

## Introduction to the Bibliography and Guide of the microfilmed work of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy

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The chronological bibliography and guide to the microfilmed work of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy is a reordered and expanded version of my bibliography of 1989/90 printed by The Edwin Mellen Press. The editor, Dr. M. Darrol Bryant counted in his preface to the book 906 entries. Now there are over 1000 entries; an expansion for the largest part due to discoveries at Four Wells afterwards.

The character of the 1989 book was a monumental one. You could discern the man Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy along the main traits of his life. The book has a tripartition: 1. Published work; 2. Tapes; 3. Unpublished work.<sup>1</sup> The first part of the tripartition discloses the public life of the author, the third part his hidden or incognito life. The second part of the tapes is in between: it's a full listing of his work in America, now accessible to posterity through the work of his grandchildren Mark and Frances Huessy.

As soon as my book appeared Dr. Harold Stahmer started the microfilm project, to which it was basic. This chronological bibliography and guide to the microfilmed work is the result of its accomplishment in 1994. It now accompanies the microfilms as guide. At the same time it appears much more "userfriendly." Stahmer advocated this, because "for a bibliography usefulness should be preferred to monumentality." I agree with his urging for the fruitfulness of the work. It is much easier now to find the items as they are all ordered after year. The way of printing indicates the kind of work. Books, printed articles, unpublished matters, tapes, transcriptions can quickly be discerned. Further annotations, above all the cross-references are meant as help in easy finding. Nevertheless in the outer form the characteristics of the author are blotted out, all the differences at the outside are turned inside.

Now the character of the bibliography of 1989 had almost shaped itself in the long years of research and preparation, even though a friend had to make me act upon it. This form offered me the occasion to point out the most distinctive trait of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy: his

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<sup>1</sup> Then the first part had another tripartition: 1. Books under separate heads, indicating their different character; 2. Fifteen periodicals and *The American People's Encyclopedia* signifying where Rosenstock-Huessy more or less regularly published his contributions; 3. Other periodicals. By the way, at the end of his life Rosenstock-Huessy complained that his articles had appeared so scatteredly.

voluntary acceptance of "incognito existence". I will follow that line here with some modifications. I think it is necessary and my duty to do so even more this time.

In 1987 the first part of my bibliography, that of the published work, appeared in the book of George A. Morgan *Speech and Society*.<sup>2</sup> It got the attribute "Comprehensive". In 1989 my book appeared under the rather awkward title *A Complete Bibliography of the Writings of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy*.<sup>3</sup> In both cases I have to blush reading the adjectives "comprehensive" and "complete". Reading the introductions or the editor's note you may find out what they are worth! So I'm glad with the new unqualified and proper title now. And I want to stress the fact that this is not the work of a professional bibliographer. It is the work of an amateur in this field; the work of a lover of the work of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. I had to do it much against my own grain and impulses. To put it differently, I needed the work of the author to save me from the arrogance, the bareness and stupidity of the intellectual class of this century. To my comfort the late great american historian Page Smith has well diagnosed this situation in his book *Killing the Spirit* with titles as: "Mapping the desert", "The War Between Science and Religion", "Publish or Perish", "The Social Nonsciences" and "The Inhuman Humanities".<sup>4</sup> When I met Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy's work in the year of his death 1973, it was a life and spirit saving event. Then it turned out that a great part of the bibliographical work hadn't found its completion. The bibliography in *Das Geheimnis der Universität* (1958)<sup>5</sup> and in *Bibliography - Biography* (1959)<sup>6</sup> only went up to 1958, was very incomplete and had many - here and there severe - mistakes. All what came after 1958 had as yet to be assembled. The work on the unpublished writings had to be done almost from scratch. The small appendix of so-called "Privatdrucke", in the mentioned books had 28 entries. Now there are about 400 more.

I want to point out the range of this bibliography. All the published works are here and all the unpublished writings I could retrace until now in the Archives at Four Wells, at Argo Books Inc. at that time (both Norwich Vt.), at Baker Library, Hanover N.H., Archiv der Eugen

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<sup>2</sup> Subtitle: The Christian Linguistic Social Philosophy of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, Gainesville: University of Florida Press 1987. It had an editor's note on the long list of unpublished writings and on the tapes which were not included.

<sup>3</sup> The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York; Lewiston, Ontario; Lampeter, Dyfed, Wales UK, 1989. As if I didn't know that a bibliography was about biblia: writings.

<sup>4</sup> Subtitle: Higher Education in America, Viking Penguin, New York, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Subtitle: *Wider den Verfall von Zeitsinn und Sprachkraft* Aufsätze und Reden aus den Jahren 1950 - 1957, herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Georg Müller. Mit einem Beitrag von Kurt Ballerstedt: Leben und Werk Eugen Rosenstock-Huessys, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer Verlag GmbH 1958. For the bibliography was signed by: F. Little, Claremont, California; B.E. Bergesen, Princeton, New Jersey; C. Russell Keep Jr., New York and Matthias Rang, Bad Godesberg.

<sup>6</sup> Binghampton, N.Y.: Vail Ballou Press 1959 (Private Printing)

Rosenstock-Huessy-Gesellschaft (Bethell Bielefeld) and Bäuerle Archiv (Stuttgart). I do have a list of 11 items which I couldn't find. In archival matters I have pulled out all relevant things. There are lots of scattered pages, excerpts, some manuscripts of published books which haven't been included here. As a bottom line I refer to *Strafrecht* (ca. 1929) and *Schiffahrtrecht* (ca. 1926). So for a real professional bibliographer there remains a lot to do.<sup>7</sup> It was impossible for me to do all the annotational work in the few weeks I stayed at Four Wells, even though I was there five times. Gottfried Hofmann did that sort of work for every piece of the Archive in Bethel.

Then, as said in the 1989 introduction there is still a great field of exploration in matters of letters and poems of the author. Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy was a fervent letters writer: ten letters a day was not unusual. Many of his books and articles got started from letters. And poems he was writing throughout his whole life. Once completed, the collection of this work will surely shed new light upon the whole oeuvre as it will uncover some uncertain dates of unpublished items - in latter cases I've already some experience.

The great feature of the life and work of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy is his recognition and acceptance of the incognito, i.e. the hidden side of life. It is a necessity to do so after the World Wars. His "grammatical method" is unfolding the stages of incognito-life before anything like science can take place. The tremendous earthquake of this century, experienced in two World Wars, have made him recognize this secret of all human life. He sensed and seized it in the middle of the first World War and did recognize it very early at the end of that war. It took him more than three years (end 1918 till beginning 1922) before he was moulded totally by his scent, his experience and his recognition. Then it became his *character indelibilis!* Now the reflection of this in his whole oeuvre was apparant in my bibliography of 1989. There you immediately saw it signalized in the periods of 1914 - 1918 and 1940 - 1945. They show merely unpublished writings. And it is the truth for his whole second life in America.. Apart from his greatest book *Out of Revolution, Autobiography of Western Man* (1938), only five years after he came to the American shores - it was already there in 1936 -, and three or four other books he had no real publicity here. I will return to this fact at the end of this introduction. He only worked indirectly through his teaching office at Dartmouth as the tapes, now available in 34 volumes, reveal. All the people who know about the reception of his books in the USA will agree. He knew about it from the start, as a letter to Paul Tillich in 1935 reveals. He acted accordingly, not corrupting the American mind with all the 19th century rotten German stuff as other intellectual refugees did.

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<sup>7</sup> Too late to be included came an important found: Eugen Rosenstock, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, Vorlesung Wintersemester 1927/28*, XXXI + 4 + 171 p.

(Whereas the USA are the co-victor of the World Wars all that is coming back to us in the last decades in Western Europe delaying the intellectual world once more for more than 100 years.).

What he sensed, discovered, experienced, recognized and taught was that the history of humankind has its nights and days. Human history goes by leaps and bounds. The history of our race is going through terrifying great upheavals. They are at the same time the hours of revelation. So it is with our communal life, so with our personal life. And we have to find the common and personal forms of recognition lest we prolong and precipitate our downfall. It is really astounding how the experience of the great upheaval of two World Wars only after fifty years begins to find recognition and some signs of articulation. I only have to recall the names of Elie Wiesel, a movie of Claude Landzmann (*The Train*) and the break of silence and muteness as much among the Jews as among us heathen in the last ten years!

In this meantime all religious and national forms of recognition of former overthrowing great events are going in the smelting furnace, leaving whole peoples, communities and individuals in utter distress and destitution on the whole globe. All religion only exists in orientating new forms of life out of revolution. When not giving orientation into life's future, all religion, form and spiritual life withers. And this is what Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy did in his work: he helped to articulate our new era after the World Wars to point the way into a third millennium.

It is according to what was revealed to him and to what he taught about the *time-spans* of history, of groups as well as of personal life that only after his death his own voluntary accepted incognito can be revealed and that this bibliography can appear with the intention and the faith that his work will bear fruit. For our outer world has changed totally and is changing constantly in making us aware of being on one planet, country borders becoming more and more insignificant, though the former Yugoslavia and the former USSR may seem to prove to the contrary, but our spiritual life hasn't.<sup>8</sup> So the disorientation seems to extend on a never before experienced scale, disturbing and destroying all communal and personal life. We really are at the end of an era. "Eschatology", i.e. the churches' doctrine of the last things has realized and is realizing itself. In reality there are several "eschatologies", the ideologies also all have an eschatological horizon. Even their realization has happened as well. The example being the

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<sup>8</sup> "Scholars cannot demobilize until the World War has reformed their method and their purpose in writing history. I, at least, shall not demobilize until I have made my contribution to that common enterprise of humanity." Thus Rosenstock-Huussy wrote in his post-war preface of *Out of Revolution* 1938 p. 5. But the scholars of today still seem to know nothing of a shift in the methodology in the humanities brought about by the World War!! Try them and you will find them looking at you with sheepish eyes, or telling you in a brutal way that there isn't such a change whatsoever!

communist regime of the USSR. The end of mere military technical dominance! And you think, the decadence of the French Revolution and liberalism and market is not upon us?

So along the lines of his life and work – the work as it is highlighted in this bibliography – I once more want to exemplify this overthrow of centuries and the orientation which follows upon its recognition. Well, you see how a biographical approach springs from his bibliography as is indicated in the title of that little book printed privately in 1959.

When Rosenstock-Huessy used the phrase "incognito existence" he was referring to the experienced Non-Existence, the experienced Nihil, the Downfalls of worlds. And related to that to all nihilism. Related are also the non-public periods of life and history. He stressed the importance of such periods to the full story of life and history and the importance of its recognition. People who do not have a voice in the public decision-making process are leading an "incognito existence", for it seems that they do not exist. Woman, for instance, have had an "incognito existence" throughout the longest part of our history. Nevertheless, they are the "womb" of our times. For women give birth to and nurse the coming generations. The Bible honours them by calling human beings "those that are born of women" (see Luke 7: 28). But nihilism and the market place want to do away with them. In a similar way, every person has her or his periods of "incognito" or hiddenness when they are not in public view. Or that hidden dimension may be present alongside the more public aspect. In any case, the "incognito existence" is the longest part of our life, or its most important dimension. It has to be so, since these hidden times or dimensions are the womb and nursery of our public life. This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that in our dynamic societies eager for fame there is such a strong insistence on the right of privacy. A sports hero I heard articulate this need eloquently when he called *privacy* "a time of regeneration". There you have it. Apparently we do know about it. The periods of "incognito" constitute the womb of our being born and reborn into society. Rosenstock-Huessy's own incognito is his recognition of these times. He recognized the World Wars as an end of an era. The era of the Western church and state. Therefore he firmly believed that the latest offspring of spiritual orientation has come to an end as well. With the World Wars Enlightenment is doomed. Ever since Enlightenment, the public and conscious spheres of life have been overstressed. Descartes, the father of Enlightenment deplored his youth and wished that he had been born conscious, at the age of twenty.<sup>9</sup> Think of sports and study: every girl or

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Out of Revolution Autobiography of Western Man*, (1938) now Berg Publishers, Inc., Providence USA, Oxford UK 1993, p. 754 and *Soziologie I, Die Übermacht der Räume*, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart 1956, p. 315 - 329, p. 321 particularly.

boy could write a song or dirge on how we overemphasize the public and conscious dimensions of life. Marks, results and consciousness are the only things that count in the academic and public world. The ways in which we arrive at consciousness and results are of no great interest, even though they should come first in a real educational institution. All the cradle features of that institution are rapidly destroyed by new programs and so-called curriculum renewal, dropped from some bureaucratic institution and endorsed by the state. Enlightenment is reigning and the costs, the human costs of consciousness and public success are taboo subjects.

In the thirties Aldous Huxley in his novel *The Brave New World* depicted the terror of a totally mechanized world. All people are bred and taught in order to function according to the premeditated patterns of industry. Of him is told how he emigrated to the west coast of USA to immerse himself in mysticism and at last to heighten his intellect by taking LSD. You see he couldn't cut free himself. Those are the consequences when you don't acknowledge that a period is over, and when you don't recognize the nights of the intellect. Nothing new can ever come of merely more intellect. When you cannot say goodbye, you cannot greet new friends and days. You have to lose times to be able to bind new ones.

In the last decades of this century you find this feature everywhere: universities stressing consciousness all the way, people turning to all sorts of mystical movements more and more and whole imperia to import drugs! So, not accounting for the times of incubation and declaring our times of unawareness, preparation and regeneration to be of no interest and of no value as Enlightenment does has devastating consequences. It leads to hell, as Rosenstock-Huessy experienced in World War I.

A poem he wrote in those dark days for his wife, which is dated December 24, 1918, conveys his recognition that an era had come to an end. Here are the first lines and my translation:

*Weil die Welt zu hell geworden  
und mit selbstgespeistem Lichte  
unsere Augen müde beizte,  
sank sie plötzlich in das Dunkel.  
Heute liegt sie unsichtbar.  
Weggemischt die ganze Schrift,*

*die der Erde Boden ritzte.*

*Und wir stehen im Dunkel blind.*

*As the world too glaring had become*

*and with self-made light fed up*

*stained our eyes wearisome,*

*all at once she sank into the darkness.*

*Today there she lies invisible.*

*Wiped out the entire script*

*which did carve out Earth's soil.*

*And we're standing in the darkness blind*

He ends the poem in this way:

*Wie wenn erst noch alles wieder*

*ungesehen solle werden*

*ehe es wiederkommen darf!*

*How when first yet everything again*

*has to become unseen*

*before it is allowed to be regained.*

All his life after 1918 he pleaded against this Enlightenment stupidity: the stupidity of not acknowledging long periods of incubation, of lacking a sense of timing. He has been pleading for a new readiness to enter upon some form of "incognito-existence" in which we cultivate the secret of the fruitful life. Negatively, it means to stay away from the spheres of publicity and success. It means to cling to your wife or husband, to your friends and to persevere in unknown and unrecognized forms of existence for long periods of time. It means to teach the necessity of new forms of asceticism. "Incognito existence" is to Rosenstock-Huessy the secret to a fruitful life.

That is a life that spans more than one generation. This is the main feature of all his adult educational work. Higher education has to be outside of the market-place or it is not higher education. "Not to be of one generation" (einaltrig) was his warcry against the Youth Movement in Germany in the twenties. He saw that a full life was linked to past and future generations. And it certainly is noteworthy how easily the Youth Movement in Germany fell victim to Hitler! He had been thrown by the World War into the abyss of the disruption of the generations. And he wanted to bridge that gulf. The common experience of the World War should bequeath to its children a lasting memory.<sup>10</sup> In his *Ehrlos - Heimatlos*<sup>11</sup> he wrote: "*Wir aber wollen nichts sein als das kurze Kabelstück, welches den Riss zwischen Gestern und Morgen gläubig überwindet. Ohne diesen Durchgang durch das enge Tor der Zeit stirbt der Geist.*" ("We however want to be nothing but the short fragment of cable-rope which faithfully overcomes the split between Yesterday and Tomorrow. Without this passage through the narrow gate of the time the spirit dies".) In his american years, he used to emphasize these new forms of ascetism: refraining for long times from officialdom and publicity, from reading newspapers and watching television, even from writing books. This should become an integral part of everybody's life in an epoch of overpowering technology. He would call upon the experience of immigration to America and the meaning of Thanksgiving Day reminding the warning of the early synod fathers who already in 1685 foreboded that New England would be "res unius aetatis", i.e. an enterprise of one generation.

After the first World War he himself had anticipated his new life style. He renounced his public offices and declined three glamorous offers in church and state and university at the end of 1918. Instead, he went into the factory of Daimler Benz in Frankfort-on-Main to serve the laborers. In 1921 he founded the first Labor Academy in the same city to give workers a voice and a share in the new constitution of the Weimar Republic. Afterwardss, he pioneered new forms of adult education and camps that brought together factory workers, students and farmers. (These became models for the Civil Conservation Corps Camps in the United States of America. One of the CCC Camps he himself renewed according to his pioneering standards with Camp William James in 1940 - 1941<sup>12</sup>). All this time he refrained from writing the great books he had conceived during the War, books which would have brought him fame. Totally moulded by his adult education experiments, his opus magnum, *Die Europäischen Revolutionen*, was published in 1931. One and a half years later Hitler came to power. The time of the Weimar Republic was running out, as Rosenstock-Huessy well knew.

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<sup>10</sup> Out of Revolution p.5

<sup>11</sup> In: *Hochzeit des Kriegs und der Revolution* 1920 p.248; see *Die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts* Bd. 2 p.111.

<sup>12</sup> The story is told by Jack J. Preiss in his book *Camp William James*, Argo Books, Inc. 1978.

Selfforgetfulness is the term we may use for the inner state of mind of an incognito existence. I would call it the soul of the new life style.

Now this selfforgetful serving during the twenties he could not have accomplished without the full support of his dear wife Margrit, Gritli as he called her. He acknowledged that he would have been nowhere and nothing without her sharing the hidden life. And this is another great old insight regained by Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy: you can't act upon your insight without somebody sharing in it and willingly using up your combined energies to make that revelation come true.

As said there are two apparent periods of incognito for Rosenstock-Huessy. The first occurred during World War I, the second during and after World War II. However, these periods of incognito are of different kinds. But is there an inner relation between them? And how are we to understand it? I believe there is and I suggest that the key can be found in Rosenstock-Huessy's own doctrine of a "twofold beginning". This doctrine he articulated in relation to Paracelsus and Faraday, but I believe it is relevant to Rosenstock-Huessy himself. His doctrine of a "twofold beginning" points to the connection between a new beginning in history and in the life of a great human being. It is unseen first and then established by a new event and a new great man. They make that the first comes true. The era of the natural sciences is marked by such a twofold beginning in Paracelsus as the founder and Faraday as the classic. In a similar way this happened in one life in the case of Rosenstock-Huessy. But here the two related events were the upheavals of the first and second World War. He always said they belonged together. In the first period of incognito, Rosenstock-Huessy refined the legacy of German scholarship to its essentials; in the second period he purified the very "new thinking" that he had sought to articulate in the years between these two periods and he then gave it its "classical" form as "the cruciform grammatical method".

Thus these periods of hiddenness in his own life opened the way for the public writings and they determine their character. With this doctrine of a "twofold beginning", then, we have a clue to the whole oeuvre with its inside and outside. In turning to the unpublished writings one is immersed in the lifeblood of the published work. And in the tapes and their transcriptions you have the living middle-voice: speech preceding writ and thought.

Rosenstock-Huessy's own life, then, follows the time patterns he sought to disclose in his work and writings. It is about the "time cup" which has a simile in the whole biosphere. It begins with the dying of a seed and then a growing and an unfolding from flower to fruit. Totally different from all mechanical concepts. The difference of history and human life being however

the upheavals and rebirth! But if you will you can see in the two periods the flower and the fruit. At the beginning are the passionate and visionary writings which the author mostly hid from public view. At the end are the mature teachings which the author was eager to publish but was often thwarted from publishing by the outside world.

Many of his unpublished papers from the period of World War I are of the same stature as the articles in *Europa und die Christenheit* (Europe and Christianity) 1919 and *Die Hochzeit des Kriegs und der Revolution* (The wedding of War and Revolution) 1920. While some of his writings from the front near Verdun have been published, the greater part he withheld from publication. Instead, we know that many of these writings went to friends, as can be seen in his correspondence with his great friend Franz Rosenzweig. The situation was radically reversed after World War II. Although Rosenstock-Huessy felt that many of his writings were worthy of publication, he could not find either editor or periodicals willing to publish them. Asking what we are to make of this fact, we could, perhaps, ascribe this to a certain "cultural lag": common people lagging behind the intellectuals or certain nations lagging behind the cultural level of other nations. But this would be to miss the point altogether. The real gap, as Rosenstock-Huessy saw it, was that between the intellect of the intellectuals and their own experiences and sane instincts; between the intellectuals' insane pertaining to old routines and the sane mourning and instinct of common people. The real cultural lag lies in the failure to be transformed by the epoch-making events of one's own time. In such periods of transition in world history, persons together with their intellectual traditions have to change! Rosenstock-Huessy recognized that a great tradition had been sentenced to death by the two World Wars; that twice in this century *mene tekem* (Daniel 5) had been written on the wall of history, throwing Europe out of the centre of the world. Thus a new way of thinking had to emerge that would be adequate to what is laying ahead. This new way is pioneered in Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy's writings.

Two great intellectual traditions have sprung from the West. The tradition of western theology (scholasticism) and the tradition of the natural sciences (academies). Both were leading spiritual forces. These two great assets of the West have become a liability. By scholasticism the West came into being; by the natural sciences the European nations were corresponding and discovering and conquering the earth as one. But the two great intellectual streams have fallen apart. Whereas the second is only understandable against the background of the first, they today don't understand each other anymore. Above all, both failed in saving the West from destruction; indeed, they helped to stumble right into it. It became clear to Rosenstock-Huessy that in the fundamentals of theology and of the natural sciences there hadn't been the intention to give direction in the ordering of life in the Great Society, or on the Planet. They both do not

know anything about time and times! Therefore they cannot be anymore the leading stars in the ordering of life among planetary men and women of the third millennium. A witness to this predicament is found in the decay of the university: no *unum necessarium*, i.e. no singleness of purpose reigns any longer. Thus no universal guidance and orientation for the future is coming from its lecture halls. The humanities have been trampled down and corrupted by their own jealous borrowing from the natural sciences, whose real constitution they do not understand. Theology has isolated itself since Reformation on both sides of the Protestant/Catholic schism and has come under Enlightenment's ill understood dictates. Those dictates being the same misunderstood constitution of the natural sciences which corrupt the humanities. So what is left of the medieval university and its german renewal is an endless departmentalization which has become a curse. Goethe foresaw it, when he complained in a poem: *Vernunft wird Unsinn, Wohltat Plage, wehe Dir wenn Du ein Enkel bist*. In translation: *Reason becomes nonsense, benefit a plague, woe to you when you're a grandchild*.

In this struggle Hegel can't be our guide either, for the planet is not Bismarck's shaky German Reich, to which his thought was basic. The planet as a fruit from the results of the natural sciences is standing in the need of a quite different counterbalance. No return to scholasticism will do. Neither will do a turning back to its castoffs: the ideologies of idealism and materialism, or for that matter romanticism or marxism. As said the natural sciences never aimed at an orientation of human life! It is the aim of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy's "grammatical method" to embrace the inheritance of both the western theology and the natural sciences. He wants to root them in liturgical life as the old church did with all thinking in order to end their enmity and to translate their insights into a new driving power for the third millennium. This method seeks to be an appropriate tool of intellectual endeavor after a period of World War and World Revolution.

On the whole, Rosenstock-Huessy's voice has fallen on deaf ears, caught as we were and are in the nineteenth century ruts and routines decaying day after day in our age. As he knew even this couldn't be altered: *"Wer etwas zuerst sagt, kann nicht verlangen, dass die Menschheit ihn ehrt."* (*Whoever pronounces something for the first time, has to do away with his desire that humanity will give him the honours.*).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> He says so in his Münsteraner Vorlesungen: *Die Gesetze der christlichen Zeitrechnung*, 1958. In the transcription of Jochen Lübbers p. 342f.

In his American period, only a few articles of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy appeared in the United States, mostly in obscure corners.<sup>14</sup> After the publication in 1946 of *The Christian Future or The Modern Mind Outrun*, only three or four of his books were published in his own authority in the United States of America. Looking more closely, one could say only one. In 1949 *The Multifirmity of Man* was reissued. It was an expanded edition of the book from 1936. (In 1965 a new edition was planned. It would have as an addition his own translation of the second part which contained his views for the period after the Second World War. This part appeared in the German version of the book in 1955, 1957 and 1962. It never came off in English.) In 1950 *The Driving Power of Western Civilization* was brought out. But this was a reprint of a part of *Out of Revolution* from 1938. (On the Papal Revolution and Italy.) Then, in 1966 and 1969, *Out of Revolution* was reissued by Argo Books. 1969 *Judaism Despite Christianity* was published. The last book was the only "new" work since 1950. It strikes me that this work was the result of the last of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy's own publishing efforts. This book contains the letters of Eugen Rosenstock and Franz Rosenzweig, letters they exchanged in 1916 (translated by Mrs. Dorothy Emet)! Consider for a moment the time these letters were first published: it was in 1936, seven years after the early death of Franz Rosenzweig, just as the Nazi terror grew. They were published as an appendix to the volume of the letters of Franz Rosenzweig. These letters are hoarding the memory of the beginning of Rosenstock's real contributions for the new era. So at the end of the author's life, he saw his beginnings published in America.

Now it is true that in the fifties and sixties he was able to publish the bulk of his studies in Germany again. The bibliography shows that. As a prophecy of fulfilment, the publication of Rosenstock-Huessy's works in Germany poured light, warmth and happiness into the evening of his life. These publications include material that found its ultimate shape during his American years. Due to his own labours in helping the Germans after the defeat of the Hitlerian barbarism - by the way, during the war he took an active part in it by training American officers as was related to me by his friend and pupil Bob O' Brien who flew him all over America to the training camps - and due to the help and efforts of old and new friends in Germany, his books appeared again in his former homeland. But in my view, this publishing history testifies to the truth that Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy remained somewhere between the continents of the old and the new world, hovering over the Atlantic Ocean. This figure of speech reminds me of the first verses of Genesis, where the news is that the breath of God is hovering over the chaos. And yet another image from the Bible comes to mind. It seems to me as if Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy came to

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<sup>14</sup> His many contributions to *The American Peoples Encyclopedia* New York, Grolier, Inc. (1962) seem to have passed unnoticed. In 1989 for the first time they were listed together in my bibliography after a

Germany again as Moses came to mount Sinai: to lay down "the law of liberty", for future generations.<sup>15</sup> For in some way, he came to the desert of what formerly had been the homestead of European culture. Not only was the land in ruins but even worse the spirit of the German language which still moved his German voice was destroyed. Although his revivifying word was heard, the German language wasn't immediately renewed by it. Vital language conjures up lifegiving memories, but rejuvenation takes time. All lifegiving memory had been destroyed in Germany. Even today there still is no memorial day for the martyrs of the resistance movement against Hitler in Germany, although these martyrs were the only ones to restore Germany's membership into the European family. When the Americans established a memorial day for Martin Luther King they gave a testimony of more vitality and historical sense than the Germans ever had after 1945. Rosenstock-Huessy urged the Germans to establish such a new memorial day whenever he visited Germany after 1950. But only a small minority could wholeheartily embrace this message of a refugee. The majority and the powers of the day couldn't overcome the past so quickly. They couldn't consider men like Rosenstock-Huessy as true fellow countrymen. Could they belong to Germany and its future perhaps more than the people who stayed at home? You really have to understand the German language to know what it means to be called an emigrant: "ein Auswanderer". Rosenstock-Huessy would never allow to be called that way. He proudly called himself an Immigrant who never had severed the ties to Germany's great tradition, squandered by villains. Thus you see how outdated popular sentiments still are shared by the leadership in Germany and its intellectuals. The situation is even worse when we come to talk about the secret exploitation of Rosenstock-Huessy's work by many German scholars who never acknowledge his work. So even in Germany his work could only go underground. It went to friends who were strengthened by it to endure and to wait for the renewal of Germany which today can only happen together with the renewal of the other nations. For today the modern nations can only be healed by taking their common responsibilities in transforming industry radically. Pointing out the constellation of the powers after the World Wars, Rosenstock-Huessy stressed the leading role of the USSR as part of the World Revolution. The meaning of the change started by Gorbachev leading to the downfall of the Sovjet Union you can discern from the patterns of the revolutions he sketched in his books on Revolution. We have to articulate the event as the end of the period of the hybris of

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painstaking research.

<sup>15</sup> "The Law of Liberty" was the title of his Fourth of July sermon for the Congregational Church of Norwich, Vt. on July 2, 1944. The core of that sermon appeared in *Advance*, July 1945, p.5 under the title: *God is Free*. The text for the sermon on Independence Day was from James 1 : 25. To the Rosenstock-Huessy family this text was very dear. You will find this text on the tombstone of Margrit Rosenstock-Huessy at the Norwich Cemetery.

technology, the first phase of the World Revolution. Thus the Russian Revolution is confirmed as a half-revolution: the half of the World Revolution by the two World Wars.

In my opinion, these books and articles in the German language constitute a storehouse for the future of planetary man. They have an original German ring, but they are still much more than merely German. I mean this to be understood in more than one sense. Reading them you are tasting the origins and the ripe fruits of German greatness indeed. But you are also scenting a possible renewal of the German language by the hospitality its outcasts found somewhere else on the planet. For Rosenstock-Huessy that place was America. Many of Rosenstock-Huessy's writings in the German language after 1950 are translations of originals in the English language. Indeed, there is some fusion of languages and their history that you experience in reading the books and articles of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. It is an original universal air that you are inhaling, there is not an inkling of a nationalistic tone. For they are all pointing into the direction of "the Language of Mankind", as he called his two volumes on his New Method.

These publications are surely a testimony of the author's love for his former compatriots. The tone of his speech is chastising here and there - like Joseph's speech in the biblical narrative when his brothers come looking for food in Egypt. In the end, you have to acknowledge that Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy lived the truth that even the sentence of death on a past culture is meant to save its irreplaceable contribution to humankind. All over the world, the contribution of Germany to great music is recognized as unique. It is this melody that the works of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy restore to the German language. In this way, I think, these works restore the German language to become once more a promise for the third millennium.

In conclusion, I call your attention to the paradox of the great number of publications of the author and his relatively unknown and unrecognized personality. In 1959, Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy wrote as follows in *Bibliography - Biography*, alluding to the end of Camp William James in 1941 which he had meant to set as an example for the renewal of the university and the new style after the World War: "After 1941 to 1950, everything became strictly private." As indicated, even after 1950 this remained so in the United States. But from 1950 onwards, a torrent of publications was pouring out in Germany again. Among them his second masterpiece: *Soziologie II, Die Vollzahl der Zeiten (The Full Count of Times)* 1958. In the sixties, his great work on Speech was to follow: *Die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts - Eine leibhaftige Grammatik in vier Teilen (Humankind's Speech - An Incarnated Grammar in Four Parts)* 1963 and 1964. So after 1950, his private and incognito life started to open up once more. But it wasn't his property anymore. He was "entewigt", i.e. thrown out from his aeon, his timespan, as he wrote. In this way the paradox

is becoming legible. We have to approach its secret as a figure of speech, of that high speech that creates time. A paradox is not a contradiction in thought. Such is Kant's antinomy. But a paradox is "*the cross of reality*", in language. "The Cross of Reality" is the hidden name of Rosenstock-Huessy's sociology. The material aspects of this sociology are to be found not only in his universal history: *Die Vollzahl der Zeiten*, but also in his works on Revolution. Contradictions, antinomies are insuperable. The paradox in language represents the change of pattern by the upheaval of time, it represents the reality of real life when in time we are crucified and when we overcome the stasis of objectivity (our surroundings) and the stasis of subjectivity (our feelings and ideas). It happens when we decide between the times that pull us from the past and from the future.

Here we are at the heart of Rosenstock-Huessy's teachings on language and history. They are lessons drawn from both, from being engaged in speech and history. There is no history unless we are engaged in it as there is no Spirit without Speech. He has bequeathed these lessons to us and a new method to participate ourselves and to incorporate history in our own lives.

However, as has been hinted at above, Rosenstock-Huessy's work still has to find its full reception. All he had to say on the new method for intellectual orientation and on planetary service, on economics and university renewal<sup>16</sup>, on revolution and universal history awaits us as a prophesy and a promise for our generation and the generations to come. Seeing the promised land, as Moses did from the mountains, he did not enter it himself. In this way, Rosenstock-Huessy's life testifies to the truth he incorporated and what he called "the christian future." For Jesus lived and taught that the human spirit has to die to itself in order to be reborn and to bear fruit.

Fifty years have now passed since the shooting of World War II ended. The new period is becoming legible as the repercussions are still going on with the fall of the Sovjet imperium, the terrible upheavals in the former Yugoslavia, where it all started and with all the turmoil in the third world which is caused by technics and technology. They unify the planet but tend to destroy all human and communal life. New laws and customs for industrial and technological life, their new basis in the conscious ordering of the times by speech - it is all still in the age of infancy. Rosenstock-Huessy's contributions in this field remain untouched, virgin territory. His work on Industrial Law (*Vom Industrierecht*) 1926 is still not rediscovered. Forty years is the time

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<sup>16</sup> Besides what is written in *Soziologie II, Die Vollzahl der Zeiten* under the head "Die Bemanning der Hochschule" p. 683 - 709 there is much to be found in the unpublished work, particularly in the items of the Richard Cabot Lectures on The Future of the University 1938 - 1939 and A Township College 1939 - 1940.

Israel strayed in the desert. After 50 years it's time for us to leave the times and fetters of scholasticism and academism. We see them falling apart. Will the day already dawn in which the words and works of Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy will bear fruit?

This bibliography and guide to the microfilmed work, then, seeks to serve our perplexed generations by giving them an entry to the work of a man who was called by the great calamity of our century to open the doors to a reorientated life, a worthy life to live in the New Age after the catastrophies of this century. I mean the transformed and revived life of a survivor in a new economy of faith.