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Faculty Seminar with Dr. Rosenstock-Wesby
1939 - 1940

Report of meeting of October 23

Printed pamphlet distributed: "Education In The Third
Phase Of The Industrial Era."

Report of meeting of November 6

Printed pamphlet distributed: "Our Means Of Resistance."

Clarification and report of meeting of November 20,
entitled "Our Stand Against The Current
Fallacies About Teaching."

Report of meetings of December 5th and February 12

Report of meeting of March 13

Report of meeting of April 22

Report of committee on the plan for the "teachers' interme-
diate."

Report of meeting of April 29

Premises for ~~xxx~~ Thought at Dartmouth about the
Future of Dartmouth.

1. The faith in the four year curriculum as a godsent, had lessened during the last decade, already. Hutchins has cinched the issue by giving the B.A., after two years. Our own college will probably ~~saw~~ its last thick four-year class graduate at Christmas, 1943. The freshmen who enter this year will hardly stay more than two or three years.
2. The noiseless abandonment of the four year curriculum, and its replacement either by a three year acceleration or by the two-year Junior College, is in itself proof of the ignominious weakness of our curriculum.
3. The plans which I developed in the Richard Cabot Lectures in Cambridge, in 1936, and in 1940, at Dartmouth, entail a four-year curriculum for Dartmouth College. But they deliberately connected the possibility of such a four year plan with two other issues: that during the years, national service would be rendered by the students in doing work during the sophomore and junior year, thereby energizing the freshman and the senior both. And that the faculty would constitute itself as a training center for future college and university teachers.
4. Today, the army and navy services, and the -sure to come- domestic services, in industry, business, farming, forestry, power plant building etc.- all these services are crowding upon us, paralyzing our procedures. Obviously, after the "uration", colleges will have to be realistic about the services and if they wish to survive, they must offer some form of integration.
5. The specific hope for Dartmouth, with its Baker Library, its lack of graduate school departmentalization, is still that it may become a center for College Teacher Training. Such a Center, of course, would not aim at any mass production like the Normal Schools.

6. The essential feature of educating teachers in Colleges instead of teachers in Departments, is not found in courses on education. Teachers are not educated in departments. The departments of our colleges and especially of our Graduate Schools train specialists. And the Departments of Education try to make education into a special field.
7. The essence of a teacher, in distinction from a specialist, is not that he has learned how to educate, but that, at one time, he has breathed the spirit of his own generation freely and consciously. If it were not so trite, it would be enough to say that he had lived before he taught. But "life" is a useless term, today. Because the life which we have in mind when we expect a man to be a convincing teacher, is a life shared in the spirit with his contemporaries, as a generation which is faced by a common dilemma.
8. As an example, I may give the generation of William James as the generation overcome by science, the generation of Emerson as the generation overcome by ~~humanism~~ romantic universalism of the mind. And the generation which bridged from 1910 to 1918, may be called, perhaps, the generation paralyzed by the split between the religious residues and the philosophical or scientific successes. The next generation will insist that the rift between faith and science, is no longer of the slightest interest. It wants to have both.
9. Now, teachers who have not lived the crucial issues of their generation intensely, cannot teach the next, with power, because the succession of the stream of consciousness is not passing through them. Specialists do lack power, in a manner only like ours, markedly.
10. Europe, so far, has supplied this general enthusiasm or inspiration in the past. It cannot longer do that.
11. The common life as future teachers, on non-departmental lines, must be lived and cultivated. And the idea was that at Dartmouth, future teachers, after their graduate studies, would find the place to do this.
12. In connection with service groups, of students, themselves undeptmentalised, these future teachers could grow

into the secret of their common task as a class of teachers who were bound together not quite chemistry, or physics, or biology but by their once faced their time a question not only equally as conscripted or drafted soldiers but also as converging thinkers.

In acting as group leaders, and in being trained in the philosophy, sociology, and language problems which lie behind such leadership and such formation of groups, they would see their research and graduate studies in perspective.

The situation would accelerate the solving of superfluous topics of teaching and research, and bring to the fore the important questions.

They could constantly draw on the fellowship of such a truly college-wide situation intellectually. Today, the teacher in a department usually has the least experience of a humanistic and philosophical universality in his sophomore year.

13. As to the background: For the first time in history, America must provide the ignition for a whole generation, without influx of sparks from European centers, because of the individual future teacher's direct relation to some European influence.

In Europe, this ignition was provided, in France by groups of artists and writers, in Germany by the institution of the Privatdozent. The Richard C. Cabot Lectures are available, in this special function of ignition.

14. From the American point of view, the War destroys one of the foundations of the College system. The American College could hope for teachers from graduate schools, without any preparation as teachers in particular, because there always was a big European movement on foot which would impress itself on a sufficient number of individuals directly or indirectly, in every teaching generation.

Brief Summary of the
Rosenstock-Huessy Seminar
October 23, 1939

The first meeting of the Rosenstock-Huessy seminar was held in the Wren Room of Sanborn House from 7:30 to 9:15 P.M. on October 23, 1939. Dr. Jensen acted as chairman and opened the meeting by giving a resume of events leading up to the meeting. Dr. Horton was elected secretary of the group. It was decided that the group will meet fortnightly on Monday evening from 7:30 to 9:15 at the same place. Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy announced that he will be available every Thursday morning and every Friday afternoon for conference with members of the group. He indicated that such conferences would be helpful in clarifying ideas through discussion, and in thus arriving at an agreement on basic concepts which will enable the group to move ahead.

In beginning his talk Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy called attention to the prevalence of divergent opinions as to what education should be, and to its lack of direction. Because each of us has his own ideas of what is desirable in education, and because we might argue endlessly in support of these views it is necessary to arrive at certain basic ideas to which all can subscribe. Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy indicated that if he were to characterize his talks by a title he would choose, "A Way of Determining Time and Space in Education".

To secure the desired unanimity in point of view it is necessary to consider our own time and space. This can be achieved by thinking of our culture as the third stage of the industrial revolution. The first stage of the industrial revolution taught man that he could invent many things. Certain aspects of our culture are still in this first stage. New inventions and techniques appear, but it is becoming increasingly difficult to become an inventor. The second stage began with mass production. It is characterized by the assembly line and the chain store. This stage had also its quantitative phase characterized by the slogan "bigger and better". The third stage is characterized by the prevalence of problems of time and space. To illustrate, problems of when and where to produce, problems of when and where to consume, problems of when and where people shall work, problems of what direction to go in industrial expansion, problems of centralization versus decentralization in industry. These and similar problems now become pressing. Technical advance has broken down barriers of time and space and decisions among alternatives must be made. As yet we have no yardstick to use in placing men in space and time.

Dr. Choukas questioned the validity of characterizing our time in terms of the industrial revolution, and the validity of basing an educational philosophy upon this aspect only. Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy replied that the picture he wished to draw of present conditions also could be drawn from an analysis of the development in

art, architecture, and other aspects of our culture. Technology was used because it is central; it is a fundamental change which has permeated and modified every other aspect of our culture. Technology has created vital problems which today challenge educators. The essential characteristic that he wished to point out is the wealth of alternatives which the individual now faces. Life is now so full of facilities, yet we lack criteria for choice among them. One thing appears as much worth doing as another. We have no hierarchy of values.

Dr. Karwoski pointed out that meaning is apt to go astray unless we take time to clarify the sense in which the words time and space are being used. Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy said that he was aware of this problem; that his meaning would become clearer as we go along; and that he would make a definite attempt to clarify the sense in which he uses these words.

Education is lagging in relation to this third stage of our culture as it has lagged in previous stages. For example, in the stage of industrial individualism there was rigid and austere discipline in the college. Education was stereotyped. There was unanimity of purpose and method. Later as the individual disappeared in industry he became the pet in education. We now have a system of individualism watered down by large numbers.

At this point Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy warned of the danger of regarding breaks with the past as desirable achievements merely because we identify ourselves with those changes. As an example he cited the pride with which some regard the abandonment of daily chapel. He hopes that we shall be able to look upon educational alternatives objectively.

Problems of time and space are now important problems facing educators. In 1860 about sixty per cent of college students came from agricultural homes. These students were well acquainted with life in a rather narrow local community. Education then amplified the situation from which the student came. The coordinates of the home were then small, those of education large. Today the student comes to the college from a world in which barriers of time and space have been broken down. Modern life is characterized by the accessibility of things; by opportunities and facilities. Today the student comes to the college lacking standards of value in time and space by means of which he can relegate the aspects of the world he knows to their proper place and come out with a somewhat ordered universe. He is faced with many alternatives but he has no sense of what is worth doing "when".

Similarly the college has no hierarchy of values. The tendency to consider everything of equal value gives little aid to the student who has come from a world in which the same situation prevails. In the college we become preoccupied with relatively minor problems of administration to the neglect of certain larger problems. For example, we discuss the revision of the calendar, or whether we should have two terms or three, yet have no adequate answer to more basic questions such as, Why should the length of the college experience be four years?

What is taught is also of secondary importance to its adjustment in time and space.

To illustrate the time problems of the individual Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy cited the case of a young man who had run away from college. This young man gave as a reason for his withdrawal the fact that only once had he been permitted to work on one thing for a fortnight. He also called attention to the fact that our young men so frequently are impatient and are unwilling to take time to master a trade. They are willing to learn if it can be done in three months.

The college experience should stimulate the student later to seek and enjoy the materials to which he has been introduced. The student should look upon studying as a privilege that is granted to him. The courses should not be merely another facility but should be a difficulty to be overcome. Now, educators too often regard a course as the student's last contact with the material, hence attempt to cram into the student's head everything that he should know. As a result students believe they have "had" the material and are not impelled to continue their exploration and enjoyment. Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy recalled the dearth of intellectual interest and enjoyment which characterizes graduates of the college; their frequent failure at middle age to find anything worth doing. He referred to the cases reported by Dr. Jung in his book, Man in Search of a Soul.

Clark W. Horton
Secretary

Rosenstock-Huessy Seminar
Second Meeting, November 6, 1939

The second meeting of the Rosenstock-Huessy seminar on educational problems was held in the Wren Room of Sanborn House on the evening of Monday, November 6. The following summary of ideas presented in the meeting was prepared by Arthur Root, '40.

Professor Guthrie's question as to how, by insisting, "we create a present that stands out between future and past" led to the discussion during which Professor Rosenstock-Huessy amplified his statement.

When we speak seriously, he said, we declare that something is important. We affirm it, emphasize it, say Amen to it, - we "insist" on it. In our discussions, for example, because we are concerned with the future of the university, we are insisting that certain reforms must be made. Here in the Wren Room, men from all departments of the college overcome their particular private interests to discuss the problems of the whole of education. In doing so we create a time span, a continuum, from 7:30 to 9:15. While we talk together we forget our past and future "for the present". We create a present which is not merely every individual second of our meeting, but the whole hour and three-quarters. This present stands out between future and past. Professor Keir pointed to the practice of legislative bodies in stopping the clock at the end of a day and considering a span of three weeks as one legislative day.

In education, which is highly organized speech relations, the teacher is faced with the same problem. He insists that Shakespeare and Lincoln and Christianity, in short, the achievements of the past, must be preserved and handed over to future generations because they are important for proper living. Thus, all lovers of Shakespeare, for example, are connected through the ages in a continuous present. By insisting, educators decide what belongs to the past and what to the future. Either educators will do it one way or Hitler will do it another way. The Nazis, having their own wishes for the future of the world, have eradicated Christianity, and the French Revolution from their past and substituted their Aryan heroes.

Another point emphasized by Professor Rosenstock-Huessy was the time relation involved in different subjects between the teacher's words and the student's verification. In mathematics, he said, the shortest time span exists. The teacher proves a proposition, that 2 times 2 is 4, let us say, and the result can be checked and verified on the spot. In biology, the time required is longer; an experiment may last for weeks, or even longer. In human relations, however, the time required for verification is longest. That Shakespeare will enrich a student's life, that the freedom of teaching is essential for the well being of society, that America has a "promise", all depend on the student's future experience before they can be verified.

Our next meetings, Professor Rosenstock-Huessy declared, would deal with the question "What are we going to do about it?"

C. W. Horton, Secretary

Report on the meetings of December 8, 39 and February 12, 1940

The larger part of the meeting of December 15 was devoted to an elucidation by Dr. Rosenstock-Buessy of his plan for his suggested Township College, a plan which was lost sight of in later meetings. His two most important comments in this connection were (1) his conviction that in some way the student must be more really and actively connected with the past and present problems of the society he lives in, and (2) that any plan for reorganizing an institution to meet this ^{not} should be worked out by the group rather than by himself. "I was ^{not} willing," he asserted "to try to persuade you to do anything, with me, but I was willing to try to persuade you that something must be done!"

Dressed to give his plan for the Township College he went ahead. Instead of the usual survey and introductory courses in the first year the attempt is to be made to make the student ask questions and to give him a feeling of expectation of what is to come. He assumed the necessity to give the newcomer a feeling of the importance of what is in store for him. The next two years are to be devoted to a community experience in work, instruction, and recreation. In line with this the college is to be responsible for the undertaking of certain necessary projects in the surrounding district, to give the students the experience of active service to a community, and to produce some visible fruits of effort and some contribution to the community. Survey courses are to be saved for the last year.

This outline was presented and discussed and later forgotten. At another meeting after a long interval on February 12, Professor Wellman of Pick School presented his criticism and plan for reorganization of the college. Neither of tribulations served as a basis for further active discussion.

March 14, 1940

The next meeting of the Rosenstock-Huessy seminar will be held in Sanborn House at 7:30 on Monday, March 18. The meeting will take up the general problem of the non-integration of the staffs of our colleges and the idea of a professorial seminar which was outlined briefly in the paper Our Means of Resistance.

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A. E. Jensen

Minutes of the March 18 meeting of the
Rosenstock-Huessy Faculty Seminar.

The chairman, Mr. Jensen, reviewed the previous meetings. He said that thus far they had not achieved a common language that could be agreed upon by men in different departments. "We have not agreed", he said, "on when, what, or how to teach, or on the meaning of teaching, but have remained a group of individuals, each speaking from his own departmental point of view. There is no immediate external danger now facing the liberal arts colleges, but rather an internal one, the danger of inner disintegration from over specialization - a danger which might well prove fatal when an external force does threaten the college. In anticipation of such a situation, Professor Rosenstock-Huessy has suggested a "professorial seminar, a means through which prospective teachers could discover what they do when they teach, regardless of their subject, so that the common problems of all teachers could be attacked together rather than in separate departments". Mr. Jensen then asked Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy if he would explain in more detail the aims and methods of the professorial seminar.

Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy declared that before doing so he preferred to establish continuity with the preceding meeting and to tell the people present what he had learned from the meetings. "I learned", he said, "that there is real satisfaction among the members of this group with the lack of a "common denominator" crossing the various departments. Everybody was happy to end on the note of "intellectual curiosity" as the only goal we should agree upon. Mr. Wallman, who spoke to the last meeting, certainly had meant something quite different in his talk. And yet, he himself acquiesced ~~when he was cornered~~, with this empty word "intellectual curiosity", which really cancelled all the standards he had put up. We are left with mere rudiments of slogans as soon as we leave our departments and meet in common. The fact that we are rich within the department and poor to the point of self-contradictory statements whenever we meet outside shows to what extent the scientific spirit of specialized inquiry destroys any language and experience we have in common.

"I have learned here why so many men still defend departmentalization as the best thing they can do. I see more clearly how this spread of specialization contained an element of protection for the scientist against the meddling of administrators, laymen, churches with his free research and teaching. Turning their backs to the laity and talking only their own lingo, the scientist could keep out the layman. I respect this attitude. However, my own is dictated by the assumption that this fight is won, that we have survived the measles, and that now education must survive other diseases. It is

not enough to have survived the measles; a body must keep fit so that it may survive dangers to come as well. I anticipate dangers from quite another side. However, I have no power to compel anybody to share my point of view. And in case that you do not share my sense of timing, this ought to be my swan-song.

"When I was invited to speak here, I assumed that I might meet with a common awareness of danger among the faculty. I was not enough of a fool to believe that the individual should come forward and point out a new task, when his audience is not impressed by the same dangers as he is. To me, to think and to speak is itself a form of action. I cannot play with ideas. Without a common danger it would be silly to talk to you; because to talk is the starting point for common action, and so in accepting the invitation, I was laboring under a misunderstanding."

He went on to say: "In the next two decades people will not become antiscientific in the sense of the fundamentalists; only, they will become tired of the lack of leadership and of the contradictions and failures of specialists. Science will not be combatted so much as despised, and it will lose its prestige. There are thus two dangers to be faced. One is the defense of past achievements, in scientific specialization and trained scholarship. They must survive and be handed down to students. The other is a new danger of decay, of lack of importance, against which we must develop the means of resistance. The question here is how can teachers maintain the importance of what is taught in the face of social disintegration and pressures of all kinds. Our first task, then, is one of scientific instruction, and the second is of vital education, of making the students feel the importance of what they learn so that they will sponsor it. In the future we must give them the opportunity to talk in common terms rather than in scientific departmental language. This requires teachers who will transcend their special departments and face their common problems together. For this reason I have suggested the professorial seminar.

Mr. Morrison pointed out that because the danger is not immediate enough we are apt to feel nothing need be done yet. Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy agreed, and pointed out a parallel to our faculty situation in the Catholic Church, which twenty years ago began to lay plans for a Church Council to ~~make~~ reform the education of the clergy. Despite their high morale, the impact of modern civilization asked for new means to bolster their efficiency in carrying on the church tradition. In our colleges today faculties are not familiar with what is going on in departments other than their own. An historian, for example, is subject to

so many outside influences, such as newspapers, radio, and associations of all kinds, that he reads values gathered from these sources into the study of his material. He doesn't get an exchange of thought with other departments with which to purify the principles of his own thought. We have to examine the forces that make us think, not only the thoughts themselves. Whether one writes that Europe "was" or "is" a great civilization is a differentiation of decisive significance. But in history books today it becomes merely an accidental statement. A teacher ought to know what his students are required to learn in other departments. We could take a prospective teacher, after graduate school experience, and have him spend a year getting a whole view of the college, of freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior courses. This would make for cooperation among different departments; and by getting to know to what influences students are exposed the prospective teacher will be able to see more clearly what is important to teach, and will know what each of us is talking about. As long as departmental categories dominate our thinking, and specialized terminology dominates our speech we shall not be able to attack problems of the future together, and any attempt to speak together, such as this we are engaged in, will fail. Now we are not interested even in departments other than our own.

Mr. Jensen, referring to the different fashions of criticism that have prevailed in the last two decades: the 'psychological' school of criticism, the 'Freudian', then the 'Marxian' and now the I.A. Richards school, one fashion following another, pointed out the lack of lasting usefulness of overspecialized points of view.

Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy then described the way the staff of the Academy of Labor in the University of Frankfurt, of which he was the head, was integrated.

A discussion then ensued concerning the appointment of Bertrand Russell to City College in New York. ^{opponent to the} Mr. Choukas said that this was an illustration of the danger of outside influences. Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy said that the event showed that teachers were quite unprepared, and in the face of such a situation it is up to us to put our own house in order. For these attacks are based on the assumption that a college staff is a bundle of individual voices only. As a result of internal integration in the college faculty, with different men in different fields, psychology, history, literature, doing the same thing in different ways, not only will there be an increase in staff prestige, but the power of the staffs of the various colleges will at the same time become invincible. Let other groups wait until it is nearly too late. It is the pride of men trained in the liberal arts that they can act to anticipate danger.

In reply to a question by Mr. Karwaski Professor Rosenstock Huessey said that if only ten men were fully devoted to the task of integration, all the other men on the faculty would be helped. Put them really in the situation and we will all find ourselves in a more real situation. Mr. Meneeley brought out the point that these 'internes' would, subsequent to their training, be in demand at other institutions, and on the basis of reputation made elsewhere add prestige to our undertaking. Professor Rosenstock-Huessey stated his hope that for such a service to all colleges a grant could be secured from an educational foundation. In any case, the administration could begin with very little additional outlay of money.

The question of qualifications was raised, and the group seemed to agree that at least two years of graduate work would be required. Mr. Karwoski asked if the faculty at Dartmouth was good enough to train the men in the seminar. Mr. Rosenstock-Huessey said that it wasn't a question of standards here that had had to be compared with those of other colleges, but one of creating a new and unique opportunity. Mr. Morrison added that such a professorial seminar would be in line with Dartmouth's traditional emphasis on good teaching and that hence we might properly take the lead in establishing it. Furthermore, it was said, the group of young men themselves, as a group, would be most of their own educative work. The faculty would lend sympathy and encouragement and exchange views with them, but they, through questioning, observation, and comparing notes, would do the main job.

Discussion continued with a further examination of aims and techniques of the internship. It was stated that by spending such a year a future teacher in any one field would be able to outgrow the particular 'frame of reference' on that subject and see that sociology, psychology, and literature were really different parts of the same educational problem. With this broader view a young interne would achieve a deeper understanding of the function of the teacher. Mr. Rosenstock-Huessey interpreted such an internship by dealing at some length with the institution of the 'privat dozent' in the German university. The stimulation to research, independent teaching, and scholarship given by this institution was remarkable, and the reputation of German scholarship was its fruit. He pointed out that such an institution would not be feasible in America. The professorial seminar, however, would be within our educational tradition and might furnish as vigorous a stimulation to our academic life.

Discussion continued now over the value that might be derived by a man who knew nothing of the natural sciences were he to spend two months in the science division. Mr. Connell thought little or nothing of value could be gained. It was brought out that the interne might gain an insight into the use of scientific terminology that had been imported into other branches of learning, and that he would gain some understanding of a frame of reference to which his students would be exposed.

Mr. Benezet referred to the extreme interest shown in the possibility of such a professorial seminar, and moved that a committee be appointed by the chairman to draft a plan for such a group at Dartmouth. The motion was carried unanimously. The meeting then adjourned.

O.A.Reed
E.F.Little

April 10, 1940

The next meeting of the Rosenstock-Huessy seminar will be on Monday, April 15^{e2} at 7:30 in Sanborn House.

I am enclosing a copy of the report submitted by the committee which was appointed to draft a plan to be used as a basis of discussion for the proposed "Graduate Internship in College Teaching". You will note that the committee report is simply descriptive of the proposed plan. It does not include any discussion of the general educational import of the proposed internship. An explicit statement on that topic would be made later if the group reports the project to the administration.

Arthur E. Jensen

REPORT OF COMMITTEE

At the request of the seminar group, the undersigned were appointed by the chairman as a committee to draft a plan for the proposed "professorial seminar" or "teachers' interneship".

We are not sure that we fully understand the idea of the group as to the purpose of the proposed seminar. In general, however, we gathered from the discussion at the last meeting that the "interneship" would aim to provide certain graduate students who have done advanced work in their special fields with a fully-dimensioned understanding of the purposes and methods of the college and of the college's opportunities for service to society, and thereby to give them a maturely formulated idea of how to fit themselves into the scheme of the college and to handle their teaching in their own fields. In short, it would add teacher-training of the highest order to training in special scholarship.

We have assumed this as a purpose and have tried to implement it by the program described below. We have intentionally been quite specific in our proposals, not because we believe they are all sound and intend to defend them, nor because we have any illusion that they represent the ideas of all members of the group. We have hoped, however, that by being specific we could provoke intelligent and purposeful discussion, out of which might arise a better and more complete scheme.

With the understanding, then, that you will consider this as a preliminary sketch and not as a finished blue-print, we submit to you the following conditions for the proposed seminar:

MEMBERSHIP

1. That it be open only to men who have acquired an advanced knowledge of one special field, as indicated normally by the completion of at least the residence requirements for a Ph.D. degree.
2. That such men shall be chosen by a selective system based on the following factors:
 - a. thoroughness of graduate training
 - b. personal qualifications
 - c. representation of varied college & university backgrounds
 - d. representation of varied departmental fields

ORGANIZATION

3. That the proposed study shall involve a minimum of one academic year.
4. That it be called: "Graduate Interneship in College Teaching".

5. No arbitrary form of organization should be imposed on these men, but we should expect that they would wish to form a group organization of their own in order to pursue their study here more effectively. They might, for example, elect their own officers, schedule their activities, live together in a single residence hall or arrange a group headquarters, eat together, etc.
6. Instruction. If the group is composed of mature men with a clear purpose, we should not foresee the necessity of any formal instructional staff composed of members of the Dartmouth faculty. Initiative in this respect should come primarily from the graduates themselves; the part that members of the faculty might play is suggested below in various items of the proposed work schedule.

THE YEAR'S WORK

7. At beginning of the year: orientation meetings.
Introduction to the general organization of the College;
statement of the College purpose; comparison with the purposes of other types of educational institutions; consideration of the group's purpose here.
8. First part of the year: to be devoted to a study of education in Freshman year.
General survey of the kind of men in the class - secondary education - geographical spread - social background, etc.
Observation of methods used in Freshman Week to orient the class in the College.
Attendance at several courses which Freshmen take, to observe not only how but what they are taught.
Personal interviews with a number of Freshmen - and a sufficient number with each man so that a friendly relationship might be established and the graduate student might gain some realization of the freshman's problems - how he is adjusting himself to his new environment - what he is getting out of his courses - what he seems to need most, etc.
9. Second part of the year: to be devoted to a study of education in Sophomore year.
Knowledge of range of courses open to Sophomores and the student's problem of selection.
Attendance at a number of Sophomore courses.
Personal interviews with Sophomores.
Study of the College's disciplinary system and what it does and does not achieve.
Study of the system of quizzes, hour examinations, semester examinations and the grading system.
Study of the extra-curricular activities, fraternities, athletics, social life, etc.
Study of vocational guidance and problem of selecting the major.

10. Third part of the year: to be devoted to a study of education in Junior and Senior years.

The problems of the major study. Statements by departmental chairmen as to the nature and purpose of major programs in specific fields. Conferences with major advisers.

How did students choose their major, are they satisfied with it - in Junior year? - in the last half of Senior year?

- is it giving them what they need? What weight should be attached to vocational values? cultural values? preparation for graduate work?

Attendance at most of the courses constituting a major sequence.

What other courses do students take in Junior and Senior years, and what are their relationships to the major?

By the end of Senior year, what important courses or fields in a liberal arts education has the student missed completely?

Personal interviews, particularly with Seniors. Have they felt the last year or so wasted? Will their major be of any "use" to them? Should they have survey courses in senior year? Etc.

11. Fourth part of the year: to be devoted to a criticism and evaluation of the entire process they have observed: curriculum, teaching method, faculty, student's personal and social development, athletics, extra-curricular work, etc. To be in the form of a seminar attempting to integrate the learnings achieved, to make constructive criticisms, and, if possible, to evolve a more coherent educational theory and method. Preparation of a written group report to the Dean of the College presenting any conclusions that may have been reached?

12. Method of study. The process of observation described above would be supplemented by regular meetings throughout the year to discuss as a group the educational processes being observed, to criticize and evaluate them. The group would draw into these meetings members of the faculty willing to discuss the particular problem of each meeting. Particular effort should be made to discuss problems not merely in connection with their solution at Dartmouth but with reference to their solution at other institutions. Study of the general curricular set-up, special features, educational experiments, etc. of such institutions as Princeton, Stanford, Reed, Rollins, Antioch, the University of Chicago, St. John's, Harvard, Yale, etc. should be brought into discussions of such problems as the curriculum of Freshman and Sophomore year, the major, tutorial system, honors work, three- and four-course system, the House Plan grades, cuts, extra-curricular activities, social problems, etc.

13. Professional and social contacts with such members of the Dartmouth faculty as will tolerate same.

14. Occasional lectures by visiting educators?

15. Research work. It is natural that graduate students seriously interested in their own fields should continue this interest while at Dartmouth. While no rule can be formulated as to this, in order to preserve opportunity for the study of undergraduate education outlined above, it should be generally understood that prolonged or serious research, preparation of dissertations, etc. would defeat the purpose of the graduate internship and should be eschewed.
16. Practice teaching. While practice teaching would probably be desired by graduate internes, and might help subsequently in their getting jobs, our feeling is that teaching regular academic courses should not be permitted for the following reasons:
 - a. from the standpoint of merely gaining experience, one year is not much anyway; experience will ultimately be gained in the normal way over a period of years.
 - b. even one three-hour course can absorb a great deal of a beginner's available time; this would defeat the purpose of the internship.
 - c. internes teaching in regular departmental courses would complicate teaching schedules, and it is barely possible that some departments might not want internes teaching their courses.

On the other hand, some teaching experience is admittedly helpful. It is suggested as a possibility that each interne might meet about once a week with a group of students on an informal and extra-curricular basis. The group might be major students in the interne's own field, or some other group according to his special interests. These informal groups could serve as useful aids to the students themselves, and as fields for testing educational methods discussed in the graduate seminar.

17. Any program of work decided upon in advance should be regarded as tentative and subject to change as experience with the project develops.

Respectfully submitted,

W. W. Ballard
M. E. Choukas
H. S. Morrison

Report of Meeting of April 22, 1940

At the opening of the meeting the chairman called on Mr. Horton to discuss the Dartmouth internship in the light of his experience with similar educational projects. Mr. Horton drew parallels between the internship plan and the workshop movement for teachers. The general idea of the workshop movement, he said, is that teachers from various fields come together to discuss their problems in common. He went on to say that in practice this movement has led to a valuable interchange of ideas on education and to a general broadening of the perspective of the teachers participating. Mr. Horton said that the ideas of the internship plan and the workshop movement are basically the same; except that the former plan is designed for graduate students, and the latter for practising teachers. He concluded by saying that the General Education Board already supports such projects as the workshop movement, and that it would support a carefully conceived internship plan.

After Mr. Horton's discussion of the plan, the report of the committee was accepted into the proceedings of the seminar, and the committee was discharged with thanks. The implications of this acceptance, however, were that there would be general discussion of the individual points in the report before it was accepted in detail, and that the members of the seminar were at liberty to change the report wherever necessary.

On May 22, in lieu of another meeting, Dr. Rosenstock-Huussy delivered an address to the Ticknor Club to which all members of the xxxin Seminar were invited. His topic was "Teaching Too Late; Learning Too Early." The paper more or less summarized the theories of education that Professor Rosenstock-Huussy had expanded in the Seminar. The full text of this address is now in the hands of a publisher. When it is published a copy will be sent to each member of the Seminar.

Rosenstock-Huessy Faculty Seminar

April 29, 1940

Mr. Jensen read the minutes of the preceding meeting and urged the members present to discuss the report on the professorial seminar with emphasis on its real purpose and meaning, rather than spend time on administrative details. Mr. Jensen then read parts of two letters, one from Prof. Emeritus Vernon, and one from prof. George Morgan of Duke. Both ardently championed the proposal.

The early discussion centered around Mr. Guthrie's objection that the proposed internship did not fit into our original purpose.

Mr. Connell, who had earlier suggested that the group try themselves as "Guinea pigs" before inviting anyone else up here now declared that the duty of professors was first to the undergraduates. Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy declared then that we must start with the staff first because we cannot deal with the undergraduates until we are one spirit ourselves.

Discussion ensued over the possibility of having one or two men on the faculty go through the program designed for the internes. Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy declared that one man should be left free, to be informed all the time of what is going on, but it would be useless to have only one man go through the program, since it depends on several men going through with it, and the rest of us participating indirectly. But more important is the necessity of having people who are entirely free from vested interests. If it is to be done wholeheartedly there must be no interference from such interests. For men on the faculty to do it, there would be the very real difficulty of being "practical" in the face of the administration, and superior men in the department. Matters of promotion and job holding would prevent the singleness of purpose which the task would require. Mr. Connell held that members of the staff could in their free time sit in on their colleagues courses, meet with men in different departments, and get as much benefit this was as if a small group of young men were here.

After more general discussion Mr. Ballard declared it was not wise to get opst graduates to undertake this job when members of this group were still unconvinced. He recommended that members of this group try the program on themselves first. Mr. Laing said that there were so many pressures on the faculty that they could not keep up the spart to go through with it. For this reason Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy suggested one permanent assistant from the outside to be responsible for things happening on time and for tying the group together. Mr. Ballard said that he thought it would be possible for an executive committee of five from the faculty to be responsible for the experiment next year, and that

if anything were accomplished next year, the group could ask the administration for money to invite outsiders the year after.

Mr. Guthrie then moved that the group go on record as favoring a preliminary year, next year, to engage in a program which had been suggested for the graduate fellows. This was carried.

Mr. Ballard moved that the chairman appoint an executive committee of five men to draft a program for the preliminary year to report to the full group before commencement. If that date were not possible, they might later send a mimeograph report at a later date. The motion was carried.

The meeting adjourned with a unanimous vote of appreciation to Mr. Rosenstock-Huessy for his labors in behalf of the conference.

College and Community

/ fault.

- I. The College flunks; the students make us into a junior college: out/
II. Education in the image of the community.
III. Education is insistence, any change in education is a shift in emphasis. The same is true of the evolutionary change in any community.
IV. The lasting problem of any group: Peace.

The process of restoring peace the constant constitutional problem of any community. The phases of this process: 1. External peace so that the community has time to solve its own problems.

Scholastic

~~XXXXXXXX~~ Education : Dogmatic

2. Excommunication and interdict

German Education : Systematic

3. Prerogative

English education: Case system

4. Grievance

French education: Literature

5. Free Speech , Free Thought

Social education: common work.

6. "Soil for XXXXXXXX Thought"

The shift in emphasis today is from phase 5 to 6.

- V. The evolution of our community shows a shift in emphasis from one of these indispensable phases to the next in a strict sequence.

Today's shift evident in the arts: from the piece of art to the process of artistic creation.

- VI. The shift in emphasis ignored by the colleges. Hence, the students find out for themselves. The college child's play for them. Farming. Work. William James. CCC Camps. All imperfect because without connection without the existing system. A combination that acknowledges the shift in emphasis, would regenerate the college and make it the adequate image of our society (which it always must become in order to survive.)

- VII. The Township College, a lesson in inarticulatedness: and common darkness.

The seasons of thought: ~~XXXXXXXX~~ vacuum, darkness, enlightenment, speech, complaint, legislation, excommunication, peace.

- VIII. The century of enlightenment has used up our community-darkness. We first have to restore the common darkness before the light will do more good than harm again. The individuals merely are confused. They must learn to found their common sense again on the common experience of a season of thought that is before its formulation or articulation, so that we restore the hunger and the atmospheric pressure under which alone the life of the intellect makes sense.

APPLIED SCIENCE VERSUS REPRESENTATIVE EDUCATION

1. Is it: Time and Space, or: When and Where?

By Mr. Karwoski's warning against an uncritical use of 'time' and 'space', the discussion of these terms is precipitated.

I said that, under the pressure of a technicalized world, man was left without an answer to his question: When shall I act, marry, travel, study? Where do I belong? Where are the boundaries for my home and my people? Industry has no answer for these questions; the whole aim of industry being the victory over time and space. When technics are perfect, we may have anything anywhere at any moment.

Now, the words "when" and "where" are by no means so general as Time or Space. "When" and "Where" are the personal and concrete starting points for a reassessment of the big words Time and Space.

It is true, the fact that there should be a distinction between the dominating scientific generalities of our industrial civilization and the new questions, this in itself, constitutes the educational dilemma, today. But ask the questions we must. And we must ask them with the naive faith that, in one way or another, the right concepts of time and space must be comprehensive enough to answer our question about time and space.

The abysmal difference between the industrial concept of time and space, and our concrete, human, time and space, may be admitted. However, since we meet here from different ways of life, from different departments and creeds, we must cling to the conviction that in any moment, a new understanding is possible. This new understanding will have to surmount the chasm between the predominant scientific usage and the common-man-usage. The scientist, the worker, the student, all in their quality as human beings-not as scientists or as workers-are compelled today to keep fit, to keep going, in a way no other generation was required to do. And nobody, in the long run, can sustain two different notions about time and space, one scientific, one for his own life. Or, he and society will disintegrate.

Now, we probably just have to put these big words into another drawer. Today, most things are known to ~~man~~; but usually, they are lying in the wrong drawer. The very fact that the big problems of Einstein and Jeans about time and space, and our biographical riddles, are not immediately associated in our brain, points out that time and space are kept in a wrong drawer; in our time.

Our attempt to re-identify the two, comes as a surprise because for the last centuries, the anthropomorphic sigh of the mortal: How long may I live? Where is my home? seemed too personal, too subjective. Science was going to get rid of the anthropomorphic features

of its concepts. The subjective aspect of time and space seemed to defile the universality of the fundamental concepts of natural science. Hence the philosophy and the sciences of nature reduced space to the space of three dimensions. This is the space in which separate bodies move, a space that necessarily is bigger than any sum of things, or than objects that are found within it. Also, this space has a unity that triumphs over all inner partitions. The concept of "Nature" depends on purifying this space from witches and fairies and ghosts and transcendentalism, and of breaking down all the different qualities of a sacred and a less sacred part, a higher and a lower rank between things in this space.

Now, to the human being, this space is only one side of his space experience. And this is so because man speaks. The unconscious, not-speaking animal may or may not be, a part of nature and of the outer world. Speaking man, by speaking, establishes social relations which have the quality of inwardness and insidedness. Anybody who talks to somebody else- and we shall deal with the process at great length in the following meetings- is incorporated into an inner space. You yourself, reading this paper, are by reading it, participating in something that is definitely apart from the life of the world about which we are conversing. This inner space, existing in any living organism, is a *conditio sine qua non* of our concept of space. The space of physics is balanced by the inner space of the republic of physicists. Dead things are viewed in the light of the one three-dimensional space of our intuition. However, we envisualize and formulate this external space only in vertu of our living within one internal space of scientific conversation. Hence, this internal space does not coincide with our body. As Einstein has shown, it includes all those who agree to participate in the role of the scientific observer, and therewith, to become of one mind. The unity of the mind constitutes the size and intensity of this inner space. Where there is one mind, incorporation takes place. And we actually know of the three-dimensional space only by being members of the reasoning and abstracting community of scientists and scholars. Other civilizations entertain different notions of space, unscientific and therefore not three-dimensional. First of all, they do not see why all spaces should form one space. They acknowledge the plurality of worlds. And the different worlds are under different government by different powers or deities. The external space, furthermore, to them turns demonic when a man dissociates himself from it. So, they try hard to stay incorporated into one definite space, forever, perhaps one sacred country, one Roman Empire etc. etc.

2. Modern Man Inc.

The modern concept of space, then, is the copyright of Modern Man, spelled with a capital letter and in the Singular. We constantly

confuse man and men. In this case, the concept of space as an external unified three-dimensional lawful system of objective relations between objects in motion, is the product of Modern Man, Inc. This scientific enterprise for the exploration of Nature has incorporated all of us, by merit of our education. Modern Man, Inc. is an enterprise for pushing the boundaries of objective, unified three-dimensional space further and further, as far as possible.

In doing so, it has produced, among other things, the modern system of production. The result is seen in the factory where the new concept of space is applied for the first time to a human habitation. The factory is a passing arrangement, no home. Production no longer takes place in a home in which generations are expected to succeed each other. When there is a roof over the factory it is accidental. The aim is to re-organize nature's energies so that they cooperate with man, with the greatest spontaneity possible. By techniques, we create a second nature that is scientifically elucidated. We do not leave nature, we do not go inside in modern production, we enter into nature as a part of it. Among the raw materials and energies (electricity, water, coal, iron,) labor-forces are found, too.

These labour-forces, or 'labour', are not workers or labourers, as of old. And their shortlived arrangement in the process of production impresses all of us, as the new fleeting and passing technical form of human existence. Nature, in the factory, reaches man

What is the matter? Do we exaggerate? I think that this is as simple as an equation. Nature, by definition, has no inner partitions no inner space. Natural, by definition, is that which is experienced by our senses in the outer world. In this concept, we can never discover any privilege of an "inner realm", just as little as there is room for God.

3. Timeless Man.

In the factory, the worker is considered as energy laid upon the machinery, like water, in unending shifts. Human nature, as compared with other energies, is inefficient in duration. Thus he must be made into a worker-molecule, called labor, that is available all the twenty-four hours of the day. Most writers on the subject deal at great length with the space-aspect of modern industry, on mechanization, masses, etc. I wish to call attention to the fact that industry when demanding men, asks for a time-molecule labor, that is made up of three or four individuals, and that thereby covers up the weakness of the individual atoms by representing a twenty-four-hour-molecule. The individual worker disappears behind the abstraction of a twenty-four-hour-worker, called labor, with an objective name. Labor is a triumph of science since man is here objectified into something natural, a thing outlasting its shifting components. Only when three or four individuals

are taken together, do they become a match to the incessant industrial process. Nature has one space and no time limits. The system of Chicago to keep all the four terms of the year, is the application of industry to studies. The 'cog in the machine' is a molecule composed of more than one individual. We can become parts of the machine by becoming exchangeable and losing any uniqueness in time and space. As 'labour' man is available in the space of things. The 'one man' who is the object of factory calculation and is the effective unit of production, is composed of several individuals. (In the older times, we had this idea embodied in the soldiers on guard). It is a warfare with nature, industry, and in war times, there is no difference between night and day, in our vigilance. Production is guaranteed regardless of individuals. Our labor troubles and the mysteries of collective bargaining largely depend not on the huge numbers in space but on this problem of the new abstraction of a timeless man functioning in natural space, forever, hour after hour, and calculated by hours. Any hour, from midnight to midnight, the energies flow. And by breaking up the human energy in hours, and paying man by the hour, his work ceases to be personal. It now fits in the objective scheme of the natural processes. Since industry abolishes anthropomorphical thinking about time and space, Man's confusion about his when or where become unanswerable, within the sphere of industry and science.

The very existence of an inner space is denied. The smaller bodies that testified to its existence, family, body of Christ, body politic, degenerate. The Corporations are the masterminds of our age, as everybody knows. They ascertain that minimum of concerted action and unanimity without which we would be starved. But, as we also know, their's is a precarious kind of unanimity. These huge corporations live substantially on the loyalties and reserves of pre-industrial community life.

It was our proposition that these reserves have disappeared. The exploitation of European traditions or of Puritan heritage is at an end. The Corporations, themselves, however, being projected, from outer space into the inner space of society by sheer necessity, without preparation, have no organs for the regular reproduction of human unanimity and inner space. This is not their business. Strikes without end are the natural outcome of such a situation. The very efficiency of Modern Man, Inc., in mastering external space, is making him helpless when he should have power 'to usward', the power to communicate unanimity and to incorporate people into one inner space. The body politic, including its smallest cell, Mr. Everybody, are disintegrating under the scorn heaped upon them by science. They have been told that they are irrational. Science has overlooked the difference between irrational and unreasonable. People who speak and communicate, are irrational, and not unreasonable. The outer world is rational; the inner reasonable. The inner world operates when everybody is on speaking

terms with everybody else. The outer world operates when everything is expressed in mathematical terms, like everything else. Two usages of space, one scientific, one personal, have to be accepted and have to be reconciled in the future.

4. The Theological Residue in Science.

A similar situation exists with regard to time. Modern Man, Inc., has looked upon time as though time was known best in the past, less well in the present and least well in the future. This may be true for physics. It certainly is just the opposite with you and me when we want to know what to do. The only thing we actually know is that we must die, in the future. All our knowledge about past and present is pretty uncertain, compared to this one stable certainty. Even our parents may only pretend to be our parents. Our future, however, is absolutely guaranteed.

Against this, the scientist goes back to the beginning, to causes, to origins. The present is explained by the past; the future is explained by the past plus the present. This has been formulated literally as the endeavour of science, by Laplace.

In this argument, a theological residue has perched, and has allowed the scientists to operate with a concept of time due to theology, without being found out. They live on theology, in this respect. The natural concept of time is spoiled, that way. In nature, we know nothing of a present. In nature, past and future is all that we may distinguish. For, the present is a razorblade on which it is impossible to stand or to insist. All attempts to keep, for natural time, the three dimensions past, present and future, must fail. For external processes that are verifiable through the senses, past and future alone are meaningful concepts. The loan of the scientists is quite unnecessary, it would seem. Why do they need a present? In medieval theology, the presence, the real presence, the omnipresence, were central questions. It shows the scientific continuity of our higher thinking that this achievement of the Middle Ages has been respected by nearly all scientists till today. When the concept of nature was developed, it seemed unthinkable to abandon the notion of present. And ever since, natural science, has carried with it this theological residue. However, from the scientist's point of view, the present is a specious fallacy.

And today, in the third phase of the industrial revolution, scientific thinking is discovering this its dependence on theology with regard to the concept of a present. In a special paper, I shall communicate the facts about this radical attempt of the scientists, by which they become conscious of their loan and begin to repudiate it.

At this moment, two ways are open. One is the radically scien-

tific as pursued by symbolic logic, by Joyce and Proust and Gertrude Stein, by Sorel, Pareto, Mussolini, Hitler, Here, the present explodes as a specious fallacy. The laws of Lenin, the fate of Spengler, the violence of Sorel, is all that is left to organize society. Education is propaganda. Government is power. To study, means to pass an examination, to live, means to find a job. In all these cases, the open space of the outer world, and the fleeting time of astronomical time, are made the basis for human relations. This is the last emancipation of the scientific era that now, and now only, abandons its last heritage from the Middle Ages: the existence of a present, a real present, an omnipresence. With the present, there goes direction. The most subtle psychological quality of man, the one that he loses first when intoxicated or damaged, is his orientation in time and space. He loses direction; he is dizzy, groggy; he begins to move in a vicious circle.

Thus, let us look into the other direction. Here, it is resolutely necessary to emancipate education from science. Education must give direction, or it is superfluous and, being costly and misleading, directly harmful. Without direction, education begets soft decadents. When we allow everybody to work out his own salvation, and still insist that he should go to college, we conjure up the hell of boredom, waste, and disintegration of the man who has no future.

The educator is faced by the fact that whenever human beings talk and converse seriously together, they insist on something. They assert a part of reality. By insisting, and by insisting only, do we create a present that stands out between the future and the past. And by doing so, we transform the future and the past as well. We have a very different past, compared to our ancestors not only, but compared to the Russians or the Germans of today, and, if so, we shall have a different future, too. The present is the common time between people who insist on the same things. Man's power to insist wrestles a present from the flux of time.

Without insistence, we all are shadows of the underworld, never filled with the full blood of life. Living beings, whenever they begin to speak find themselves in a present between a prospective future and a respected past. Outside industry, man meets man as a being that has respect and prospects, that looks backward and forward, and as far as we can do so, we live in the present. The present is the creature that results from our insisting that the past should be transformed into the future. We would not do so if we were not, at every moment influenced as much by future as by past. Science, however, only mentions 'perspective' when talking of man's education. Without respect and prospects, perspective has neither place nor hours in our lives.

The very success of industry forbids educators today to use the phrases of the 18th century any longer, about the nature of man. Men live in an inner space and a present time. Both things do not

exist in nature. Otherwise, the students, by their belief in automatic evolution, will cease to insist on anything, on any value. And this sell-out is well under way.

5. Timely Education, or Woodrow Wilson at Dartmouth.

For a long time, Time and Space have been lying in the drawer labelled natural philosophy, natural science. As mentioned before, we moderns know all things, but mostly we keep them in the wrong drawer, and do not use them in the right place or at the right moment. However, we must take time and space out of their drawer. Nothing is known, from one drawer, or one department. And so it is with time and space. They are, for a college, by no means, natural, external, or pointing in one direction without the educators doing something about it.

Scientific time and space and human time and space have been confused too long by the scientists. The educator can understand what Modern Man, Inc., has tried to achieve, but the scientist qua scientist has no means of understanding what education is up against. How can he understand that our task is the creation of an inner space in an enduring present to be squeezed in between the imminent future and the dead past, and that human beings cannot live by doing everything everywhere at every moment.

Technics being applied to science are useless for our main task of education. Yet the relation between science and technics is valuable for explaining our own function. We see that technics represents science in nature. Education represents creation in society. The technicians are not scientists; and educators are not creators. Still we represent creation. This power of representing creation can never occur in nature. As much as representative government presupposes an inner life of the community that defies all laws of natural space, so representative education is unknown in the open space of physics or in the time pattern of thermodynamics. No representation in nature, no representation in a world of physical mechanisms. We represent each other in one body politic, one fellowship only if that inner circle is excluded from the concept of nature. We only may be represented by somebody else because we share the same future with him. This is the reason for our right at present to represent him. We represent to the student his own future. We insist on it today. The only situation in which representation is effective at present is among the scientists themselves; their own education is representative. They identify themselves with each other, for scientific purposes. Only, they do not know that their education is peculiar and specialized, and that they have done little, during the last centuries, to allow any other type of man, except the scientist, to be educated, or what amounts to the same, to grow.

By the idee fixe of educating scientists, we have been prevent-

ed from educating fathers, mothers, ancestors, founders, artists, priests, grandparents. The education of scientists seemed a byproduct of science; it was done like a simple expansion or application of science. The education of scientists, however, is based on principles unknown to science; it proceeds in a space unknown to science; it anticipates a future unknown to science. It creates a present, by insistence unknown in nature. In as far as scientists are educated, we already have the right kind of education, that is to say, an education representative not of science but of creation.

Only, society would have neither children, nor parents, neither wisdom nor genius, when we concentrate on scientists and athletes, on mind and body, brain and muscles, in education. The education of scientists and athletes is representative of a society in which space is externalized and the community minimized.

We need only to conceive of education as representative of creation, and our mind is freed from the fetters of superstition, again. The superstitions of the modern era are its concepts of time and space. Now, we may begin to educate a generation that is able again to be sons and daughters first, men and brides second, fathers mothers, parents, third, instead of making the child prodigy into a man and thereby compelling this man to remain childish all his life. They will not produce incidentally scientists and athletes only. Centering on the question of the right thing at the right time, they will develop for the sake of the future of society, an education that is timely, presenting the student with the fact that they must make the right sacrifice at the right moment, and grow the right roots, at the right place. And the student presented with this anticipation of the future of the community, will no longer limit his services to the college by playing football for the sake of the college. He will realize that he serves the college by establishing the model relations, here, for the sake of the future.

All that we have tried to say here methodically, has been said eloquently by Woodrow Wilson, in his address at Dartmouth, 1909. Before drawing our conclusions, I am inserting the quotation from Woodrow Wilson. It may help to show that for the last thirty years, the task has been delayed. It may seem tragic today that Wilson made this speech at the very moment when he abandoned his hope of reforming the college, and entered politics. His clairvoyance, his challenge, his idea that the student serves, that education can't be a science, that the college body is in danger of disintegration daily, have not been taken up, for a whole generation of teachers.

"What we mean I can illustrate in this way. It seems to me that we have been very much mistaken in thinking that the thing upon which our criticism should center is the athletic enthusiasm of our undergraduates, and of our graduates, as they come back to the college contests. It is a very interesting fact to me that the game of foot-

ball, for example, has ceased to be a pleasure to those who play it. Almost any frank member of a college football team will tell you that in one sense it is a punishment to play the game. He does not play it because of the physical pleasure and zest he finds in it, which is another way of saying that he does not play it spontaneously and for its own sake. He plays it for the sake of the college, and one of the things that constitutes the best evidence of what we could make of the college is the spirit in which men go into the football game, because their comrades expect them to go in and because they must advance the banner of their college at the cost of infinite sacrifice. Why does the average man play football? Because he is big, strong and active, and his comrades expect it of him. They expect him to make that use of his physical powers; they expect him to represent them in an arena of considerable dignity and of very great strategic significance.

But when we turn to the field of scholarship, all that we say to the man is, "Make the most of yourself," and the contrast makes scholarship mean as compared to football. The football is for the sake of the college and the scholarship is for the sake of the individual. When shall we get the conception that a college is a brotherhood in which every man is expected to do for the sake of the college the thing which alone can make the college a distinguished and abiding force in the history of men? When shall we bring it about that men shall be ashamed to look their fellows in the face if it is known that they have great faculties and do not use them for the glory of their alma mater, when it is known that they avoid those nights of self denial which are necessary for intellectual mastery, deny themselves pleasures, deny themselves leisure, deny themselves every natural indulgence in order that in future years it may be said that that place served the country by increasing its power and enlightenment?

But at present what do we do to accomplish that? We very complacently separate the men who have that passion from the men who have it not,- I don't mean in the class room, but I mean in the life of the college itself.

I was confessing to President Schurman tonight that, as I looked back to my experience in the class rooms of many eminent masters I remembered very little that I had brought away from them. The contacts of knowledge are not vital; the contacts of information are barren. If I tell you too many things that you don't know, I merely make myself hateful to you. If I am constantly in the attitude toward you of instructing you, you may regard me as a very well informed and superior person, but you have no affection for me whatever; whereas if I have the privilege of coming into your life, if I live with you and can touch you with something of the scorn that I feel for a man who does not use his faculties at their best, and can be touched by you with some keen and inspiring touch of energy that lies in you and that I have not learned to imitate, then fire calls to fire and real life be-

gins, the life that generates, the life that generates power, the life that generates those lasting fires of friendship which in too many college connections are lost altogether, for many college comradeships are based upon taste and not upon community of intellectual interests.

The only lasting stuff for friendship is community of conviction; the only lasting basis is that moral basis to which President Lowell has referred, in which all true intellectual has its rootage and sustenance, and those are the rootages of character, not the rootages of knowledge. Knowledge is merely, in its uses, the evidence of character, it does not produce character. Some of the most learned of men have been among the meanest of men, and some of the noblest of men have been illiterate, but have nevertheless shown their nobility by using such powers as they had for high purposes.

We shall never succeed in creating this organic passion, this great use of the mind, which is fundamental, until we have made real communities of our colleges and have utterly destroyed the practice of a merely formal contact, however intimate, between the teacher and the pupil. Until we live together in a common community and expose each other to the general infection, there will be no infection. You cannot make learned men of undergraduates by associating them intimately with each other, because they are too young to be learned men yet themselves; but you can create the infection of learning by associating undergraduates with men who are learned.

How much do you know of the character of the average college professor whom you have heard lecture? Of some professors, if you had known more you would have believed more of what they said. One of the driest lecturers on American history I ever heard in my life was also a man more learned than any other I ever knew in American history, and out of the class room, in conversation, one of the juiciest, most delightful, most informing, most stimulating men I ever had the pleasure of associating with. The man in the class room was useless, out of the class room he fertilized every mind that he touched. And most of us are really found out in the informal contacts of life. If you want to know what I know about a subject, don't set me up to make a speech about it, because I have the floor and you cannot interrupt me, and I can leave out the things I want to leave out and bring in the things I want to bring in. If you really want to know what I know, sit down and ask me questions, interrupt me, contradict me, and see how I hold my ground. Probably on some subjects you will not do it; but if you want to find me out, that is the only way. If that method were followed, the undergraduate might make many a consoling discovery of how ignorant his professor was, as well as many a stimulating discovery of how well informed he was.

The thing that it seems to me absolutely necessary we should address ourselves to now is this -- forget absolutely all our troubles about what we ought to teach and ask ourselves how we ought to live in college communities, in order that the fire and infection may spread;

for the only conducting media of life are the social media, and if you want to make a conducting medium you have got to compound your elements in the college, - not only ally them, not put them in mere diplomatic relations with each other, not have a formal visiting system among them, but unite them, merge them. The teacher must live with the pupil and the pupil with the teacher, and then there will begin to be a renaissance, a new American college, and not until then. You may have the most eminent teachers and may have the best pedagogical methods, and find that, after all, your methods have been barren and your teachings futile, unless these unions of life have been accomplished.

I think that one of the saddest things that has ever happened to us is that we have studied pedagogical methods. It is as if we had deliberately gone about to make ourselves pedants. There is something offensive in the word "pedagogy." A certain distaste has always gone along with the word "pedagogue." A man who is an eminent teacher feels insulted if he is called a pedagogue; and yet we make a science of being a pedagogue, and in proportion as we make it a science we separate ourselves from the vital processes of life.

I suppose a great many dull men must try to teach, and if dull men have to teach, they have to teach by method that dull men can follow. But they never teach anybody anything. It is merely that the university, in order to have a large corps, must go through the motions; but the real vital processes are in spots, in such circumstances, and only in spots, and you must hope that the spots will spread. You must hope that there will enter in or go out from these little nuclei the real juices of life.

What we mean, then, by criticising the American college is not to discredit what we are doing or have done, but to cry ourselves awake with regard to the proper processes.

....I have been thinking, as I sat here tonight, how little, except in coloring and superficial lines, a body of men like this differs from a body of undergraduates. You have only to look at a body of men like this long enough to see the mask of years fall off and the spirit of the younger days show forth, and the spirit which lies behind the mask is not an intellectual spirit: it is an emotional spirit.

It seems to me that the great power of the world - namely, its emotional power - is better expressed in a college gathering than in any other gathering. We speak of this as an age in which mind is monarch, but I take it for granted that, if that is true, mind is one of those modern monarchs who reign but do not govern. As a matter of fact, the world is governed in every generation by a great House of Commons made up of the passions; and we can only be careful to see to it that the handsome passions are in the majority.

A college body represents a passion, a very handsome passion, to which we should seek to give greater and greater force as the generations go by - a passion not so much individual as social, a passion

for the things which live, for the things which enlighten, for the things which bind men together in unselfish companies."

So far, we are quoting words spoken thirty years ago; it is not my intention to disobey Wilson; he himself asks for contradiction. And I think that I should like to contradict his vision of all of us living together. We would all go to pieces in such an undertaking. However, taking issue with his too simple conclusion, I greatly rejoice in his description of what is actually going on in a college. That we, the professors and the students, render a service to the community. And that the students in our class rooms should not be told that they get their money's worth, whereas, they should experience that learning is as representative of the life of society as football where they do make sacrifices so gladly.

When a boy is allowed to read Shakespeare, we ask him to keep Shakespeare alive. When we ask him to learn mathematics, we ask him to support the scientific spirit. Without millions of people able to follow, willing to participate, ready to listen, not one of the subjects which we teach may survive. Our poems, our books, our problems shout into the ears of youth: Listen lest we die. And education is representative of creation because it calls in generation after generation to keep alive the creations of the universe. (This is service.

In the second phase of the industrial era, the phase of mass production, men forgot the frailty of all human creations. They saw the millions rush for an education just the same as for a toothpaste, and so, they began to recommend their goods and ideas like the producers of toothpaste. Looking around in this Western World, we may well realize again how imperilled the future life of man on this planet is. How many regimes teach their people more how to die and how to destroy than how to keep the spirit of creation alive.

And I feel great admiration for the President of Princeton who gave up his Presidency in disappointment and mourning because the second phase of the industrial era condemned his plans for the future college to fail. Also, we may now draw a clear and distinct line between instruction and education. In every process of teaching, the two things are together: instruction and education. Instruction is supplying a thing in demand: French, Philosophy, Music. Education is asking for a man that is willing to listen lest we die. When we instruct, we sell our knowledge as hired men. When we educate, we take our students into our confidence as responsible for the survival of the things we ourselves stand for. No instructor who is in love with his subject matter, can fail to look for allies in his struggle to let that part of creation of which he is the trustee, by virtue of his knowledge, survive beyond his own span of life. And so every generation, in educating the next, selects the important truth which compells us to insist, "Listen, lest it die."

6. Conclusion: The staff of a college.

We may summarize the situation as it exists, in the third phase of the industrial revolution, with the college still spell bound by giving in to the first and second phase.

1. In society, the scientific notions of time and space have penetrated. These notions, however, do not apply to living beings, but to nature only. Living beings thrive only on a balance between inner and outer space, forward perspective and backward respect.

2. The insistence on this balance creates the present, and this insistence is performed by speech, in all its variety, including science. All speech is representative of creation, especially the most carefully organised process of people speaking together: education.

3. Education is neither scientific nor technical. That is instruction. Education represents creation. For that reason, its language never is scientific. It is more than scientific, more than idiomatic, more than conventional: it represents to the student the power to re-establish the right relations between the scientific, the idiomatic and the conventional, under the pressure from the future.

4. A staff of a college is compelled to develop a common language, beyond the languages of its specialists, again and again. This language must be anthropomorphic. We do not ask the scientific question about time and space but our question about our place and date in time and space. The question and the answer result from our having to overcome our idiomatic and scientific particularities. Hence, the question can only be asked by all of us together; the answer can only be given by all of us together. In other words, the common language of a staff of a college, must be the result of a daily new effort as we go along. The destruction of our common language is in process constantly. We have to insist on a special effort to offset this perpetual decay, by re-establishing our direction into the future.

5. As long as we feign that the students may work out their own salvation and that we are facilities, for them, we deprive them of the process of education; we merely instruct. Teachers are difficulties. They have to insist. They may insist on petty things like marks or examinations or on important things; insist they must. Otherwise, the student mistakes the college as an opportunity for social climbing. He must be made to realize that education is a service rendered to the community by representing the future relations of the community. We shall see that the staff of the liberal arts college is not prepared today to insist successfully.

TEACHING TOO LATE

-- LEARNING TOO EARLY

Adress
Formed for
the city
to inclusion
11 2 AM

How can you run a living nation
by factories and education?

Introduction

During the past academic year, at the initial suggestion of Dean E. Gordon Bill and Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, a group of thirty members of the Dartmouth faculty and five undergraduates met at intervals with Professor Eugen-Rosenstock-Huessy to discuss with him fundamentals of educational thought and direction. The terrible reality of the contemporary scene had made our minds ache for a renewed and common understanding of the truths which we as teachers can sponsor. We arrived at no formula; we were not searching for one. Rather we tried to broaden the question of what we should teach, in all its ramifications as related to our place and time.

In this booklet is printed Professor Rosenstock-Huessy's address at the last meeting of the group, which was a joint meeting with the Ticknor Club. In addition, in order that here may be a virtual summary of the basic principles which were discussed, extracts from other papers have been included. Through such a search by men striving to find the right questions to ask, our lost generation,

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born . . .

may yet create a new positive faith and achieve the moral courage which can salvage our civilization.

For biographical and bibliographical details about Professor Rosenstock-Huessy the reader is referred to the International Who's Who. His astonishing erudition, his passion for truth, both combined with a radiance of personality, have deeply impressed and moved colleagues and students. More than any other man I know he fulfills Bergson's great dictum, "Think as men of action; act as men of thought."

When you reread this booklet two years from now -- and you must do so -- you will find it of even greater prophetic power.

Arthur E. Jensen

The address was given at end of a Professional Seminar which was held with thirty members of the Faculty at Dartmouth College during the academic year 1939-40, at the request of the Administration of Dartmouth College. The chairman of the Seminar was Professor Arthur E. Jensen.

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Friends of the Ticknor Club and Members of the Professional Seminar:

It is my privilege tonight to report on a year-long campaign for taking some timely steps at Dartmouth. However, I cannot suppress the remark, at the outset, that my theme for this evening, "Learning too early -- teaching too late," has caught me in my own net. Five years ago when I spoke here first, I could not make myself understood; it was too early. And tonight, we write May 22nd. Only a fool taps the resources of thinking, his own and others', at the last hour of the academic year; it is untimely to try to do a good job today. We are dog-tired ourselves, in a groggy and paralyzed Western World.

However, as a typical teach^{er}, here I stand and speak too late.

1. Timing

I intend to make three points tonight:

1. -- that the time has come to build up a science of timing, and that its Novum Organum will be the timing of teaching and learning, because they are its basic phenomena. Therefore the new science must begin by reforming the teachers.
2. -- that society is doomed without the timing of teaching, and that society is being destroyed around us daily - for lack of it - by brain erosion.
3. -- that every human being, for his own salvation, must be trained in the timing of all his experiences throughout life. Especially must he learn to fear being "too early" and "too late" as the greatest of sins.

Of course this a mere program, and must serve as a program for many years to come. I throw these words over the barrier of Hitler's peace, and over the many hurdles of daily routine in politics and academic work, into the distant years of Dartmouth College. And I do so to save a future for Dartmouth.

Let me illustrate this by an anecdote. The Kumburg is one of the most beautiful remnants of Romanesque art on the border of Franconia and Suabia. The Peasants' War that destroyed many neighboring towns in 1525 did not touch it. When, in Germany, we founded our first Academy of Adult Education on the Kumburg, we learned the reason. Forty years before the Reformation, the Chapter had reformed itself voluntarily on the lines the Reformation was to follow. So the Chapter completely escaped the ravages of the German Revolution.

They broke the monastic rules in time. We must break the academic prejudices in time - though we have no forty years ahead of us.

These academic prejudices may be summed up as 'obsession with space' -- especially with external space and its corresponding ideal of "objectivity" -- to the utter neglect of time. Our Classrooms with their impossible benches and our division into departments represents the result of centennial space supremacy. Our college methods are all methods developed for space. And this is really disastrous in the humanities and social studies because man is peculiarly a temporal being, ever but an exile and a pilgrim in the world of space. Academic thinking has harnessed time to the triumphant chariot of space as a poor fourth dimension, and we habitually speak of "time spans," "length of time," etc. Recent Sophists have gone so far as to call our Real time "the spacious present." Let us look beyond Sophistry. In religion

and in poetry an hour is filled with width as well as length. The very word "hour," this remnant of the ecclesiastical "horae," decidedly still has a ring beyond its length of sixty minutes. An hour passed alone in silence is such a victory of man over his fears that Pascal calls it the precipice for our virtue. Real time is as full as mere space is empty.

This College is one of the best in the land; yet it is, at this moment, without a future; it is intentionally and wholly given to space realization. Objectivity is its god. It would treat all realities as things external to the mind, things in which we as thinkers, have no roots, and which may accordingly be touched, weighed, measured, and manipulated without reference to the common destiny in which we and they are jointly bound. This may do for physics. It will not do for human society.

Fortunately our academic obsessions have been countered in recent decades by an increasing concern with time on the part of leading thinkers, and I appeal to them as evidence for the timeliness of a science of timing. All great new thought in our age centers around time; all great literature is trying to solve its riddles. At this tragic hour, when France's soul is bleeding away, it is well to remember that the Frenchman Bergson saved the soul of the last generation by reclaiming our plentitude of time. He has refuted the constant abuse of time by the space sciences; he has made it absurd to treat time as one-dimensional any longer -- as the henchmen of space - science in the humanities and social studies still do.

But Bergson and Proust are not enough, in the light of the present catastrophe. They have not challenged our negligent habits of

timing. It remained for a few younger thinkers, taking their cue from language, to restore due reverence for the fullness of time in all its glorious three tenses; not only the future and past, but also their common product, the present.¹ This supplies the fundamental method of the science of timing, and I shall apply it tonight.

The present, whether it be an hour, a day in our life, or a whole era, is not only created, but created by us; it does not simply happen to us, it is not a natural fact like space, not a datum in nature, but a constant social achievement, and neither comes nor lasts except by our own making. Therefore time is not a gift but a task; true presence of mind, the power to live in the fullness of time, is something that has to be won arduously and preserved by perpetual vigilance. Otherwise, our present is so starved and distorted that we can hardly be said to have one at all. Hence the cardinal importance of the problem of timing.

When man rises above his future, which is the imminence of his death, and beyond his past, which is the reminiscence of his origins, he enters the present. From the conflict of end and origin, of death and birth, the present results for those who have the courage not to blink but face the abyss before and in back of them. These courageous souls -- the god-fearing, death-conquering few -- are the creators of any present. We, the death-fearing, god-killing many, live on their courage and creativity; we follow them because the present emerging from their faith is dam and dyke against mere past and mere

¹ Franz Ebner, Das Wort und die Geistigen Realitäten, 1919; the present writer, Angewandte Seelenkunde, 1923, Out of Revolution, Autobiography of Western Man, 1938. A kindred development is the discovery of "biological time" by recent biologists: Lecomte de Nouy, Biological Time, 1939, London.

future, mere decay and mere revolution. Then we are more than our origin and our destination; we are.

And we are chiefly through the medium of human speech and conversation. Without participation in the life of the Word through the ages, we remain ephemeral. Speaking, thinking, learning, teaching, writing, are the processes into which we must be immersed to become "Beings." They enable us to occupy a present in the midst of flux. Language receives us into its community; Speech admits us to the common boat of humanity, and we are clothed with permanence. By speaking we become the oarsmen of humanity in its struggle for orientation on its pilgrimage through space and time.

As speakers we are, under the condition that we are not just ourselves. I know too well that our churches have betrayed this source truth. But I wish to show you that we teachers must take up the truth that the ministers have abandoned, because otherwise we shall lose our right to teach. As true teachers we are not ourselves; rather the ages from Adam on speak through us into the future; and our listener too is not just himself in listening, but a link in the chain of speaking humanity until the last day of the created world. I do not speak here "for what my opinion is worth," as the belittling phrase goes, but because I make an honest attempt to let more than mere opinion reach you through me. Paradoxically, people who pretend that language is their own invention, that words are mere tools, are apt to lack personal force; the ones who make themselves into waves in the ocean of human speech through the ages acquire personal power as a by-product of their faith in the unanimity of mankind.

Man's dignity lies not in producing private opinions but in timing public truth. His speech must not only be more than himself: it must come at the right moment, in the fulness of time. Then his words acquire a "once for ever" meaning. All the sayings of Jesus were quite simple; they became important forever because they were spoken at the right moment, "when the time was fulfilled." A truth taught without the time element is abstract, therefore not vital. Truth is concrete at the lucky opportunity and hour. When we speak too late or too early we are out of luck; our truth remains abstract, and we fail to create a present in which people transcend mere past and future; we lack presence of mind. For these reasons teaching involves all the central problems of timing.

2. The Sins of Teaching and Learning

Our students "prepare" for life; we "postpare" it. The business of teaching is to be representative of all stages of the life of the human spirit except, of course, the one now present in the student. Teaching is therefore inevitably abstract, and hence in a sense always too late, as learning is too early. We teachers are the cultural lag of mankind. Less politely, we are the hyenas of its battlefields, for we disembowel the heroes of antiquity if we are left to our natural tendencies as teachers.

Let me stress this phrase, "left to our natural tendencies." We shall soon see why nobody on earth can be left to his natural tendencies. And you all know well that a good teacher is one who overcomes his natural inertia. But before studying the counterpoint used by all real teachers, we must first make the point that exploiting

the things gone by and merely repeating them is our real temptation.

The devil capitalizes on this inertia, this natural gravity of teaching. One obvious example is our teaching about the World War. How many college men of the Western Powers have disemboweled the First World War till they were caught by the Second? They have thus annihilated the power of their students to live in the real present of the second.

In October 1939, the official scientific adviser to the British Conservative Party, Arthur Bryant, could publish a volume "Unfinished Victory," which dealt with the Treaty of Versailles in Hitler's arguments and from Hitler's "unfinished victory." The absence of mind in Great Britain was patently complete, so complete that instead of waging war my English academic friends came over to America to discuss with us the terms of the next peace. They were too late and too early at the same time as well.

Here in America we discovered in ponderous books what Homer had known after the Trojan War; that every war ends with a moral headache, with profiteers as in Ithaca and with social unrest as in Nestor's Pylos. This is part of the story, but it is not the story. Teachers, however, disemboweled the stupendous fact of Pierpont Morgan being a banker and Lord Northcliffe being a newspaper man, and were simply overwhelmed by these truisms. Nothing checked their harping on the headache. For two decades they capitalized on the hangover as the veterans did on heroism. Our poor students are the victims of both. They are expected to pay the veterans' widows some four billion dollars in 1960, and on the other hand they have to foot the bill for belated teaching, i.e., for the impoverishment and

disempowering of the United States and the absence of any realistic foreign policy during the last twenty years. They have to pay exaggerated sums in money and exaggerated fears in thought.

Now this is certainly a remarkable result for a teacher generation that has honestly tried to give the students the facts and nothing but the facts. It has insisted that the students should know what it is all about, beforehand. Yet we see that the outcome is quite different. The students are not filled with facts but with terrible forebodings. They fear that propaganda is going to devour them, that profiteers are going to send them to war, that they will have no jobs. Teachers have concentrated on facts; students concentrate on expectancies. We shall see how important this interplay between facts and expectancy is. Here I simply record the fact that the factfinders produced a fearful generation. They played Hitler's game.

So much for teaching too late. Why do we also learn too early?

The very essence of learning is to anticipate experience; all education is life in advance. Simply by being educated persons we anticipate an infinite number of happenings that would otherwise come to us later, at thirty or fifty or seventy. Any sensible man of sixty is better fitted to be a judge than a boy just out of law school. Yet the boy needs his legal training as a substitute for experience because neither he nor society has time to wait. So instead of living his own life as a sequence of "Fiat Lux," as the agenda for the next fifty years, he gets it as precedents, as facts and acts.

To a certain extent this is obviously normal and right; learning must be "too early" as teaching must be "too late." But it is

easy to see how "too early" can become disastrous. We deal with facts through one organ, with agenda through another. We can enter upon our own happenings only with faith, love and hope; but we can enter upon the facts simply by drawing conclusions from them, without actually living. Our students are to draw their own conclusions from the facts. That is all to the good as long as blind alleys only are "concluded." But if we want to survive, we don't understand the past unless we treat it in terms of the agenda, the things to happen, in our own future. Facts are healthy diet in education only when balanced by "fienda"; things-that-have-happened by things-that-must happen. Facts are poison for a person that has not lived through them and has no stomach to do so; they bring life too early into his ken.

Of course we all try to acquire knowledge by buying books and going to lectures. We could not live without anticipating results. The danger sets in when we forget that in so doing we are sharing the speaker's life, the writer's experience. Anticipation is legitimate as long as we feel deeply about the facts that we live on borrowed life. Then we realize that it is up to us to balance the budget: we cannot live to ourselves, in our own thinking, because we are in debt to others. Thought is begotten by life, and must beget life in turn. Otherwise, when words beget words and books beget reviews "and of making many books there is no end," we get the "trahison des clercs." Objectivity without gratitude for the relation of our thought to other people's life blood is intolerable. Our students have no spiritual gratitude; they are told to think for themselves, to become writers, to work out their own salvation -- all in flat

contradiction to the true relation between living and thinking. And like all heresy, it kills their lives. Degenerated, they sit on the ruins of Europe as mere sightseers.

Today we break especially the men with the greatest future, the greatest potentialities. We drive them crazy. You all must know cases of students who smelled the good life, yet went to pieces because of the deadlock created for them in college. I once knew the scion of a famous New England family: great-grandfather minister, grandfather college founder, father head of a social settlement in the heart of the coal mines. The boy sought the equivalent for his time. He went to Antioch -- where they do practical work, it is true, but in complete separation from his studies. He went to Harvard. We became friends. He told me that once in three years had he been allowed to concentrate on one subject for a whole fortnight. A student who at twenty-one had never experienced the blessings of singleness of purpose in his intellectual upbringing! He could not find any service that would have built him up to the rank of his forefathers as a social leader. So he quit Harvard and made a living as the manager of a travelling theater group. He ended up as a speculator in Wall Street. When he came to see me, he looked like a soul in hell and he knew it himself. "I shall try," he said to me when we argued his desertion, "I shall try to jump off the bandwagon of the next boom five minutes ahead of the others. If I can succeed in doing so, I shall recover my self-esteem." Unable to find the long-range faith that had built the lives of three or four former generations, and too sensitive not to search for it, he clung to the short-range substitute for faith -- gambling. This man is not

perishing because he is less noble than others; on the contrary his is a more real time sense and he is haunted by his conscience which tells him that people like himself must be representative of the future and of the race as a whole.

Second case: the son of a missionary, and among talented brothers himself a powerful mind and a great soul. He has replaced the theological studies of his ancestors by the study of Human Relations and Sociology. But since he cannot believe in anything and especially cannot deny or fight anything with absolute conviction, Hitler, the germ Hitler is in him, day and night, the germ that whispers destruction of the pseudo-life around him, that recommends the big, delivering smash of this whole decadent world. He often feels like going crazy, his big powers being wasted in the separation between his sociological head that classifies everything like a botanist and his living soul and body that must love and hate. Twice he was on the brink of ending his existence. He tries to analyze himself with modern psychology to find out what is wrong. Of course nothing is wrong with him; he is sane in a madhouse. But he is so overcome by his academic environment that he denies himself his own rescue; he could jump to freedom by serving in a more than personal and more than "objective" cause, by serving in loyalty to the living thought that fights destruction through the ages. He has declined such an opportunity because his academic teachers unanimously advised him against interrupting his course of studies. He is soon to be given his Ph.D. in Human Relations for having denied his calling of establishing human relations in the processes of the living Spirit.

In this case, too, we, the academic world, have violated the boy's integrity. He was not by nature a second-rate person who muses

about society but one born to carry the sword of the spirit himself, as a knight who thinks for society as its voice and leader. And we told him that no such relation of the individual to society exists, that the mind simply deals with objects, that no roots connect it with the society about which it thinks.

If I had time to go on, I would give you a third equally upsetting case, ending in suicide, another of running away into ship-building, another of a straight A sophomore, brilliant athlete, who quit Harvard for farming, and so the list continues. Some people are matter-of-fact minds with no time sense. Some have a sense for the tangible records of the past, and believe only these; we make these Doubting Thomases of civilization into scholars by the thousand, and give them our best awards. But the most precious men are those who hear the cry from the invisible, smell the corruption around them, and live in the future. These we destroy.

3. The Antidote to Teaching: Education

The attempt of teachers and students to live on borrowed life is only one instance of a general human trait. Every group or nation tends to follow the line of least resistance marked out by its natural instinct. Thus labor unions continue to ask for shorter hours and higher wages, manufacturers for higher tariffs, railroads for tax exemptions, parties for more political spoils, doctors for longer years of internship, lawyers for more quotations from precedent, ministers for more charity drives and peace meetings. Indeed, we live in a strange society: the individuals are rather self-denying and civilized, often even weary of their power, but

the groups composed of these anemic individuals lust shamelessly for power.

Now we see why no person or group can safely be left to its natural tendencies. A profession that relies on its natural inertia alone, wrecks itself by sheer repetition. The mere production of its special product also generates a poison, like the poisons of muscular fatigue. Theology, Medicine, Law, unless regenerated by something bigger, are barren. Teaching without something that leads out of the classroom is a blight. When it goes on exenterating past life it only capitalizes on its privileges within the age; thereby it loses the power for which the privileges were given, the power of guiding the age. All my beloved enemies here, who adapt themselves to the tendencies of the age, all those among us -- and we all belong at times to this despondent group -- who say, "I certainly have no general philosophy of college education, I fortunately am completely ignorant of the whole in which I occupy one little field" -- they all saw off the branch on which their professorship is perched and salaried. What other criterion do they have for their task but the accidental fact that they learned certain methods in their twenties and wish to go on with them and be paid for them as long as possible?

When it was proposed to help our future colleagues to more power by continuing our present gatherings for their sake, fear was expressed that the Administration might even use these candidates as spies on our own teaching. Only teachers who decline to check on their own activity could entertain ideas so wild. Again, when a conference on the future of college education was announced, the

speaker was told that he could rely on a good attendance because every department would send a man for this simple reason: to find out if its vested interest in courses, etc., were threatened by any new plans. Departments which do not check themselves will always behave like that. And this is true of every college in the land.

The only thing that can redeem us from our natural inertia is regeneration, the power to make an end and a fresh beginning. This is none other than the Christian faith in death and resurrection. It is not fashionable to say so nowadays, but death alone can guide an age beyond mere living; thought is mere afterthought and must form a cultural lag if it lacks conscious survival of a death situation. Something bigger than ourselves must lift us beyond ourselves. People who eliminate the end of the world from their thinking cannot do anything about the world's resurrection. But this resurrection is our daily task. To die to our habits and prejudices and begin over in time; that is the secret of timing, of presence of mind.

The name for the process which regenerates teaching is education: it checks the inertia of both teacher and student. The syllable "e" in education means "out of" and implies movement forward toward something beyond. How often do I go to class with one of my wonderful schemes prepared of ideas and learning; and just as Balaam, I am hired for one thing and commanded to do another; I am compelled by the surge of education to desist from teaching in my prejudiced manner and to alter my course.

Without education a mere teacher must teach too late, because he is unable to stop and change. He remains old furniture of Wuthering Heights, goes on drably instructing in his field or department. I know of a case where a man insisted upon ruining his course by cramming into the last fortnight of his classes an impossible welter of material. I implored him to spare his students this confusion. He insisted that he had offered so many titles and men in the printed catalogue, and that his offer had to be made good. He sold teaching, and declined to educate. He could not say more sadly that he considered himself a hired man. That he ruined twenty potential images of the living God was no concern of his; but the material! the material! that was to be sold for forty-five bucks! And he felt that he did his duty more bravely than I, his tempter.

For the timing of education, or the life of the Word between teacher and student, I would adopt as a motto a famous line of Horace, with a slight change. Who does not agree with his "Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua" -- "A power that does not dance in rhythm with others falls by its own inertia?" Now our mind, our voice, our doctrines are forces to which the same warning applies. So in behalf of the energy that regenerates correct teaching let us read: "A voice that can only follow its routine, that cannot cut loose from its environment, from the pressure of vested interests, will fall dead and meaningless, and as a blind force it will repeat too late what should no longer be repeated." Our voice must have tasted withdrawal from repetition, must go into the wilderness and take us, teachers and students alike, outside our classroom, our marks and

salaries, outside our background and foreground, into the exile of truth. Truth always is found in exile from society. If we call on her in a true ecstasy, a jump outside ourselves, our spirits return purified. Otherwise we fall flat, by the self-centeredness of our professional routine. Vox exilii expers mole ruit sua, and such a voice will bury student with teacher under an avalanche of facts.

The mutual insurance company for capitalizing on the past called teaching, i.e., the company of experts inexperienced in exile, and the mutual exploitation company for getting all the heritage from the past as "1066 and all that," i.e., without the student's own suffering, sympathy, despair, feeling, service, toil -- both are detestable. The "too early" and "too cheap" of the student results in two types: the child prodigy and the eternal playboy who has never met his teacher in the exile of truth and who therefore, in his heart, treats all learning as a bit funny. The minds of these eternal children have been reached only by the inertia of the teacher's voice, that academic Vox exilii expers. The fruit of such mechanic transmission in the case of the prodigy is a brain flooded with words and verbiage and definitions without the purification of a brainstorm.

4. The Mennonite Catastrophe of 1939

The great theme of education is survival: it enables us to outlive, outgrow each stage of life and move on into the next. At present we as teachers are most urgently in need of outgrowing the period of liberal criticism and its common denominator, disbelief. We have not yet recovered from our resentment of denominational narrowness; reminiscences of compulsory chapel, of our parents' and

our own experiences with the churches, still color our opinions. Now as long as we rest in disbelief and have not survived it, we are out of step with society. As stowaways from overbearing denominations, we miss the new situation in which the whole of society is thrown today in a vast revolution. Society is out for a gospel regenerated by disbelief; yet we still harp on disbelief as an ultimate. Society will turn against us because it longs for a new continuity of living.

We cannot forego our obligation to testify to this step beyond disbelief, because otherwise we are apt to cauterize the generative powers of our students. Atheism will form a part of future society, but only as a stage through which each generation passes to a new and fortified belief. The students must be protected from total despair by realizing that their teachers, in their personal lives, have outlived the phase of academic scepticism.

But it is not only the teachers that are at fault. Our whole society has forgotten the means of regeneration which enables both the individual to survive the stages of life and his society to survive succeeding generations. Modern civilization has built on the Reformation principle of universal priesthood, yet today we no longer recognize its supreme importance. A priest is simply an elder, and the elder statesman, the great old man, is the naturally grown priest in any country. His role is superior to that of magistrates because it comes later in the course of life. In Japan, for instance, the elder statesman is the spiritual authority that appoints the acting statesmen.

What is the secret of eldership? It lies in the fact that an old man is through with his own life but not at all through with life. On the contrary, like a grandfather he watches all the later generations with a loving wisdom which alone can reconcile their strife. He is the great pacifier, the guardian of life's continuity, because people know that he alone is free from personal or partisan aims. Therefore he is peculiarly the regenerative force in society; he sees to it that the full cycle of life is re-begun in the proper order. And it is the expectation of one day becoming elders that should carry us through the full cycle of our own lives.

It follows from this that the production of leadership, of elders, must take precedence over all social activities. A healthy society indeed requires three distinct functional groups: children and adults as well as elders. Children represent growth; they are trustful, playful, imaginative, creative -- the artist is their type. Adults represent professional activity; they work, produce, fight, protect, organize, economize -- the fighter, in business or battle, is their most expressive type. But without elders, priests, who embody the secret of survival, the group itself is lost. Producing rugged businessmen and artistic children only, means giving up the survival of the group as such. Therefore no price is too high for the education of men who can rule, teach and pacify, and accordingly educational literature in the past always centered around the nurture of princes and priests and judges.

Now these truths we kept alive in our age by the Amish Men of Pennsylvania, and our own sins are vividly exposed by the stupidity with which their way of life was blocked just a few months ago. If I can succeed in dramatizing this incident, half of my story for

tonight will be told.

The Menonites go back to a declaration of faith in 1632, drawn up in Dort, Holland. In 1690, a Swiss by the name of Jakob Ammon or Amen renewed the sect; from him the conservative wing got its name, Amish Men. They were literal adherents of the principle, "Every man a priest," for they had no professional ministry. Everybody had to be a dyed-in-the-wool farmer first, a ruler and a judge later, and at the end the very best acted as preachers. Only the preacher revealed the full power of man's spirit. Hence the younger age-groups were not exposed to an all-devouring intellectual curiosity: they knew there was something to wait for.

There was deep wisdom in all this. The Mennonites perceived the chief aim of education, the production of elders, and they chose the right means: they knew that no mere system of instruction, no set of prescribed "courses" could make true elders, but only a slow growth through all the seasons of man's life on earth. That is why they hurried to make good farmers out of their young men first. They looked at farming with a much deeper insight than the board of trustees of an agricultural college; an unquestionable relation of each member to the soil was the first step toward their highest spiritual office. So they decided that every boy must be an apprentice on a farm in his formative years from eight to twenty; then he would be so well grounded in farming that he could leave it for the next step, when a kind of adult education took him in hand.

But in stepped the sovereign State of Pennsylvania with a new law compelling children to stay in school until 16 or 17 years of age, thereby destroying the basis of the Mennonites' lay ministry.

These high school children may become successful commercial farmers, single-crop farmers, land speculators, etc. But they never will be farmers in the sense of a centennial yeomanry, in the sense of an unshakeable foundation for universal priesthood. The frightened Mennonites sent a delegation to the Governor. And he told them: "You behave, or I will pull out your beards." This historic sentence was spoken in 1939 A.D. It signifies the witches' sabbath of scholastic self-adoration. The Amish Men went home red-faced. The proud ones decided to move to Maryland; the wealthy bowed and are going to stay. The group is split. Its spine is broken. The children are driven off into the high school "system."

The very word "system" is perhaps symptomatic of our short-sightedness. If the schools are allowed to form a "system" by themselves as all the rest of our social entities are allowed to do -- corporations, professions, unions -- we cannot be surprised that they all cease to function as one living universe. Life is no system; it is even less a mere agglomeration of school systems and business systems, all kept apart.

The spiritual history of the Mennonites in Pennsylvania is at an end. Their own governor thought of them only in the terms of an antiquarian. He teased them for daring to break the State's streamlined law, but he was unaware of his own crime: by enforcing the statutory law he broke the laws of Human Society. The task of producing elders is distinct from the task of producing scientists, businessmen, mechanics, doctors, etc. In an organic society, the training factories for these "jobs" are considered mere makeshifts, which of course will always be needed, but which must take their

cue from the laws of biology and mental growth outside themselves. Is it not strange that 2000 years after Christ, 400 years after the Reformation, we should ignore this? Our society does not function because it has thought that the contrast of children and adults is the whole problem. When we degrade the liberal arts college into a prep school for the professions, we have nothing left for educating elders, and without these our country must lose its identity. First Things Come First.

The Amish Men as a closed group are doomed, yet we need not be sentimental about them if we teachers see the signs of the time and take up the torch where they have been forced to drop it. We too may look to the objectives which give meaning to Kindergarten, High School, College, Graduate School, and Adult Education. These objectives transcend every one of them.

5. Expectancy, the White Magic of Education

Let me sum up the lesson of Pennsylvania thus. Education must include the second half of our lives. For this purpose it must create expectancies in the child that will carry it far. We cannot give "the facts" about the second half because it lies in the future, but we must teach how to reach it with wings unbroken. As the Amish farmer waited for a later period when he could be an elder, so the student must be armed against despair because "arrows of longing" shoot him beyond the stage of scepticism.

The famous psychologist Jung, in Zurich, was flooded with American customers of about forty or fifty. They came to him, he thinks, "in search of a soul" because they had been fed for the first

half of their lives with a diet which suits only the second: they have lived on facts, instead of expectancy.

Our colleges today are in the main the outcome of the Enlightenment of 1750, when men were so fascinated with lights, telescopes, clarity -- in short, the brave new world of scientific knowledge -- that enlightenment seemed an absolute value. But we should know better today, when the era of Enlightenment is ending in brain corrosion, and youth is rebelling to protect its own inner darkness. Yet we go on enlightening at all costs. The students are cauterized before they have grown. And at 45 they give out. They have learned too early; so the specific energies needed in the second half of life are not produced.

The light of expectation for a great and miraculous and surprising future is the only enlightenment that is wholesome. Thinking thrives in the cone of dispersion around expectancy. We cannot learn without repetition, but repetition is insupportable except in this cone of dispersion. Great aspirations make us work and toil with an ease that the "objective" teacher fails to impart. The expectations of our youth must throw us over the hurdle of our fortieth year; it is then that we may find pleasure in facts; facts are the reverse of the medal; on the upper side, life is a fiendum.

An education that does not give promises, gives nothing. The declaration of giving facts, and facts only, is a declaration of bankruptcy. Present day teaching, in its false modesty, is a series of farewell parties to life. True education enables man to survive the limitations and follies of his age and to enter the next; for this reason it tries to endow him with resilience, vision resources, dreams --

and of course forebodings and warnings as well.

Now this is not idealism. It is the most cynical approach to teaching; it is right down to brass tacks. I have been the sworn enemy of philosophical idealism all my life, because it separates mind and body, spirit and incarnation. I prefer a child to an idea, and Lincoln to any abstract principle.

Is it not a simple fact that a teacher has before him a person whose life has not yet been lived? I have to respect the truth that boys must outgrow the boy, and the man, and the father, and the citizen, and the ruler and the teacher, in due course, and end up as priests and elders. The age of universal priesthood cannot end in the childishness of all without opening a gap for illegitimate elders -- dictators and quacks. Once we see that society perishes without true elders, the eternal "too late" of teaching and the eternal "too early" of learning may be brought under our control again: the natural egotisms of teaching adult and precocious child will become subservient to their humble task of timing.

Any society, any person should have as much future as past. The antidote to facts are "fienda." The cultural lag represented by teaching, through which society has to assimilate each newcomer, can be balanced by crediting our students with being ancestors of as many generations to come as have gone before. When we look at teaching from the end of man, from the regeneration of the universal order, we shall treat the student as the founder of centuries.

The facts of which we know are so many obstacles to be overcome by proving ourselves stronger than they, yet this strength is not developed by our present way of teaching. It is appalling, for

example, to read what modern so-called scientists recommend in marriage. Cowering down under the "law" that man is a product of his environment, they make even marriage a matter of environment, rather than the task of its complete re-creation. They teach it as facts, not as fienda. But a marriage that merely conforms to facts, that does not overcome obstacles, is not as inspired as it should be. A new nation, a new people, may be created by a real marriage.

Instead of talking of success and happiness -- which are only interesting as long as millions of immigrants represent a continuous belief in a distant future -- this continent must now develop, in every one of its children, a faith of re-immigrating into America. Today our students, as formerly our immigrants, must be imbued with something far ahead of their "selves." The self takes the line of least resistance. The soldier for the future takes the line of greatest resistance, and only he deserves to be taught because he is the guarantor of our longevity. He alone makes the slack chain that spans past and future taut again.

In this way every familiar fact becomes a vision to the educator. As President Tucker has said, "We must revivify the commonplace." For the truism of yesterday is also the truth of tomorrow, and this it can only become when people are longing for it again and again. They must be made to re-immigrate into the commonplace; and they will do so if we can treat it as the promised land. Even arithmetic can be so treated: the child can be brought with eager anticipation to the fact that two and two are four. Perhaps I am too childish and primitive myself; but the fact that two and two are four really and always still stirs my imagination.

Of course the degree of expectancy we have to develop beforehand varies with the subject matter. For physics it is close to zero; for religion it is infinite. That is why religion cannot be "taught" in a classroom: a soul preparing for infinity is allergic to hourly schedules.

Nobody learns Latin today because nobody expects great things any more from reading Latin texts. To help remedy this, I myself have written a Latin textbook that centers upon rousing great expectancies, but of course I cannot find a publisher for it today, when standardized tests and college board examinations take the place of expectancy.

It is even more difficult to inject the future into political science. To teach the commonplace that a state without justice is gangsterism we must go out of our way. A belief in the possible downfall of civilization is indispensable for its successful defense. A man who does not have insomnia from fear of disintegration will fall asleep when we try to teach him integration. Militia Day was essential to the teaching of justice. The students will have to serve as servants of justice; to fear, not for themselves but for humanity, the terrors of social injustice, and to fight in the war against it. Until they do, they will never understand the Constitution of the United States.

Or consider history. It is taught though it merely had been. But people tell stories only because we desire to be immersed in the process of how it all came to pass. We do not wish to learn results but to live with the people through the events: by doing so, we ourselves eventuate once more as immigrants, as Americans, as modern

men. The function of memory is not to be a museum of inert facts but to keep alive the expectations that are waiting to come true. It should be a cradle out of which grow ancestors, fathers, founders, of generations to come. We remember little more than humiliations and scars unless we are trained in weeding our memory. And that is the purpose of history -- it is purified memory as Thucydides said. It should teach us to remember only the things that lie in wait for a denouement in the future.

In this connection it becomes obvious where we fail our students with our curriculum. We answer all kinds of questions for them before they ever have reason to ask the questions themselves, with their whole being. We "introduce" them into everything, in sweeping survey courses and with textbooks that are highly profitable -- to the authors. We feed stomachs that are not hungry. And after having spoiled the masses of freshmen, we allow the seniors to fade out as lonely individuals instead of uniting them, as we should, in a great common spiritual experience.

Freshmen should be allowed to grow up to the vital questions that every generation must answer later in an original but corporate effort. Three levels of life each generation has to rediscover. On the lowest level, we treat everything as though it were smaller than the mind which studies it: we regard the world objectively, mechanically, and try to manipulate it as material. At the second level, we deal with human beings on an equal footing, as our brothers and sisters, as part of our own existence: we try to overcome the barriers and differences which separate us and to reach unanimity with these members of our own social body. On the third level, we are

overpowered by forces far beyond our individual reach -- by devils and angels, famine and revolution, decay or the business cycle: these teach us our own mortality, and lead us to expect death and expect resurrection. Now in the college curriculum the natural sciences represent the level of manipulation, the social sciences the level of unanimity -- of vigor, peace, and cooperation -- and the humanities the level of death and redirection, survival and overcoming. But in current practice I find the natural sciences more religious and mindful of the two higher levels than the two divisions that should represent them in teaching. That is why we have war and decay.

6. This Extant Moment

We have seen that transformation of the happy child into the successful man into the responsible elder is the condition for the survival of the group. This is the social aspect of the timing of education. It is unsolved today. My attempt to tackle it is always pigeonholed in the different school systems or departments. And naturally so, since it has to attack this very separation, and is justified only in the eyes of persons who fear for the survival of the race. This winter I attempted to enlist interest in making the Liberal Arts College the center of timing in a society that has lost this power. Since teachers who have no expectancy cannot give it, we pinned our hope to the perpetuation of our staff seminar at least, but it ends tonight.

I am proud of this failure in so far as it proves that the departmentalization is just as bad as I feared, but of course such pride is worth little. Events march quickly. And may not the

opportunities for private institutions to lead the way pass with the events? Two, three, five years from now my plans will seem ridiculously modest. Last year we were much freer to decide for ourselves. More gigantic plans will have to be carried out, without you and me; carried out they will be. The European catastrophe demands it. So it will be done not by volunteers but under compulsion; not in colleges but camps; not with the pride of spontaneous discovery but with the anguish of emergency.

If we do not succeed in rousing expectation, we not only run the risk of producing playboys and cynics; we shall estrange the minorities, the under-privileged, the unemployed, from our society. In that case we cannot hold out against revolution which uses the refuse of society to destroy it. That is why the CCC is our great potentiality for saving democracy, if anything.

Now leadership for Dartmouth in the CCC also was in sight last winter. I know of course that I as an immigrant am not the man to assume leadership of such a movement. The shepherds of our erring sheep must be Americans. But I think I may act as the shepherd's dog. Since I happen to have pioneered in the rebuilding of industrial and social morale, being the father of the German Work Service, I feel that I can gauge some certain mistakes made here in the CCC. As it stands now it is a surface imitation of European models, unreal in its work program, unreal in its existence among the existing communities, uncertain in its significance for society. Being still a relief measure, it neglects the cardinal principle, "equality of service by all." Only the influx of America's gilded youth into the camps would change all this. The

CCC should use the student's intellect, the farmer's tenacity, and the city worker's skill, to form a complete model of the regenerative forces in our world. Without these standards of living we shall not be able to hold the Western Hemisphere, for we shall not assimilate the lowest stratum of our society.

Well, as the Shepherd's Dog I have barked and barked. Finally I brought 75 educational advisers of the CCC up here for a week. My plans for reconnecting the college, which is national today, with a national service, were known. Yet I managed, by personal invitation, to get just one out of 200 colleagues into one of the sessions. The camp with which our students were associated during the last year closed down. It was the only camp, out of 1700, in which college students did something, at least as far as we know. Probably for that reason bureaucracy clamped down on it. Harvard is going to print a theory of this work.¹ But now is the time for action. Printing theories has become a device for inaction.

A much brighter view opens up if we turn from the social to the individual aspect of timing in education. The possible insights into this new world are astoundingly rich. One day we shall again learn to connect every change in consciousness with a change in our body or environment, and shall thereby be able to cope with the phasing of teaching much more effectively. The various senses -- touch, vision, hearing, smell, taste -- will become the special organs for certain periods of growth. We shall know why a

¹ "Youth and Authority" in American Youth, edited by Thacher Winslow and Frank Davidson, Harvard University Press, 1940. Also my first call for armies of industry (1912) is reprinted in this volume.

boy of 10 should learn by rote, why a boy of 16 must listen to great poetry, why a man of twenty should cultivate his feelings by devoted service in a great cause. Inspiration needs our senses.

The rediscovery of our senses as instruments of the spirit could enable us to outgrow the terrors of our over-visual age. We live far too much on eyesight today; it is dangerous for the cultivation of our feelings. Newsreels and movies destroy our chances for success in the classroom because of their constant erethism of the eye. Homo sapiens is not called sapiens because he sees but because he scents the good life. Common sense is based on smell, not on vision, of the right course. Today we live on common sensations which give a short-lived smell of life. Sensations are perfumed life. The modern hitch-hiker through life pays dearly for sensations because he has lost his smell for the good life.

Well, this program is long. It is far too long for one address. One lecture is no lecture; in human affairs, the single lecture is an abuse. Just as I am wrong in speaking here too late, I am wrong in giving one address. Our modern symposia, forums, conferences, with their five-minute speeches, are caricatures of the life of the mind. As you all know I usually decline to give just one speech. For many reasons it has become futile. Since the spirit is not the speaker's or the listener's copyright, it takes time to come to any understanding. And modern man has invented the diabolical technique of the single lecture, the mass production of short addresses, to prevent any such deeper understanding. Our scientific gatherings are the final hell of the mind. Any good that might possibly be produced tonight can only result from the whole

year that we have gone through together, fighting and hurting each other and seeking each other.

But I will repeat my conviction that the Liberal Arts College can offer the one thing that may save it in a hostile world, a thing that blind men, professional ambition, progressive education do not give: timing. For timing means freedom from inertia, from the Horatian Vis Concilii expers mole ruit sua. The timing of mental life is the real life problem of a thinking community, and it will become more and more so because it must cure teaching of being the cultural lag in a restless world. Timing means burying our social pets and predilections in time; it means changing men from a product of spatial environment back to his proper nature as a temporal being.

I am sure, my beloved enemies from all the departments of space, that a hundred years from now, in Erewhon, every school will put in every classroom exact scales for weighing the load of past and the load of future against each other. Every word spoken to 18-year-old boys will be balanced by hours of service so that the boys will feel and expect simultaneously with hearing and seeing.

And on the scales of Erewhon I should be weighed myself, and myself found wanting. For in our childhood's land no professor of Social Philosophy will dare to get up at the end of May and give a talk on a topic that should be dealt with through many winter evenings over many years. And in Erewhon, your President, your Secretary, and the speakers of the evening, after they had committed this High Treason against the secrets of timing, would all be hung on high gallows and led through the streets of Hanover as a warning to any future infringer upon the greatest treasure of humanity -- the

fullness of its time, presence of its mind. But let me also hope that some two or three years from now the words spoken out of season tonight may ripen into the maturity of timeliness.

Part Two

MATERIALS FOR STAFF COLLOQUIA

Our Singleness of Purpose

The papers that follow chiefly originated in connection with conferences on the future of college and university education, which I conducted in 1938, 1939 and 1940. Few people realize that we have in this subject a new and unlimited field for common thought and work -- in this moment of general uncertainty, it is the key to more than education. In order to suggest the variety and interest of the questions involved, I have appended a full list of the materials used in the conferences. My present purpose is intended to show that all this variety, stretching from grammar to Buddhism, from St. Paul to Albert Schweitzer, from the classroom to the whole of society, is governed by one single aim.

That aim was formulated in Part One as the problem of right timing, or of creating a real present out of the conflict between past and future. This conflict appears in many forms, some of which we have already encountered. The conferences on higher education found it in the battle between the scholar's science and the teacher's conscience. As an incessant challenge to create a synthesis between facts and "fiends," this warfare is the spring of progress and vitality. When I write of education as "the strategy of peace," I do not mean the abolition of conflict, still less the ostrich-pacifism which tries to ignore it: only by admitting it can we overcome it, only when teacher and student frankly meet as "distemporaries" can they hope to become "contemporaries -- to achieve a common present. This problem of linking the generations into the history of the race connects the previous discussion of eldership and regeneration with all the papers to follow.

Part One championed the cause of timing against an academic mentality obsessed with space and pure "objectivity." Part Two will continue the attack, insisting that only passion and suffering on the part of teacher and student can swing them into the rhythm of right timing, whereas usurped objectivity will sterilize them. But while Part One emphasized the neglect of time in general, especially of future time, the next paper will add more specifically that such time-sense as we have is over-developed for small time-spans, while space is habitually thought of in terms of vast stretches to the prejudice of any intimate relation to what is near.

Now this fallacious treatment of time and space imperils our life in four directions:

1. We do not relate education and local environment; the college does not live in a community effectively.
2. We do not induce continuous growth from kindergarten through grammar and high school to college and university.
3. We are losing faith in the organic unity of the four-year college curriculum. Perhaps under the influence of the junior college ideal, we give freshmen a senior's diet, and destroy intellectual fellowship among upper classmen.
4. We teachers while providing successors into our special sciences, leave the succession into our conscience to accident. Thereby we accelerate the vicious process of departmentalization.

The timing of education is as available to us as flying; but we are like the people who saw the Wright Brothers fly for years, and

for years declined to believe that they saw them fly. We cannot create a common present out of the fragments of time and space that divide our students, our schools, our curriculum, our environment, and ourselves, without a unit of faith in the long-range aims of our race, and this the academic mind refuses to believe in -- except at commencement. For, of course, such unity cannot be found among the hundred departments and sciences. It can be restored, if at all, only by appealing to the teacher's conscience in each of us.

As long as people refuse to admit that this unity can or should be created, they naturally will not listen to ways and means. It is to be hoped that even such readers, however, will discover in the following papers that frankness, novelty and energy spring from any life committed to certainty and singleness of purpose. And it may help all readers to understand that purpose if I list four immediate reforms which illustrate its concrete application:

1. Abolition of the introductory courses for freshmen; rousing expectations among freshmen by carefully using the foreign language requirement as the bridge between school and college, and as a cable drawing the student from grammar and logic to literature and religion.
2. A township college for sophomores and juniors in connection with the CCC, with resettlement and reclamation of the soil.
3. Introduction of common work for seniors, in which they lecture to each other on the basis of the preceding two years' experience of real and social life, and a teacher lectures to them in response to their report, thus achieving the

highest synthesis of the four year curriculum.

4. A new method for begetting the next generation of college teachers by having them experience, and attack, the conflict of science and conscience. With the scientific trend as omnipotent as it is, the transformation of scientist into teacher cannot be achieved without a group study of this task and all its implications on the part of each new generation of teachers after they have completed their graduate studies.

In my opinion the fourth point must take precedence over all the others. Most reforms in education are sterile because they take a short cut. They start from the assumption that the students should get this or that, and try to give it to them. But it remains on paper. A reform that does not take time out to beget a different type of teacher may change its labels a thousand times; the teaching will remain just the same. We have to change or be changed before we can change others. It may seem simpler to change the language requirements now, or let the boys dig ditches right away. Such haste would not give results.

Most of the above reforms, and several others, are defended either in Part One or in the papers to follow, but they are not intended as pedantic blueprints. Singleness of purpose frees the mind from petty conformity in small matters. The certainty that to teachers and students is entrusted the restoration of the present, will give us the liberty to discuss the many issues of the day with that power which no science and only a battling conscience provides. The important thing is that the timing of education shall become

the unifying force that integrates the faculty, coordinates the curriculum, rebuilds the community, and directs the schools of the country.

We have to counteract the effects of the catalogue system on our own mind. In the catalogue, physicists and economists and historians are listed as private owners of their field; they become diversified, hence they may decline to discuss matters outside their field. By the "challenge," or as we say, the analogy of timing, we all are unified. Although the physicist is interested in teaching the law of gravity, the historian is bent on narrating the Napoleonic Wars, both must get together to study the question when and why both topics should be taught. The immaterial character of this question places the physicist, the historian and all the rest of us before one single and common purpose, which is to see that the full image and complete life of man shall not perish. And rediscovering our analogous situation, we may rebuild a college that is more than a catalogue.

THE TIME AND SPACE HORIZON OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Our System of Coordinates

The Time and Space Horizon of the College has changed completely during the last 170 years. When and where are we teaching and learning? -- This question has almost opposite answers in 1770 and 1940, as the following confrontation may show:

1770

Time: Anno Domini 1770. Between the Moment of Revelation and the Moment of Salvation of the human race. For the man who looked backward, fifty generations were visible, all of which had collaborated in the coming of the Kingdom. For the man who looked forward, this world had to be done for four more continents, till Judgement Day. Between fifty generations backward and fifty generations forward, the "NOW," the present day, consisted in Christianizing the Indian in the wilderness, as the indispensable link in the chain between past and future.

1940

Time: Set for every class of students and teachers, with a sense of progress beyond the fallacies of previous classes. Looking backward, they smile at the denominational prejudices of the people of 1770, at the compulsory curriculum of 1880, at compulsory chapel in 1900, at the Crusade of 1917, at the boom of 1928. They do not wish to be like the class of 1930 who had no jobs, like the class of 1935 who liked communism, like the class of 1939 for whom the Neutrality Law was passed. The future of each class is in opposition to that of any previous one. The "NOW" consists not in reverence for the past and future, but in hostility to

1770

Space: a tiny, remote spot in the wilderness. The College has a special, local flavor. The work is done with poor apparatus and little technical skill or knowledge.

Result: The College is one great difficulty. It uses sources of two or three thousand years standing, with a mission for Judgement Day. The Communion Table furnishes the daily bread for thought.

1940

anything that might have bothered earlier or is going to bother later men. Each class is treated as the ultimate goal of the College; it is not committed to anything beyond itself. From the rich menu of educational facilities the student orders his favorite dishes, while the teachers wait on him. The time horizon for each class is its own graduation.

Space: the Western World, with the College Town on highways for the automobiles of industrial America, practically a suburb of the great cities. The college is a chain-store in the sixth biggest industry, education. The work is done with marvelous apparatus and a highly trained staff.

Result: The College is one great facility. It uses textbooks of two years* standing, with current events overshadowing everything else. Depression, Fascism, Communism are the daily bread for thought.

The comparison shows the expansion of space and the contraction of time horizons.

It shows that our space has become so universal that the College has no roots in the life of a specific locality. We must rediscover the city "America" right at our doorstep. No provincial environment will ever shut us in again. Amid the vast spaces in which we now live, we need inner solidarity with the community that is close to us. We must root our space axis by local service.

Conversely we must enlarge our time axis to include the greater spans. Today we neglect the connections between schools, between college classes, between generations of college teachers, while our foreground is crowded with hourly and weekly schedules. Four years in college, twelve in school, thirty years for becoming a leader in the community, centuries for transmitting the treasures of the past -- these larger periods should make law for the day, week and term.

We must not meet the young in a fictitious timelessness, called "objectivity." We cannot meet them on the rapids of current events. We must meet them more honestly, as past meeting future, the teacher equipped with the knowledge of all ages, the student filled with the faith of all the centuries to come. In small talk we may speak as contemporaries; not in the classroom. There we should proudly avow that we are "distemporaries," that we represent the rift made constantly by death and birth. Thereby we qualify as bridge-builders between the past and future. Our survival as the faculty of Dartmouth College depends on our restoring the spirit of succession, in the great fight of humankind, as the aim of education.

Our eyes should be opened to the abyss between the generations by the conflict between the class of 1917 and the class of 1940 over the war issue; the old and the young are obviously speaking different languages. If we grasp the fact that there is really an abyss between every two generations, to begin with, and that only creative effort can bridge it with a common present, our academic indifference will give way to careful study of "distemporaneity." For we may conquer this barrier only after we have faced it. Then we can show the young their task as one which differs from ours, yet testifying to one spirit through the ages.

A COMMON VOCABULARY FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Early in Part One it was shown that we live in a present chiefly through speech. We have just seen how an abyss opens between the generations for lack of a common language. Therefore the future of education -- its right timing -- utterly depends on our power to restore our means of communication. As an effort in this direction, the results of examining some key words are here condensed. They center upon the conviction that people cannot have anything in common without having become warm, even hot, over certain mutual experience.

A College: An emotional spirit. This sublime definition was given at Dartmouth by Woodrow Wilson in 1909, in a speech as beautiful, I think, as any of the greatest speeches of antiquity, yet omitted in his printed papers; it fortunately was printed by President Hopkins. Wilson said: "The spirit which lies behind the mask of a college gathering is not an intellectual spirit; it is an emotional spirit. It seems to me that the great power of the world, namely its emotional power, is better expressed in a college gathering than in any other gathering. We speak of this as an age in which mind is monarch, but I take it for granted that, if that is true, mind is one of those modern monarchs who reign but do not govern. As a matter of fact, the world is governed in every generation by a great House of Commons made up by the passions; and we can only see to it that the handsome passions are in the majority." If we merely report other mens' passions "objectively," the handsome passions may become the minority.

A College Boy "represents a very handsome passion to which we should seek to give a greater and greater force as the generations go by -- passions for the things which live, for the things which enlighten, for the things which bind people together in unselfish companies."-- (Wilson)

Emotion: our only protection against cynicism.

Feeling: a direct social relationship best embodied in service, and just as indispensable in a people as science and skill. It alone makes them survive famines, fires, floods, wars, revolutions: any original reaction to danger depends on strong and healthy feelings. Feeling is ostracised today because men do not see that right feeling is the basis of democracy, and that a man who feels rightly is impelled to serve, thereby governing his feelings in the only relevant manner.

The Metaphysics of a College: It is the pride of a Liberal Arts College that it has metaphysics -- a faith in certain ultimate values -- controlling its life. A grist mill may function without metaphysics; we can't. It is our only power by which we band together through the ages to outgrow the selfishness of every one of us, of every part of the curriculum, of every class, and with which we overcome the public opinion of the day by the spirit that survives all opinions. These things entail . . .

Sacrifice: . . . a word better avoided altogether, but a fact as solid as a rock. Without sacrifice, life cannot have or take direction. We can sacrifice our pet ideas, if we do it in time; if it is too late for re-thinking, we have to sacrifice other people. In one

form or another, sacrifice is ineluctable. It is spontaneous redirection.

Peace: a practice of overcoming death, renewed daily.

Life: usually treated as deathless today. That amounts to abolishing the law of cause and effect in society, for social life is caused by death. And only life that survives death is human in the full sense.

War: the attack of life against life, going on incessantly. Nature is in a state of war. Wars happen when men relapse into a state of nature by not creating peace daily. To be at peace means to have survived war.

The Strategy of Peace: education. Its essence is "mental fight," in William Blake's famous phrase. This sounds like a joke when we look at our examination system. There are many reasons for this effeminacy. In colleges one cause is central: the teachers wish to play safe, to be left alone. Otherwise they would have to stand up and fight against their own generation's follies and their students' ignorance.

Mental Suffering: the shock absorber in the deadly fight between the generations. Its repudiation always marks the end and decay of a civilization. Why do we eliminate all heat, all worries, all conflicts in education, and prefer lukewarm discussions of a childish opinion to the tragic conflict between movement and inertia, zeal and laziness, life and death? Why do we think of teachers as "facilities," when they should be great difficulties and obstacles and stumbling stones in the path of the student?

"Sitting Pretty": the veil that keeps any class of men from blinding

themselves together in unselfish companies with their ancestors, their contemporaries, their children. It makes them think that future generations cannot interfere with their own pursuit of happiness.

Happiness: something no generation can pursue at the expense of future generations without ending unhappily themselves. We cannot have it unless we sacrifice it for the survival of those who come after.

Property: everything we have inherited from the past -- our courage, our time, our passions, our knowledge, as well as our material equipment. No generation can keep any kind of property without "handsome" use of it.

Liberty: something we have to redeem before we can enjoy, if it has been abused or jeopardized by former generations. For twenty years isolationists have denied the foundations of our constitution; the Declaration of Independence affirms that these United States were founded "on a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." This respect must be redeemed, if we are to save our constitution, by caring again for the End of Mankind.

Our Duty: regardless of our special functions, teachers and students at Dartmouth are bound by a threefold responsibility: to direct the proper use of present-day property, to respect the inspirations from the past, and to defend the liberties of future generations. Correspondingly, every member of the faculty and every undergraduate has three functions as follows:

An Instructor: a man who shows the living generation how to make a rational scientific use of their faculties.

A Well-Instructed Student: one who conceives such timeless truths as that the earth turns around the sun and that all men are born free.

A Teacher: a man who backs the faith of the living generation with the promises of the past.

A Well-Taught Student: one shot through with the importance of the teachings of Copernicus and Jesus.

An Educator: a man who pleads with the living generation to work for the growth of a future humankind equal to any previous generation in faith, imagination, freedom, creativeness. The goal of education is to encourage the student to outgrow his little, habitual self, to learn that man is the up-hill animal of creation, doing the impossible against all odds.

A Well-Educated Student: one resolved to sponsor in his own person what he has been taught and all that it implies, to the end of time. He has experienced the truth that he can grow beyond anything that he thought possible or that any I.Q. expected from him.

Discipline: at present a form of scientific management, disastrously mis-applied to education; it sets up marks, questionnaires, tests, examinations, as the goal of education, and requires of the teachers an anti-emotional, "objective" attitude in all his spiritual relations with the students. It deliberately leaves the student's soul unshaped and unmoved, abandoning the true goal of education for the sake of a smooth-running educational machine. Now, just as the word "discipline," like "disciple," is derived from the Latin discere, which means "to learn," so the kind of discipline relevant to education is but one tense in the grammar of learning:

the past perfect, which stays with us when we have gone through all the painful preliminary steps. Any transmission of thought passes through three stages:

1. Pre-Personal Learning: imitation. This is the technique by which we learn writing, reading, etc. It is truly objective; the youngster himself is a plastic object in the hands of his teachers, repeating and memorizing as he is bidden.
2. Personal Learning: becoming a disciple, by loyalty to the teacher, by being set aglow with the importance of the facts we learn, the beauty of the plays we read, etc. We are no longer objects but subjects; we are hot with emotion.
3. Post-Personal Learning: becoming disciplined, which means that we ourselves cannot help representing and sponsoring the truth we are shot through with. We are so filled with the values of our civilization that wherever we are we simply exhale and transfer them. Imitation and personal loyalty, objectivity and subjectivity are superseded by the fellowship of the transmitters of civilization. There is also a fourth stage of learning, the creative. It is a secret; let us be silent about it.

Ignoring the second phase of learning, modern education confuses the first and third as if they were identical, with the result that the first, mere imitation, wins out. Imagining that we cannot have independent thinkers without making them dependent first, we get social parrots instead. A boy can graduate today without ever having warmed up to a human intellectual relationship with his teachers. And we expect the mechanical, childish level of imitation to provide the

transfer of civilized values! It can't. The final result is decadence and anarchy. But all sins are mental to start with: the rupture of civilization really takes place in our classrooms. The teacher who refuses to become hot blocks the spiritual current. Civilization must be personified by teachers and students or it dies.

THE CREDENTIALS OF TEACHING

Fourteen Theses on the Meaning of Academic Freedom

1. The freedom of teaching is imperiled today because every revolutionary era redefines the functions of science and education in society.
2. Our current formula for this freedom is the right to teach one's own "subject." But this presupposes the old departmentalized concept of education which is disintegrating society under our very eyes. The idea that every teacher has his isolated territorial sovereignty, beyond which he has no official concern, must become anathema today. The new concept of education implies a different kind of academic freedom.
3. To defend this freedom as a Civil Liberty, like freedom of speech, freedom of thought, or religious tolerance, is equally mistaken. Teaching is not merely thinking, because it is communication. It is not merely speaking, because it is an office to which youth is exposed by compulsion. It is not merely spreading the latest news or inventions of opinions, because it goes on in institutions which embody centuries of tradition, whereas new opinions shift rapidly.
4. True freedom of teaching did not exist in pagan times. The "guru" or teacher was wholly subject to the traditions and rulers of his tribe or city; his office was simply to initiate the younger generation into a pre-existent order. Later, Greek philosophers broke away from their cities, it is true, but as we shall see under 11 they were not even good pagans as a result. In our colleges today we use mainly pagan sources, which ruin our

political, literary, religious and social thinking because they are not used within a Christian environment. The Greeks deny the Freedom of teaching, degrade marriage, despise labor, divide society into castes, confuse morals, law and science, and reject the equality of all men as well as the spirit that can reconcile us in peace. Why? Because they deny a real future, and think only in terms of repeating the past.

5. Freedom of teaching is a gift of the Christian era. It is based on the Christian assumption that both teacher and student struggle and suffer for a common destiny of mankind which is clearly distinguishable from the past. Paul, John, Vineentius of Lerinum, and practically every Christian thinker, including Nietzsche, proclaim that our faith is in permanent progress and growth with the help of our children and grandchildren.
6. The founder of our freedom was Paul the Apostle; he advocated the teacher's right to meet the needs of "new" times; he discovered that the sheer lapse of time requires change in the content of education. His authority, Jesus, and his administration, the Church, did not prevent him from altering his terms for the Gentiles, to bridge the chasm between the generations. This meant that he was no longer a "garu," the slave of older generations. And of course he was not the slave of the younger generation -- that is the converse heresy of some "progressive" educators. As a teacher he was free because he stood between the generations.
7. Freedom is given to the teacher, in our Era, that he may move between the ages, recalling each into the phylogenetic history of the race. He must call to order the aged, the adult and the

young with the "Strategy of peace" which preserves the continuity of our march into the future. He has to fight for the future against the past, and for the past against the future, depending on where the danger of abuse is greatest at any given time.

8. The nature of academic freedom also reveals its limits. The teacher stands between the generations, not above them. His credentials depend on his relation to them -- to the elders, like the old alumni who represent the traditions of the institution, to the ruling generation, represented by the administration, and to the students. Today, we teachers are apt to admit only grudgingly that we have to thank the administration for business management without which even the best of us could not teach. And we forget altogether that we depend upon authority, the spiritual power which sponsors us in society and guarantees that our teaching is worthwhile: without it we should teach in vain, for the public would ignore our existence. That is the difference between teaching at Dartmouth and talking on a soap box; in the first case, the authority of a long past speaks through us.¹
9. Before we start teaching, we have bowed to the division of labor within a group: we have accepted the existence of spiritual authority, material power, and youthful promise, as well as our own intellectual ability. Therefore we simply cease to be teachers when we advocate revolution, anarchy, decadence or war, for these social diseases attack the fourfold division

¹ See above, pp. 5ff.

of labor on which teaching depends. When a teacher goes to war, he does so because the time for teaching is finished: now is the time to fight. When a teacher rebels against injustice, he does so as a man, as one of the people, and not as a teacher; the time has come not to teach the truth but to suffer for the truth. When he abandons teaching in despair, he does so because it is too late for teaching: men have not listened when there was time; they are degenerates.

10. Teaching is done as a medicine against revolution, anarchy, decadence and war. These ills disintegrate the body politic because they prove that people of different ages cannot establish peaceful relations between themselves. The great dangers of our time are due to loss of belief in the unity of spirit that assigns different functions to different people, yet preserves unanimity. The whole freedom of teaching is given us only for the sake of making peace between different ages who are all headed in the same direction. Therefore, we lose our freedom unless we teach in unity of spirit with the right authority and right power and right future. This tribune belief binds teaching to society. Paul expressed it when he said, "Scio cui, credidi -- I know in whom I have put my faith."
11. Today we teach in our colleges a mild form of Platonism without its necessary corollary: the Old and New Testament. Unlike Paul, the Greek teacher never recognized that his thought could be under authority, protected by power and yet free. Greek

philosophers broke away from the spirit of their native city and became heroes in their own right. They even proclaimed that philosophers themselves should become kings. That is blasphemy. Paul had a king; he taught within a city, the New City; yet he was sovereign as a teacher because he recalled each generation into the life of the whole human race.

12. As long as Paul was the authority for all teachers in Christendom we could afford to introduce the Greek philosophers into our classrooms. They were only books on our shelves; the house was not theirs but Paul's, built by three thousand years of service to the living God who speaks from generation to generation, yet is one from eternity to eternity. So the house could never be totally divided against itself, and the philosopher's academic disregard for the City and the peace between the generations could be ignored. But as soon as these gentlemen forget their place on the bookshelves and turn our schools actually into pagan institutions, they undermine the teachers anchor ground in society.
13. That is the case today, and the people naturally turn against this abuse of liberty. They instinctively refuse to become the philosopher's guinea pigs. We live in one City because we suffer and die for each other and because our Elders have done so for us. Philosophy does not found cities.
14. The wrong Platonism is the peril of our educated classes much as a wrong Aristotelianism led to the downfall of the Middle Ages. We cannot overcome the crisis of our civilization unless we defeat academic uprootedness, with its intellectual arrogance, and restore reverences for the mysterious process by which the sequence of generations builds up one body of mankind.

IMMIGRATION WITHOUT END

From a speech to the Educational Advisers of the Civil Conservation Corps in the First Corps Area, at their annual conference held at Dartmouth, May 23, 1940. (See above, pp. 24ff, 28ff.)

If we recognize our common past and perceive a common future, it is easy to deduce our daily practice within the American Era. Then education will naturally take its cue from the relations between America's past, future, and present.

The common past is immigration. Neither the Daughters of the Revolution nor the Pilgrim Fathers nor the frontiersmen nor the Gentlemen from Virginia are the whole past. Our common denominator is the fact that we are all immigrants. And those among us who try to forget it destroy the foundation of American life, for only as fellow immigrants do we find access to every layer of our society, to its minorities of all descriptions.

Our common future is a continent without nationalism rampant, a New York for the children of Noah. The very word "nation" is preposterous when used for America. Yet the nearer we come to the catastrophe of European nationalism in 1940, the more we find America skidding into this usage. When the United States considers itself a mere nation, the Bolnazism of Hitler and Stalin that has annihilated the nations from Finland to Belgium may defeat us morally. As a nation, lying between Broadway and Hollywood, America may disintegrate.

But everybody knows and feels that this reckoning of Hitler is false. America's destiny is hemispherical. She is a world, not a nation. She integrates when she stretches herself from the North Pole to the Straits of Magellan. "America must remain big."

During the last two hundred years our immigrants represented the unlimited future of the Americas. For every man pushing West toward the frontier, hundreds of newcomers entered New York harbor. The thinly populated continent felt a giant's strength because an endless stream of immigrants backed up the older generations who had first occupied the land.

That is gone now. But the New World can regain its old unbounded courage if it implants re-immigration into the life of every child. This should become our common present activity, arising out of our past and pointing to our future. From naive membership in one minority, from being natives of one state, we all must re-immigrate into the New World that lies beyond nationalism. This process must shape our whole thinking and doing: it is our way of believing in Man's soul, his power to grow and to change. When we let it go, the minorities cluster around their separate interests and the melting pot loses its magic.

The American Era will last, the United States of America will last, through all the inevitable changes in politics and economics, as long as we make Immigration Without End the guiding star in the American flag. As long as courageous re-immigration rediscovers America, this Hemisphere may feel safe.

But safety is not the last word in life. We must also know that we are making a real contribution to Europe and Asia. And so we can. For those two worlds have given up the faith in man's power to be transformed personally, to become a person in the process of taking responsibility.

The early Christians emigrated from this world, as martyrs and monks. Racists and nationalists, natural men who rest on their first birth, hush up their migrations and get stuck in an accidental environment and a particular nationality. We are not deserters of this world. We are not part of this world. We immigrate into this world. The boundless hope that man is neither a class product nor a race product, that he is not the slave of his environment but creates a new one day by day, has led the millions of immigrants to these shores. This is the center of our creed, and it is an indispensable tenet in the creed of all mankind. So we indeed defend the freedom of humanity. The word spoken in 1776 by a young college graduate remains true: "The worst that can happen is to fall on the last bleak mountain of America, and he who dies there, in defense of the injured rights of mankind, is happier than his conqueror."

The Civilian Conservation Corps keeps up the "immigrability" of this continent, and the boys in your camps, by their service, acquire the title of citizens of a world that is a New World and shall be so treated by many generations to come. It has been and must ever be the privilege of educators and students to ensoul this American way of life, as a courageous act by which every young man has initiated into the Great American Society of the Future.

List of Papers used in the Richard Cabot Lectures on the Future of the University in Cambridge, Mass., 1938-1939, and in the Professional Seminar at Dartmouth College in 1939-1940.

A. The Science of Bodies and the Appeal to Somebody

1. Primary and Secondary Life
2. The Luther of Physics: Albert Einstein.
3. Progress of Vicious Circle?
4. The Vicious Circle of the Classics: 1450 to 1929 (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff)
5. The Cycle of Biblical Criticism 1770-1906 (Albert Schweitzer)
6. The First Independent Landscape, August 2, 1473
7. Background "Nature" against Foreground "Somebody"

B. A Classic and a Founder. Contributions to the Philosophy of the Sciences

I. The Scientific Grammar of Michael Faraday's Diaries

1. The Grammar of his Diary
2. The Three Dimensions of Time

II. The Tripartition in the Life of Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493-1541)

1. Humanism versus Natural Science
2. Antecedents
3. Theophrastus becomes Paracelsus
4. After-life
5. a. 1526 and 1540. Two Portraits
b. The Law of Twofold Beginning
6. The Tripartition of the Good Life
7. Scientific Bad Humor (Bibliographical Confessions)

III. Common Denominator for Classic and Founder

1. External Diversity
2. Internal Identity

C. Our Means of Resistance

1. Nine Theses
2. Our system of Coordinates in Time and Space for a College (see above, p. 39)
3. Four demands.

D. Our Stand against the Common Fallacies about Teaching (The Power to Insist.

E. On the De Magistro of St. Augustine

1. Augustine's Effect on Sociology
2. Former Evaluations of De Magistro
3. Repentance for a Social Situation: the Distemporaneity of Teacher and Student
4. The Bibliographical Place of De Magistro

- F. The Credentials of Teaching and the Apostle of Teaching
 - 1. Confusion and Authority
 - 2. The Mystical Basis of Science
 - 3. The Discoverer of the Freedom of Teaching
 - 4. St. Paul's Function in the Future: The Logic of Teaching in a Changing Society
 - 5. Whose Contemporary is the Teacher?
- G. Articulated Speech
 - 1. Our Four Responsibilities in Speaking
 - 2. Grammar versus Logic or Plenitude versus Reductionism
- H. Language, Logic, Literature, Diagnosis and Redirection of Teaching
 - 1. Language as Nature
 - 2. Language as Social Organizer
 - 3. Sentence and Act
 - 4. Their Four Possible Combinations
 - 5. Their Timing
- I. The Tendency of History by Henry Adams
- J. Woodrow Wilson's Legacy as College President
- K. Buddha, Laotzu, Abraham, Jesus. A Diagnosis of Education and Redirection of the Mind
- L. Education in the Third Phase of the Industrial Era.
Is Education Applied Science or Representative of Society?
 - 1. When and Where versus Time and Space
 - 2. Modern Man, Inc.
 - 3. Timeless Man
 - 4. The Theological Residue in Science
 - 5. Timely Education, or Woodrow Wilson at Dartmouth
 - 6. The Staff of a College
- M. In Defense of the Grammatical Method
 - 1. The Unity of Catholic, Protestant, and Free thinker in Social Research
 - 2. Social Dangers Compel us to Speak Our Mind
 - 3. Society Lives by Speech, Dies Without Speech
 - 4. The Aprioris of Theology and Physics
 - 5. The Metanomics of Society, or Teaching
 - 6. The March of Science
 - 7. Graphic Survey

THE CREDENTIALS OF TEACHING

THE FREEDOM OF TEACHING AND CHRISTIANITY

BY

EUGEN ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY

THE CREDENTIALS OF TEACHING

SURVEY

1. Confusion of Authority.
2. The Mystical basis of science.
3. The unpopularity of Paul the Apostle.
4. The discoverer of the freedom of teaching.
5. Peter for unity, Paul for universality. 200-950 A.D.
6. Paul the Model of Emperors: the Apostolic Majesty teaches the nations. 950-1050.
7. Paul helps Peter: the Pope becomes universal through Paul. 1050-1122.
8. Paul Aristotelised: 1140-1517.
9. Paul isolated: the Reformation.
10. Paul Platonised: Humanism. 1450-1900.
11. Peter and Paul eclipsed by the good Samaritan; Communism, Fascism. The Johannean Age.
12. Paul's function in the future: The logic of teaching, in a changing society. Whose contemporary is the teacher?

1.

The Freedom of Teaching and Christianity

Theses

1. Our schools are founded on a discovery made by Paul the Apostle.
2. The fact that in the schools and academies and universities of today a mild form of Platonism usually prevails (or Kantianism or Cartesianism or Aristotelism), does not transform these schools into Platonic or Cartesian or Kantian institutions. The content of the teaching must not be confused with the basic character of the institution in which this is taught.
3. Our schools are not a humanistic; nor a Greek or Latin heritage, but Paulinian in spirit, origin and principle.
4. Against this fact all the powers of denial are mobilised today, and the more scholarly the group, the more violent the denial.
5. Paul, le docteur des docteurs for 1500 years, and protected by their discipleship against his unpopularity among the masses, is today exposed to a concerted attack from Christian and non-Christian teachers.
6. After 400 years of Platonism as the main subject matter within our Paulinian school-system, the ejecting and rejecting of Paul as the cornerstone of the whole system is aimed at.
7. The means of attack against Paul are manifold. We shall have to register two main lines of attack, the Christian or theological, and the philosophical or humanistic.

Journal of the

could not be said that its existence is completely for

through the medium of the "National Association of Manufacturers" and the "National Association of Manufacturers of the United States".

and that had never been done before--as a basis of teaching.

... ..

of Jews. In this way he became the first Christian teacher.

8. During the era of ~~xx~~ "the Life of Jesus", id est the whole nineteenth century, liberal theology played up Jesus himself against Paul. They transformed Jesus into a teacher. And when this is achieved, Paul automatically loses his rank as the first Christian teacher, and falls back into second line. The Liberals concentrate on the Sermon on the Mount. They overlook the fact that Jesus did not teach Christians, that Paul was the first to teach in the Church, that Paul did not think of Jesus as his teacher but as his lord, saviour, messiah, and that Jesus was a failure as a Jewish teacher so that he might become a success as the founder of the Church.
9. The philosophers and humanists replaced Jesus by Socrates, and Paul by Plato. Jesus and Paul become duplicates of the two Greeks. This is the Erasmus-tradition. And this tradition dominates the most remote departments, far away from the field of classical studies. Its subtle fiction, therefore, is not easily noticed. And its partisan origin is completely forgotten.
10. The truth of the matter is that Paul destroyed the Platonic idea of a school, and the school-systems of antiquity.
11. Paul did not teach the words of his master. He nearly never quoted him.
12. Paul taught the Church to accept the fact of a changing world--and that had never been done before--as a basis of teaching.
13. Paul taught the life and cross of Jesus, and lived the teachings of Jesus. In this way he became the first Christian teacher.

He established the special ethics of a teacher who because he must change his teachings, rarely can change his life, whereas the politician must change his life but rarely can change his teachings.

14. Paul is the only Christian, except Jesus himself, who has been forecast in the Old Testament. Paul has made real what the last word in the Old Testament (Malachi iii, 24) has prayed for. He has put the teacher between the powers that be and the future generations, as the independent power neither subservient to the vested interests of the parent generation nor sophistically flattering the young.
15. Paul has created the one new function which made possible spiritual peace between distemporaries and holders of different aspects of the truth, because of the evolutionary march of ~~the~~ the times. Paul has made possible what we moderns call evolution, that is, continuity of progress, change with honour, growth of truth.
16. The freedom of teaching is imperilled today because the foundation of its existence is ignored.
17. This danger has been evident in every revolution, because any revolution must redefine the function of science and of teaching in relation to society. However, ~~the~~ every revolution has had to recognize the validity of the Paulinian principles, finally.
18. The freedom of teaching is especially imperilled today because it is not differentiated from the freedom of speech and the freedom of thought. It is treated as their derivative, whereas they are

derivatives of the freedom of teaching, and will not be preserved when the freedom of teaching is treated as an academic affair.

19. Most people are inclined to believe that freedom of thought, freedom of the press, religious tolerance and Civil Liberties include freedom of teaching. This is not true.
20. The Credentials of Teaching, or the conviction that a teacher in his teaching must be free, is based on a special situation in the Christian era, on the relation between teacher, society and student.
21. It is presupposed that both teacher and student struggle for a common future which is distinguishable from the past.
22. Teaching is not merely "thinking" because it is communication. Teaching is not merely "speaking" because it is an office to which youth is exposed willy nilly. Teaching is not merely publishing or printing news and opinions because it goes on in institutions of centennial authority, whereas news and opinions shift rapidly.
23. The professional teacher bases his existence on three social facts: his ableness, the authority of an institution, the material power of an administration.
24. Where all three functions happen to be united in one person who teaches, publicises, and manages his school all by himself, this simply means that he combines three qualities in one person, and these qualities still remain separable as authority, manage-

ment and teaching. A man may teach the most important thing in the world: if the public does not believe in its importance or does not know it, he cannot come into his own. It is authority that makes things important. Again, a man may be the best teacher; if he cannot manage the worldly affairs connected with a school (money, localities, etc.) his teaching cannot materialize.

25. Hence, teaching depends: 1) on spiritual authority which guarantees to the ignorant world that here is important teaching; 2) on means and power that make teaching possible; 3) on the able-mindedness of the teacher.

26. The Credentials of Teaching are not granted in the abstract to an "individual" by "society", but they are meted out in a concrete situation as granted by authority, made possible by administration, and realized by a staff, who get their name "faculty" from their ability to teach.

27. Since "society" is a mere abstraction which never reaches down to the individual teacher, the teacher exists only as a member of a staff or a faculty or a profession to whom authorities and powers give opportunities. Hence, the fight for the liberty of teaching goes on between these three ~~xxxxxx~~ processes. It must be proved to authority and to material powers that their very existence is bound up with the freedom of the teacher.

28. The existence of authority and power is an elementary data, as elementary as the teaching process. A "speaker" or a "thinker"

could advocate and think anarchy. A teacher ceases to be a teacher when he does so. Because teaching rests on the assumption that every generation must be recalled into the phylogenetic history of the race through education. By this assumption, the mental process is already put in the historical and social setting between the times and ages of authorities and powers.

29. Freedom, for the teacher, is based on his standing between the ages. He has to fight for the future against the past, and for the past against the future, depending on where in any given situation the danger of abuse is greatest. He depends on a plurality of authorities and powers.
30. Freedom is given to the teacher because he has to operate, as much as a surgeon, on abuses between the ages.
31. Paul the Apostle is the first man who discovered the change in the content of teaching necessitated merely by the lapse of time. He advocated freedom to meet the situation of "new" times. He experienced that neither authority nor administration, but the teacher himself, is sovereign for the changes in teaching following from lapse of time, and from misunderstandings between old and young people.
32. No Greek head of a school ever faced this dilemma of the teacher being under authority, protected by administration, and yet free. The Greek heads of schools in philosophy left the city and became heroes in their own right. They founded an eranos (i.e., an intellectual city, a republic of scholars). Whereas the teacher teaches

within the New City; he is a citizen and at the same time a teacher. Paul has a king, yet is sovereign as a teacher.

33. The content of the teachings of Plato or Aristotle or any other ancient philosopher has been taught in the Occident of the last thousand years in a Paulinian institution. The Aristotelism of Thomas or the Platonism of the moderns is a foreground philosophy which is enacted on a stage of free teaching sponsored by Paul.
34. Whenever these foreground "isms" forget their dependance on the community spirit guaranteed by Paul, and turn our schools into merely academic institutions, they undermine the teacher's anchorage in society. This is the case today again! Platonism in many forms (Scientism, abstract idealism, positivism, liberalism) no longer is envisaged as a revival of Greek thought within a Christian institution. And immediately we see the mob turning against such an understandable academism. The teacher's oath is the rational answer to the wrong theory of teaching which the teachers themselves largely hold.
35. A wrong Platonism is the danger of the educated classes today, as much as a wrong Aristotelism led to the downfall of the Scholasticists.
36. Wrong is a Platonism or any intellectual and scientific arrogance by which the place of teaching between the generations within one body of humankind is ignored either in theory or in practice. Wrong is an academic spirit which does not claim freedom of teaching only for the sake of making peace between different ages all heading for the same future. Wrong is a Platonism which threatens

society with being governed by philosophers. And it is Paul the Apostle who deposed the philosopher's crown as the teacher's contribution to the peace of humankind. This is the meaning of his motto: Scio cui credidi.

6.

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THE CREDENTIALS OF TEACHING
SURVEY

Note: (* means that the section is read tonight).

*1. Confusion of Authority.

2. The Mystical basis of science (quotation from it is read)

*3. The unpopularity of Paul the Apostle.

*4. The discoverer of the freedom of teaching.

5. Peter for unity, Paul for universality. 200-950 A. D.

6. Paul the Model of Emperors: The Apostolic Majesty teaches the nations. 950-1050.

7. Paul helps Peter: the Pope becomes universal through Paul. 1050-1122

8. Paul aristotelised 1140-1517.

9. Paul isolated: The Reformation.

10. Paul Platonised: Humanism 1450-1900.

11. Peter and Paul eclipsed by the good Samaritan; Communism, Fascism.
The Johannean Age.

12. Paul's function in the future: The logic of teaching, in a changing society. Whose contemporary is the teacher?

Theses:

1. The freedom of teaching is imperilled today as in every revolutionary period because every revolution redefines the function of science and of teaching in society.

2. The freedom of teaching is not defended satisfactorily by defending the freedom of speech or the freedom of thought.

2.

3. Most people are inclined to believe that freedom of thought, freedom of the press, religious tolerance and Civil Liberties include freedom of teaching. This is not true.
4. The Credentials of teaching or the conviction that a teacher, in his teaching, must be free, is based on a special situation in the Christian Era, on the relation between teacher, society, and student.
5. It is presupposed that both teacher and student struggle for a common future which is distinguishable from the past.
6. Teaching is not merely 'thinking' because it is communication. Teaching is not merely 'speaking' because it is an office to whom youth is exposed willy nilly. Teaching is not merely publishing or printing news and opinions because it goes on in institutions of centennial authority whereas news and opinions shift rapidly.
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17. The content of the teachings of Plato or Aristotle or any other ancient philosopher was taught in the Occident of the last thousand years in a

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18. Whenever these foreground "isms" forget their dependance on the community spirit guaranteed by Paul, and turn our schools into merely academic institutions, they undermine the teacher's anchorage in society. This is the case today again: Platonism in many forms (Scientism, abstract idealism, positivism, liberalism) no longer is envisualised as a revival of Greek thought within a Christian institution. And immediately we see the mob turning against such an ununderstandable academism. The teacher's oath is the rational answer to the wrong theory of teaching which the teachers themselves largely hold.
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TIME AND SPACE IN EDUCATION

A Method for Determining the Process of Integration for an Industrial Society.

- I. Introduction. Our own time and place: the third stage of the industrial revolution, probability of dissent. Causes of dissent, especially resentment and the lag created thereby.

No fruitful discussion without common time and place. Hence, limitations of our approach to those who accept these two presuppositions: that the third stage of industry is now upon us; that it has not found expression in education. Education was pre-industrial in the first phase of industrial revolution; it aped the first industrial phase when industry was in its second phase. 1830-1890; 1890-1929.

After 1929, the educational demands nowhere can be based on any pre-industrial tradition.

Tucker, Woodrow Wilson. Yale, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton. The gap as a potentiality before Dartmouth.

II. Analysis.

1. The central concepts of modern technics about time and space, (a) in science (b) in production (c) in popular analogies applied to education and politics.
2. Time as the puzzle in modern literature and philosophy. (Proust, Bergson, etc.) New forms of research. The wide angle lense and the microscopical approach. The right of microscopical judgment.
3. The attacks on language: language as a growing organism threatened by "writers" and propaganda. This is the turning point for education.
4. The new boundary against the concepts of the enlightenment: nature, mechanism, reason, body and mind, for the educator.

- III. Direction and means of resistance. The slogan 'integration'. The basic ills behind disintegration. The departmentalisation of these ills versus their universal character, with special reference to decadence and war. The Time and Space axes of social life.

- IV. Grammatical Philosophy. A basic study of the new organon for social research. Articulated speech. The wrong treatment of the languages in our curriculum before college. The introductory courses. The function of the intellectual group in social tradition. Our four-year-calendar versus the one-year-calendar and its fourfold repetition. Peace in an industrial society impossible without the daily restoration of language.

Appendix. The supreme values of education are, of course, dependent on the great traditions of humanity. In our plan, the discussion of the change in tradition, from a purely Western to a universal, has not been earmarked. When time and interest are available, the new situation of America within the Eastern and Western traditions, between Judaism, Christianity, Hindoo and Chinese wisdom, could be discussed. This would supplement our discussion of our specific time problems by a discussion of America's problem as determined by its new geographical situation after 1914-1939.

See, Economic and Social Conditions in France During the 18th Century

Spann, The History of Economics: 29-52

Price, A Short History of English Commerce & Industry: 121-183

Cunningham, Politics and Economics: 17-73

- Oct. 2 *Gide and Rist, History of Economic Doctrine: 5-26
- Oct. 4 *Smith, The Wealth of Nations, vol. II: 156-181
- Oct. 7 *Gide and Rist, History of Economic Doctrine: 26-45

Other References

Scott, The Development of Economics: 27-57

Munroe, Early Economic Thought: 350-375, 340-348

Turgot, Reflexions on the Formation and Distribution of Riches

Cannan, A Review of Economic Theory: 45-61

Bonar, Philosophy and Political Economy: 130-145

Cossa, Introduction to the Study of Political Economy: 257-284

Spann, The History of Economics: 53-58, 75-96

MacLeod, History of Economics: 41-51, 58-68

Becker, The Heavenly City of the 18th Century Philosophers

Gray, Development of Economic Doctrine: 96-118

II. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE

Oct. 9 Lecture

- *Read biography of Adam Smith: Encyclopaedia of Britannica, vol. 20: 824-6, Adam Smith or Palgrave, Dictionary of Political Economy, Adam Smith, vol. 3: 412-424, or a portion of Hirst: Adam Smith Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 53: 3-10

Other Biographical References

Price, A Short History of English Commerce & Industry: 228-243

McPherson, Adam Smith

Rae, Life of Adam Smith

Thorold Rogers edition of Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations: Introduction

Playfair edition of Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, vol. I: XII-XXXVI

- Oct. 11 *Smith, The Wealth of Nations, vol. I: 1-25
- Oct. 14 *Smith, The Wealth of Nations, vol. I: 26-56
- Oct. 16 Lecture
- *Smith, The Wealth of Nations, vol. I: 294-301
- Oct. 18 *Smith, The Wealth of Nations, vol. I: 250-270, 282-294
- Oct. 21 *Smith, The Wealth of Nations, vol. I: 397-422, 431-441