

MANUSCRIPT AFTER: J. W. von Goethe

PRODUCED BY: The Task Force of the

"Institute for Theoretical Physics,"

Copenhagen



Motto:

Not to criticize . . .

N. Bohr

PROLOGUE

Between Heaven and Hell

PREFATORY REMARKS

The early decades of the present century witnessed the heady development of the Quantum Theory of the atom, and during that era the roads of theoreticians of all nationalities led, not to Rome, but to Copenhagen, the home city of Niels Bohr, who was the first to formulate the correct atomic model. It became customary at the end of each spring conference at Blegdamsvej† 15 (the then street address of Bohr's Institute of Theoretical Physics) to produce a stunt pertaining to recent developments in physics. The 1932 conference, which coincided with the tenth anniversary of Bohr's Institute, followed closely on the British physicist James Chadwick's discovery of a new particle having the same mass as a proton but deprived of any electric charge. Chadwick called it the neutron, the name which is now familiar to anybody interested in nuclear physics and in what is called, somewhat incorrectly, "atomic energy."

But there was some mixup in terminology. A few years earlier Wolfgang Pauli used the same name for a hypothetical particle which had no mass and no charge and was, in his opinion, necessary to explain the violation of the Law of Conservation of Energy observed experimentally in the processes of radioactive Beta-decay. "Pauli's Neutron" was the subject of hot discussions among the physicists, but these discussions were exclusively oral or carried on by private corre-

[†] Pronounced "Bli-dams-vi."

spondence, and the name was never "copyrighted" through appearance in any publication. Thus, when the discovery of Chadwick's heavy neutron was announced in his 1932 paper in Nature, the name of Pauli's weightless neutron had to be changed. Enrico Fermi proposed calling it the neutrino, which in Italian means a little neutron. In the following translation the name of Pauli's "neutron" in the original text is changed to the present name "neutrino," the existence of which had not at that time been demonstrated. Many physicists, especially Paul Ehrenfest, of Leiden, were very skeptical concerning Pauli's hypothetical neutrino, and it was only in 1955 that its existence was indisputably proved by the experiments of Fred Reines and Cloyd Cowan, of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory.

The pages that follow are the script of a play that was written and performed by several pupils of Bohr and staged at the spring meeting in 1932. (The author of this book was unable to participate in the play, the Soviet Russian Government having refused him a passport to attend the Copenhagen meeting.) The theme of this dramatic masterpiece has Pauli (Mephistopheles) trying to sell to the unbelieving Ehrenfest (Faust) the idea of the weightless neutrino (Gretchen).

The Blegdamsvej Faust, rendered into English by Barbara Gamow, is reproduced in this book as an important document pertaining to these turbulent years in the development of physics. The authors and the performers prefer to remain anonymous, except for J. W. von Goethe. Because of our failure to locate the original author or authors and the original artist, we are suggesting that the publisher deduct an appropriate moiety of the royalties which are to be paid, and hold this amount in escrow for a period of two or three years in the hope that the publication of the book may lead

to the discovery of the author and/or artist. Failing that, the sum of money could be presented to the Institute's Library for the acquisition of new books.

Thanks are due to Professor Max Delbrück for his, kind help in the interpretation of certain parts of the play.

G.G.

In the German text of this physics Faust, Goethe's rhythms and rhyme schemes (see comparable passages in the original Faust) were followed closely but not exactly. Certain poetic license has been taken here too, with the result that this English version falls somewhere between the other two. Unfortunately, some of the lines from the original Faust, which were used verbatim in the German physics version, could not be used here. Also, there were a few puns in the German language for which it was necessary to attempt English substitutions. Some of the passages in prose in the German physics version have here been converted into verse and appear as speeches by the Master of Ceremonies. This was with the idea of making this Faust more playable on the stage.

There is an amusing confusion of identity throughout: Gretchen is at times referred to as Gretchen and at other times as The Neutrino; Faust sometimes as Faust and at other times as Ehrenfest. But it all adds to the fun, and nobody's the worse for it.

And by the way, if this should be played on the stage, it would seem a good idea for the different minor characters (be they Human or Physical Concepts) to wear signs indicating who they are: "Slater," "Darwin," "The Monopole," "The False Sign," etc. Otherwise, the audience will be hopelessly muddled.

WHOM THE CHARACTERS REPRESENT

(Note: the Master of Ceremonies is played by Max Delbrück, German physicist)

ARCHANGEL EDDINGTON A. Eddington,
British astronomer

ARCHANGEL JEANS J. Jeans, British astronomer

ARCHANGEL MILNE E. A. Milne,
British astronomer

MEPHISTOPHELES W. Pauli, German physicist

THE LORD Niels Bohr, Danish physicist

THE HEAVENLY HOSTS "Extras"

PAUST P. Ehrenfest,

Dutch physicist

GRETCHEN The Neutrino

OPPIE R. Oppenheimer,

American physicist

A TALL MAN R. C. Tolman,

American physicist

MILLIKAN-ARIEL R. A. Millikan,

American physicist

LANDAU (DAU) L. Landau,

Russian physicist

GAMOW G. Gamow,

Russian physicist

SLATER J. C. Slater,

American physicist

DIRAC P. A. M. Dirac,
British physicist

DARWIN C. Darwin, British physicist

POWLER R. H. Fowler,

British physicist

FOUR GRAY WOMEN The Gauge Invariant, Fine Structure Constant, Negative Energy, Singularity

FRIENDLY PHOTOGRAPHER A friendly photographer

wagner J. Chadwick,

British physicist

MYSTICAL CHORUS Everybody who can sing

The Blegdamsvej Faust



The three archangels, the Lord, the heavenly hosts, and mephistopheles



ARCHANGEL EDDINGTON

As well we know, the Sun is fated
In polytropic spheres to shine;¹
Its journey, long predestinated,
Confirms my theories down the line.

Hail to Lemaître's promulgation²
(Which none of us can understand)!
As on the morning of Creation
The brilliant Works are strange and grand.

ARCHANGEL JEANS

And ever speeding and rotating,
The double stars shine forth in flight,
The Giants' brightness alternating
With the eclipse's total night.

Ideal fluids, hot and spinning,

By fission turn to pear-shaped forms.⁸

Mine are the theories that are winning!

The atom cannot change the norms.

ARCHANGEL MILNE

The storms break loose in competition (The Monthly Notices as well!)⁴
And burn with violent ambition
Important tidings to foretell.

At heat of 10 to 7th power

The gas degenerates in flame,

Permitting us our shining hour

Of freest flight in *Fermi*'s name.⁵

THE THREE

This vision fills us with elation
(Though none of us can understand).
As on the Day of Publication
The brilliant Works are strange and grand.

MEPHISTO

(springing forward)



Since you, O Lord, yourself have now seen fit To visit us and learn how each behaves,

And since it seems you favor me a bit, Well—now you see me here

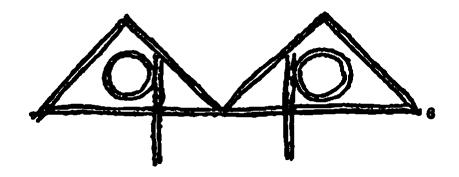
(turning to the audience)

among the slaves.

On Stars and Worlds I've nothing for the jury,
All that I know is how the folks complain.

To me the theory's full of sound and fury,
Yet here you are in ecstasy again,
Approving views that shatter like a bubble,
Sticking your nose in every kind of trouble.

THE LORD



But must you interrupt these revels

Just to complain, you Prince of Devils?

Does Modern Physics never strike you right?

MEPHISTO

No, Lord! I pity Physics only for its plight, And in my doleful days it pains and sorely grieves me.

No wonder I complain—but who believes me?

THE LORD

You know this Ehrenfest? . . .

MEPHISTO

The Critic?7

(A vision of the above appears)



My knight!

MEPHISTO

Your knight, your slave and henchman. What's your bet?

You still will lose, I warn you, if you let Me tempt this knight and lead him far astray.

THE LORD

Oh, this is really dreadful! Must I say...

Jah, muss Ich sagen... There is an essential⁸

Failure of classic concepts—a morass.

One side remark—but keep it confidential—

Now what do you propose to do with Mass?

MEPHISTO

With Mass? Why, just forget it!

But . . . but this . . .

Is very in-ter-est-ing. Yet to try it . . .

MEPHISTO

Oh, Quatsch! What rot you talk today! Be quiet!

THE LORD

But . . . but . . . but . . . but . . .

MEPHISTO

That's my hypothesis!

THE LORD

But Pauli, Pauli, we practically agree.

There's no misunderstanding-that I guarantee.

Naturlich, Ich bin einig. We might throw Mass away

But Charge is something different—why Charge just has to stay!

MEPHISTO

What temperamental nonsense! Why not get rid of Charge?

THE LORD

I understand completely, but maa jeg spørge, friend,9

MEPHISTO

Shut up!

THE LORD

But Pauli, surely you'll hear me to the end? If Mass and Charge go packing, what have you, by and large?

MEPHISTO

Dear man, it's elementary! You ask me what remains? Why bless me, The *Neutrino!* Wake up and use your brains!

(Pause. Both pace to and fro)

But now I have to leave you. Farewell! I shall return!

(He exits)



MEPHISTO

From time to time it's pleasant to see the dear Old Man,

I like to treat him nicely—as nicely as I can.

He's charming and he's lordly, a shame to treat him foully—

And fancy!—he's so human he even speaks to Pauli!

(He exits)

FIRST PART

Faust's Study



FAUST

I have—alas—learned Valence Chemistry, Theory of Groups, of the Electric Field, And Transformation Theory as revealed By Sophus Lie in eighteen-ninety-three. Yet here I stand, for all my lore, No wiser than I was before. M. A. I'm called, and Doctor. Up and down, Round and about, the pupils have been guided By this poor errin' Faust and witless clown; They break their heads on Physics, just as I did. But still I'm better than the cranks. The Big Shots, monkeys, mountebanks. All doubts assail me; so does every scruple; And Pauli as the Devil himself I fear. I grab the eraser, like a frantic pupil, Before the magic X-ings disappear, 11 For what is written down on black, in white, Is apt to be acceptable and right. Du Lieber Gott! I still could do some teaching. I have no Guth nor Breit here at my side, 12 But I could use their aptitude for preaching To spread the tested gospel good and wide.

Not even *Hund* nor *hound* could bear my lot, ¹⁸ So I'm The Critic, sad and misbegot.

(MEPHISTO bursts in like thunder, dressed as a traveling salesman)



Why all the noise?

MEPHISTO

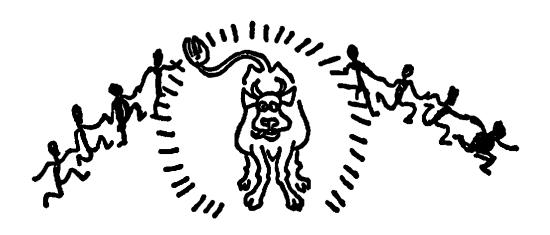
I'm at your service, Sir!

FAUST

What do you take me for? A customer?

MEPHISTO

You used to be receptive and urbane. . . . These theories nowadays are wrong as rain; Therefore I want to show you something higher, For with it you can set the world on fire: "The Dance of the Golden Calf"—kaleidoscopic—The Radiation Theory is my topic.



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(Canon, sung by all)

Born-Heisenberg
Heisenberg-Pauli
Pauli-Jordan
Jordan-Wigner
Wigner-Weisskopf
Weisskopf-Born
Born-Heisenberg<sup>14</sup> (etc.)
(etc.)
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MEPHISTO

These are my own,
Bone of my bone.
Listen how, with spunk and spice,
Precociously they give advice.
Here the width of lines diverges
In the wave-field's vasty length.

(The MASTER OF CEREMONIES protests by gesture; MEPHISTO repeats)

Here the width of lines diverges In the wave-field's loss of strength.

FAUST

Enough! You'll not seduce me. I am cured. I'll never touch your reprints, rest assured.

MEPHISTO

I'm glad of that.

(aside)

(His argument has pith.

The first old man that I can reason with!)

(showing his wares)

A Psi-Psi Stern?15

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THIRTY YEARS THAT SHOOK PHYSICS

FAUST

No sale!

MEPHISTO

A Psi-Psi Gerlach?

FAUST

No sale!

MEPHISTO

Electrodynamics?

FAUST

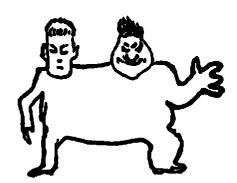
No sale!

MEPHISTO

By Heisenberg-Pauli?

FAUST

No sale!



MEPHISTO

With infinite self-energy?

FAUST

No sale!

MEPHISTO

Electrodynamics?

FAUST

No sale!

MEPHISTO

By Dirac?

FAUST

No sale!



MEPHISTO

With infinite self-energy?

FAUST

The same old story!

MEPHISTO

So I must show you something that's unique!

FAUST

You'll not seduce me, softly though you speak. If ever to a theory I should say: "You are so beautiful!" and "Stay! Oh, stay!" Then you may chain me up and say goodbye—Then I'll be glad to crawl away and die.

MEPHISTO

Beware alone of Reason and of Science,
Man's highest powers, unholy in alliance.
You let yourself, through dazzling witchcraft, yield
To all temptations of the Quantum field.
Listen! As now the obstacles abate,
You'll know the fair *Neutrino* for your fate!

GRETCHEN

(comes in and sings to FAUST. Melody: "Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel" by Schubert)



My Mass is zero,
My Charge is the same.
You are my hero,
Neutrino's my name.

I am your fate,
And I'm your key.
Closed is the gate
For lack of me.

Beta-rays throng¹⁶
With me to pair.
The N-spin's wrong¹⁷
If I'm not there.



My Mass is zero,
My Charge is the same.
You are my hero,
Neutrino's my name.

My psyche turns
To you, my own.
My poor heart yearns
For you alone.

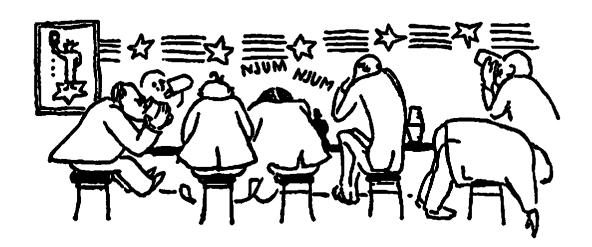
My lovesick soul
Is yours to win.
I can't control
My trembling spin.

My Mass is zero,
My Charge is the same.
You are my hero,
Neutrino's my name.

(Exeunt omnes)

MRS. ANN ARBOR'S SPEAKEASY¹⁸ (otherwise known as Auerbach Keller)

(American physicists sitting sadly at the Bar)



MEPHISTO

(springing forward behind the bar)



Can no one laugh? Will no one drink? I'll teach you Physics in a wink. . . .

(he winks exaggeratedly and knowingly at the physicists)

Shame on you, sitting in a daze When as a rule you're all ablaze!

OPPIE

(swallowing-Njum! Njum!-before speaking)

Your fault! You've brought no single word of cheer—No news, no X-ings. Bah!

MEPHISTO

(producing GRETCHEN)

But both are here!



(Lively applause and general tumult)

A TALL MAN

A shapely and appealing Signorina. . . .

(to MEPHISTO)

But tell me, have you been in Pasadena?

MEPHISTO

With Einstein, yes. He greets you in your harbor, This wunder-bar of Mrs. Annie Arbor.

A TALL MAN

Einstein! His curves! His fields! His whole arena!

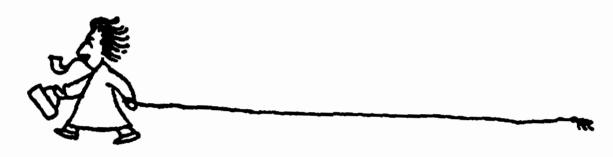
MEPHISTO

(sings)

A Monarch cherished dearly
A Flea, just as a son, 19
And quite as much—or nearly—
As Gra-vee-táy-shee-un.

The Monarch summoned Mayer,²⁰
Said Mayer: "To be sure!
I'll make him tensors, Sire,²¹
With junker curvature."



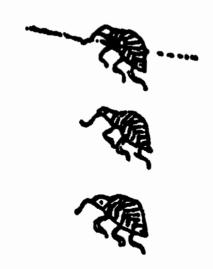


Attired as a dandy,

The Flea was then displayed.

Folks ate him up like candy

So sweetly was he made.



The Flea grew up, and later
His Son was born. The son²²
Kept challenging his pater
But never got to run.

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Half-naked, fleas came pouring From Berlin's joy and pride, Named by the unadoring: "Field Theories—Unified."

Now, Physicists, take warning,
Observe this sober test. . . .
When new fleas are a-borning
Make sure they're fully dressed!

ALL

Drunk though we are, we feel as fine As—hic!—five hundred female swine!

FAUST

(known to be opposed to alcohol, steps forward and sings)



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(to MEPHISTO)

Do you expect me to get well In all this chaos, din and hell?

(to GRETCHEN)

You Skeleton, you Monster, here I stand, But do you recognize your lord and master? What holds me back? See here, I take your hand And shatter you!

GRETCHEN

Faust, Faust, I fear disaster!

(Exeunt omnes)

SECOND PART

A Charming Region

(FAUST sleeps, on a bed of roses. A plum tree grows, to the right. A terrific din announces the approach of the MILLIKAN-ARIEL)



MILLIKAN-ARIEL

(from above)

Hear, oh hear the words of rubes (Wilson Chambers, Counting Tubes)!²⁸
Thundering, for the spirit's ear,
Cosmic Rays will now appear!
The protons are creaking and chattering,
Electrons are rolling and clattering.
Light comes rushing—whither? whence?
Heisenberg is really grumpy;²⁴
Rossi, Hoffmann—both are jumpy.²⁵
All this nonsense makes no sense!



FAUST

(awakening)

Sweet rosy field—what soil am I caressing? And why familiar? Rosenfeld, they say,²⁶ To the greengauge invariant gives a blessing.²⁷ This is his plum.

(MASTER OF CEREMONIES appears)
(to the M.C.)

What's going on today?

M.C.

Walpurgis Nights: the Classical Poetical, And afterwards, the Quantum Theoretical.

FAUST

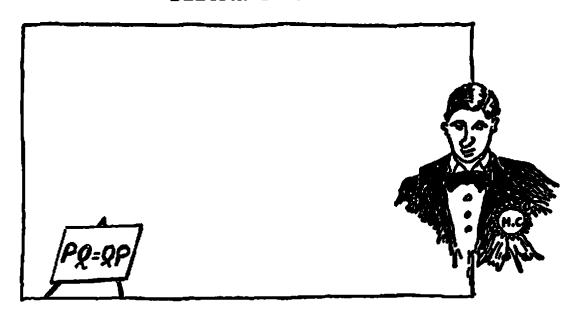
Excellent! I quite agree!

THE CLASSICAL WALPURGIS NIGHT

M.C.

(makes a gesture of presentation)

The Classical—a potpourril



FAUST

(He leans forward, expecting. A long pause indicates that nothing is happening)

But nothing's happening!

M.C.

Just wait and see!

FAUST

(He waits. Another long pause and again nothing happens)

See here now, Delbrück! . . .

M.C.

Faust, you must expect

That with the Classical there's no effect Upon the audience.

(DIRAC enters)

DIRAC

Correct! Correct!

FAUST

Why not skip this, and go to the Q.-T.?

M.C.

If we do that, I fail as an M.C., For first the Classical must duly close.

FAUST

I have two different time-scales to propose For these Walpurgis Nights. As I've avowed, The First should go to limbo.

DIRAC

Not allowed!

PAUST

I then propose the Classical be moved Much farther back in time and place.

M.C.

Approved!

THE QUANTUM THEORETICAL WALPURGIS NIGHT

(At one side of the stage, to the back, THE LORD and LANDAU²⁸ appear, the latter bound and gagged)



Keep quiet, Dau! . . . Now, in effect, The only theory that's correct, Or to whose lure I can succumb Is

LANDAU

Um! Um-um! Um-um! Um-um!

THE LORD

Don't interrupt this colloquy!

I'll do the talking. Dau, you see,
The only proper rule of thumb
Is

LANDAU

Um! Um-um! Um-um! Um-um!

(At the other side of the stage, to the back, appears the face of GAMOW, through bars)



GAMOW

I cannot go to Blegdamsvej
(Potential barrier too high!).
This "conversation" is the hoak—
The Lord, he really make the joke.
Bounded and gaggled, mouse to toe,
Dau can't say "Nyet!" nor "Horosho!"

M.C.

(center stage)

Be careful! Achtung! Watch it! These Holes of P. Dirac²⁹
Can trip you in a second and flip you on your back!

(He puts up a "Warning!" sign)

THE MONOPOLE

(steps forward and sings)

Two Monopoles worshiped each other,³⁰ And all of their sentiments clicked. Still, neither could get to his brother, Dirac was so fearfully strict!



(to the M.C.)

But tell me—(Watch it! There's a Hole!)
Where is my darling Antipole?

M.C.

(aside)

(A Hole! My foot! More like a crater!)

(to the MONOPOLE)

Now just a minute—Here comes Slater.

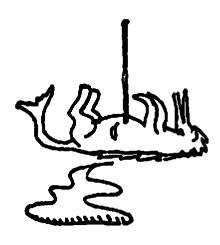
(SLATER steps forward with a bloody lance and THE GROUP DRAGON)³¹



M.C.

(observing the characters running about on the stage)

Why do they run? Why does he roll?
Who stabbed him with the bloody pole?
Group Dragon, by this mortal blow
We laid you low!



Scaly with indices is he Who died of Anti-symmetry.

Reduced to nothing, there he lies

Stripped of his status and disguise.

Group Dragon, by this mortal blow

We laid you low!

(The FALSE SIGN steps forward)



FALSE SIGN⁸²

All the theories expire or bring disappointment. The Sign is forever the fly in your ointment. The reckoning's splendid and everything's fine—Nonetheless, at the zenith, in squeezes The Sign!

(DIRAC and DARWIN are brought forward)







M.C.

Now here's the revered One-dimensional Case; His name is Dirac—you remember his face. Three-dimensional Darwin is following next.

(The FALSE SIGN prances around DIRAC and pulls him to the side. But he has no access to DARWIN)

Observe the False Sign; he's annoyed and perplexed. This injures his pride. He can handle Dirac, But Darwin's a nut that he can't seem to crack, For Darwin so far is like pie in the sky—He's only a glint in a physicist's eye.

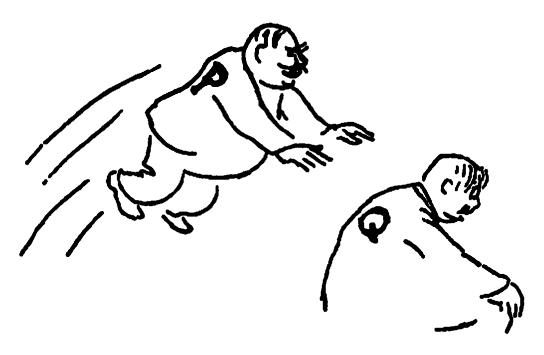
(M.C. holds up a card that reads)

THE EXCHANGE RELATION⁸⁸
$$PQ - QP = h/2\pi i$$

Watch this! Darwin's turned himself into a P,

(FOWLER arrives on the scene)

And Fowler—he's Q—has arrived. As you'll see, They explain the Relation described on the card By leapfrogging madly all over the yard.

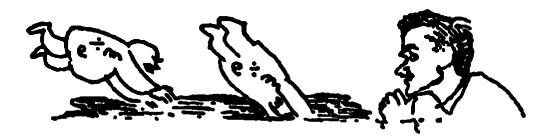


(At each exchange flashes the sign "h/2 π i." With this goes a song):

Thus exchanged are P and Q
Time and time anew,
Time and time anew.
Still there ever hovers by:
h/2πi, h/2πi!



They can never rest in peace
Till they're gone as geese,
Till they're gone as geese.
Still there ever hovers by:
h/2πi, h/2πi!



Attention! Attention! Their form is now altered

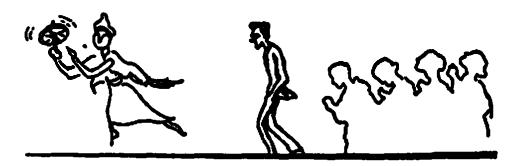
(P and Q now suffer the painful metamorphosis into DONKEY-ELECTRONS and fall into one of Dirac's Holes)

To Donkey-electrons. Observe that they've faltered⁸⁴

And fallen, through carelessness (clumsy old chaps!),

Into one of those Holes that are planted as traps.

(The SPIN OF THE PHOTON, dressed in Indian guise, slithers across the stage, accompanied by fugitive music)



Attention again! Here's The Spin of the Photon⁸⁵
With some kind of Indian sari and coat on.
(It's clear that no modest, respectable Boson⁸⁶
Would traverse the platform without any clo'es on!)

BLEGDAMSVEJ "FAUST"

(DIRAC comes forward, followed by FOUR GRAY WOMEN)

THE FIRST

The Gauge Invariant is my name.

THE SECOND

I'm of Fine Structure Constant fame.87

THE THIRD

Negative Energy—that's me.88

THE FOURTH

(to the third)

Just watch your grammar, Number Three!

(to the others)

Sisters, into the reckoning
You cannot and you may not spring.
But in the end there I shall be,
For I am Singularity!89

(THE FOUR stand to the side of the stage, to mingle in again later)

FAUST

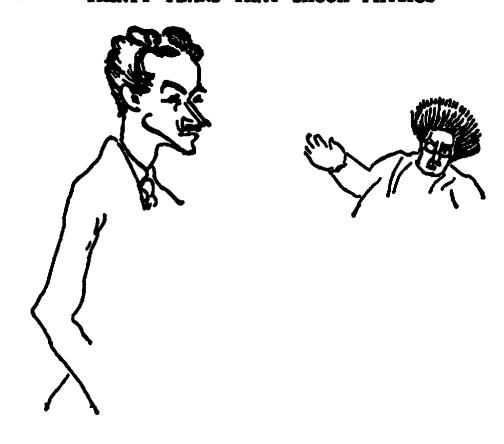
Four I saw come, one I saw go; And what they tried to say I do not know. The air is now so full of shades and spooks That we had best hang on to our perukes.

DIRAC

A strange bird croaks. It croaks of what? Bad luck! Our theories, gentlemen, have run amuck. To 1926 we must return;⁴⁰ Our work since then is only fit to burn.

FAUST

Then nothing should originate today?



DIRAC

(to the FOURTH GRAY WOMAN)

You, Singularity, just go away!

THE FOURTH

My place is here—and, if you please, don't shout!

DIRAC

Wench, through my magic I will get you out!

THE FOURTH

Am I not in Eigen fields?

Does Radiation not contain me?

My form to change forever yields,

My power is such that none can chain me.

Yet on the track, as on the waves,

I stand among the frightened slaves,

Always found, though never sought,

Cursed before she's even caught.

DIRAC

I don't see your point!

(He exits, chased by SINGULARITY)

M.C.

(to DIRAC'S back)

You'll see it soon—
That woman's going to chase you to the Moon!

(to the audience)

Unless, of course, his long legs save the day. Three guesses! Will he make his getaway?

(MEPHISTO appears. Somebody knocks at the door. A FRIENDLY PHOTOGRAPHER looks questioningly inside.)



MEPHISTO

Come on, come on! Come in, come in! You baggy-trousered lout, you, With plate and film and click and din! (pointing to FAUST)

He shrivels up without you.

FAUST

(Highly excited, he takes a pose for the press photographer)

To this fair moment let me say:
"You are so beautiful—Oh, stay!"
A trace of me will linger 'mongst the Great,
Within the annals of The Fourth Estate.
Anticipating fortune so benign,
I now enjoy the moment that is mine!

(He dies, and his body is carried out by the Press)

MEPHISTO

No pleasure was enough; no luck appeased him. The changing forms he wooed have never pleased him.

The poor man clung to those who would evade him. All's over now. How did his knowledge aid him?

M.C.

(to the photographer's camera)

Out, Light overpowering!—
Magnesium-devouring,
Thundercloud-showering,
Ego-deflowering,
Stinking One,
Blinking One,
Vex us no more!

FINALE

Apotheosis of the True Neutron

WAGNER⁴¹

(appears, as the personification of the ideal experimentalist, balancing a black ball on his finger, and says, with pride)



The Neutron has come to be. Loaded with Mass is he. Of Charge, forever free. Pauli, do you agree?



MEPHISTO

That which experiment has found—
Though theory had no part in—
Is always reckoned more than sound
To put your mind and heart in.
Good luck, you heavyweight Ersatz—⁴²
We welcome you with pleasure!
But passion ever spins our plots,
And Gretchen is my treasure!

MYSTICAL CHORUS

Now a reality,
Once but a vision.
What classicality,
Grace and precision!
Hailed with cordiality,
Honored in song,
Eternal Neutrality
Pulls us along!

