

Wells adds \* that he thinks that the conceptions of order and discipline, the tradition of service and devotion, of physical fitness, unstinted exertion, and universal responsibility, which universal military duty is now teaching European nations, will remain a permanent acquisition, when the last ammunition has been used in the fireworks that celebrate the final peace. I believe as he does. It would be simply preposterous if the only force that could work ideals of honour and standards of efficiency into English or American natures should be the fear of being killed by the Germans or the Japanese. Great indeed is Fear; but it is not, as our military enthusiasts believe and try to make us believe, the only stimulus known for awakening the higher ranges of men's spiritual energy. The amount of alteration in public opinion which my utopia postulates is vastly less than the difference between the mentality of those black warriors who pursued Stanley's party on the Congo with their cannibal war-cry of "Meat! Meat" and that of the "general-staff" of any civilized nation. History has seen the latter interval bridged over: the former one can be bridged over much more easily.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 226.

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+ Frank P. Davidson

A PEACE WITHIN \*

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and University Press, (1912)

idge, Mass.

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy

IN A CERTAIN academic circle the question was recently raised as to whether the English movement, springing from Carlyle and Ruskin, were not needed in Germany, even though it might take another form. In England the great sermon on the duty of love and reconciliation has taken the practical form of settlements — establishments which serve as common dwelling houses for rich and poor, and give to the former opportunities of every kind for sharing life with the latter, and thus, in a symbolic manner, bridging over a dangerous chasm not only between single individuals but also between classes.

An exhaustive discussion resulted in the following understanding: that the situation with which this movement concerned itself had for a long time been cared for by us in a more relevant and inclusive manner. The well-being and education of the people are well looked after, and all regulations to improve the habits of living and living standards of the lower classes function in a fairly healthy way with us. On the other hand, the inner life, the productive power of the English movement, holds within itself something that

\* "A Peace Within" (*Ein Landfrieden*) was written in the winter of 1911-1912 as a result of a seminar discussion at the University of Heidelberg. The document appears in the volume *Im Kampf um die Erwachsenenbildung 1912 bis 1926*, by Werner Picht and Eugen Rosenstock (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1926). It appears here in translation owing to the generous assistance of Mrs. Mary Henderson, of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

attracts the attention far more than its positive success. In this respect it surpasses all German arrangements. Moreover, although in Germany the youth of the upper classes may perhaps make individual attempts for social welfare, such attempts are only a form of cold and narrow charity to the needy, even though they may be performed by individuals with great devotion. The English movement calls directly upon the individual young man to take his share of responsibility. "The whole man must move at once" is the way the English put it. It is a movement among those who are themselves spiritually moving, and they will discard the form which was created by their own enthusiasm as soon as it threatens to overrule the spirit; it is a movement of youth itself.

And there is still another thing which we lack, which the incomplete English organization has achieved: a feeling of the dependence of the different classes of society upon each other which prevents the upper classes from entertaining the mistaken idea that they are leading a better or altogether independent sort of life. It awakens the soul of the city man, who (without roots in the soil to hold him, so easily imagining himself to be free) comes to realize that he is as much in debt to the unsophisticated feeling of the plain people for his life work as are these to the mental achievements and the leadership of the more carefully educated. We fail to be inwardly impressed by the horrible possibility that within the German countries there may develop, not two classes, but two nations, opposed to each other: and yet the Marxist is always giving expression to this frivolous thought. Then the lower class, which feels itself to be under the yoke of foreigners, will draw to itself all the spiritual possessions of the upper classes which it understands enough to grasp and to assimilate, and will boast that it can build a new and independent culture of its own

out of it. Yes, the poets of Germany are already read by labor groups as if only the class warriors could understand them rightly, as if at least their manner of enjoying poetry were a different one from that of the Bourgeois. Thus a rift is made in the very realm of art and culture which heretofore united all men. The upper class reacts by imagining its pleasures to be equally exclusive.

Fear and horror are roused by the picture of a nation which knows only how to misuse its most sacred heritage as a weapon in a spiritual civil war, which suffers under the delusion that the poets of a people have arisen from two different worlds with different viewpoints, or that a compatriot can, indeed must, be further from me in belief and feeling than a foreigner who is more nearly my social equal. But enough; all those engaged in the discussion strove to find out where in our society there might be remnants of a unifying way of life, and where ardent faith might be able to bring forth inner union once more.

The answer was not far to seek, since we possess that which the English entirely lack, a people's army.<sup>1</sup> In the last extremity the most antagonistic Germans find themselves together in rank and file. Certainly, today the gift

<sup>1</sup>The American reader may be reminded of a few central features of the German army service system. Every man had to serve either two years with the infantry or the field artillery, or three years with any other branch of the army. A man might choose his regiment; and the more of these volunteers found in a special regiment the better its reputation and quality; but only the choice of the unit was voluntary. Men of high-school training enjoyed a privilege as *Einjahbrig-Freiwillige*. If they were ready to pay their own expenses, the fact that they bore the financial burden made up for one year's service. They were also entitled to become reserve officers after a year of regular service, and they could serve any time between their eighteenth and twenty-fourth years, while the regular conscript had no choice as to his year of service.

which a self-sacrificing people offer to their country, military service, is squandered in an unmerciful manner. Our army must be a school for war. But at the same time it is too gigantic a body, and too faithful a mirror of the whole nation in smaller dimensions, for such an extraordinary objective as war alone to keep it in a healthy condition during half a century of peace. For a long time the more imaginative members of the officers' corps have recognized the people's army as the most wonderful field for the education of the people. The higher the rank of the military hierarchy the more familiar to them are such trains of thought. However, many things prevent their knowledge from leading to action. For the practical goal remains war, and the inert dogma, the rigid conception of an entirely militarized soldiery is retained which in times of peace recognizes only hollow, sleepy virtues and the rut of thought represented in the everlastingly repeated speech made on the Kaiser's birthday. The isolation and lack of feeling in the officers' corps grows, and they ignore countless elements to which they should try to join themselves.

But worse than this, the German army contains one group of entirely homeless members which it is not able properly to place — the corps of *Einjaehrig-Freiwillige*.<sup>2</sup> One can positively say, the better and more conscientious the one-year service man, the more unhappy must he feel during this year, which means for the majority laziness in deed and in thought, luxury and ostentation exceeding any of their earlier habits. An almost ridiculous incongruity between him and the common soldier, and also between him and the officers, explains the situation but also makes it worse. This is really a sore spot which contaminates the entire upper class of the army, and makes the reserve officers' corps in-

<sup>2</sup> The groups mentioned before as paying their way owing to their financial means and educational privileges.

ferior to the active officers' corps in their general feeling of self-consciousness and independence. The best of the one-year volunteers learn an enormous amount but generally are isolated entirely from the rest of the group. The idea of using this time for the special development of one's own being occurs to almost no one, and public opinion regards the period only as an interlude.

But all these observations must not mislead you to think of a change in the make-up of the army, of a reform thereof by the state! The army is "no place for experiments"! and what is needed is "men, not measures." What we complain of is the want of life and of spirit. Only the striving and the strength of individuals can bring forth spiritual movements, and then such a spiritual movement kindles a light by which the way to action is easy to find.

Only a program which is based on the voluntary action of the individual can help. This program must bring the young man into touch with youth of every class and description, for coöperation and for work. Therefore it must first of all seek out young men who can be made aware of this call. Where shall we begin? How can we begin in such a way that the first steps may be small, but that a large organization can eventually grow out of them? It is the purpose of this essay to outline the possibility of such a slow development.

A large number of those entitled to one-year military service — the exact number makes no difference — are exempted from one-year service for minor and, in relation to their efficiency, often meaningless reasons. Fortunately the state has not seen fit to ask for compensation because military service is still regarded not as a burden but as an honor. Might there not be among these exempted men a handful of idealists who would nevertheless be willing to give their year to a worthy cause? The way would have to be pre-

pared in speech and writing, in order, on the one hand, to inspire the youth who are now growing up with the vision of a new duty and, on the other hand, to see to it that the military authorities and public opinion would give their approval to these young pioneers for the service which I am about to describe.

At first it would certainly be chiefly the older classes who would offer themselves, those who had already found time to think of such new objectives and to grasp energetically at such ideas. There would also, however, be included some who had a fairly complete education and had developed a rather positive attitude. At first let us imagine only ten young men, graduated from such different branches of the universities as medicine, divinity, law, and the arts. It would be better certainly if other professions were immediately represented. These, in spite of their having been exempted, would offer their services for one year, during which they would pay their own expenses. The minister of war or the chief in command would assign them to a regiment which was recruited as far as possible from city boys, of the more alert type but also of the more difficult type, probably not from infantry regiments in which there were two-year volunteers, because these are far less in need of the influence. The regiment from which these men are detached for a year must receive financial compensation. At first a guarantee fund can be created through gifts for the payment of these inconsiderable sums.

This troop, ten leaders to eighty or ninety men, should be placed, according to the location of the garrison, in a field camp, barracks, or something of the kind, eventually on a country estate. Either the management of the estate could be undertaken — in which case the winter would provide time for theoretical education — or any beneficial project in the province which would otherwise remain undone,



such as clearing the land and preparing it for cultivation or draining it, and some other work such as simple building or the carrying on of some simple industry. The specific program would have to be arranged, first, in accordance with the chance possibilities of the neighborhood; and second, in accordance with the capabilities of those enlisted for the year.

At this point probably a great many questions will be raised and the greatest doubts expressed. But just here one should be allowed a few polemics against German cautiousness and calculation, and as an exception frankly praise the *élan* of our American cousins. The problem is, just what can a group working happily with enthusiastic foremen accomplish? And we must admit with shame that we have no idea what this may be, because we are entirely lacking in experience in this direction. I myself was once a witness when a simple mountaineer built a charming little house in his village, entirely without directions. Should not far greater results be possible if there were, perhaps, a young architect on hand, and all were proud and eager to make a success? The undeniable difficulties would, moreover, continually diminish the more regularly the organization functioned and the wider its scope. For then the newcomers, taken in about every half-year and thus given the opportunity of learning the work, could carry on the old undertaking. There are also certainly many other possibilities. It would show the blessedness of an organization purposeful in itself rather than one existing only for the potentiality of war.

The fact that there would be difficulties, however, constitutes good fortune for these young troopers. For out of the common concern for success, which must also take into consideration the possibility of failure — a concern which, *nota bene*, in spite of all inspections is more and more being lost sight of in our army — will arise the bond



that will unite the young leader to his companions of almost like age. A certain amount of outward success, within modest limits, must be required of and achieved by the group. This requirement should also be set forth by the military authorities as a guarantee of earnest work. But an experiment, an attempt, a new way of learning, the development of skills never yet put into practice by leaders and the people, all these must certainly be allowed and gladly allowed. The program which the leader offers beforehand must be permitted to be improved upon in the light of experience. Something economically profitable would be accomplished, which would almost always be demonstrated by a money return. First of all, the guarantee fund would be reimbursed with this money. Second, for once the troopers would have to throw themselves in completely and thus gain in courage and initiative. Third, the program would be a great means of education and training in self-reliance for those enlisted for two years. These men have behind them in their previous year an excellent preliminary school, the continuance of which today is most lamentably lacking. It is no accident that the recruits call every man of the third year a criminal, since he has no new purposes and higher goal in this last year.

The accomplishment of all these good things would be made possible at first thanks to the unshakable enthusiasm of the small squad, sure within itself of victory, but in the course of the slow growth of the work this enthusiasm — possessed only by the leaders in the beginning — would continually raise the ardor to enlist.

Reality would take the place of the dream, and instead of a sacrifice by one part of society there would arise in the end a unified life-giving atmosphere which could never be lost; a community in which fine art and literature would find their place, no longer separating human beings but

drawing them together — a community of such a kind that it costs us some effort not to waste our time now in describing it with enthusiasm.

It should, of course, be taken for granted that free time, in so far as it is spent socially, should be spent with the troop. Solitude, the desire to be alone, in contrast to the service in the regular army, are to be respected and must also appear to be worthy of respect to the men. But social life should represent the unity of the leader with his men, even if not always with the whole troop. It will hardly be disputed that social life mirrors the real groupings of society, and that it is desirable that new forces determine them.

This first report cannot search out each individual problem, discuss it, and solve it. Problems and likewise attempts to solve them spring up in solid masses. For example, shall the men at the end of the second year participate in the maneuvers in order to experience in a vital way their broadened horizon and increased skill and also to encourage those who will come after them with their experiences? Or should, perhaps, the purely intellectually trained leader take part in this one-year service in order to gain technical skills? Since the Volunteer Ambulance Service calls for men adapted to service in the field, perhaps they could be drawn in. The question of discipline remains to be examined. The great advantage of the voluntary character of the body and of its independence from the state becomes immediately apparent in the possibility it introduces of discarding some of the ironclad military usages within the groups without damaging the authority of the state. Later, reserve officers can also serve their time in these groups.

The example of a few, among whom each may have a particular motive for such work, will help to establish during the first years a sense of duty (to which they are in honor bound) which will carry along the lazier and more skeptical.

And once the force of the idea has grown so strong that a general idea of the responsibilities of all the people to each other and the dependence of all classes upon each other is not only acknowledged in theory, but lives in the hearts of all, then the institution may carry the name which we in our enthusiasm chose as our title — then "Peace Within" shall reign.

## THE BATTLE DRESS GENERATION MUST WIN THE PEACE \*

(1940)

*Rolf Gardiner*

THE GENERATION in battle dress has more than the burden of the war to shoulder; on it will fall the tasks of the aftermath of war. It cannot begin too soon to prepare itself for these tasks. Which does not mean building castles in the air or anticipating events with infertile speculation. But it must know what *it* as a generation wants to do with the opportunities of time. It must know its own mind and will and determine to have its own way.

Consider what happened in 1919. The wretchedness of 1939 was in no small measure caused by the failure of the 1914-18 generation of soldiers to achieve a policy and implement it. This failure was mainly due to the voluntary system of enlistment in the early years of the war. The flower of England went out to die and, in fact, perished. The returning soldiers were war-sick, disillusioned, deprived of their best leaders. When the armistice came they drifted home and quickly lost nearly all the threads of comradeship gained in the trenches. They had no voice in the councils of the nation because there existed no organs of articulation whereby they could make their point of view felt. They became drowned in the welter of reassembling civil life,

\* This essay was published early in 1940 in *North Sea and Beyond*, a British publication of which Rolf Gardiner is the editor. "The Battle Dress Generation Must Win the Peace" is reprinted here with his permission. Mr. Gardiner attended some of the early German service camps organized by Professor Rosenstock-Huessy, and in the last years he has pioneered in developing land service camps in England.

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is one and the same process, called living. By the perpetual sense of wonder in human hearts, obliterating all our prejudices and conventions, the beauty of the world can be recreated daily. And then you will save the artist's place in the community because you will be his community.

Today the artist stands far too alone, everybody expecting him to do miracles, and the poor man dies from inner starvation much more than from lack of food. You are the topsoil of the flower-bed in which art can grow connecting the inimical and yet inevitable subsoil and the stalk and stem of the arts. Yours is the greatest function, at this moment, because the artist and his public are falling asunder; backing the artist by your own sense of wonder, your own handling of God's materials, your own great and lasting expectation on the eve of the great festivity called life. Overcome your calculations; look into the flower-cup of the lily, at seventy, as though you were seeing it for the first time in your life. And the artist will come to life, backed by a human community sharing in the conditions of creativity, standing again on the shoulders of our dreams and desires which he expresses better than we ourselves. Be full of things to be expressed by artists.

Lest you mistake my appeal as lofty and impractical in our days of economic planning, revolutions, unemployment, slum clearing, and social worries, it may be in order to mention the very practical side of this attitude.

Three days ago, a young friend from Buffalo visited at my house. He is with the Federal Housing Administration, and it is his business to pick the most deserving tenants. At least, he asked me what he should do since these tenants had their eyes on the movie stars and the simonized car of their neighbour; but they would dump their ash-cans right in their own backyard. And no signs, nor advice, nor warning made any impression. Well, I was a little bit confused myself; then I blushed and said: "Frankly, you know," I said, "I am one of those messy people myself. It does not help to tell me to do this or that. In the case of the ash-cans, I do not feel too sure that I would not dump them if I happened to be a tenant pinched for his rent, his water bill, his work, his family." I said, "I must be frank with you. You don't aim at the center of these people. You try to make it easy for them by talking about ash-cans only. And you let them down; you must aim at higher things to achieve the small ones." And I had to tell him that when we moved out into the country, an infinite number of chores descended upon me, of which I had never dreamt before. And I was no good at them. I simply was paralyzed by the variety and endlessness of them. Rationally I knew that I was expected to clean the furnace, and take out the manure, and cut trees, and weed the garden. But I kept

my city habits as a means to overlook the chores, pretending that I had to do more important things. And like the poor tenant, I called more important the things which I was accustomed to do in the city, like writing letters, reading books, waiting for the mail, etc. Only when I realized the complete change of my life from a city dweller to a homesteader, and all the wonderful implications of this change, when I began to accept the potentialities of acquiring a new character myself, only then did I find access to the qualities asked for in serving the deities of space. Attic and barn and basement and field acquired the reality which things only attain when they become expressions of our own way of life. And then we begin to personalize them as the modern nomad does when he speaks of his car as she. Feeling the charm of being made over, gradually, from a nomad into a man who has settled for good, in every sense of this word, gives us new eyes and new senses. And then, one day the same ash-cans against which the housing authorities have fought in vain, these same ash-cans will disappear as by witchcraft. And it truly is witchcraft because the magic wand has not touched the ash-cans but the blunted senses of the tenant and restored them to their proper glory first. The so-called practical people who think that to concentrate on little things is the easiest way, don't know the machinery of living people. Aim higher than the so-called practical people, and you will achieve, on the one hand, the very thing which they try to do and cannot do, and, on the other hand, something more durable: you will have changed the things of this world because you have restored the heir of this wondrous world, man, to realizing his heritage.

Now I have taken you first to Berlin to tell you how fascinating Boston was when looked at from far away. Then we went to Florence, and to the Alhambra ballet in London; alas, my opportunity is over. I had such a good time. Perhaps I may end this round trip with a short excursion to Mount Monadnock. After all, summer is here and it behooves us at this occasion, to provide a handful of good New Hampshire air. Around Monadnock, you still may feel that the world is on the eve of something. I have heard there my first and only hermit thrush singing. And I shall not forget my sense of wonder over this song as long as I live. However, this is not the ultimate reason for our going to Monadnock now. I got there something for you, from an artist. On the foot of Monadnock lies the former house of a painter well known through this country, Abbot Thayer. The house and study have been deserted for years. Books, sketches, furniture, everything is just going to pieces. This famous author of a book on protective coloring, in this his hermitage, has not found any protective coloring. Five years ago I entered Abbot Thayer's study. And what might have been a nightmare otherwise, turned out like a visit to the Grail, for one sheet of

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paper that was lying on the table. Here from this sheet, a spirit of order seemed to dominate the room like a last will and testament.

In Thayer's handwriting, in the middle of the room, on the table, I read and copied the words which I have printed since, as a message to posterity. I don't know if this is a quotation or a truth formulated by the painter himself. I am inclined to think that it is his own thought. But what does it matter? I don't know if anybody else ever has read it or transmitted it to the world. And so from the foot of Mount Monadnock I am carrying to you the word, nothing bombastic, no; sober, reflecting, scrutinizing words, and yet telling you why we all crave the artist's attitude. We all crave our emancipation from the artefact mostly called man to the real human being. Abbot Thayer wrote: "Art rescues man from his state of being limited to a point and to a moment. Contrive as you will, your camera cannot exclude the peculiarity of the moment and the place. This is the torture of the intellect, that it is condemned to still-photography. But it longs to see from all points, from all moments, as God does. The bliss of contemplation of a work of art is this sense of emancipation, of seeing as God sees, and as we may sometimes see."

Graduating Class of 1939, you are emancipated by the laws of this free country from inequality. Be emancipated by the bliss of wonder to the emancipation of seeing as God sees, through a wonderful and, therefore, happy life.



## *Biography of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy*

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy was born in Berlin, Germany in 1888, the son of a Jewish banker. After receiving his doctorate in law from Berlin University, he taught law at Leipzig University from 1912 to 1914. In the First World War he was an officer at the front near Verdun.

He returned to university life in 1923, as professor of law at the University of Breslau.

While at Breslau, in 1928-30, he organized voluntary work service camps which brought together workers, farmers and students in work together on the land. This and his subsequent similar activities in the United States have been described as forerunners of the Peace Corps.

Immediately after Hitler came to power in 1933, he voluntarily left Germany and went to the United States. After teaching two years at Harvard, he joined the faculty at Dartmouth College where he taught as professor of social philosophy until his retirement in 1957.

With the backing of President Franklin Roosevelt, in 1940 he organized an experimental camp within the Civilian Conservation Corps. Camp William James in Tunbridge, Vermont was experimental in that it was to train leaders for a possible development of the CCC into a service that would accept volunteers from all walks of life, not simply young men in need of work.

He died in 1973.



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