

The tribes of the Spirit

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Four lectures on The Ethical Problem of Modern Europe
delivered in Manchester College, Oxford.

- I. Why Europe does not matter.
- II. The new temporal world.
- III. Adult Education - a contradiction in terms.
- IV. The economist's answer to religion.

1. If a foreigner from the continent comes to this country to deliver some lectures on a general subject he finds himself in a position somewhat similar to Adam before the Fall. He finds that he has outworn the most clubbable clothes of oratory he uses to wear at home. All his ways of thinking and talking and putting things seem unweareable, because he has left his group and comes to an other wearing other clothes altogether.

Certainly any scholar who is devoted to scientific or historical research, is able to find his group in the foreign country he visits. But the sociologist, the man who feels himself to be responsible for the health of the group life and the group speech, can't find 'his' group as others can. The specialists own their definite subject and you can find the professionalism of this subject in any directory. The "generalist" has no subject at all. He is but himself a subject, a rather indefinite and meaningless subject, a man like men, and therefore frightfully naked outside his own group.

2. Now men meeting men in the street begins for good reason with a talk about the time of the day. / 'What a day!' 'a nasty day', is a good start for men belonging to different communities. It conceals one's shyness behind this little curtain of turning to the next thing you feel to be common to both of you, to the day's face. If the two men agree about the time, the interview can be carried on things that are not quite so on the map. The first agreement helps them to others.

Now belonging to an other group, a continental person feels not authorised to begin with any special english face of the day like the coal crisis or the decay of parliament, I mean of the buildings of the house of parliament. So if he wants to apply the lesson the man in the street teaches him, and will begin with a little talk about the day, he has no other turn but this only to begin with the definite lack of understanding between the groups. But just because this is the aim of any foreigner honored like myself to deliver lectures in this country, all his words would be idle and his eyes would remain blind if he concealed to himself and to his hearers the lack of understanding that/exists at the

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beginning. The only serious basis of his task to link groups is the statement that they are not linked now. This statement is but a circumlocution for the fact that they can't understand one another.

Indeed let us face this terrible gap between any lecturer of today and his audience, again between many of the members of his audience; and this gap can be found in the single person too. How often is an orator the slave of his phraseology, and his inner faith and his utter actions represent two other departments of his being, separated like water tight compartments from his attitude at the meeting and therefore belonging to the realms of thoroughly different spirits. Then the same man can't understand himself - and as a rule we can't, being no unity but an amazing mixture of opposite group instincts and group minds.

4. So there is not only the obvious obstacle of the difference of our national tongues. But there are the different tongues of schools of thinking in order that where there are two German professors there will be three opinions. There are the hostile and dumb spirits of the classes of work and the quarrelling spirits of the denominations of creed, which cut right through the units of our national bodies. They prevent a deeper understanding. A man who lives and dies for home Rule at home and a Liberal Imperialist, a Physicist who abolishes interests or destroys poverty by a skilful scheme of formulas derived from the multiplication table and a Social Worker who feels himself only a symptom and organ beneath the majestic power of Society - they speak as different languages as a German professor and a Blue of Oxford do.

5. But a more remarkable wall / separates today the mind of any official personality and his 'personal view', the written paper of any scholar and his private spontaneous talk. There is not a unique tongue in a man today. (The modern man does not command integrity of speech.) And all his tongue and voice again remain paralysed very often, because we ask things in speeches which we avoid in practice. The hearer is very often not the doer. Everybody in England could inform himself on Coal one (2) year ago as I did, listening to the most convincing arguments of Richard H. Tawney. But hearer and doer are without close connection today. And the hate of the doer against the hearer of truth caused to this country as everybody knows a loss which equals the costs of the Boer War. We find this paralysis (paralysis) which tears and shreds (which tears into shreds)/the relations of head and heart, brains and arms, language and actions all over Europe.
- 6.

And that again cautions us, that a real and lasting and efficient understanding between two individuals or groups or between a lecturer and his audience is a mere *façon de parler*, as unreal as other social conventions too.

Now I perfectly know that there seem to be at least some general

7. notions which appeal to every soul and to every mind, as the financial restoration of Europe, or the league of Nations. But it's just about these economical and political questions that / every nation and every party answers in a different way. No material or practical business by itself is able to produce unity today. Might I suggest, that the same thing seems to have happened yesterday and every day since the tower of Babel was built as well?

If people want to meet and to be thrown in one melting pot of re-birth and transfiguration, and want to understand and see Whitsuntide, they must turn to the only thing that matters and that is the mainspring of all unity of speech and language amongst men. The only thing that matters and therefore the only fountain from which a new torrent of common understanding can be hoped for, is God. /

8. A general lecture on that what matters would therefore, in older times, always have turned to God and it would have done that successfully.

Much of the trouble of modern Europe seems to be involved by the fact, that we can't turn to God so successfully as our ancestors could. Utterly we can do it. No danger prevents us. No prison threatens us. God is not persecuted and his fellows are not persecuted. But it is the success and the efficiency of our relying on him that fail. Church itself knows and deplors that all its rites and all books and words and services have so little influence on men. It would be useless for a layman then, to try it once more. It is astonishing but quite true that we are hampered today from doing the only thing that matters!

The material questions don't matter. God who alone matters is not touched by a direct appeal in a public audience, we all feel. There are too many misunderstandings even there. Doubts as about every other thing.

9. The malady of Europe is, that God himself has been made a thing amongst other things. We have put Religion and God on one shelf of our library, and the other "things" as Art and Genius, as Science and Business, as Family and Sex have been put on the other shelves. In this distribution of 'things' nothing has been left / apart. All these things are visible things, things for Sunday, for the morning, for to-night, for the weekend and so on. And we know them, we look them all right through and we look at them we discuss them and quarrell about them as about any visible and material thing.

God and Religion are so familiar and material to us that we can't face them in a direct way.

We have got two negatives for any european discussion which will avoid mere oratory and talk and shall conquer our paralysis. We must let alone the material and political things, because they can't help us to link groups which want to understand another and we must let alone the theological and religious way towards God, because theology

10. and religion and God have been lowered to be things amongst other things / in our little human world.

There seems to be little hope to escape the Buddhist solution that is to say to become silent and to disappear soul by soul in the loneliness of the wood or the unfathomable depth of the sea.

And yet there is the fact that you have invited me to come here, there is the fact that you are willing to give me some time to listen to me. There is the fact that I shall have to live a fortnight in England. And these very temporal and secular accidents as little as they are, are not without significance.

11. There is not only a lack of common understanding and of total unanimity, there is longing for it too. And the desire and want express themselves by the first sacrifice man / brings if he thinks that something might matter, they express themselves by the sacrifice of time, human time.

And wherever you find that mankind gives way to a sacrifice of time, you can be sure, that man tries to behave as the image of God, whose love reveals itself by devotion of time by bestowing to any being of life and time, God gives his time to everybody, because he makes the sun to shine above the righteous and the unrighteous.

12. Man is the Mirror of God and he has been created in Gods image; then the turn to time, to the questions of human time recommends itself as an indirect way to God. If we look seriously at the time, at the temporal order of our fellow creatures, if we can discover a disease in the European time table so to say, / we can be sure to attack a problem, which depends not upon any questions of local or material character but which matters because it is like an earthly reflector of the secret of God himself.

Let us review the situation of Europe by starting quite new (afresh), by thinking and recollecting our common conditions not in terms of local organisation, boundaries between territories, balances between debts and loans but in facing our life as generations and branches of the tree of Time. We are hours and minutes in the years of the temporel. And we have lost all notion even of what that means in order that many of you will think me a very absurd Professor Teufelsdröck.

13. But it is quite an obvious fact, that the people of Europe by giving in more and more to the term Europe, have done a quiet (= quite) extraordinary thing. They have thought of God / and of their Imitation of God not in terms of time but in the very opposite way, in terms of Space. And the name Europe itself contains all the story about our rise and decay.

My aim in this lecture, therefore, is, to make us conscious of the significance of this so harmless-looking word Europe. I want to praise Europe but to bury her too! Our disease seems to me embodied in this

little term Europe herself.

14. You will not find anything about Europe that matters, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The average book and the average man will tell you that Europe is a merely geographical term, for one of the five continents of the earth, with (=with) clear boundaries in the North, West and South, but some more indistinct boundaries in the East. And if he is trained in latin and greek he will know, that Europe was one of the many mistresses of Jupiter and a king's daughter as well. / Nobody wonders, why the Greek name is adopted as nobody wonders that we read Platon and call our self philosophers with the Greek notion. We think: this endured through the centuries. It lasted. It is quite true, all our history is falsified by this plain method, to draw a line from Homer and Plato and Aristotle as continual as possible down to the present. We feign by this method, that all interruptions of this red thread are accidents which are to be regretted as very disagreeable indeed. And we escape by this falsification the uncomfortable statement that there is no red thread at all, which leads on from princess Europe and old Homer and wise Plato to the Europe of today. Naturally, I can't deal in this lecture with all the fallacies of the historians from Erasmus down to Mr. Wells which / have their mainspring in this idea of the red thread. In the limits of this lecture let me only say this. The idea of the continuity of philosophy from Plato and Socrates right down to James and Bergson is a propagandistic idea, introduced in a rather shy manner in the Cinquecento and growing from century to century, till the philosophers had succeeded to make people forget altogether the bankruptcy of old greek Philosophy on the one side and the parvenue character of modern philosophy on the other. Philosophy very much like Europe - wanted a noble pedigree. And for this purpose the propaganda of scholars did its best to intimidate the popular tradition about philosophy and to introduce the talk of the academic people of modern Europe / about their own origin as a historical truth and reality. I will let alone this remarkable desire of improving (to improve) the length of one's genealogical tree. We are interested only in the other aspect of this process, in the needs which should be satisfied by the new introduction of the word Europe.
15. Europe is an invention of the Humanists of the sixteenth century. It was largely employed in combinations like theatrum Europaeum in the seventeens (=seventeenth), Balance of the European powers in the eighteenth and European concert in the nineteenth century. The word ^{is} therefore, most closely connected with the central political ideas of the modern times. The political world of the secular States has been signed as European. The merely secular ambition / of the modern State which is limited to the life here below wanted to oppose the earthly idea of Europe to the idea of occidental and western civilization cultivated in the mediaeval church. Occidental is a notion of ecclesiastical origin, european is its secular rival.
16. 17.

18. Never between 1800 and 1914 was Europe intended to be a geographical term only! There was a great ambition expressed in that word, the great ambition that has carried all the great enterprises of the European nation for the time of their hegemony over the other four continents of this earth! This ambition rivalled the christian ambition of theology and church. It was developed and held up by philosophers and humanists, as the curriculum of grades in Oxford or / the doctor of philosophy in Heidelberg can tell any observer.

It is quite true, that philosophy could not help to base its claim for hegemony on a geographical principle. If the Church of the Pope and if the medieval Empire had been based on the Roman tradition Philosophy as the competitor of Roman Papacy had to avoid any centralisation into one place of the map. So it went back to mythology, and gave the leadership of the future plainly to the sons of Europe.

19. But there was no doubt about the claim for leadership to the inhabitants of Europe. So as everybody knows they went out and discovered the other continents and exploited them and missioned them and governed them and / colonised them. Faithful to their devise (motto): Europe it was the local organisation of our planet which the nations of Europe have carried in the last four centuries. There is no place in the world no white spot on the map that has not been explored and investigated. The material world as it is visible in the spaces, is the middle, that European science and European policy these great Allies, have been solving all that time.

20. In our present depression we sometimes forget that 'Europe' has been successful in her great enterprise which she started in 1492. The space is discovered. America and Australia and the poles are known. The secular mind of the scientists has freed the spacial world we have to live in from the nightmares of demons, wicked spirits, witchcraft and devils. We know about the local distribution of lands and seas, raw materials and nationalities, and we know to combine these continents and things and people by means of travelling, traffic trade and emigration. Railways, Broadcasting, Aeroplanes, Wireless have unified the earth and will do it further and better in the future. Space has lost its terrors. We can survey it whole.

21. But all this has been carried. The improvements you can find don't mean very much in comparison with the gigantic things that have been accomplished. The world so far as it is space alone and nothing else but space, is completely a 'perfectum' to our european imagination. And that is the reason why we feel so nauseated today. Now indeed, but only now Europe is a purely geographical agglomeration of some peninsulas of Asia. Only now the philosophical and secular ambition based upon the Notion Europe is gone and the only thing left is this underlying principle itself. As Goethe / says in his Faust 'zum Teufel ist der Spiritus das Phlegma ist geblieben'

we might say: The Mythos of Europe i.e. her soul has died; the terrestrial body remains. All Non-European Nations continue to call us Europeans. Therefore the name Europe can't die.

But if we want or hope to be called once more to a common task, as in the occidental and in the european period of our history, it is impossible to take up Europe as our watchword.

It is space that has been discovered by the imagination that inspired the sons of Europe. It is the spacial organisation of the world, that has been developed so far that Europe can't call for any preference in this local and geographical scheme. / On the contrary; the single nations of Europe try to escape their common mischief. They rival to get the most and the best of Americas sympathies. And the Bishop of London expands widely upon the fatal conception of the Americans to treat Englishmen and Continental people both as European and a Frenchman will argue, that France has quite an other standard as Germany.

Englands best young men going to India, German engineers going to America, italian peasants going to Abessinia, french soldiers dying in Morocco what is the faith and creed they can take with them today out of this bleeding corpse of her Mother Europe?

No spacial or local imagination, no map of the world can console the noble youth who knows about the war and the walls of hate and the abyss of destruction it has drawn on the map of Europe herself.

The suicide of Europe this war has been named by our German Ambassador in Paris on Monday the second of August 1914.

Let us face the situation. The embodiment of our hegemony in the matters of space and earth, Europe, can't give us the new inspiration we are longing for. Europe does not matter. The human spirit, that is based on earthly and spacial principles, has / done its best and has been overdone. The renaissance of the Spirit can't spring of a landscape or a greek Mythos about a landscape. But if it is true what an english sentence says that time is but another word for God then the renaissance of the Divine Spirit can come out of a life lived in terms and notions of time, in a new temporary order of the stocks which populate the countries of Europe today.

Can Time take us like a stream or Torrent of Water and deliver us from that prison, which the spacial organisation of the world means to the nobler pretensions of the stocks and kindreds of old Europe? If the missionary function of the western church and of the European nations shall survive the downfall of the Great War, then we want a new start for / us as the bearers of this function.

But then let us forget what we have done and let us use all the pride of the past to this aim only to become young once more as bearers of the Spirit. Let us leer neither upon heaven neither upon earth.

The spacial organisation of the earth is no spur to the hearts of the

disillusioned men who have been in the war. The merely heavenly aims of the towers of the medieval cathedrals are inaccessible too. Midway between Heaven and Earth, Midway between God and Space there is a creature called Man. Let us sail to his island, which is called time to seek in its mirror the only thing that matters in Heaven and on Earth: the living God. But how to prepare the start from Europe, the geographical centre of spacial discoveries and spacial organisation to a Temporel order of mankind reflecting the Eternal in terms and units of time?

25. How to find the harbour, that leads from the three dimensions of space to this "fourth dimension" of the time? The harbour must lie in the social world just where it is frightened by the predominance of space and local order. / Perhaps^{if} we can hear anywhere protests and outcries of humanity against the spacial organisation of the world, then we will take them as signposts and guides to this port. Certainly we can't see time. And that is all the trouble about it. But there are other senses, hearing for example. And since the poet has asked for any man, to have music in himself, there leads a tune through the four last centuries.

26. II. A New aspect of the Temporel.

Any epoch in our personal life or any period in public life begins with a new recollection on that which matters.

27. We have seen, that the nations of Europe too might be expected to recover theirs selfs by putting this old question in a new way. But we are seriously prevented to do so, because the remembrance of the European way of putting the question is still alive in most of us. This marvellous attempt of organizing the world in all its spacial aspects has enchaned our tongues and enslaved our imagination. We have translated our pride to be the sons of a blessed spot, an unique place on earth into all our visions of life. Like Earth like Europe all things have / interested us for being or becoming or having been visible. The modern world is one big museum and people go around sightseeing and viewhunting. This frenzy of vision dominates our interior world as well as our outdoor life. Our imagination is nourished by pictures, colours, figures, numbers, geometrical ideas. The greek endowment of Europe is throughout the hegemony of the sense of the eye. It is the predilection of the Greek to use even in philosophy the metaphor *eidos* and *idea*, what can be looked at by the inner eye. According to that passion of the eye, the theologian or the philosopher of recent times have concentrated their interest on drawing the line between the world here and the Eternal by opposing the visible and the invisible world. And by doing so they have lowered - without intending it! - the importance of the invisible. It is fatal in any division of mere logical character, that the negation never interests

28. us as much as the position. If it is the first mark of the Eternal to be invisible, the Eternal / is endangered to be taken as very unreal.

Heaven becomes then an unreal but improved second edition of Earth, improved according to the vision of the prophet.

Now the English notion of the transcendental world is superior to the continental vocabulary. It takes the World of the Eternal not as a second spacial world, but as the world to come and saves by doing so a remarkable term of time for the real world.

29. But this is a rare exception. Most of us think of all problems in notions (terms) of space. Even taking our starting point mainly and purely in the basis of our senses, it is manifest that vision is not the only sensuous way of thinking about the world. I can imagine a world based not on the visible but on the hearable or tastable order of heaven and earth too. Perhaps we can find a first illustration of what I call the unfair predominance of the eye, when we put these three senses in a certain order. / Then we shall find *vis* to be just between hearing and smell. You may hear things too far away from your eye to be seen and on the other hand we smell at a thing by closing our eyes.

30. If we base all our concept of world wide organisation on the sense of the eye, we have taken no regards of the call of hearing and smell. The things not yet ripe to be seen and the things too near to be looked at might have escaped our attention. The modern townsman eats what looks dainty and attracts the eye. He is deaf and dumb to the haut goût of most of the meals he eats. He is impervious to all the smells of motor cars, tubes, men in the city of London. He has to blunt his nose if he wants to live there. Most people take smell as an atavism like the appendix, not very important but an inheritance of our animal past. Doing so he is very much behind the up to date biologist who is inclined to / judge animals as decadents of man. But apart from this: in a civilisation like ours smell seems to be the most important sense indeed.

A German physiologist, Dr. Hennings has written a big volume on smell. he was not interested in any metaphysical questions and his results may strike us therefore more, because they are not prejudiced by any ideas of psychology or philosophy at all.

31. This scholar shows, that all the different smells from that of the violet to that of petrol can be put into one simple scale. This scale leads from the most tender degree of life, the blossoming of a flower to its more vigorous forms as fruity and aromatic. The most intensified life of the fruit is the next neighbour to death and all the various figures of death. There / are the steps: the smell of the withering plant, of putrefaction, of haut goût, of the burnt smell to the stench of a carcass. But it is all one scale giving the degrees of vitality.

Life and death of our surroundings become manifest by smell. We don't use this sensuous disposition for our social life. Perhaps many do by instinct. But people are not taught to use and value this instinct. Our schools try to do the opposite, to root up this basis of political judgement on the life and death of institutions.

There is a smell of death about institutions and foundations as well as about plants or men. But modern humanity has not developed the talent to bury its dead institutions at the right time. Take an association or a club, take governments and parties and *cong   d'  lire*. They can't live and they can't die. They remain in the visible world even if they smell corruption. Withering gives glorious colours like a sunset but it is withering nevertheless.

- There are other processes we only can hear. Wars, Catastrophes, /
 32. Revolutions, very like the thunderstorm can be heard long time before. Prophets are always excellent hearers although their visions of the new order of things after the catastrophe are proved to have been quite wrong or even absurd. The prophet, who hears movements, i.e. the dynamic process is often a very bad seer!

Now this digression to sense claims not to be a convincing argument. All what I hope is that it can illustrate the limits of a civilisation which is conscious and cultivates vision much more than the other senses in all central questions of education and policy and faith.

- Let us face another and more striking symptom of the predominance of space and view in Europe in the recent past. /
 33. The inhabitants of Europe have reflected their passion for the space by the use of a little noun. Whither their curiosity was moved, they always asked for the Nature of things. It seems to be very innocent to deal with the Nature of Man and the Nature of God. But it pours the very soul of Europe into the world of things.

- In Ciceros book *de natura deorum* the Gods are immortal, they have no time and they don't depend upon time. The temporary mischiefs or adventure of an ancient God are mere accidents, which can't change their nature which is immortal. Time is a secondary notion of the Natural order of things. Time is an attribute, which joins the other attributes of the things. Where-
 34. ever we find the word Nature, we find time to have been subordinated to space. / This is the conscious way of the scientist. He will agree, at the end of his journey, as we see today, that time can be recognised as the fourth dimension of space. But exactly this statement testifies that the independance of time is thoroughly destroyed and denied.

- Now I believe that we can easily understand why the European mind turned so passionately to Nature and to Nature only. The Spiritual power of the Church, the *gladius spiritualis* had succeeded to wake suspicious
 35. the *gladius / temporalis*, the temporal order of things that was based on

the physical life of kings and princes and dynasties, on the infinite chain of challenges and wars and feuds, on the waves of dull fear and ridiculous hope and bitter hate.

36. This desposal of the temporel by the faith of the church and the teaching of scholasticism made it impossible to the european power of the modern State and its Lifeguard, the european scientist, to apologize for the divinity of any secular thing directly. If they wanted to challenge the occidental tradition of Christianity, as they did, they could not glorify the temporal for being temporal and transient and changing. They could not plead for the caprices of Henry VIII and for the arbitrariness of free thinkers. / They had to find an other expedient. The competition of the gladius temporalis had to turn to that side of the temporal world that had been ill treated by the medieval church.

Now to the secular powers of the Middle Age the Church has done no wrong. They were barbarian, crude and merciless. Church had to teach them peace and gentility and honour and service and loyalty, unction for priesthood of the kings and in the service of the knights in the crusades as well. But what has been ill treated and biassed in Medieval Times, is not the political sphere but the earthly world.

37. Witchcraft and hags, demons and devils populated the woods and the mountains. Humanity was a slave of incessant attacks and/threatenings of the powers of this outdoor world.

Here was the field for the campaign of the secular mind. He did not want to attack the church directly. His conquests in the field of Nature were manifest enough to rival with the efficiency of the Church. Step by step the complexity of the theological conception of the temporal world as secular and natural, as political and natural at the same time, was shattered.

38. A Non-secular and non political realm was discovered, the mechanical but lawful world of space. To discover 'Nature' delivered the visible part of Heaven and earth from the curse of superstition, fear and witchcraft. / So in any philosophy of Descartes or Leibnitz or Kant nature is a world conceived to be a visible order of things to be looked at with human eyes or at last with artificial eyes like telescopes and microscopes.

39. This was the famous deed of Copernikus to discover in the secular world a lawful order, a wonderful unity and even harmony of nature. The substitution of Nature for World everywhere as far as research and science and travelling can reach meant the exclusion and expulsion of all the temporal nightmares of the Middle Ages. Nature became a spacial order going on for ever. / There is no reason why we should not feel grateful to our ancestors for this purification of the created world.

But 'Nature' only fits the world which is created. It can't fit to the world that God is creating now. This part of the world is biassed if it is

treated as nature.

40. And that's what has happened. Man is treated to have a Nature, no, to be a Nature. He is treated as Nature in Industry for example. His divinity is only based on his natural birthday. There his creation seems to be finished. He now becomes raw-material for society. The primary school first, boy scouts, and workshop later on 'develop' his nature or claim for doing so. He is a prisoner in the wonderful / spacial organisation of the world, a cog in the machine. Perhaps they pay him extremely well, pay him not only high wages but a pension too. But he has lost his significance as a man, he has lost his duty: to create. His only duty is to produce the output they ask him to produce, by calculating his nature so and so on the multiplication table and giving him a number of so and so many pounds a year.

41. Now the created world is perfectly complete. If man is added to the world as a further piece of Nature he becomes superfluous and worthless. There is no room in the System of Nature for a further thing, because everything that is wanted inside the circle of Nature has been created in the / first five days. Man belongs not to the quantity of beings, the cup of Nature. If man tries to enter the scheme of the first five days, he disturbs the order of Nature and we can't wonder, if he is wiped from the face of Earth as needless by ways of war, revolution etc.

But the most significant aspect of modern industry seems to me this: its wonderful spacial organisation splits the time, the life time of men into senseless fragments.

42. In the 'prespacial', prescientific world a man who was paid day by day, seemed to be the most miserable man. Achilles mourns for feeling in the nether world like a day-labourer might feel on this earth. But the basis of modern industry is a calculation not on days, but on hours, on the very atoms of time. If you pay a man for his output / and for the hours he works, his time, his lifetime and all the elements of his unique lifetime are torn and split up into "spaces of time". Add these natural spaces of time, sum up them till you get 2400 the year: they are discredited and denaturalised. They are no more portions of a whole. The lifetime of the worker has no share in modern work. Only the money he gets out of his work, is a serious element of his real life, a life to be lived outside the workshop and outside industry.

43. No man can stick very seriously to any job, which makes him a prisoner in a spacial organisation, this cage may be gilded or not. He will try to escape. And the first escape is the little interest he takes in the work. When I find myself to be treated as an indifferent piece of Nature, I answer that / challenge by becoming indifferent to this mechanical system.

We all try to escape. But where? Before I answer this question, look at the broad roads on which humanity tries to escape the prison of space. Men become delocalised today. For the first time in history, it becomes impossible to sanctify any fragment of space. There is no spot in the country,

44. that is not threatened by an Imperial hotel, a Pearsoap (?) advertisement, a garage for motor cars and a bus with sight-seeing visitors. We all know that places like Oxford or Cambridge, buildings like a medieval cathedral, will not be enabled to grow in the future, because humanity has lost its faith in local gods / and in goddesses or saints of merely local character. The coherence of all the local fragments of this earth becomes so overwhelming, that we can't hope to restore the basis for any localised sacredness. Men is unwilling to deify any local appearance or tradition, because he turns more or less consciously his back to space which threatens him with death. In America people live as nomads. On the big roads they go in their Ford nomadising; these people are rooted out.

We can't hope to strike roots again at any time in the same way as in the ancient time. The shortage of houses is more than a symptom. Who can hope that his children can live at the same place and therefore in the same house, his family has lived in for hundreds of years?

45. If you can't take root in the / space any more, you seem to be sentenced to death. Modern society very often is taken to be practically dying. But the pessimists forget(s), that the special organisation of the world has perfectly changed the value and importance of the temporal world.

The temporary in the sense of the medieval thought had been the passions of men biassing the creation of God. Wars of the Clans, ambitions of kings and princes, abuses of hags and sorcerers changed the creation of God into the "world", a fantastic dance of bleeding shadows, and demons, senseless and merciless and rootless too, passing on year for year and century for century.

46. But it is not today that the Nature is biassed by men. Men - for the first time in the world - are / consciously biassed by the genuine laws of Nature and its mechanic tendencies.

Though theology tries today to go on with the old use of "world" and being very conservative it will try to do so for some centuries, it is obvious, that this world does not exist any more!

World minus nature gives society. The social world is detached from any 'Nature'. Because any natural things are governed today by technical and economical laws and statistics and money.

What you can't buy nor sell, is the nucleus of the new "world" of mankind, purified and simplified but full of varieties and surprisals. And a new table of values stands in this world: The stone that is despised by church and State is the keystone of this realm: Sin, Error, Mischief, failure and passion are the raw material of this excentric "Temporal" Society. And even the economist can be convinced that this table of values is neither foolish nor useless. In a mechanical Nature the passions of men become most precious. The cog in the machine looses with his passions his creative po-

wer too. Passion is like a rare jewel on the outdying race of the noble dear.

For the first time in the life of humanity we can trust our senses; sensation can be sanctified, passion can become a value, because the continuation of the act of Creation of man is menaced by the joke, man has brought down to himself as by being a fragment of Nature. /

47. The counterpart of the Eternal, the passing world reveals itself to be thoroughly divided (=divided) in a natural and spacial section and in the life of the only non-spacial being, of the bearer of time of history and of change.

Man has no nature. He expresses nothing but the law of the hour of creation he is called into existence and work. His type, his attitude, his 'nature' depends upon the constellation of the day or year, in which he wakes up from childhood and plays and becomes a man. He has no nature, because he is responsible for nature. He is not a created nature but a created spirit, if he reflects the way of the Spirit who is God.

48. Therefore his radication can be found only in time. The tribes of the Spirit, all the men of one roster, rising year by year into a new situation / this youth can find the garden to take roots in, in the temporal harmony and polyphony of the generations, the temporal can reflect the Eternal, if the kindreds and tribes of man range their mortal work as an act in the drama the Spirit of God performs in the going on with Creation.

The Holy Ghost reveals himself by the temporary creatures of the types and professions, of the groups and years; he calls out of the natural world of the homo sapiens. He brings them into existence by appealing to their love of their next, of their fellow creatures. The tribes of the Spirit don't exist by Nature. They exist by love and through love only. Otherwise man would not be the image of God.

Manuscript of 48 pp. being the first two lectures of a series of four in Manchester College, Oxford in 1926 by Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. Typed out by Lise van der Molen, Winsum on the 4th of June 1988.

(Commentary: Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy clearly is grappling with the english language and has not mastered it as yet. You will find that too in the letters from this period.)

Preparational papers to The Tribes of the Spirit.

A few days ago I laid forcible hands upon myself in order to obtain the quiet necessary for the preparation of these lectures. My first conclusion and it is one which many of you will probably share in a short time, was that I had placed myself in a ridiculous position by consenting to deliver them.

W.H. Drummond, Thoughts on the ministry in Unquiet Times 1923 /

The Simplification of Europe

The compl. which make it urgent and our theoretical way.

Education and Labour

Theology and Economics

Day and Eternity /

Missionary function of the Church

Day and Eternity

Amerikaner 12½ Jahr

One typed European

Simplification

We can't get rid of the skeleton on the cupboard of 1830 tradition early Victorian crystall palace

The ethical problem of modern Europe

The need of simplification

Education and Labour

Theology and Economics Work can't become your private home anymore
it is no calling in the old religious way

The Temporal and the Eternal

I know not if I sink or swim

It is a terrible thing with headlines and titles

Père Guénard: Non plus sapere quam oportet

space local delocalized

for in the States where'er you roam you never leave your home sweet home /

tribes kindred

because mass crowd

it is not the birthday of nature

it is not the birthday for heaven

its (= it's) the birthday of the Spirit of your group

work it out of the numerous daily Spirits

leadership and teaching impure and pure which occur to you

teacher always must think of giving way of let him slip, he is always in the background. The full reality is not the purpose of the relationship between teaching and work. /

Lack of understanding no time not the time for understanding

The ambition of Europe

Bulgarian and Bavarian culture

Nelson: England expects

Savage

no geographical ties

a missionary function Humanity is always the same in putting order
not in the visible things of the space but of time.

Perhaps the easier way would be to deal with Education or economics
and to show the way that is opening. But I am anxious to avoid as many
misunderstandings as I can.

Europe and Nature are answering to the other. The European is fearless.
Oh it is but Nature and then the (=he) uses it as a (man?) uses wood
or stone.

The sense of the eye. Visible. Audible smellable

if the man becomes quite visible, quite calculated and calculable
his soul is dead. /

The difficulty to be understood

desert dessert written paper and talk

1. German professor and English mentality

2. Mr. Soddy is the soundest man in England The Physicist

3. The Town Counsellor and the Empire man

4. The generations 1846 unarmed

Mr. Tawneys lecture on reorganisation. hearers and doers.

5. Stand-point Europe Western

Thought can be luxury Non plus sapere quam oportet

6. Delocalisation. What matters. Every period begins with one question:
What matters One thing matters. God is only on one of all the different
shelves.

7. To make time visible. Not the astronomical time of Nature. But the
astrological time of the Creation, the birthday of the different types
of Mankind instead of Humanity.

8. To get hold to dig out of his grave the business man

The temporal and the Eternal

Our failure in Germany not the time to be done

success is no argument /

There is a ship and she sails the sea She's loaded deep as deep can be
But not so deep as the love I am in I know not if I sink or swim.

Drawbacks 1. désert and desért I stick to the spontaneous speech
I know not if I sink or swim

2. Second problem German and English

3. Soddy and I

4. Tawney and the coal strike Here we are

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

Policy economics

British goods Internationalism

Ligue of Nations

Wary (?) Clay Misunderstanding Nobody listens

God Religion Save our Souls shelf

The good thing of Industrial Organization

travel traffic trade delocalising.

Man won't bear it to be a prisoner in this well organized shep /

Tawney no influence and I a foreigner? words are become worthless

Now there are other particular reasons for a general misunderstanding.

I gave a lecture at Leicester desert dessert Drawback of language

Drawback of nationality I am a German professor

Difficulty of creed The physicist and the Spiritualist.

Individual and group mind Demonish powers are ruling the individual

lack of understanding want for understanding we must meet at the
same crossway to get out of our blind alleys /

Now this starting point must be sought far away from any visible map of Europe and of any visible things in the space. Any thing that has made its bodily and weighty entrance into the space such as industry, geographical frontiers are localised at a definite and distinct place in the material order of things. If Mr. Tawney could not conquer Sir Williams with all his high intelligence and knowledge about the coal crisis, I shall not conquer any English man to adhere at my political plans of the reconstruction of Europe. /

Tawney a talk in the Hotel about Mr. Soddy
and the output

There can be no sound discussion where the gulf severing two sets of facts is not frankly recognized.

The one thing that is wanted

in other times that would have been God. And I believe personally I could come through with this noun. But society can't And that is what we ought to understand. The complications are not met with a noun, as holy and as terrifying or tempting or powerful it might be. Because God is not persecuted to day. His priests are not persecuted. Neither churches nor sects are persecuted or menaced. They are respected, but they are put into a drawer, into one drawer of the press. If we want to simplify things, we can't take our start from any of the named drawers of our culture. Theology /

A German in an English College on Armistice day. Looking forward to the local arrangements, the geographical boundaries that followed our capitulation the tricks by which all the terms of the Armistice have been turned up and down I must curse this day and I confess frankly I do it. Its (= It's) the end of our German history as an independent and sovereign country. In the utter organisation of the world we are no selfsupporting area. /

We went out to find something that matters. We could not find anything in the visible world that could matter at all because it is but visible and therefore its (=it's) calculable, it is nature. We could not turn back to religion because religion itself has been made a natural thing, to (=too) well known as one thing, institution amongst other foundations and buildings of our civilisation. As most of the clergy are calculable, Churches mostly are very visible, God - though he is the only who matters, can't be found by the average soul in these days on the way to church.

But the time is the mirror of God. It is but an other term for God, His reflector in our life. Time therefore matters. /

We must bury our dead thoughts, our overworked ideas, we must turn out of our blind alleys of thinking and reasoning in common. And to do this we must find the common deed, the common work, we have done for the world. Europe is a unity because it is seen to be a unity by others. I may infer the excellent book of Mr. Savage The Malady of Europe. /

II.

The first point I venture to say may seem to you to be merely a metaphorical one. I will not insist upon its scientific value nowadays, but take it like any fairy tale which paints a doctrine.

It is quite clear, that there are other senses, which have been neglected as smelling and hearing. The eye is a sence (= sense) between both. You may (hear) anything far away, without seeing it and you will smell at a thing closing your eyes.

If we have based all our concept of world wide organisation on the sense of the eye, the things not yet mature to be seen and the things to (=too) near as to be seen at all may escape our attention. Wars, Revolutions, the tidings of the sea can be felt before and on the other hand the dying and fouling and withering of any institution, dogma can be felt not by anything similar to / the eye. There is no vision, if you feel the weakening of a creed, the withering of a great tradition, the dying out of a governing class. Very often these things look never so mighty and glorious and pompous as in the moment of their sunset.. The sun himself unfolds all his

richness of colours not before the last hour of his day. Most towny man have lost their sense for the alive and the dead, the fresh and the foul.

A german scientist wrote an excellent book on the sense of smelling, without taking any interest beyond the bounds of his object. / (putrid / vigorous & putrefaction / bloomy / fruity / aromatic from a separate page LvdM)

The only thing that I wish to explain by this fairy tale is this: Even taking a merely sensuous way of contemplating the possible ways of Europe to any future, their (=there) are some ways open, which take quite a new starting point. I can imagine a world based not on the visible but on a hearable or tasteable order of heaven and earth.

But there is a second thing: on this other side. Man is treated as Nature. He is treated in Industry. If you pay a man for his output and for the hours he works, his time, his lifetime and all the portions of his unique lifetime are torn, split up into mere spaces of time. His own nature is studied as to be nature, that is to say / of this slavery. But the very heart of this secular, this ephemeral, this temporal world, the human heart is broken by this delivery of nature. The temporal life means to us not the same as to our ancestors: it means the daily only. It means the wages paid not even for days but for hours. It means the Daily Mail it means the Spirit of the weekday Delocalisation of man called so by Wells. Nomads.

There is no time. Because no summing of hours and days and weeks But Delocalisation of man means quite a new start for man. Man is the image of God. Then his life - and not his nature - might be a mirror of the secrets of religion.

There is a spirit every year and every day and every man is born under his peculiar spiritual star. And there are groups of men, linked together by the bond of a common spiritual birthday, of a common experience / and the greatest example are all the man who went to the war.

The tribes of the spirit. The kindreds of the spirit awkward (=awkward) words. Not physical links of flesh and blood, but spiritual links of fate and generation and years seem to make a strong appeal to us.

Instead of Humanity I prefer the word mankind, to

u n c l u b b a b l e i n t e l l e c t u a l m a n n e r s .

Bulgarian and European culture

Europe expects that every body will do his duty /

The temporary in the sense of the ancient church had been the passions of the clans, the revenge for blood, war and kings ambitions

and the dying out of whole generations and communities and nations, hate (=hatred) and love and birth and death. And the measure of all these things had been the life of the average man. A time of seventy or eighty years.

These short times limited then the organisation of the space. After a mighty ruler a weaker came, an orphan or a widow and all the work had been for nothing. Space then was subordinated to the mere accidents of a king or prince. Space escaped / spatial imagination bearers of a great mission.

The Nations of Europe found a way of protest against the damnation of the temporary and secular and momentaneous life, which they had learned not to appreciate too much by giving way to an (=a) spatial order of things. Rational it was, based upon physics and chemistry and mathematics. Mechanical it was, as the metaphor of the Balance of powers tells you. But it was the revelation of the *λογος*, of a thing greater than the word world involves, namely nature.

The competition of the secular life of Europe to the spiritual mission of the Church found its own way unrivalled by / the theological creed in the evolution of the laws of Nature. When we speak of Nature we always use it for an order of things, where space comes first and time comes in only later on. To be a genius by nature, means to be it at the very beginning, before the work of time gave any help or do any harm to it. To discover the nature of things, the nature of our soul, the nature of gravity means to look at first at the thing and to look afterwards only to its movements or changing. Time is subordinated; where ever you use the word Nature, it must be subordinated. Mathematicians will admit that time can be treated as to be the fourth

III.

When I finished my last lecture I was somewhat presumptuous. I said that the preponderance in social affairs in a delocalised society will not be given to local boundaries of proprieties, islands, countries, continents but to the differences and combinations of the tribes of mankind which time rouses.

There is a new spirit every day and every year and every man is born under his peculiar spiritual star and there are groups of men, linked together by ties of a common name, a common password and therefore brethren of the same historical date and birthday, kindled all by the same experience in suffering and love, in hope and fear. The greatest example is the generation of men which went to the great war. And if on armistice day everybody might give his two minutes to the dead, there is a deeper comradeship between the dead and those who live with them even now in closer relation as with the younger or older people

because they stick in their heart faithfully to the same / experience and suffering, so that war seems to have made them one coinage distinct of all younger and all older coins all together.

May I remind you why we wanted to turn to this problem of the image of God in humanity? Why could we not turn our eyes upon the kingdom of God directly? And why did we not take interest in the visible organisation of the world.

There where (=was) one reason why we thought it impossible to take the line of the visible problems of today. And there was an other reason, why the direct way to God could turn out as a cut short. About the visible it is hopeless to find two beings fully agreeing one with the other. Many people dislike even agreements. They are quite glad to have their own opinion and don't want agreement. There is a serious lack of understanding. And a longing for understanding must address therefore other departments of our imagination than the spacial world./ But what became of the world in the religious sense of the word in so far as it could not become organised by means of visible bodily exploitation manufacturing and making the most of it. Expropriating the soils, the sources, and rivers, air and brains, muscles and nerves for governing Nature and imposing her one unifying yoke.

A wrong temporary and a wrong eternal aspect of things. The temporary and the Eternal. The Eternal lost its frightening and nighness or nearness. It was remarkably changed unto the unseen and the invisible and that meant to this period to the quantité négligeable. The Eternal was taken to be mere continuity a lastening (=lasting) for ever. Outside the space without any interference to space. /

On the other side God himself can't be addressed by any public orator, because religion itself has been made a thing you can disagree about, totally as being a sunday thing amongst other things. Religion became to (=too) natural a thing, clergy to (=too) calculable, churches to (=too) visible.

Now between the material world and God there remains the mirror of God, humanity itself. It matters not in itself. It matters only as long as it is an image of God. But then it matters indeed. And if you stick to human affairs not driven by humanitarianism but by keeping this standard, that mankind has been created as an image of God, all your ideas on education and work get pitch, their scale, they can be measured. Than the tribes of the spirit must reveal God himself in their harmony and their ranges and successions. /

The only thing that matters is God. But he himself takes different ways of appealing to our imagination.

Church has been overburdened in asking her to go ⁱⁿ for all the social struggles she is overdone. Nature science economics have

conquered. Church if I take this word in its fullest and deepest sense remains the teacher of the truth, ecclesia docens magistra, the model for the image, but not people of God. His folks

It is not the church which has conquered the big business
trinity
creation of the father
the church of the son both are complete
but they want exoneration
unburden the church discharge creation the social world
resound. /

Three aspects

Humanity can not realise God by one conception as by one principle only the realm, but we may call it some times:

the Kingdom of the Father
some times the Church of Christ
and some times the works, vows and charmes of the son of man,
the tribes of the Spirit Insert here p. / 12

If thought is one of the prides of man, it should be recognised that thought is but a relative to thank. Modern society is treated to be a department of Nature. In this realm neither thank nor thought have any conceivable place. This realm may be as spacious as you can make it. It can be the society of all nations all over the earth. It always includes the mistake, that space is the constituent element of humanity / that we (have) done everything if we have settled local questions between local groups on this earth, that space and earth are the ground upon which society has to be build.

A specimen and perhaps the specimen of this philosophy or heresy is the word Europe itself. And I venture to say that we can look t(h)rough the heresy of this word, we may perhaps look through the ethical illness of our
economics failed, for the human factor in industry was treated to be a question of larger output an(d) smaller costs, of larger income and new markets only. /

Society is not nature. If you think of it like Nature it will react upon you like Nature that is to say mechanical, thoughtless, giddy, without gratitude and without remembrance. But the very ties which bind together society are all these things: /

(On the left side of the first two pages of the last three you find what follows:)

The
Nature
World
Time

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

The Revolution that happens,
happens inside the word time it-
self. Space of time, timetable.
I have time as young man. We cry
and pray that time shall take us
into its arms and that we can swim
in this stream. life takes us only
too violently. increased speed.
We struggle against time. We want
shunts and sidings
Adult Education
Contrad. in Terms
educere: to draw out
foreign policy deals with nature
political military service navy
colonize diplomacy
home policy deals with
constellations
leadership and teaching

(On the right side of the third page of the mentioned last three
you find in two columns the following:)

Tribes of the spirit
Not the individual
not the natural
not the personal
not the eternal
but your own drama
problem of Adult Education
birthday of the group
We have time.
No time has us in its gripes

Now playtime
games
prolog

(Now the tri
roster

Nature
World
Time
Revolution
Timetable. Education is no
christian word at all. Adult E.
is a contrad. in terms.
Spirit of the day
Mass Crowd
Ages of andrag and pedagog be-
tween political leadership man-
kind
Spirit of your age
deed action and work
to pass t(h)rough different acts
becomes ~~ne~~ necessary
change of jobs
change of conditions
and yet reach the pitch
not lower standard

1. Tribes of the Spirit
Make you aware of the misleading
use of nature. Bacons essays are
full of this use. Caution
Nature means to subordinate
time our own precious time to
space.
Space of time
timetable
We have time we have no time
Wittigs letter.
Our Education is hampered and very
often prevented by its mechanical
conception of time.
We are believing both in time as
in a power which transfigures us
and all things surrounding us.

Europe as a geographical unity. A Human unity too.

Missionary function of the old bearers of

most people grow angry if they have taken a wrong way but there is no anger if there has not been any way at all A pioneer knows that the wrong way must be gone in order to discover the new. /

You remember the one typed Nations

Gentleman

he never knew exactly what a gentleman was.

Now one of these stamped coins is the capitalist, the big business man. As long as we cant (=can't) get him into our melting pot of transfiguration, we have not done very much.

But even a rich man can be safed (=saved). /

Nature

Bertrand Russels (= Russel's) Laotse and State.

Nature of a man the importance of his birthday

Nature of Inspiration

Nature of Religion means that it has no future

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

Socialism last frock of capitalism

o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o

Sunday Church

The Consumers Christendom is a saturday and weekend religion, missioniering (germanism = evangelizing) the private relations of the laymen But what about Monday? /

Nature

let us repent. The caution: nature is always starting from an (= a) spacial conception of the world.

The theological term world today means World minus Nature

This Substraction gives social world.

Rythm and Music harmony and disharmony of the social world have to be explored.

its (= it's) easy to see, how education is struck by this differentiation education is educere entice nature

besides this it means adaptation to make you fit into the drawers, shelves (= shelves), of the civilisation

library /

The capitalist
 the employer
 poor man
 he has been overdone
 third generation man

He was up against Nature in all its forms. The fight against Nature was his job. On sundays he came back he found his way home. But in the week he was isolated he was alone. Man against Nature Nature is deaf and dumb. The cog in the machine is deaf and dumb. He begins only to hear and speak and stops to be Nature when the machines stop too. The business man is alone. On sundays he seeks his folk, to seek the kingdom of God he seeks the church. Its (= It's) sunday when he is righteous and charitable All foundations all the things he does as a consumer are sunday things. Nobody can deny / that a lot of things can be improved if Sunday goes in into the week.

The Church Calendar is only a one Years Calendar. We want a life time calendar of everybodys Conscience

dole houses for heros soldier in the army of labour
 its (=it's) not numerous enough in this country. /

What about monday? There the drama begins once more Adam digs and Eve spins. How can love deal with hunger? If love has founded the church, can hunger answer with a weekday resound?

Now we have had a serious revolution all over the world, an event not as much observed as it might have been. But it is mentioned very often without taking regard to its serious importance.

There is not only a divine love selfsacrificing for Gods sake there is not only a material hunger but midway you have all the human passions and constellations of friendship, love and group instincts. Man is not alone. The soul of man must have been alone in the desert. But their (=there) is a real redemption a real salvation because the souls having /

4. Let me repeat the caution of the last lesson.

Nature World time to have time.

Wittigs (= Wittig's) letter documents

timetable children have too much time

Education is a prechristian word It has not been transsubstantiated by Christianity

Adult Education contradiction in terms

Andragog Pedagog

midway between policy demagogue and the pedagogue

Bertrand Russell: Laotse to develop everybodys nature as a thing divine in itself. Adult is indifferent to his nature which is very mortal, he sticks to his time. A grown up Man a constellation. If he can't love and hate if he is an individual whe (=? we) don't want adult education. Intellectual culture is limited.

Liberty of thinking is no luxury Intellectual work is no right.

It is duty so that the Spirit of God can

Education as the Model of good Work Cooperative Fellowship.

The reality of work you give some time to it

shuntingstations a switch to turn to the work in a new way /

5. Education wants you to become a gentleman geologist

The demagogue changes your minds every day flattering your passions

The andragogue helps you to change when ever one act of your personality is performed to go on /

(to be inserted at p. 8 after: the tribes of the Spirit:)

May I confess in this Unitarian College, that from the point of view, Monday gives Trinity is the only way to solve the question of the Kingdom of God.

mankind can not realise God by one conception or by one principle only Mankind is in the image of the Trinity.

we pray in the name of the father of the son and of the holy Ghost.

But it is very important to know that we live under these three aspects of Gods Creation.

One realm

but we may call it:

sometimes

The kingdom of God the father

sometimes

The Church of Christ

sometimes the vows and choirs of the redeemed

the congregation of the workers on this Earth

the tribes of the Spirit /

40 from 46 pp. have been typed out here from preparational papers for the lectures: The Tribes of the Spirit. They were ordered by me in a way which seemed to me in accordance with the lectures. There is no proof that this order is correct. I made this transcript because it shows the way in which Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy used to prepare his lectures. I finished this transcript on 24th of June 1988. Lise van der Molen, Winsum, The Netherlands

P.S. Except the indicated ones the papers don't have paging.

Of the left out pages there are two which are preparing the

two following III. The other ones don't have what is not in the other p: