Professor Tennyson on Barfield as "redeemer" of 19th century etymology and philology, and Professor Reilly on Barfield and romanticism are particularly illuminating.

Professor Reilly, in particular, seems to me to put his finger on a central issue. The trouble with academia as a launching platform for revolution is that it is all too easy for everyone to forget that what is being said has anything to do with real life (indeed we should perhaps hope for a Barfieldian study of the word 'academic', which now seems close to meaning "of no actual relevance to real life"). Yet in our culture there are now many, even within academic life, who are ready to acknowledge that man has 'lost' some kind of spiritual awareness and knowledge which he possessed (or as Barfield would probably prefer to say, which possessed him) in the past. Older spiritual traditions are being rediscovered and made part of our culture (although in Steiner's own day this process had already begun, so that he had to meet continual accusations that he was merely warming up old spiritual wisdom.)

This sense of a past 'golden age', Reilly argues, lived within most of the Anglo-Saxon Romantics on both sides of the Atlantic: Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Thoreau, Whitman, Emerson. They mainly saw sadness but no *meaning* in this loss, and here, says Reilly, they belong essentially to the Eastern, pre-Christian mood which sees life on earth as a banishment from our true spiritual home, a sad necessity to be endured but not enjoyed.

Only Coleridge, according to Reilly, began to see a meaning in this loss. As all students of Rudolf Steiner's work know, here is the heart of Anthroposophy. Steiner's own perception of the meaning of the evolution of human consciousness was the most crucial experience of his own spiritual development, and pervades all his subsequent work. In it lies the essential contribution which the West has to make to the

East, the recognition that life on earth acquired its inner meaning with the Mystery of Golgotha, when the Word became Flesh.

So Reilly shows how in Barfield's work Romanticism truly comes of age (Barfield, in a collected volume of his own essays, coined this phrase to characterise Anthroposophy). And it is those contributors who see the meaning in the evolution of consciousness who begin to have the force that will be needed if these issues are to break out of academia and into life.

A broad generation of young American students are now meeting Owen Barfield's works, and ripples from them, in college (and often thereby beginning to discover Steiner). This *Festschrift*, though patchy as far as a non-academic reader is concerned, will help, and it includes a complete bibliography of Barfield's writings. Those many friends of Owen Barfield who read the *Golden Blade* will echo the dedicatory words of Shirley Sugerman, the editor of the volume, who contributes a fine essay on Coleridge and also a long interview with Barfield himself: 'In honour', she says, 'of Owen Barfield, with admiration and affection'.

JOHN DAVY

## AN 'EXTRAORDINARY FERMENT'

*The Many Ways of Being*. Edited by Stephen Annett. (Sphere Books, Abacus paperback, £1.25).

This useful book has, Mr. Annett says, two main purposes: "to give a broad picture of the extraordinary ferment that makes up the non-establishment spiritual state of Britain; and to help people to make contact with groups that they might find sympathetic."

A ferment it truly is. This is evident already in the first section of the book, covering "Christian Groups." Besides well-known bodies such as the Society of Friends, the Mormons, the Pentecostal Church and Christian Science, we meet a wide variety of groups and movements, some home-grown, others which started elsewhere and have spread to Britain. All that most of these groups have in common is a dislike for the formal structure of established Christianity. Some try to work as reform movements within the Churches; others work independently on radical or more or less revolutionary lines. Some try to follow an early Christian way of life; others have a religion of their own, intended to be Christian, sometimes taught by a charismatic founder.

For example, the controversial Unified Church was founded by a South Korean engineer, Sun Myung Moon. He has said that Jesus appeared to him frequently over a period of ten years. Failing to gain a hearing for his revelations in South Korea, in 1946 he entered North Korea, where he formed an underground church. Betrayed by a disciple, he was severely beaten by the police and left for dead on the frozen ground outside. His disciples, we are told, carried off his body, in-

tending to give it a Christian burial, but after three days he revived and resumed his underground missionary work. Arrested once more, he spent five years in a concentration camp before he was able to return to South Korea, where he founded the Unified Church, afterwards taking its message to the United States, where it really got going. It now claims an international following of three-quarters of a million, with four or five hundred members in this country.

Its founder has given a written teaching, the Principle, of which one of the leaders of the movement in this country, Mike Marshall, says:

"The Principle gives pattern and coherence to the Scriptures and shows that God is working to-day. It is concerned with how God is changing the physical world, not just the spiritual, and shows how these two must be united . . . The theme of the family, and its distortion, is central to the analysis contained in the Principle. We are concerned with the ideal family. Not the traditional institution of the family, but a love relationship in the family situation."

In order to put its tenets into practice, the Unified Church runs farms, businesses and schools. One of its offshoots, Unified Family Enterprises, has a printing workshop, makes candles, runs a farm and an importing business. Another offshoot is the Federation for World Peace and Unification, through which the Church's political views are expressed. These, Mr. Annett says, "boil down to a spiritually justified form of anti-Communism. Europe, and more especially America, are seen as potentially divine forces for good on earth . . . However, because their spiritual priorities are wrong, they are failing in their task, and the Church regards itself as the movement which will correct this imbalance."

One of the home-grown movements is Musical Gospel Outreach: it specialises in combining pop music with evangelism and issues a Christian youth magazine, *Buzz*, with a circulation of around 14,000. One of its founders, Peter Meadows, says of its origin in 1966:

"Lots of kids in the churches were waking up to the fact that 96 per cent. of the people did not go to church. This coincided with the Beatles era, and sparked off something in the kids in the churches, who started using music to spread the message . . . We are not preaching a new breed of Christianity, but are bringing the Bible alive through modern communication methods. The young are seeing the failure of materialism, and there is a growing desire for spiritual values. The Bible has never been more relevant, and many Christians believe that we are coming to the climax of history, the Second Coming."

In contrast to all this outgoing activity is the growing strength of the Association for Promoting Retreats, founded by Anglicans in 1914 and inter-denominational since 1969. Almost 50,000 people in Britain now make a retreat every year; about three-quarters of them are women.

This section includes a note on the Christian Community, explaining briefly how it came into being, mentioning its priesthood and its sacraments, and saying correctly that "it could not have been formed without Dr. Steiner, yet he did not found it. It exists alongside the Anthroposophical Society in Great Britain, but separate from it."

The next section covers "Eastern Orientated Groups": twenty are listed, all with followers in Britain. They include Hinduism, Buddhism, Krishna Consciousness, the Divine Light Mission, Sufism, Vedanta, Transcendental Meditation, Subud, and others less well-known.

In the third section, "Esoteric Societies," we find three pages on Anthroposophy, with a short outline of Rudolf Steiner's life, indications of some of his main teachings, and information about the "practical activities" that stem from his work. Much of this account is accurate and fair-minded, as far as it goes; but the passing reference to Steiner and Christianity is misleading; it leaves out the central place he gave to the Mystery of Golgotha in the evolutionary history of earth and man.

Included in this section are Theosophy, the Alice Bailey movement, the Gurdjieff Society, the Teilhard de Chardin Centre, the Wrekin Trust, Scientology, and some very far-out groups—for example, the Aetherius Society, the Atlanteans, Viewpoint Aquarius, and Pyramidology. One need not complain at finding Anthroposophy in this rather strange company. A section that sets out to assemble information on Esoteric Societies is bound to cast its net far and wide, and there is no obvious place for Anthroposophy in any other section.

Further sections deal with Spiritualism and psychical research; with fringe medicine (28 pages); and with "Development Groups." Most of these have no definite religious background but are aimed chiefly at learning better ways of living by means of group therapy and other psychological techniques, including in some cases forms of yoga, massage and meditation.

The book concludes with an address list of the societies and movements that come within its field, including the names and addresses of anthroposophical group leaders up and down the country.

An immense amount of work must have gone into assembling all this information, and the result is a volume which is not only useful for reference (it has a good index), but will interest anyone who wants to get some impression of what is going on in this "extraordinary ferment" of searching and speculation.

Many of the groups and movements mentioned here are stronger in immediate emotional appeal than Anthroposophy can expect to be. They promise to do more for their adherents by way of personal instruction and advice, sometimes with the aid of various forms of group therapy and group meditation. Some of the movements with religious aims tend to be indifferent, or sometimes even hostile, towards modern science, while those closer to science are usually further from religion. The Christian groups that have arisen recently in this country are mostly evangelical, with little or no esoteric background. Anthroposophy is distinctive in being both Christian and esoteric; both religious and scientific. This is a handicap in terms of wide appeal; religious people are often apt to regard Anthroposophy as too scientific, while many scientists find it too religious. But there are also people who are drawn to Anthro-

posophy precisely because it bridges the gulf between religion and science. I was first led to study it because it was the only spiritual movement then known to me which not only looked up to the heights but in a quite literal sense came down to earth through its teachings on the care of the soil and the growing of health-giving foods. I believe this care for the earth will become increasingly important as time goes on. The world's rapidly rising population will call for more and more food, with the obvious prospect that the earth will be treated with more and more short-term stimulants at the expense of long-term fertility and human health. Probably it will be impossible to resist this trend on any wide international scale, and there will be all the more need and scope for "green islands," or neighbourhoods, where people can co-operate in food-growing by healthy methods.

Several of the groups mentioned in this volume are trying to develop ways of living in fruitful harmony with nature and the earth, while restricting their dependence on technology and exhaustible natural resources. They may never come to Anthroposophy and its spiritual-scientific basis; but all "friends of the earth" can feel that they have some part in a common purpose, fundamental for the future of mankind.

CHARLES DAVY

## RUDOLF STEINER'S WORK IN THE ARTS

*Rudolf Steiner's Sculpture*, by Ake Fant, Arne Klingborg and John Wilkes. (Rudolf Steiner Press, £5.75).

*The Imagery of the Goetheanum Windows*, by Wilhelm Rath. (Rudolf Steiner Press, £4.50.)

*Black and White Shaded Drawing*, by Valerie Jacobs. (Rudolf Steiner Press, £1.50.)

EXCEPT for a relatively brief period in Europe, artists have not been much concerned to represent reality as perceived by the senses, but rather to make visible what may be perceived by an inward or spiritual eye.

In mediaeval times, artists were perhaps concerned to preserve a vision which was vanishing. With the Renaissance, artists begin for a time to concern themselves with "everyday" realities—landscapes, interiors, portraits, realistic illustrations of historical or mythological events—although even here, with the greatest artists, "reality" is almost transparent to the spiritual reality out of which it is born. Towards the end of his life, Turner's landscapes dissolve into almost pure activity of colour.

Today we live in a time where artists are again seeking to make experiences of "non-ordinary reality" visible. These may be sought in the creative light and dark at work in nature, in man-made surroundings, or inwardly through the dream world into the "unconscious." This

clearly cannot be a journey of reminiscence, but is fundamentally prophetic: artists are trying to show the way towards new experience, but it is a difficult and even dangerous journey, verging often on chaos or on empty voids of abstraction.

In his work as an artist, Rudolf Steiner was absolutely contemporary, in this sense. He was deeply concerned to show ways in which the artist can be at the same time explorer and revealer of spiritual reality, but in such a way as to guide and not confuse his fellow human beings. He was a supreme artist of the "Threshold," where the human spirit makes the difficult passage to a spiritual birth.

In this work, Steiner himself attached special importance to the great wooden carving which was to have stood at the east end of the first Goetheanum building in Dornach. Fortunately, it survived the fire which destroyed the main building, for he was still working on the carving, with collaborators, in his workshop. It is now housed in the second Goetheanum building, and can be experienced as a profound attempt by a great artist to make visible the whole inner struggle of the human soul at the present time, of which the outer turbulent events of this century are a reflection. For this reason Steiner preferred to call the carving "the Representative of Man"—the central striving archetype of Man flanked by Lucifer and Ahriman, who would tempt him and imprison him in extremes. It is a work of art, making visible the fruits of the deepest meditation on the human situation in this century.

As does all modern art of any value, the carving raises many questions in the beholder, and the book by Ake Fant, Arne Klingborg and John Wilkes offers a sympathetic and invaluable introduction, particularly by including an illustrated account of the preliminary studies and models out of which the work developed, and of the remarkable way in which Steiner could collaborate with the British sculptress, Edith Maryon, in evolving the final models.

Edith Maryon died unexpectedly in 1924, and the carving was still incomplete in many details when Steiner died soon afterwards. But Steiner's intentions were more fully worked out in the full-scale models, which one of the authors, John Wilkes, has spent several years restoring. The book includes a number of interesting details from these models, and thus makes available glimpses of work which is not otherwise easily accessible.

This book will therefore open up for the English-speaking world some real, if inevitably limited access, to the only major surviving sculptural work by Steiner, and one which embodies the central theme of his life's work for a new understanding of man.

It is good that two other books bearing on Steiner's work as an artist appear in English at the same time. The windows of the first Goetheanum are also direct representations of spiritual realities encountered by the human soul on its journey. Here too, Steiner worked with a collaborator—the Russian artist Asa Turgeneff—who executed his designs by

engraving them into coloured glass. These windows, now incorporated in the second Goetheanum, inspired the late Wilhelm Rath to a series of verses, here admirably translated by A. W. Mann, which can help towards a meditative journey through the many extraordinary images and themes which the windows show. The book includes an excellent set of coloured pictures of the windows.

Finally, a student of Asa Turgenieff, Valerie Jacobs, has produced a brief but invaluable guide to a new technique of drawing which began to be worked out by Turgenieff with help from Rudolf Steiner. It is a kind of negative of the technique used for the Goetheanum window, where each stroke of the grinding tool took out some coloured glass and produced a lighter area. In this method of drawing, forms are built up through a shading technique, built of multiple diagonal strokes of black on white.

Here, again, we find Steiner inspiring his artist pupils to seek drawing techniques in which can live something of the "non-ordinary reality" at work in creative light and darkness. Obviously the ideal would be to take classes with Valerie Jacobs herself; but this book could guide beginners to make a good start on their own, and as they master the technique itself, they will begin, as Jacobs emphatically advises, to make their own way with it.

JOHN DAVY.

## A SURVEY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

*Man and the World in the Light of Anthroposophy*, by Stewart C. Easton. (Anthroposophic Press, New York, £3.95.)

DR. EASTON has been studying Anthroposophy since 1934, at first in this country and later in Canada and the United States, where he served as president of the Anthroposophical Society in America from 1952 to 1958. He has taught at the City College in New York and is the author of textbooks on Western civilisation and modern world history.

His present book, he emphasises, "is in no sense intended to be used as a substitute for direct personal study of Steiner's own writings and lectures, still less to take the place of the inner work that must be done by the student himself and can be done only by him. It is written primarily as a stimulus to such work by outlining the teachings in the many areas in which Steiner made his contributions, and by giving the reader a glimpse of the enormous wealth and richness of what Steiner gave to mankind."

Dr. Easton's method in the first part of the book is to take broad aspects of Anthroposophy, starting with "History and the Evolution of Human Consciousness" and giving a chapter to each. He outlines Steiner's teachings on these various themes and concludes each chapter with detailed suggestions for further reading, covering not only Steiner's lectures and books but some relevant books by other writers. The second,

much shorter part of the book is given to the main "practical activities" that have sprung from Steiner's work—education, biodynamic farming, medicine and nutrition (architecture comes into an earlier chapter on Anthroposophy and the arts). The book winds up with a brief account of the Anthroposophical Movement since 1923 and of its organisation to-day.

All this, plus an excellent index, makes a rather formidable volume, but for serious students it could be an investment of lasting value, to be consulted again and again. Would it be helpful to inquirers who know little or nothing about Anthroposophy? It might suit those who have a studious temperament and a strong wish to learn. For inquirers of a more casual type it might seem to offer too much all at once. It will be most useful, perhaps, to fairly experienced students who will turn to one or other chapter in order both to refresh their acquaintance with some aspect of Anthroposophy and to be guided to some relevant lectures they may not have encountered previously. Or again, anyone who wants to know what Steiner said on a particular subject will usually find a clue to it in the index and will then often be referred to several lectures which treat the subject from diverse points of view.

Dr. Easton has put a prodigious amount of research and collation into this comprehensive volume; he writes clearly, and repeatedly insists that a serious student of Anthroposophy must not only read about it but be prepared to work inwardly on it and on himself.

C.D.

## TALES OF THE NORSE HEROES

*The King and the Green Angelica*. Stories and Poems from Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon Times, collected and arranged by Isabel Wyatt and Joan Rudel. (Lantern Press, £2.50).

One day, perhaps, if human evolution moves in the right direction, we shall be able to form a clear impression of the evolving consciousness of a child; we shall 'see' why the best fairy stories nourish the consciousness of the seven-year-old, and why the eleven-year-old's conflicts between urges and ideals are best mirrored in the battles between giants and gods portrayed in Norse mythology. As a Waldorf classteacher, one certainly experiences the rightness of these indications given by Rudolf Steiner.

The second reading-book for Waldorf schools now published by the Lantern Press is intended for eleven-year-olds, and perhaps it could be said to paint a picture of the consciousness of that age.

The main substance of the book consists of poems drawn from the O.U.P. Anthology of Old English Poetry, and stories of Norse heroes drawn from the collection of tales compiled by Saxo Grammaticus and other Scandinavian writers. The English in which these latter now appear has been formed by Isabel Wyatt with remarkable artistry. The language

really is new ground, but those who plough through it will reap a rich harvest, for the stories are as refreshing as a mountain stream.

Ideally, each story should first be told or read to a child. On the following day, having slept on it, the eleven-year-old will, I should think, be keen to read it himself and will probably want to come back to it again and again. One is soon wearied by the triviality of many reading-books; both language and content of these stories, poems and riddles, are so full of life that one feels unmistakably enriched by them. The black wood-cut illustrations by Arne Klingborg and Gudrid Malmsten have been re-created from Old Norse motifs, drawings and carvings, and are as austere and beautiful as a Norwegian fjord.

*Hay For My Ox*, the first reading-book published by Lanthorn Press in 1968, has sold 14,000 copies all over the world and is due for a fourth reprinting. *The King and the Green Angelica* seems similarly destined to win a lasting place in many hearts.

DANIEL BITTLESTON

## AROUND THE WALDORF SCHOOLS

*Forum International*. Published by the International Movement of Rudolf Steiner School Pupils and Former Pupils. Price 40p.

The English edition of this small quarterly journal (there are also German and Dutch editions) is edited by Colin Goodall, Bernard Jarman, Paul King and Jean-Claude Lin and printed by the Camphill Press, Botton Village. The autumn 1976 issue, embracing nos. 10/11, covers a wide range of topics, including the future of education in Europe and the outlook for Waldorf Schools in various countries; an account of the Filder Klinik, an anthroposophical non profit-making community hospital with 230 beds near Stuttgart, now just over a year old; a letter on the problems of a Waldorf School teacher's wife; a report of the fourth meeting of the British Initiative Group at a Yorkshire farmhouse last June; and a conversation with the architect Werner Seyfert.

A year's subscription to this enterprising, attractively produced journal costs £1.50 and should be sent to Forum International, c/o Jean-Claude Lin, 129 Highlands, Green Lane, Watford, Herts. WD1 4LZ.

## The Golden Blade

Copies of the following back issues are still available from the Rudolf Steiner Bookshops—35 Park Road, London NW1 6XT, and 38 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LP—or other bookshops

| 1973                                                                    | 1974                                                             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>The Recovery of the Living Source of Speech</i><br>RUDOLF STEINER    | <i>Comets and the Moon</i><br>RUDOLF STEINER                     |
| <i>Language and Discovery</i><br>OWEN BARFIELD                          | <i>Letters on Comets</i><br>ELISABETH VREEDE                     |
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| <i>Inner Language and Outer Language</i><br>JOHN DAVY                   | <i>Threefold Ideas in English Life</i><br>A. C. HARWOOD          |
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| Price £0.75                                                             | Price £0.85                                                      |
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| <i>The Sense-Organs and Aesthetic Experience</i><br>RUDOLF STEINER      | <i>Soul, Spirit and Environment</i><br>CHRIS DAY                 |
| <i>On Coming to Our Senses</i><br>JOHN DAVY                             | <i>Prayer and the Elemental Beings</i><br>ADAM BITTLESTON        |
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