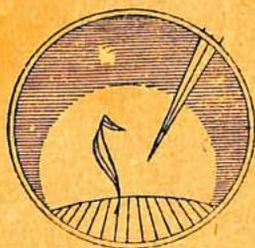


RUDOLF STEINER

Recollections by Some
of his Pupils



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RUDOLF STEINER IN 1920

An etching by the late Professor Karl Bauer, Munich, from a sketch made during a lecture.

By courtesy of Hans Kühn, Arlesheim.

RUDOLF STEINER

Recollections by Some of his Pupils

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Edited by ARNOLD FREEMAN and CHARLES WATERMAN

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FOREWORD

THE German original of this symposium was planned and edited by Maria Josepha Krück von Poturzyn, and we should like to offer her our warm thanks for her unfailing help in arranging for the English translation. In her own foreword to the German edition, she wrote:

"Since 1925, when Rudolf Steiner left the physical plane, a whole new generation has grown up. Many of his first pupils, who were able to work with him and under his eyes in the various fields of anthroposophical activity, are no longer with us. The newcomers have been rightly anxious that a human picture of the great teacher should be called to life from the individual memories and experiences of those who knew him, and we are grateful for all the books which have tried to do this and have been published in the course of years.

"The essential aim of the present collection has been to bring together pupils of Dr. Steiner from the widest possible range of callings who have not yet recorded their recollections of him, and have played an active part in carrying forward the impulses he gave for the renewal of culture and civilisation. Their personal memories are set down here in contributions which follow no fixed pattern and are intended to be no more than sketches, for the comprehensive picture, which the younger generation asks for, is something that no single person ever saw."

*

For us, the English editors, it remains only to express our gratitude to all the friends who undertook the exacting work of translation. Our thanks are due also to the German publishers and the German contributors for their ready assent to the project, and to the contributors with command of English for their help in revising certain chapters.

By issuing the English volume in this form, in place of an ordinary *Golden Blade*, we are able to offer it at a considerably lower price than would have been possible otherwise. We hope to resume normal publication of the *Golden Blade* next year.

November, 1957.

A. F.
C. W.

RUDOLF STEINER IN ENGLAND

George Adams

THE spiritual life of England and the English-speaking world played an important part in Rudolf Steiner's life-work. This was a natural outcome of his allotted task in relation to the Spirit of the Time. For in the phase of history beginning in the 15th century A.D. (known as the Fifth post-Atlantean Epoch) the Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Germanic peoples became the bearers of the forward trend in human evolution, even as the Greek and Latin peoples had been in the preceding epoch. The spiritual gifts of these more Northern peoples are revealed in two more or less complementary directions, finding their characteristic expression hitherto where the English and the German languages are spoken. Precisely inasmuch as he was so deeply rooted in the cultural heritage of the German-speaking people among whom he was born, and in particular of his Austrian homeland, Rudolf Steiner's world-wide mission stood in the midst of this polarity. Thus in the very first of his philosophic works, his introductions to the scientific writings of Goethe, he enters into the conscious and unconscious wrestlings of the great German poet with the world-outlook which through the English scientists and thinkers—Bacon, Newton and Locke before Goethe's time and Darwin shortly after—has so greatly influenced the modern world.

Yet in an even wider compass, far beyond theoretical and scientific questions, Rudolf Steiner had a deep inner connection with the spiritual sources that underlie the native trend of English life and thought. Among his closest friends during his early years in Vienna were men and women such as Friedrich Eckstein and Marie Lang, who throughout their lives were in close contact with the English-speaking world and drew many of their leading inspirations from it. Indeed, it was in those early years that the foundations were laid for the decisive step he was to take fifteen years later, when to the utter amazement of the scholarly and literary circles among whom he lived and moved in Berlin, he suddenly became a leading figure in the Theosophical Society. Nourished though it was to a large extent from Oriental sources, the Theosophical Society derived its character from the mental outlook and spiritual aspirations of the American and English people among whom it was founded. In his Autobiography Dr. Steiner relates how among the English-speaking members of this Society, though he himself could not have worked in their style, he found "a spiritual focus from which one could worthily take one's start if one was deeply and truly concerned for the spread of spiritual knowledge." And in a lecture where he gives an outline of his

early life, he tells how in Vienna in the 1880's he was among the first to acquire and pass on to others the booklet which became one of the classics of the theosophical movement, *Light on the Path*, written down by Mabel Collins.

In Rudolf Steiner's open heart and comprehensive mind every shade of the spiritual wrestlings of his time was living. His clear-thinking and yet heartfelt participation in all contemporary trends came to life again in his personal relation to his pupils, who found their way to him from every conceivable direction in the manifold and often contradictory life of our time. He would encourage every one of us along his chosen path, no matter how great the seeming contradictions in the advices he gave to one individual or another. Each of us therefore will have amazingly diverse things to relate from our intercourse with him. This aspect of his being, too—reflected however imperfectly in those who became his pupils—reveals the true picture of mankind in modern time. I mean not only what we have to tell about him, but what we ourselves became, quickened by our encounter with him. The picture of Man for which the present age, through all mistakes and failings, is sincerely striving is made manifest in the way Rudolf Steiner entered into the inmost ideals and individual destinies of every one of his disciples.

*

I write these words because the purpose of this book is that those who knew Rudolf Steiner in earthly life should tell of their experiences with him. Many among his English friends who may have known him better than I did, and would have had quite other things to relate, have followed him into the spiritual world. I for my part, to tell especially of my first meeting with him, must relate some of the circumstances which led up to this. Like Rudolf Steiner himself, I was born, though not of Slavonic blood, in the Slavonic East of Europe. I think I owe to this the mobility in point of language which enabled me as a young man to become his interpreter. The speaking and hearing of several languages side by side is—or at least was at that time—part of the social structure of those countries on the Eastern fringe of Middle Europe; it belongs to the very air one breathes, the etheric atmosphere of the landscape. My father, born in Australia of German and English immigrants, had come back to Europe shortly before my birth and was among the pioneers—mostly Irish Canadians and Poles in those early years—of the oil industry in the Carpathian foothills where we lived. It was a part of Poland (now incorporated in Soviet Russia as the "Western Ukraine") belonging still at that time to the old Hapsburg monarchy; therefore I also felt the touch, though in a far outlying province, of the pervasive and rather fascinating qualities of Rudolf Steiner's Austrian home country. My own mother-tongue was English, and so was my upbringing. I had British citizenship by virtue of my father's birthplace.

At the outbreak of the first World War I was an undergraduate at Cambridge. That was the moment when I first heard of Rudolf Steiner. During an unforgettable holiday at a lonely spot on the Suffolk coast I read right through his *Outline of Occult Science*. The book impressed me deeply. Unlike some other theosophical works, it made no attempt to come to terms with scientific orthodoxy, but the author did at every point state clearly and in a scientific spirit the ground on which he stood. You knew where you were; you felt the writer understood and shared the scientific outlook. As to its spiritual content—it was the English edition, with that impressive portrait where he is sitting with his hands half-folded looking straight at you and yet far beyond—it made a "timeless" impression on me. I cannot remember thinking, "When did the author live, or is he living now?" Despite the modern style and context, he seemed to write from beyond all special times.

In the summer of 1916 I joined the "Emerson Group" of the Anthroposophical Society in London. The meetings began with the verse, "From the luminous heights of the Spirit . . .", specially given by Dr. Steiner for this Group to its leader, Mrs. Cull, when it was founded a year or two before the War. She was a wise Scottish lady, daughter of Principal Tulloch of St. Andrews. In the mountains of Ceylon, before she met Rudolf Steiner, she made some acquaintance with Buddhist esotericism; she told me of the indescribable spiritual presence which she felt when she heard Rudolf Steiner in his lecture-cycles speaking of the Buddha.

To me as one of mixed descent (my father's father was German, my other three grandparents English) the War became a personal problem in a special sense. In my subjective feelings, however, my mixed descent played little part or none at all. I was full of belief in the oneness and peaceful progress of mankind—an idealism, no doubt, far too easy, but sincere. It was a time when the traditions of 19th-century liberalism were still living. Lord Morley and others, believing the outbreak of war to have been avoidable, had resigned from the Asquith Government. Bodies were formed, such as the "Union of Democratic Control", with the resolve that the methods of international intercourse should be so changed as to prevent the future occurrence of such catastrophes over the heads, as we thought, of the common people of either country. I myself naturally gravitated towards pacifist and social-revolutionary movements, and was among those who refused military service. I mention these things because of the part they were to play in my first conversations with Dr. Steiner.

At Cambridge I made the acquaintance of the family of Josiah Wedgwood, M.P. He, and also Mrs. Wedgwood (Ethel Bowen-Wedgwood—they were already separated at that time), received me with great kindness. Commander Wedgwood, as he then was, had been severely wounded in the Gallipoli campaign. He was an active member of the House of Commons, believing the War to be

inevitable, yet not withholding sympathy and help from those who thought otherwise. He was the soul of chivalry and had a deep and real belief in freedom. Like one of Rudolf Steiner's closest friends in Berlin in the 1890's, the Scottish-German poet John Henry Mackay, the Wedgwoods—philosophic anarchist rather than socialist in outlook—were followers of Henry George; they had some contact too with the Tolstoyan movement. Towards the end of the War, while I was her guest, Mrs. Wedgwood heard of Rudolf Steiner's work through me. She read with deep interest his lectures on the Apocalypse, in which the spiritual-scientific conception of human history and evolution is set forth. Then in the spring of 1919 came his newly written book on the Threefold Social Order. Mrs. Wedgwood had always taken an active part in public life. In her girlhood she had known the aged Gladstone, a personal friend of her father's. Her lifelong interest and belief in a renewal of the body politic in the true human spirit of the time was quickened and enhanced by the terrible events of the War, to which her generous nature responded with intense human sympathy and with indignation against any falsehood or injustice. With all the enthusiasm of her choleric temperament, she now entered into the solution which emerged from Dr. Steiner's masterly analysis, in which all her experience appeared confirmed and her ideals realised, not with Utopian proposals, but with a practicable and progressive path to their fulfilment.

We wrote to Rudolf Steiner: it was important that this book should quickly be made available to English readers. We offered to translate it. In his reply Dr. Steiner put us into touch with the sculptress Edith Maryon, who was helping him with the Goetheanum building and above all with the great wooden sculptured Group—the Christ-like figure of the "Representative of Humanity" between the adversary powers, Lucifer and Ahriman—which was to occupy the central position between the pillars at the eastern end of the completed building. Miss Maryon throughout those years was one of his closest collaborators in other respects too, for the studio in which the work was going on became his study for a great part of the day; here he received his visitors and she was acting very largely as his secretary. Now he himself had been anxious for an English edition of the book, and as no one else was at hand, Miss Maryon had undertaken to translate it. She, too, now wrote to us and eventually sent us her draft. In style, however—like many of the attempted translations of Dr. Steiner's works in those early days—it was impossible, certainly for a work that was to reach a wider public, and we said so frankly. We were then invited to Dornach to go into the whole question.

Late in September, 1919, we arrived there. Dr. Steiner was away in Stuttgart, where the first Waldorf School had just been opened. We were received in the most friendly way by the Dornach members and above all by Miss Maryon herself. She gave us

mallet and chisel and let us help with parts of the sculptured group where there was much superfluous wood and our unskilled hands could do no harm. One day we were thus engaged when Rudolf Steiner suddenly appeared at Miss Maryon's side, up the steep steps of the scaffolding. He was very simple, courteous, friendly—and happy. That was my very first impression—his delight in telling of the school and of the children. These are the first words that have stayed in my mind: *Die Kinder toben*—the children are romping wildly. *Wenn ein Kind nicht toblustig ist, wird's nachher kein tüchtiger Mensch.* A child that is never rampageous won't grow up into a capable man or woman. (An approximate translation! The word *toblustig*, I am told, is in no orthodox vocabulary. That too is characteristic.) I thought a little ruefully of my own rather subdued and melancholic childhood.

My impression even in those first few days was, so to speak, of many Rudolf Steiners. There was the simple, friendly gentleman whom we had seen at this first meeting. Then there was Dr. Steiner lecturing—deeply impressive and stern, vivid in characterisation, then often moving into anecdote, good-natured satire, rollicking fun and humour. And there was Dr. Steiner speaking in a more esoteric meeting—more as you see him in that portrait in the old editions of *Occult Science*—the Initiate from timeless realms. Moreover, there was Dr. Steiner as you might see him during a personal interview, when you told him of your life's difficulties and ideals and he answered your questions—the deep, silent look in his eyes, the warm kindness and encouragement at some moments, and at others the absolute quiet, so that it was left entirely to you to come out with what you had to say, with seemingly no help from him, but silent waiting. And then again there was Dr. Steiner as I saw him at the large public gatherings in Germany in 1921–22, often with audiences of two or three thousand, partly indifferent or merely curious or even hostile—the way he held them, the firmness and buoyancy of his carriage, the utter lack of compromise or any attempt to influence them. He rather put them through the mill, building up the ground of spiritual science or the stages of higher cognition with closely knit trains of thought, speaking for two hours or more at a stretch and yet holding his audience completely.

Mrs. Wedgwood and I saw Dr. Steiner several times during those days. We had to tell him why and how we thought Miss Maryon's translation inadequate. She herself was present, busying herself with sundry other things. I remember when Mrs. Wedgwood, as tactfully as she could in her forthright, choleric way, had explained how impossible the translation was, I assenting, Dr. Steiner's matter-of-fact and kindly answer: "*Das ist Ihre Überzeugung*"—that is your conviction. There was no pointed emphasis in the sentence, no implication for or against—it was a simple statement of the fact: we start from here. Presently he asked for examples, which we began producing. "*Maryon, kommen Sie*

mal," he called out, and he explained to her the disparities we had been pointing out. Impersonal, unselfish and detached, in the end she said that she had only offered to do it because no one else was at hand; she did not really feel competent in this realm and gladly withdrew. Soon afterwards Mrs. Wedgwood's translation (for it was very largely hers—I only gave incidental help) was published in London by Allen and Unwin, entitled *The Threefold State*. The book was well received. Mrs. Wedgwood afterwards retranslated it for a new edition, which we renamed *The Threefold Commonwealth*.

Each of us also spoke with Dr. Steiner alone. I remember as he sat there in his studio beneath the great figure of the Christ on which he was still working, with manifold sculptures and clay models all around, there on his shelves were the books I had known so well in the war-time years in England, where the questions of the outbreak of the war and of the economic and political background of warfare generally in the modern world were thrashed out—controversial books by E. D. Morel, C. H. Norman and others. It was typical of Rudolf Steiner. However deeply he might see into the supersensible background of events, he spared no pains in getting to know the precise details of outer happenings, the prevalent opinions and the thoughts of others. We naturally came to speak of my war-time experiences, and he took seriously the movement with which I had been associated. He valued the fact that there were men and women who in the last resort followed their own individual conscience, and that there was a country in which one was able in this way also to play an active and fruitful part in public life. The system of separate Nation-States, each with its citizen or conscript army—a heritage from Napoleonic times—cannot go on for ever. Face to face with the appalling lethal powers which modern technical science has conjured up, Rudolf Steiner saw a time approaching when the Spirit of Mankind will give individuals the courage to take upon themselves far-reaching decisions, in the face of all prevailing powers and conventions.

Of her conversations with him during those days, Mrs. Wedgwood told me something which reveals again how he was wont to see a question from many sides, and I will relate it, though at second-hand. It concerns his attitude during the War of 1914-18, about which a few words more may here be said, for it presented a problem to his English friends. He certainly did not see in that War a straightforward issue of right and wrong, brought about by aggressive military designs on the part of the Central Powers; rather he seems to have been convinced, especially in the initial stages, that Germany and Austria were fighting in self-defence. In the Wilsonian conception that underlay the Peace Treaties of 1919—the setting-up of many smaller Nation-States—he recognised a profound mistake. Let your political principles, he says in effect (in *The Threefold State* and other writings), guarantee the rights and liberties of man as such—individual man—and the freedom of

nationalities will follow; it cannot be achieved the other way about.

He saw the War in a far deeper and wider context; to quote the title of one of his war-time lecture-cycles, it was the inexorable "Karma of Materialism". He composed meditations addressed to the Guardian Angels of those who were at the front or had been killed, and to the Souls of the Nations—the Archangel-beings "in the choirs of the spheres of peace". Of such a kind that they could equally well be used in all the warring countries, these meditations quickly reached us through friends in Switzerland and elsewhere. They were translated—more easily perhaps than some of his other verses—and in the anthroposophical groups one heard them regularly.

During those years Dr. Steiner spoke again and again about the Spirit of the Time and the Souls of Nations. Some of his deepest and most loving characterisations of the English, French and Russian peoples were given in his lectures at Berlin and Dornach a few weeks after the War had broken out, and in the years that followed. His own people he kept calling to their true spiritual task, exposing the perilous sources of illusion which were unhappily to prevail not many years after his death.

Mrs. Wedgwood, ardent in her wish for truer international relations, had been resisting the one-sided and often extravagant war-propaganda of her own country, and at that moment she was incensed by the harsh provisions of the Versailles Treaty. Rudolf Steiner's answer was to temper her indignation. Yet after all, he said in effect, perhaps it is as well that victory was not on the other side. And he went on, thinking no doubt of Ludendorff and others like him: We have to bear in mind the kind of militarist mentality which gained control in Germany towards the end of the War. These people would not have treated a defeated enemy with magnanimity or made a wise peace-settlement in the true interests of human progress.

I asked Dr. Steiner for his spiritual guidance and he gave me a fresh appointment. When I came again a few days later he had written out for me an evening and a morning meditation, based on the opening words of St. John's Gospel. He explained in detail how it should be done, and then continued: This is only half of what is necessary. The other half is, you must be aware that the regular doing of your meditation is the one entirely free deed of the day. However much the other things you do spring from your own resolves, the circumstances that lead up to them are determined by your particular destiny in this present life. But nothing is obliging you to do the meditation; that is entirely the outcome of your own free decision.

I think this, too, was typical of Rudolf Steiner. What in the spiritual schools of former times would have been a binding vow, he would translate into a deed of purest freedom. This metamorphosis—this inversion, one might almost say—he practised in

ever so many ways, not always equally explicit; and we, his pupils, were often slow to perceive it. We thankfully received the new content of his teaching and poured it too often into old bottles of would-be piety and sheltered "goodness", not really true to the spirit of the time. Or else we took the new freedom too lightly. One sometimes had the impression that this, more than anything, saddened and made him lonely.

Dr. Steiner entered with great kindness into the question of my future life and career. I had ambitions in scientific research and had made a promising beginning. But as an outcome of the War and the upheavals in which it ended, the social needs of mankind were in the foreground and I was wondering in which way to turn. In answer to my question, Rudolf Steiner said: These issues are more urgent now than purely scientific work. Now at that moment I had been offered a job which would have brought me into close contact with events. During the War I had enjoyed the friendship of the distinguished journalist, Michael Farbman. A warm-hearted and highly intelligent Russian Jew, he had been working at a book in which he vainly tried so to influence Allied policy that his war-weary country would not be driven, as in fact it was, into the arms of the Bolsheviks. His command of English was not perfect. I loved the Russian language and was deeply interested in all that was going on in Russia. I helped him put his work into good English. Farbman was now about to become Russian Correspondent of a leading English Daily, with his headquarters in Berlin to begin with, and wanted me to go with him as his Secretary. I told Dr. Steiner of this. Our conversation naturally turned to the Russian revolutionary leaders. "Lenin himself," said Dr. Steiner, "I hold to be an honest man and an intellect of no mean order." "*Lenin selbst halte ich für einen ehrlichen und geistig nicht unbedeutenden Menschen.*" were his exact words; I only remember the gist of what follows: What he is doing, however, is ruthlessly to exploit and destroy the old civilisation. This civilisation, it is true, is inexorably dying out; be under no illusions about that. But one should not play fast and loose, destroying it the more quickly (*Raubbau treiben* were the words he used); rather should one be sowing seeds of what is truly fruitful for the future.

Speaking of Berlin, he went on to say: Of course you might go there, but do not imagine that the future lies there. It was in the later 19th century that it attained its recent greatness. That was a time of spiritual void—here he took pencil and paper and sketched an empty hole—a time when the old spirituality was no more and the new was not yet born. Vienna may now seem utterly broken, suffering far worse starvation, but its roots are true and it will rise again.

*

In the late autumn of 1919 I went on from Switzerland to Germany and shortly afterwards to Poland—to the South-Eastern

borders of that country, where my home had been. The towns and villages were laid waste; famine and typhus were raging. My wife and I joined the War Victims' Relief Mission, organised by English and American Quakers. In the autumn of 1920—*The Threefold State* having in the meantime been published—we decided to return to England, hoping to help build up a movement for the Threefold Order. There was a public conference at Dornach—the first opening of the Goetheanum building—so we made the détour, receiving unforgettable impressions in the great auditorium, with ever-varied lights and shades from the coloured windows playing on the rough-hewn wood, the unending life and variety of sculptured forms. This time I did not ask to see Dr. Steiner personally. But a not very respectful friend, wanting to reach me quickly, had sent a telegram with the rough and ready address: C/o Dr. Steiner, Dornach. To my no small embarrassment there was Dr. Steiner making his way to us through the crowded ranks to the middle of the hall where we sat, just before one of his lectures. "Why, you are not to be recognised," he said laughingly as he handed me the telegram. (I had been growing a beard in the meantime.) This was the first time Mary Adams met him. He was very good to her and gave her much spiritual help in the years that followed.

Back in England, we soon found ourselves in collaboration with other anthroposophists, notably of the younger generation. The only lasting thing that grew out of our attempts to awaken interest in the Threefold Order was the educational movement, for among those keen on the social question were the first teachers in the Rudolf Steiner Schools in this country. (Michael Hall, known to begin with as "The New School", was founded after consultations with Dr. Steiner at Ikley in 1923; it began in South London in January, 1925.)

In London the several anthroposophical groups had in the meantime formed a loose association, out of which three years later the "Anthroposophical Society in Great Britain" was to arise. Small as the effort seemed to be, Rudolf Steiner took it very seriously from the outset, and he himself was present when on the 2nd September, 1923, the actual foundation of our Society took place; on the proposal of Mr. D. N. Dunlop, he consented to become President for life.

The first anthroposophists in England had come to the movement from manifold directions. There were well-to-do ladies and gentlemen—mostly conservative in social outlook—seriously interested in Occultism or seeking for the esoteric background of Christianity. Among them were members of the theosophical and other occult movements, for whom the "Rosicrucian Theosophy" taught by Rudolf Steiner brought the fulfilment of their longings, also Freemasons who found it in the deeper spiritual background of their craft. Then there were others who, like myself, intent on new social forms and international ideals, were more in sympathy

with the rising Labour movement. They, too, played a leading part in building up the anthroposophical work in this country.

Rudolf Steiner himself sometimes referred to the very great differences between Britain and all Continental countries as to the forms of social and spiritual life. In Britain the most diverse, seemingly contradictory currents are apt to cross and mingle; so, too, the mental attitudes and moods of soul. National self-assurance will go hand-in-hand with childlike receptivity to foreign influences; pugnacity in public life with the widest tolerance. There is a certain joy—is it a heritage from Shakespeare?—in the play of contrast among men. We, too, in those after-war years were glad to meet across wide gulfs of divergent outlook. The one thing that united us was that trait of spiritual realism on which Rudolf Steiner always reckoned when he came to England. Once he has got beyond the universal barriers of our time—intellectual pride and materialist agnosticism—an Englishman will generally approach the knowledge of the spiritual world in a simple and expectant frame of mind; he is not overwhelmed with theoretic difficulties. There is a spiritual world, he says to himself; the seer, the true sage, will be able to tell us what it is like. Then it is only a question of well-founded confidence.

In fact, Rudolf Steiner gave some of his deepest occult revelations in England. I think, for instance, of the lectures he gave immediately before he left this country for the last time in 1924, concerning the cosmic and historic streams of Christianity; or of his lectures on 1st and 2nd May, 1913, in the room of the "Zarathustra Group", led by Mr. H. J. Heywood-Smith and Mrs. A. Drury-Lavin in South Kensington, about the Archangel Michael and the "renewal" of the Mystery of Golgotha in the 19th and 20th centuries. At Easter, 1922, we heard him in the same room addressing a more intimate circle. He spoke of spiritual history leading up to the present time and of the dangers now threatening mankind. I can still see his dark penetrating eyes at that moment, looking as if into long avenues of time.

Our leading member was Mr. Harry Collison, editor until his death in 1946 of the English editions of Dr. Steiner's works. A many-sided man, he was a barrister and also a professional artist—a very competent portrait painter. Well-to-do and of aristocratic leanings, he was entirely conservative, not to say authoritarian, in political and social outlook. He was an active Freemason. Collison was an entertaining man with a lively sense of humour; often it seemed as though a mischievous sprite were perched on his shoulder, ready to play unexpected pranks at any moment. Rudolf Steiner liked him for his versatility and *savoir faire*. He was a man of the world, who could express deep earnestness without exaggerated feeling or any hint of fanaticism. I remember seeing them together in the old Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford, laughing delightedly at the antics of Sir Toby Belch. The

following anecdote was told me in later years by Collison himself. During the first World War much had been said and written against the Prussian aristocratic or Junker class, till it became a phrase on everybody's lips—the oftener repeated, the less clear idea of what was meant. Once on a long motor-drive with Dr. Steiner, Mr. Collison, who had a good command of German, put the question: "Dr. Steiner, what exactly is a Junker?" Looking straight at him with a twinkle in his eye, Dr. Steiner answered: "You, Mr. Collison—you are a Junker." The old boy, who had a keen dramatic sense, was highly tickled at this unexpected turn.

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I come now to the unforgettable last three years, when Dr. Steiner visited England on no less than five occasions, generally for several weeks at a time. It was the growing reputation of the Waldorf School which first brought him to us. In common with several others among Rudolf Steiner's earliest English pupils, and incidentally with some of the most influential figures in life and letters about the turn of the century, Miss Maryon had been a member of the esoteric movement known as the "Golden Dawn". She had there made friends with Mrs. Millicent Mackenzie, afterwards Professor of Education in the University of Cardiff and a leading figure among progressive educationists at that time. Miss Maryon wrote to her friend, drawing her attention to the pioneering work of the Stuttgart school. Mrs. Mackenzie thereupon arranged to take a party of English teachers to Dornach. At Christmas and New Year, 1921-22, Dr. Steiner gave his well-known "Lectures to Teachers" at the Goetheanum, primarily for the benefit of the visitors from England. The lectures were held in the famous upper room in the south wing of the Goetheanum—the room where the "Christian Community" had been initiated a few months before and in which, a year later, the smoke of the fatal conflagration was first detected.

That was the first occasion when it fell to me to interpret Dr. Steiner into English. From then until his death I interpreted well over a hundred lectures to English audiences, not including answers to questions, conferences and informal discussions. Dr. Steiner would nearly always divide the lecture into three parts, speaking for 20 to 25 minutes at a time. The lecture was thus completed in three stages. While listening to him, I scribbled notes for all I was worth—never in shorthand, which I purposely refrained from learning. My principle was to follow and enjoy the lecture, and above all never to get flurried; sometimes at the most difficult moments I would stop writing and relax. I invented signs. At Cambridge I had known Bertrand Russell, one or two of whose pupils had been among my friends. I had picked up a smattering of symbolic logic, which I now turned to good account, though no doubt using the signs in highly unorthodox ways. For the rest, I jotted down English or German words or *ad hoc* abbreviations, or mere capital letters with a quick

mental note. Thus I was able to keep the translation alive; however imperfect, still it was like the lecture being given again by an embarrassed and enthusiastic pupil. And there sat Rudolf Steiner a little way off at the side, often in the chair I had vacated.

Looking back on it now, it seems to me that I was doing it with childlike, youthful life-forces, of which an abundance had been given me. There was a great trust in it—an unconscious act of faith. In other respects I was rather shy and diffident in Dr. Steiner's presence; I was less near to him than others among his pupils, who had more experience and confidence or were farther on along the path of knowledge. Sometimes he had unexpected ways of putting me at my ease, as on a peaceful summer afternoon at Oxford in 1922. Walking through the College garden, I met him and a few others coming from the opposite direction, or waiting for someone else to join them. I paused and greeted them. Presently Dr. Steiner bent to a nearby flowerbed, picked a large snapdragon and began fitting it on the tip of my nose, looking at me with his friendly smile.

But when interpreting his lectures I was never shy. I went "all out", there was adventure in it, and all the time, whether he were speaking or listening, I felt quiet encouragement in his presence. Sometimes in his closing address at the end of a Conference or Summer School, he would speak warm words of thanks and appreciation. On one occasion as I was saying goodbye to him he thanked me personally, adding with emphasis: *Es ist ein grosses Opfer*.—it is a great sacrifice. Oh no, Dr. Steiner, I said, I do it so very gladly. But he insisted, and repeated more than once: *Es ist ein grosses Opfer*.

Both in his lectures and in conversation with English friends, Rudolf Steiner would draw attention now and then to some finesse in words or forms of speech—the manifestation of the nation-souls through the genius of language. He used to say, as Hilaire Belloc does in his delightful little essay on translation, you cannot really translate by the dictionary. *Cheval* is not equivalent to *horse*, nor *tête* to *Kopf*. During the Teachers' Course at Dornach, for example, speaking of ethical and religious education, he put side by side the English word *duty* and the German *Pflicht*. *Pflicht*, he said, comes from the verb *pflegen*, meaning to tend, to nurse, to care for. (Etymologically the word is akin to the English *plight*.) The dutiful man is he who does not turn aside from the world's plight, but tends it with all care. *Duty*, on the other hand, is akin to *Deus*; it is for Man to stand as worthy representative on Earth of the Divine. Related as I was by destiny to both peoples, with the task given me to help build a bridge, it was an inspiration to me when he spoke in this way. For this no longer tended (as well-meant forms of internationalism were doing at that time) to blot out distinctions, making a featureless sameness; rather it brought them out and in so doing made manifest the essential good, the Divine genius that lives in every nation.

In this respect I had interesting experiences with Rudolf Steiner. Often I had to look for an adequate rendering on the spur of the moment, and went far afield in doing so; now and then I failed completely. I was often present, too, during his interviews with others. At Ilkley in 1923 one of our friends had asked him for a meditation. Dr. Steiner asked him and me to come at an appointed hour; when we came he had the meditation ready written out in English and asked me if the language was right. In most instances, however, I think he gave meditations to his English pupils, too, in German, and indeed many of them, while they could scarcely speak or even understand the language in trivial and profane intercourse, became at home in it as a medium of spiritual science and above all of meditation. This experience accords with what Dr. Steiner himself foresaw—namely, the possibility of German becoming to some extent a universal language, not for external intercourse, but as a vehicle of spiritual life, as other languages—Sanskrit, Greek and Hebrew, for example—have been from time to time. At one of the conferences held at Dornach late into the night during the time of the 'Threefold' movement, I heard him speak to this effect, though if I understood him rightly the possibility was contingent on historic events which are to this day undecided; moreover, if fulfilled, it would mean rather a sacrifice of life for the German nation than any access of external greatness.

In a matter of language, I once knew Rudolf Steiner to be really angry; seeing me crestfallen, he quickly added: I do not mean you personally. In the accustomed English pronunciation of *Michael*—unlike the names of the other Archangels—we practically swallow the last two syllables. (It is a shock to admit it, but we pronounce the name in effect as though we should say "raffle" instead of *Raphael*.) Towards the end of his life, Dr. Steiner was often speaking of the present historic time—beginning with the year 1879 A.D.—as the 'Age of Michael'. So, too, he did in his lectures at Torquay, in interpreting which I naturally pronounced the name as we always do; it did not occur to me to do otherwise. When I visited him at his hotel that evening he was indignant. The ending *-el*, he said, is the name of God; how can you slur it over in that way? Pronounce the vowels by all means in the accustomed English way, but do not slur them over. It is a different matter when you give the name to a man or boy. In German, too, we have the Christian name Michel (which, in effect, is pronounced 'Michl'), but when referring to the Divine Being you should articulate the full three syllables, *Micha-el*. Then, being evidently under the impression that I might think this impossible in English, he went on: You put a stop to spiritual progress if you will insist that your mother-tongue can only be spoken according to present-day conventions. Think, for example, of the word *Weltanschauung*; one would suppose it the most typical of German words. Yet in a standard dictionary before Goethe's time you will not find it. The

vital streams of spiritual life are ever forming and re-forming language; you become sterile if you set yourselves against this.

He knew us only too well. Often since then our friends have attempted to pronounce the Divine name, Michael, no less articulately than, for example, Gabriel or Raphael; time and again we fall back into the old habit. Rudolf Steiner knew how great is the power of habit and convention in English at the present time. But there are better and deeper things of which he was equally well aware. He sensed the significance of the peculiarly English form of oratory: the abrupt phrases, the sudden beginnings and endings, the unexpected intervals of silence, the avoidance of fluent rhetoric. In contrast to French and German, he once described the ideal—as it were, the spiritual Archetype—which underlies the English way of speaking. It is concerned with the *ethic* of language rather than with the *rhetoric* or the *logic*. This finds expression in silence rather than in speech as such. To put it paradoxically, we speak to give occasion for the intervals of silence in which a common experience is evoked of what is deeper than any outward words.

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The English Teachers' Course at the Goetheanum led up to further plans, which in the year 1922 brought Dr. Steiner to the historic centres of English cultural life—Stratford-on-Avon and Oxford. Among those who came with Professor Mackenzie to the course at Dornach was Miss M. Cross, of the Priory School at King's Langley. For its initial impulse the Rudolf Steiner educational movement in this country is very greatly indebted to Miss Cross. She was a member of the 'New Ideals in Education' Committee, which arranged annual conferences, and at her suggestion Rudolf Steiner was invited to the Conference for 1922, held at Stratford during the Easter vacation and in connection with the Shakespeare Festival. 'Drama and Education' was the subject for this year, and Dr. Steiner was invited both as an educationist and as a distinguished authority on Goethe. His two lectures aroused such interest that he was asked to give a third. He was here speaking side by side with foremost representatives of English life and letters, John Masefield and John Drinkwater among them. I remember the latter at a social gathering asking me many questions about Rudolf Steiner.

At Stratford I used to have lunch at the house where Dr. Steiner was staying. Present among others were Millicent Mackenzie, Frau Marie Steiner, and two or three leaders of anthroposophical groups in London. Two moments of the conversation stand out in my mind. One morning there had been two lectures—by Professor Cornford of Cambridge and Sir Henry Newbolt—the former scholarly and learned, the latter masterly in style, though I confess this did not appeal to me as did the homely, rough-hewn manner of John Masefield a day or two before or after. Commenting on

the two lecturers that morning, Dr. Steiner said: A lecture like Professor Cornford's you might have heard in Germany; Sir Henry Newbolt's, never. Then he bethought himself a moment: In Austria, however, you might well have heard it. And he went on to say: This peculiar accomplishment in form and bearing came both to England and to Austria originally through Spanish influences.

On another occasion Dr. Steiner, addressing himself to the elderly English anthroposophists who were present, foretold: You will be reincarnated before very long in Mid-Europe; that will be at a time "when Mid-Europe will be going barefoot". And speaking of the character and task of the German people, he went on to say: "The Germans are not really nationalistic." This was met with evident surprise; the War had not long been over. Dr. Steiner repeated his statement and proceeded to illustrate it with a story from the opening weeks of the Waldorf School—a time when the War, officially at least, was scarcely ended. The children in Rudolf Steiner schools are taught foreign languages—French and English in this instance—beginning at the earliest age, playing and singing. Of all the tunes and words they had been learning, said Dr. Steiner, the children, running up and down the corridors and in the playground, would keep singing, not any German Lied or folksong, but "My heart's in the Highlands".

How often during the years and decades that followed have I had occasion to think of the deep truth that lay in Dr. Steiner's words, despite all appearances to the contrary. The Germans lack the instinctive national coherence which belongs to most European peoples of modern time, which impels their deeds and destinies for good or ill and somehow forms and guards them like a gift of Nature. If they are nationalistic they are so on more theoretic or philosophic grounds, having convinced themselves that this is the true idea to follow. This is the very reason why they could carry it to such ridiculous and even criminal extremes. Nature will not protect nor moderate what does not spring from Nature. A far-seeing man—himself a patriotic member of a people that was at war with Germany—said to me once during the first World War: "The Germans are idealistic." I looked at him questioningly. They are sincere idealists, he went on to explain; right or mistaken, they are always looking for ideals—wanting to devote themselves to some ideal.

In the late autumn of 1923 I went over to Holland to see Dr. Steiner. I had to bring him some message—with which I myself was at least partly identified—in which he felt a lack of understanding on our part; indeed, I scarcely ever saw him so gravely troubled as on this occasion. He said to me then: It is of great importance to mankind that the true character of the German people, as revealed in Spiritual Science, should come to be understood in England. (He was referring to such truths as he had

explained in his lectures on the nation-souls.) I think I know now what he had in mind. Without a deeper spiritual background, the Germans as a nation are in the long run an insoluble riddle to English people. I mean not individuals but the nation as such. What individual Germans have to offer, even if only on a modest scale, is generously recognised and thankfully received. The people as a people remain an irritating puzzle. One sees it in the memoirs of British statesmen and diplomats, notably those who are most trying to be fair—trying to arrive at a sympathetic understanding instead of merely judging from without. All this is connected with the destiny to which Rudolf Steiner was referring, which somehow withholds from the German people a self-contained and consistent national form, because in fact they have historic tasks of another kind.

For the summer vacation of 1922 a larger public Conference was arranged, to be held at Oxford. It was entitled: "Spiritual Values in Education and in Social Life". We were trying to realise what Dr. Steiner longed for in those years. Face to face with the urgent needs of the time, we should meet on common ground with men and women of consequence, who with all diversities of outlook had a feeling for spiritual activity as the creative factor in social reconstruction. Prepared for several months beforehand, the Conference had two main organisers. One was Professor Millicent Mackenzie, who had in this the sympathy and support of her husband, the Hegelian philosopher J. S. Mackenzie, a former Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The other was Mr. Arnold Freeman, Warden of the Sheffield Educational Settlement. A younger member of the Fabian Society, he had been an active collaborator of the Webbs and others and was now intensely keen on the achievement of a Threefold Social Order. The Conference was mainly held at Manchester College, of which Dr. L. P. Jacks, the well-known editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, was Principal. In a book published not long before, he had expressed ideas not unlike those in "The Threefold State", concerning which a substantial article by Dr. Steiner appeared about this time in the *Hibbert*. Dr. Jacks was there to welcome us on the first evening, and at his invitation—on the second Sunday of the Conference—Rudolf Steiner gave an evening address in the College Chapel. It was a memorable occasion—the quiet dignity of the building, the evening sun shining in through the high windows, and Rudolf Steiner speaking, from the awakened consciousness of modern time, about the secret of the Trinity and the Mystery of Golgotha.

Among the lecturers at Oxford were the late Clutton Brock, C. Delisle Burns, J. S. Mackenzie, and Dr. Maxwell Garnett of the League of Nations Union. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, a former President of the Board of Education, sent an opening address. In the mornings Dr. Steiner gave an extended lecture-course on education, followed by a shorter one on social questions generally. Frau

Marie Steiner brought with her a group of experienced artists from Dornach. Eurhythmy performances and demonstrations were given at Keble, where there was a larger stage. Lectures were also given by well-known teachers of the Waldorf School, Dr. Caroline von Heydebrand among them. The Waldorf teachers who came with Dr. Steiner to our Conferences and Summer Schools were always welcome. Based on their practical experience and devoted work, their lectures—spiced now and then with wit and anecdote—were listened to with keen attention; sometimes with uproarious laughter. Rudolf Steiner, sitting there in the front row, was very evidently happy at these times.

Of the wider aims we set ourselves at Oxford—the movement for a Threefold Order above all—little would seem to have been realised. It was a time when intellectual idealists had not yet suffered the disillusionments of the succeeding decades; they did not feel the need for deeper spiritual insight. Yet the effort was not in vain, for in those after-war years it set the tone for our work, revealing as it did the open and world-wide scope of the Anthroposophical Movement as conceived by its founder. Moreover, it led to the beginnings of the Rudolf Steiner school movement in this country, some of whose ablest representatives found their way to us during the preparations or as an outcome of the Conference. I think especially of Daphne Olivier (afterwards Daphne Harwood), who with her sensitive artistic nature, her candid enthusiasm and singleness of heart and mind became Rudolf Steiner's devoted pupil. Several of those who have since become the bearers of the Anthroposophical Movement in this country became acquainted with it in the first place through her.

It was in those years that Rudolf Steiner met Margaret Macmillan. She had been one of the band of strong-willed, idealistic men and women who at the end of the 19th century founded the Independent Labour Party. She then became a national figure through her pioneering work in the Nursery School movement. At Ilkley in August, 1923—through the initiative of a very energetic lady, Miss Nina Beverley, who also helped to develop the Anthroposophical Publishing Company in London—a further educational conference was held, at which Rudolf Steiner consented to give the main lectures. This was inaugurated by Miss Macmillan. Ilkley is near the industrial cities of the West Riding, notably Bradford where she had begun her social work and where some of her closest friends became active in the Anthroposophical Movement. As often happens in the North of England, it still preserves the vigorous and elemental quality of the surrounding moors, the mighty rocks, the running streams of clear water. It is the country of the Brontës and there are also memories of Druid times. I was particularly glad that after Stratford and Oxford, Rudolf Steiner should also experience this aspect of the English scene. His arrival having been delayed, I was at Harwich to meet him in the early

morning and we travelled straight across England instead of going via London. The train went through the fen country—Ely and Cambridge. The Isle of Ely could be seen in the distance, the great cathedral glistening in the morning sunlight. I spoke to him about Cambridge, and he told me of his friendship with Bertram Keightley, a much older Cambridge man, whom I was also to meet in later years. With a position of high responsibility in the education department of the Indian Civil Service, Keightley had been an active associate of Colonel Olcott and H. P. Blavatsky in the earlier stages of the Theosophical Movement. He had been Dr. Steiner's host when the latter came to the theosophical congress in London at the beginning of the century.

While we were passing through Leeds—the crowded factories, the black and dreary streets with back-to-back dwelling-houses—Dr. Steiner kept looking out of the carriage window, expressing his horror of what he saw. "Do you not see these thought-forms?" he exclaimed—"this is hell on earth!" He made me feel that we in England, with our developed sense of political liberty, of tolerance, fair play and respect for adversaries, had been far too complacent towards the social miseries we tolerated. Here was social inequality and material degradation in a degree scarcely known in the countries from which Dr. Steiner came. As regards social conditions, Britain was anything but democratic at that time.

Yet there were always the champions of social justice and human betterment, prominent among whom was Margaret Macmillan who welcomed us that evening at Ilkley and presided at the opening of one of the most remarkable of Rudolf Steiner's many lecture-courses on education. It is the one in which he traces educational methods from Ancient Greece through the Middle Ages into modern time, characterising the ideals of the 'gymnast', the 'rhetorician' and the 'doctor'.

In later years I visited Margaret Macmillan at her Nursery School and training centre at Deptford in the East End of London. She told me of Dr. Steiner's visit, how in walking with her round the school he kept telling her, very concretely, of the spiritual presence of her sister Rachel with whom she had begun this work—whose death not long before had been a very heavy blow for her. She looked up to Rudolf Steiner as to a wise man whom she fully trusted. Shortly after the Conference she writes from Deptford to her friend Margaret Sutcliffe: "He came here and everything seemed new and wonderful as he entered the room. His science outruns the most advanced work of our day. . . . The strange thing is that no one need tell him anything about themselves. He seems to see one. He knows already when you come near, and yet he never condemns or criticises or has bitter thoughts. . . . The whole world is a whispering gallery to him, and vibrations reach him for which we have no name." And Rudolf Steiner himself, on his return to Dornach and to the Stuttgart School, spoke and wrote

of Margaret Macmillan with warm appreciation. On one occasion, I am told, he said that if she and he had met ten or twenty years earlier they might together have founded a world-wide educational movement.

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I have left all too little space to tell of the memorable Summer Schools held during Dr. Steiner's last two visits to this country. The first was at Penmaenmawr on the north coast of Wales, immediately after Ilkley. Here Dr. Steiner was able to visit the cromlechs in nearby Anglesey and the stone circle on Penmaenmawr mountain. Next year, in August, 1924, we were at Torquay, whence Dr. Steiner visited the ruins of King Arthur's Castle at Tintagel. What he experienced at these places played a not unimportant part in his spiritual revelations during the last two years of his life, and we owe much to the spiritual insight and certainty of purpose of those who invited him there. He was there brought into immediate connection with the old Celtic spiritual team, of the importance of which in the origins of European culture he had so often spoken.

Towards the close of the 19th century the "Celtic revival" in Great Britain and Ireland—like the Wagner movement in Germany—gave expression to the longing for a rediscovery of deeper spiritual sources. Those who were looking for a knowledge of the elemental world of Nature and—what went hand-in-hand with this—for a more cosmic form of Christianity, were inevitably drawn to the old Celtic traditions, and a connection very naturally arose between this movement and the one led by Rudolf Steiner, new and for the most part untraditional as the latter was. The poetry of Fiona Macleod (William Sharp), for example, found beautiful expression in Rudolf Steiner's Eurhythmy; his widow presently became a member of the Anthroposophical Society. But it was D. N. Dunlop above all who linked this Celtic stream with Rudolf Steiner's work. With his very able helper, Mrs. E. C. Merry, he was the initiator of the Anthroposophical Summer Schools at Penmaenmawr and Torquay. Dunlop's encounter with Dr. Steiner was among the most important events of these later years. Born and brought up in a lonely district on the west coast of Scotland, he knew something of the spiritual and elemental world by direct experience. He had a deeply religious nature, an unquenchable enthusiasm, a strong and silent, seemingly gentle, yet all the more effective will. A life-long friendship linked him with the Irish poet A. E. (George Russell). Together in their younger years they had conducted a Theosophical Lodge in Dublin. Dunlop was also a man of affairs, with organising ability and the power to inspire others. Mystic though he remained, he could impress the hard-headed business men among whom he moved throughout his later life. At the time of his first real encounter with Dr. Steiner—in London in the spring of 1922—he already occupied a position of great responsibility. Rudolf Steiner met him with warm affection;

together they discussed the world-wide and far-seeing aims in the pursuit of which Mr. Dunlop, shortly after Dr. Steiner's death, was to inaugurate the "World Power Conference"—a periodic event which played a prominent and helpful part in international affairs during the succeeding years. Dr. Steiner in his turn enlisted Dunlop's help. He introduced him to Ita Wegman, M.D., in collaboration with whom he was at that time developing especially the medical side of the new spiritual movement. Dr. Wegman was with Dr. Steiner on his last two visits to England; lectures were also given to invited groups of doctors. Dunlop helped put the pharmaceutical side of this work on a sound business footing in this country.

Saying goodbye after their first meeting, Rudolf Steiner took Dunlop's hands in his and said repeatedly: "We are brothers." Of the Summer Schools which we owed to Dunlop's initiative, he said that they should be written in the 'golden book' of the history of the Anthroposophical Movement. Two of his deepest and most comprehensive lecture-cycles were indeed given at these Summer Schools; here above all he came to meet the need for detailed knowledge of the world beyond the Threshold and for a spiritual 'Cosmogony', in which he recognised the true and innate tendency of the Western spirit.

In Rudolf Steiner's encounters with men and women such as D. N. Dunlop and Margaret Macmillan, the world-wide character of his own task can be perceived. He himself represented a certain *method* of approach to esoteric knowledge—a method largely founded in the philosophic genius of Middle Europe. This in his hands made possible a genuine integration of the scientific spirit of the West with the deep realms of mystical and occult experience into which man enters when he transcends the Threshold. Such integration alone makes it possible for modern man to approach the hidden spiritual world without losing hold of the most precious achievement of the West—the inner spiritual freedom which goes with independent thinking, intellectual clarity and probity of thought. In the spiritual method developed by Rudolf Steiner we may perceive the genuine contribution of the German-speaking world to mankind's progress. Every such contribution is indispensable to the whole. Yet, sternly as he might insist on the methodic path he had to teach, Rudolf Steiner fully recognised the spiritual approach—often radically different—of those who took their start from other premisses both of the East and of the West. His full life-story reveals how intertwined his destined mission was with other spiritual streams and with outstanding individualities of other countries and continents.

On the physical plane the 'spiritual guidance of mankind' works in manifold and seemingly contradictory ways—diversified by geographical and secular conditions. Yet it is there on every plane; it has its origin in regions far transcending the polarities and

'pairs of opposites' by which the physical manifestations of life are orientated and in terms of which we have to form our standards of discrimination. The initiators of true progress know one another face to face, across the inevitable differences of spiritual pathway. Thirty-three years will soon have passed since Rudolf Steiner's death. From the eternal sources from which his life-work was inspired the spiritual guidance of mankind works on; it will find access to human hearts wherever upon Earth they are open to receive it. Mindful of this, while faithful in the care and practical pursuit of what he has bequeathed, the anthroposophical movement will remain truest to its founder.

RELIGIOUS RENEWAL

Emil Bock

IN clear sunshine, early on a Sunday morning in August, 1916, I was walking from Tegel into Berlin. For two years already the war had been raging; after recovering from a serious wound I was serving as an interpreter. Unexpectedly, I had been sent at five in the morning to one of the big factories in Tegel, where there had been sabotage by French prisoners of war who worked there. The hearings were soon over, and I thought the best way of using the early hour would be to go all the way home on foot.

My feelings occupied by the contrast between the golden solemnity of high summer and the tragic events of the time, I reached the centre of the city. Then I noticed surprisingly many people streaming into the "New Church", the so-called "German Cathedral", on the Gendarmenmarkt. I recognised a number of university professors; and it seemed to me as if from every direction representatives of the spiritual life of Berlin were coming together. With eager expectation, but with a touch of scepticism—since I had sometimes attended the sermons of well-known preachers in Berlin—I went in too. I could have no idea that through what I was to hear a curtain would be lifted for me upon a new world. With amazement I looked into a realm which was at once very strange to me, and yet on a deeper level entirely familiar. I had never heard such preaching. The South German voice gave full expression to genuine warmth of heart. But more important still: a comprehensive life of knowledge revealed itself in illumined clarity. A characteristic conception of the world, which could be felt in the background, became more concrete at certain points, in definite statements about Christ and the spiritual world. The sermon was not on a particular text, but gave something of an introduction to St. John's Gospel in general.

On the way out I learned that fate had led me into the inaugural sermon by Dr. Friedrich Rittelmeyer, who had just transferred his field of work from Nürnberg to Berlin.

The question arose in my mind, with a mysterious, strong feeling of things to come: "May it, after all, be possible to find a religious message and method of work which would be honestly fitted for our time and strong enough to have a healing effect in our crises?" My working-class origin and education at a modern school, where mathematics, scientific subjects, and modern languages were mainly taught, had prepared me for anything rather than the study of theology. I had indeed while at school made friends with a number of grammar-school boys for whom it was a matter of course that they would enter the ministry. And there had been no lack of well-meant advice, seeking to persuade me that I should prepare for the same calling. But it seemed to me more and more that it would

be the most unnatural thing in the world for me one day to put on the gown of a Protestant minister.

I had no particular calling in mind. But from an early stage I had intended to earn enough for university studies by giving lessons. I hoped to find a place somewhere in the spiritual life of the time where it would be possible, in a world becoming more and more external, to do effective service for inner values. In a general way I dreamed of a renewal of culture affecting everything.

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I soon came to know Rittelmeyer personally. The approach of the 21-year-old student in the grey army overcoat gave him, as he often said, a glimpse of his own future; the new generation was appearing, with whom he could begin a new work. I felt that something or someone else must stand behind Rittelmeyer, and I was waiting eagerly for the moment when, in conversation or companionship with him, this riddle would be answered. And then Rittelmeyer spoke of Dr. Rudolf Steiner as the greatest, God-sent contemporary. At first this did not convey enough for me to see clearly all that was involved. I was faced by a host of questions.

But I was deeply stirred when it occurred to me that I had come across the name of Rudolf Steiner once before, in a very peculiar way. About a year before I had had to examine, in the postal censorship office at the Silesian station in Berlin, the printed post for Switzerland. I had been struck by the innumerable books and lecture-series, bearing the name of one author, Dr. Rudolf Steiner, which were sent by the Berlin Philosophical and Anthroposophical Publishing Company to Dornach, where the first Goetheanum was being built. Officially, it was clear, there was no reason for detailed examination of these parcels, or for objections to them. But I was attracted by the endless abundance of writings by this more than prolific author. And the titles indicated subjects not limited to the surface of life. So on several occasions I took such books or lecture-cycles home to my lodgings and read until late at night. I met in them an atmosphere which made me feel that they might open up new, wide horizons for me. Yet I had to say to myself: the time for this has not quite come.

When I again heard Rudolf Steiner's name from Rittelmeyer, the feelings I had had then were re-awakened. And yet—how could I connect the warm language of the heart, in which the sermons at the "New Church" spoke, with the language of knowledge used in these writings in an almost more than prosaic philosophical style? But my reverence and trust for Rittelmeyer could only be increased when I realised that he, who had been in his own way a master for so long, felt himself as pupil of a genius who was so very different.

I had to find my own approach—and so it must be for everyone, fundamentally speaking—to the new directions of knowledge opened up by Rudolf Steiner. Rittelmeyer attempted to

convey to me in the language of religion ways of approaching certain fundamental elements of Anthroposophical knowledge. Only with difficulty could I understand him. I was not concerned with particular religious problems. Either the field of world-knowledge would open out as a whole for Christian religious life, or everything was in vain. And, with a clarity beyond all expectations, this comprehensive, penetrating vision for world-knowledge was provided. This I found when, in the spring and summer of 1917, I was able to hear Dr. Steiner himself.

Rittelmeyer made use of the permission given to him to bring guests to Dr. Steiner's intimate lectures, and took Eberhard Kurras, with whom he had already corresponded from Nürnberg, and me, both still in uniform. The lectures were given in the Group meeting-room, consisting of three ordinary rooms joined together, of the Anthroposophical Society headquarters in the Geisburgstrasse, not far from the Nollendorfplatz. They were attended by about 100 to 150 members of the Society. Nothing that Dr. Steiner described was difficult or strange to me. One cramping limitation after another, in my thinking and in my soul, fell away. What a deep breath of relief I drew, when Dr. Steiner described the new, real thinking, in the first lecture we heard.

The cycle then being given was called "The Karma of Materialism." It was the time of the centenary celebrations of the Reformation; Rittelmeyer was giving the great addresses which are published in the little book, *Luther Among Us*. How often the thought stirred in the souls of us younger ones that, in the midst of the confusion of war, a new Reformation was due. And Rittelmeyer, too, sought with us for a new stage in Christian history. Among the climaxes in Dr. Steiner's series belonged the lectures in which he illuminated Luther's innermost character and destiny. We began to discern the impulses for the renewal of civilisation which could proceed from Anthroposophy.

On one of these Group evenings I could not leave the book table, where lay in still greater profusion the series of lectures some of which I had had to examine as censor two years before. Obeying a strong inner impulse, I bought the Hamburg series on St. John's Gospel, though the last money I had was only just enough. I have never devoured a book with such feverish enthusiasm as this. I had suddenly found the bridge between Rudolf Steiner's lectures and Friedrich Rittelmeyer's sermons. In a warm, golden light the field of religious life and knowledge lay before my soul. From now on there was no real doubt about the content of my work in my future calling. But only gradually could I survey as a whole the unimaginably rich and wide foundations Rudolf Steiner had already given for a cosmic and human knowledge of Christ and a Christian knowledge of the cosmos and of man.

After the lectures given in the circle of members, Rudolf Steiner liked to stay on for personal conversations. The circle was then

still small enough to make this possible. He usually sat beside Dr. Rittelmeyer, and the conversation soon passed from the content of the lecture to the tumultuous problems of day-to-day events. Sayings which sprang from the greatest anxiety about mankind, and unsparing descriptions of personalities who were reckoned as great figures in public life, made a deep impression on us. During this time we could come to Dr. Steiner for our first personal conversations with him, and received advice about our studies, and guidance for our innermost work upon ourselves.

From 1917 onwards Rudolf Steiner was always to be found in the front line of a violent battle. Up to the outbreak of war he had used the temporary lull in world affairs to build up a modern "Theosophy", a comprehensive wisdom of the supersensible, with its centre in the contemplation of the Being of Christ. In the midst of the age of triumphant scientific knowledge about nature, a modern spiritual science, in the most exact sense of the word, had quietly come into being, in creative abundance. Light was thrown on the whole mythological and religious history of mankind, with all its documents. And amazing contemporary events in the spiritual world were indicated, which were connected with the approach of Christ and His gradual new revelation in the realm of the etheric.

The outbreak of war had put an end to this quiet, creative, esoteric work. Rudolf Steiner turned clearly and decisively from inner to external things, from the esoteric to the exoteric. This became quite plain, when after the Russian Revolution and the entry of America into active belligerence, the war entered a peculiarly tragic and dangerous stage for all humanity. At the same time in the life-work of Rudolf Steiner the point had been reached when the full development of "Theosophy" into "Anthroposophy", of spiritual science into a renewed science of nature, became possible. It was now a question of making Anthroposophy practically useful and fertile in the most varied fields of outer life. We younger ones, who had only just become members of the Anthroposophical Society, could become fellow-fighters in the struggle for the future of civilisation.

Rudolf Steiner came forward with the impulse of the "Threefold Social Order", which had among its purposes that of rescuing the real mission of Middle Europe, then experiencing military defeat—the mission to show humanity a way into the future, guided by ideas which originated in the Spirit and were nevertheless practically realisable. We were witnesses of the tireless, self-sacrificing endeavours of Rudolf Steiner to awaken the circles of those responsible for political leadership in Middle Europe, and to inspire in them the courage to support real ideas. And after the Armistice he took on the superhuman labours involved in the Threefold Commonwealth movement.

The idea of the new Threefold Social Order could not then be given practical realisation. But from the mobilisation of every

effort the new educational movement developed, headed by the Waldorf School at Stuttgart, and soon there were inspiring beginnings of entirely new knowledge, and new possibilities of work, in science, medicine, and several other special fields. On the day after the November Revolution in 1918, I entered the theological faculty. With a few theological student friends, I threw myself into the hope that the evangelical Churches would now develop courage for a genuinely free spiritual life—for example, for the separation of Church and State—so that the way would be open for a new, free kind of religious work. We were able to arrange at this time for Dr. Rittelmeyer to give frequent talks to student audiences, large or small. Only too soon it was evident that in the Churches everything would remain the same. All the more did we, who saw the approach of a new age of Christianity, which Anthroposophy could stimulate, search for the possibility of a new Reformation.

Independently of one another, several groups and individuals approached Rudolf Steiner with questions about a renewal of religious life. Not so much the plans of a group of Protestant ministers, as conversations between two young people and Rudolf Steiner, proved in the event decisive. A German student, who had been an officer in the war, and had been brought into great distress of mind by the course of European events, asked in February, 1920, whether after the Petrine and Pauline form of Christianity the Johannine form could not now be brought into being. Dr. Steiner's answer was that he himself had to bring spiritual science and could not come forward in any way as a religious innovator. But "if you, with a group of thirty to forty like-minded people, carry through what you intend, it would have great significance for humanity."

Two months later, when Rudolf Steiner was giving his first great course of lectures to doctors, a Swiss woman student, who asked similar questions, received the answer: "It might well be possible to achieve something even within the Churches, if a considerable number of young theologians took possession of the pulpits." Rudolf Steiner's willingness to help was lively and active, and so the possibility of a course for young theologians was at once discussed: "In such a course it would be possible to speak much more intimately than can be done at present with the doctors."

Although Dr. Steiner had made it quite plain that he reckoned with energetic activity—thus in the second conversation he had advised that contact should be made with the questioner of the first—both these persons, almost overwhelmed by the great possibilities opening up before them, considered practical steps only a year later, when they met in Dornach. When the Swiss woman student came to Berlin at Easter, 1921, to continue her studies there, what she related in our circle about the two conversations of the previous year kindled so much enthusiasm that we insisted

that not one day more should be allowed to pass unused. There were in Marburg, Tübingen, and Berlin groups of young people who had long been burning for what now seemed to be on the way. In the name of about twenty friends, Dr. Steiner was asked at Whitsun to give us advice and direction in a course of lectures. As if something for which he had long been waiting now at last came to him in tangible form, he met our request with the greatest willingness, and invited us to Stuttgart for a course, which was to begin in a little over two weeks' time.

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From then onwards a wind filled our sails which carried the little ship powerfully onwards. We had to take Rudolf Steiner's words and bearing as implying that we had to catch up much lost time, and that it might soon be too late for the beginning we intended. It was important for us, and surely not without significance in the objective course of destiny, that we had to find among us younger ones the starting-point of our joint activity. Of the eighteen, with whom Rudolf Steiner met eight times that June, one was 30, all the rest between 19 and 27, half of them younger than 23. Only then, when we had to find in a little more than two months about ten times as many like-minded companions and bring them together, did we begin to approach older people. Obviously, we were in the closest contact over everything with Dr. Rittelmeyer, and reckoned on him as a leading fellow-worker when the time was ripe.

In spite of the almost insuperable exchange problems, at that time of inflation, Dr. Steiner, relying on the willingness of friends to help, had invited the circle, which was to be so considerably enlarged by then, to come to the Goetheanum at Dornach for the month of September. Now hectic activity began. Our small circle separated in all directions, in order to get on the track everywhere, as far afield as Mecklenburg, of those who were ready, like ourselves, to devote themselves to religious renewal. And in fact, when in September Rudolf Steiner gave us 29 lectures, there was the most varied assembly of about 110 participants.

Naturally the transition into the inner necessities of a new age of Christianity, as this stood before our minds, could not be made without great difficulties. And so we had soon to overcome hindrances that were bound up with the history of spiritual life. Our aim would not be accomplished if a number of theologians now simply made use of the possibilities offered by Anthroposophy for a new understanding of the Bible and of the mysteries of Christ. Rudolf Steiner had opened up for us the prospect that at a time when Christian life had taken the path of intellectual theologising, real religious substance could be quickened again only by a renewal of sacramental life fitted to the present time, and therefore only by the courage to found a new priesthood.

But among the participants in September there were a number of Protestant theologians who had no feeling for the fact that intellectual discussion, of the kind that had become their natural element, meant the death of religion. Through their questions, which were not genuine questions, but themes for discussion, they occupied the whole field of our meeting; and so we felt with acute anxiety the danger approaching that we should be held back in intellectual preliminaries instead of going forward to build up a new, priestly, sacramental form of religious work. We fought a despairing battle in the intervening meetings, when the questions to be addressed to Dr. Steiner were worked out.

For our course the White Room had been put at our disposal, a room for Eurhythmy practice high up under the roof of the south wing of the first Goetheanum. Before each meeting I fetched Dr. Steiner from his studio in the wooden workshop building called the Schreinerei and accompanied him across to the Goetheanum and up the many stairs to the White Room. From the third day on I begged him constantly, instead of the so-called "discussion hours" which alternated with the lectures, to give lectures then as well. But he said: "Be patient; we must go through all this!" As though it were necessary, beyond the personal participation of those present, to give a new direction to a whole spiritual stream within humanity, he devoted himself with the greatest calm to questions which made the younger ones among us impatient and irritable. But we were relieved when after some days he acceded to our request, and, instead of holding discussions, gave lectures which were connected with the questions I had handed to him on the way over. Thus a number of fundamental, comprehensive lectures, inexhaustible in the perspectives they opened up, came to be given.

In the second half of the fortnight, although it was plain that by no means all the participants would have the courage to become bearers of the religious movement which was to be founded, what Rudolf Steiner gave us was an immediate preparation and equipment for priestly work, with sacraments renewed for our time. The future was more important than the present, and so he spoke, over the heads of those still caught up in tradition and discussion (they had been given their full due), as if the only persons present were those who would really take up fully into their wills the intentions of the spiritual world and make them into earthly facts. Not that answers to theological questions were not given. The old Dr. Geyer, Dr. Rittelmeyer's close friend and ally at Nürnberg (Dr. Rittelmeyer himself could not be present at Dornach because of illness), said he had always been astonished in what degree Rudolf Steiner was at home in the mathematical, scientific, and historical fields of academic knowledge: now he saw that he was a master in theology too, in every detail; he was really a whole university in himself.

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For the circle of those who had made up their minds—we were to begin with not even 40—a year of intensive preparation followed. Rudolf Steiner was at all times available to us as adviser. It was not quite easy to find the balance between the will of the younger ones, eager to rush forward, and the urging, chiefly by the older ones, that a firm foundation must be laid. In this, too, Dr. Steiner helped. He accepted both attitudes as justified, but made quite clear to us that there was no time to be lost.

Among the undertakings through which we hoped to find and win for our work further companions eager for action, there was in particular a conference for theologians held in Nürnberg, on the initiative of Rittelmeyer and Geyer, at Easter, 1922. And in fact several valuable people came into connection at this time with the purposes for which we stood. Through everything that we undertook there went a strong wind of enthusiasm, which we ourselves felt as something given to us. At Whitsun, Dr. Rittelmeyer made his farewell to his congregation in Berlin. We pictured that he, Dr. Geyer (who was ten years older) and I (more than twenty years younger), would have the task of leading our movement. And so the three of us tried to prepare the final emergence of the movement in detail. Many of the younger friends had already allotted among themselves the towns where we hoped to find congregations, and were looking round for people who sought what we were to bring.

In September Dr. Steiner was expecting the whole circle at Dornach, so that we might be finally prepared and equipped for our task. In order to achieve the right sense of community in feeling and willing among us, we decided to meet at a quiet place in August, and learn from each other the results reached during the time of preparation. Before these last steps the three of us, Geyer, Rittelmeyer, and I, were able to be in Dornach for a fortnight, to put before Dr. Steiner the questions which were still to be asked, before the common starting-point of our work. It happened that this was the time, at the end of July and beginning of August, when the "World Economy" course was given. We were allowed to attend this course as guests. These days were a rare opportunity to experience the world-wide breadth of view with which Rudolf Steiner suggested new directions for the most modern problems of money and world economy. We were able to have eight conversations of an hour each with him. He answered our questions in the most concentrated way, so that at the end it was as if he had given us a further course, very rich in content. Now everything was concerned with the practical religious work of forming congregations, on the threshold of which we stood.

It was a particular favour of destiny that led our circle in August, 1922, to Breitbrunn, on what was still the quiet shore of the Ammersee in Upper Bavaria. There Michael Bauer, through whom Rittelmeyer had found the way to Rudolf Steiner more than a decade before, and Margareta Morgenstern, the widow of the

poet, were living. They had a specially heart-felt concern for our project, and with other friends had prepared everything for us. In a cow-shed which had been cleared for our meetings, a room had been arranged and decorated with flowers.

A solemn and joyful sense of expectation united us with such elemental force that even the withdrawal of Dr. Geyer could only be a cloud, passing over a brightly shining sun. Something was approaching us that could be felt as a woman may feel when she expects a child. Was not the stable a true element of Bethlehem? The spiritual power hovered over us, for which we were preparing to make an earthly dwelling and corporeal form. It seemed to be reflected in the archetypal character woven into the landscape: the blue lake nearby and in the distance the white-capped mountains. It was as if we had entered a universal Galilee. Further we felt that through Christian Morgenstern, who was near to us as inspiring genius and also humanly through his wife, and through Michael Bauer, through whose almost completely shattered physique the warm gold of a soul permeated by Christ was shining, whole streams of human history, filled with longing for the Spirit and for Christ, were bringing their gifts like godparents at the cradle of a new Christmas event.

The expectation at Breitbrunn was followed, in the days from the 6th to the 22nd of September, by the fulfilment at Dornach. What happened there so quietly, unnoticed by the surrounding world, lifted us so much beyond ourselves that it is scarcely possible to describe in words the core of our experience. Our circle, consisting of 45 people, including three women, was with Dr. Steiner twice every day, often for hours on end. Again the high White Room was allotted to us. But this time the essential was not the receiving of instruction. What Rudolf Steiner gave us was no "Theological Course". In our midst the Christian ritual and sacramental life was born in the form corresponding to the present time, the age of the spiritual soul. Rudolf Steiner was among us with quiet humility and devotion, and at the same time with highest spiritual authority. The time was ripe and our hearts were open; and so he could bring down to us from heaven what the spiritual powers united with Christ, and serving Him, had intended as a gift of blessing for future humanity. We were to go out into the world as bearers of a new priestly mission.

During the evenings of these same days, in the great auditorium of the Goetheanum, Dr. Steiner gave the lectures of the so-called "French Course" — "Philosophy, Cosmology, and Religion". Here a great audience was gathered. Among the many French-speaking people was the aged Eduard Schuré, whom we often saw during the day walking up and down in front of the Goetheanum in friendly conversation with Dr. Steiner. The lectures were translated into elegant French, each in three parts, by the well-known journalist Jules Sauerwein. It impressed us very much that every

morning Dr. Steiner gave him a detailed summary, on clearly written pages, of the lecture that would be given in the evening. We now saw for ourselves how full every day was for him.

There was for us something symbolic in the alternation between the White Room high up under the roof, where we passed the days, and the great auditorium, where we sat among the audience in the evening. Inwardly, we had also to be at home on different levels.

The wonderful structure of the first Goetheanum, having been seven years building, was in use for only 2½ years, between its opening in the autumn of 1920 and its destruction by fire on the Sylvester night between 1922 and 1923. A quarter of a year after our great days, the annihilating fire was first noticed in the White Room. By the grace of destiny, two important stages in the development of our task fell within these 2½ years. When, after the disaster of the fire, Dr. Steiner wrote the retrospective account, "The Goetheanum during Ten Years," he mentioned these stages: "At the end of September and the beginning of October (1921) a number of German theologians gathered at the Goetheanum, bearing within them the impulse towards a Christian religious renewal. The work then done here found a conclusion in September, 1922. What I experienced in September, 1922, with these theologians, in the small room in the south wing, where later the fire was first discovered, I must reckon among the festivals of my life." (*Das Goetheanum*, 18.3.23.)

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If to-day it appears to us like a miracle that the inauguration of the new ritual drawn from the spiritual world, and therewith the foundation of the "Christian Community", fell within the short life-time of the first Goetheanum—all the more was it an invaluable grace of destiny that Rudolf Steiner, before in March, 1925, death put an end to his many-sided labours on earth, was able to accompany our work with his advice and help for two and a half years. He never denied himself to us, however great the burden of work which he had to carry, for example, during his visits to Stuttgart. So one or two or three of us, who were responsible for the leadership of the Christian Community, were able to report to him in many conversations about progress in finding congregations, and to ask his advice about the problems which arose out of the work. Through this period, above all, ran the golden chain of moments, when he transmitted to us as a gift of the spiritual world the words which completed our sacraments, as we had received them up to that time, and so made it possible for us to celebrate and shape afresh one great festival after another in the course of the year. When, early in 1923, I received from him in this way the Burial Service for children, he was himself radiant with thankfulness for this special form of creativity, which was at the same time the highest art of receiving. Twice he came to me on that day—it was

during a conference—with the words: “Is not the text beautiful!” In the midst of the mighty waves of events during the Christmas Foundation Meeting in the last days of 1923, he gave us the words through which the festival of the Epiphany could be shaped anew; and during the agricultural course at Koberwitz, at Whitsun, 1924, the words which made possible the founding of a Christian festival for the summer solstice.

During the four meetings which the circle of priests were able to have with Dr. Steiner at Stuttgart in the summer of 1924, he was concerned above all to help us in overcoming the crisis which had arisen for our work through the necessity for differentiating it clearly from the specific work of the Anthroposophical Society.

Then, a year after the burning of the Goetheanum, came the great spiritual break-through which Rudolf Steiner achieved in the service and through the power of Michael, the Spirit of the Age, and of which the name, “Christmas Foundation Meeting”, is only an indication. A new impulse was to come into all the branches of the efforts proceeding from Anthroposophy to bring about a renewal of civilisation. Towards our work, too, Dr. Steiner expressed once again enhanced willingness to help. He wanted to aid us towards the strongest possible connection with the newly flowing stream. He said he would like to arrange it that our circle should henceforth be invited not only once a year, as it had been until then, but twice a year for a course at Dornach. When we asked for a course on the Apocalypse of St. John, he agreed with spontaneous enthusiasm. The ideal of concrete co-operation between the specialised movements, especially between teachers, doctors and priests, shone before us, too, with a fresh light. Dr. Steiner made an immediate contribution to this by letting individual members of the circle of priests take part as guests in the medical and other courses. Thus I was permitted to attend the course which was held to found the work of Curative Education. And with another friend I was guest at the great Speech Eurhythmics course, in which all that had been worked out until then in this field was summed up and developed further.

In this kind of connection it happened that at Easter, during a course for young doctors, a request from our side was made to Dr. Steiner that he would help us with the difficult pastoral problems in which co-operation with a doctor seemed advisable. He at once agreed to give within the sphere of the Medical Section a course for doctors and priests on pastoral medicine. He added that there would certainly be time then for a few, perhaps two or three, lectures on the Apocalypse, as he had promised us.

There was something incomparable, almost taking one's breath away, in the abundance and character of Dr. Steiner's work during the months of 1924 when he was still able to give lectures. One could see how sore already were his bodily sufferings and struggles. Sometimes his physical strength seemed to leave him so completely

that his friends, for example in July at Arnheim, were appalled, and acutely anxious about him. Those who knew of it were deeply struck by the courage—the courage of a Michael warrior—with which he put before us the developing revelations of the Karma lectures.

When at the beginning of September he returned from England, a large and interestingly composed audience had gathered at Dornach, full of intense expectation. Many special courses, due to take place simultaneously, had been announced. Several groups of actors, together with those concerned with speech production, were waiting for the Drama Course. Nearly all the anthroposophical doctors had come to hear, with the complete circle of the priests of the Christian Community, the course on Pastoral Medicine. Many other friends had come from all directions to share in the Karma lectures expected in the evenings and the special Lessons for Members of the School of Spiritual Science at the Goetheanum. So began the three weeks which, not only in the history of the Anthroposophical Movement, but in spiritual history in general, represented a unique event. Dr. Steiner, who said to us on the first day, as if he had to apologise for it, that he had unfortunately come back very ill from the journey to England—he could move only with great physical efforts from the car to the rostrum—gave four, if not five, lectures every day. Finally, including the early morning talks to the building workers, he gave in this short period seventy lectures, each of them bringing in the most concentrated form so much that was absolutely new, inspiring fresh beginnings: so that what was given in these days alone contains substance and tasks enough for working on through many decades.

The overwhelming character of this pregnant development is something that we priests of the Christian Community experienced, day by day, in a particularly definite way. Not only because we were permitted to attend all the courses and evening lectures. We had the impression that besides the course which we received with the doctors, Dr. Steiner would say something to us about the Apocalypse, but only in a short, concentrated form. Yet our course on the Apocalypse began on the first day and was continued daily, even when the lectures on pastoral medicine were concluded. When we had received such rich gifts for nearly two weeks, I had to undertake the not exactly pleasant task of asking Dr. Steiner how long the courses would still last. In many places we already had congregations which reckoned on Sunday services, and we had already once telegraphed to them that our return was delayed. The answer was: “Be patient for a few days more; then it can be seen how long we shall continue.” In the end the Drama Course grew to 19 lectures, the course on pastoral medicine to 11, and our course on the Apocalypse to 18 lectures. Could we avoid the anxious question whether this might not be the farewell, during which Dr. Steiner was endeavouring to give the uttermost possible?

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In spite of his great physical weakness, Rudolf Steiner would not be prevented from receiving many of us personally, in order to give advice and help on the inner questions, and also with the questions of health, with which they had to deal. We were able, too, to speak to him several times about questions concerned with the leadership of our movement. He recommended us to complete our constitution by instituting the office of *Erzoberlenker* (head of the movement), and when we asked him to take part himself in the ceremony of institution, he said that he had limited himself consistently until then to advice and help, without intervening actively in what must be done entirely by us, on our responsibility. But since we specifically asked him, he would this time make an exception and himself take a direct part. And so we could fix the place and the time of the ceremony with him.

But it was indeed the abundance of a farewell, in which we had been allowed to share. Immediately after the last address, like a testament, which he was able to give on the eve of Michaelmas Day by summoning the remnant of his physical forces once more, illness laid him on the bed of suffering, which six months later became his deathbed.

Concerning our ceremony, he sent a message that he would arrange everything for us, so that we could fulfil what was necessary without him within the circle of priests. But we replied that since we had his agreement to take part, which was so important for us, we would prefer to wait until his health was sufficiently restored. Some months passed, during which from all parts of the world anxious hearts sent their hopeful thoughts towards Dornach. Rudolf Steiner continued his work for his pupils and for humanity through the apocalyptic, guiding letters on the "Michael Mystery."

In the second half of February, 1925, I was able to be for some days in Dornach, and through Dr. Guenther Wachsmuth, who belonged to the Vorstand at the Goetheanum and was the leader of the scientific section of the School, put to Dr. Steiner some questions which had arisen in our work. When he learned of my presence he sent me a message, that I must not leave until I had received what he wished to give me. Two days later I held in my hands the sheets on which he had written the text of the ceremony that was to be held. I received at the same time the proposal that for the fulfilment of this we should call the circle of priests together in Berlin on the day before the conference that we were about to hold there.

The destiny that spoke in this last sign of Dr. Steiner's concern moved us deeply, particularly as we were bound to feel, in the fixing of a date so near at hand, the breath of urgent time.

On the 24th of February, Frau Marie Steiner and Dr. Guenther Wachsmuth were present in Berlin at our ceremony as representatives of Rudolf Steiner. The thoughts which we sent to the sickbed at Dornach were carried by acute anxiety; but inasmuch as the

greatest thankfulness was united with it for all that we had received from and through Dr. Steiner, and were still receiving, the radiant spirit-form shone out before us, which showed him to us as the Herald commissioned by Christ Himself. Dr. Wachsmuth relates that on the next day, when he had returned to Dornach, he had at once to report, and Dr. Steiner was deeply moved by the account given him.

A few weeks later came the incomprehensible news of his death. Never can those who watched during those days and nights by his bedside under the tall statue of the Christ, and who were present as Dr. Rittelmeyer held the burial service at the open coffin, and Albert Steffen spoke of the "Friend of God and Leader of Mankind", forget the earnest, clear reflection of the spirit upon the countenance of Rudolf Steiner.

From then on we experienced our task and our mission all the more strongly as one that was accompanied and aided by higher powers.

Translated by A. B.

EXPERIENCES IN THE REALM OF DRAMATIC ART

Gottfried Haass-Berkow *

WHEN I recall the inspiring suggestions given by Rudolf Steiner for dramatic art, they are inseparably bound up for me with the utilisation of them on the stage. A painter who wanted to show what Rudolf Steiner's indications had meant for him would perhaps paint a landscape; and what they have meant for me I can best express in word and gesture. For just as what Steiner has said about colour should give to the pictures of a painter a mark of genuine creation, so should everything that an actor has received from him come to view in the creative power of the actor's mime and in the vitality of his speaking. It is not possible for me simply to record that Rudolf Steiner spoke on several occasions in such and such terms on the subject of dramatic performance, and that he did this or that action or gesture in such and such a way. And if I am, notwithstanding, to make the attempt to put something down in writing of what an actor who knew Rudolf Steiner owes to impulses that came from him, then the reader must be asked to bear this in mind as he reads. With this reservation, I can assure him that it not only gives me great happiness to report on my experiences, but I am sensible of an inner obligation to do so, since what we were privileged to receive has too great a significance for our whole culture and civilisation for us to suffer it to be lost.

During the course of many years I had opportunities to put questions personally to Rudolf Steiner, and there were also questions that I put to him together with various members of the company I was leading at the time; and the answers to all these questions are not at all widely known. The treatment of problems in dramatic art does not of course admit of explanation simply in words, for everything depends on making the prescribed exercises live for immediate experience, and on demonstrating conclusively that what has been said can be made fruitful in persistent practice.

I should perhaps begin by speaking briefly of myself, so that my readers may know on to what kind of ground the seed fell. Acting has been my vocation ever since my eighteenth year, when I began my career in Austria. Four years later, prompted by the desire to explore new ways of cultural development, I entered the Jacques Dalcroze Institute for Rhythmical Gymnastics at Dresden-Hellerau. Having gained a Teacher's Diploma at Professor Eduard Engel's School in Dresden for Voice and Speech Production, I went afterwards to Berlin and had an appointment there as teacher in

* With regret we have to record that Herr Haass-Berkow died last summer.

the Dramatic School run by Max Reinhardt and Maria Moissi. It was in Berlin that I first heard Rudolf Steiner lecture, and took part in the first lessons that were given there in the new art of Eurythmy which he had created. In the summer of 1912 I was present at the performance of his Mystery Plays in Munich. At Christmas I was given the role of Herod in the Oberufer Christmas Plays which Rudolf Steiner produced in the Anthroposophical Group in Berlin. At that time medieval Christmas Plays were quite unknown; we owe it to Rudolf Steiner that people's attention was drawn to them, and that to-day they are produced everywhere.

When at the beginning of the war the dramatic schools were closed, I asked Rudolf Steiner's permission to produce these plays, and the texts were sent to me. At first I worked at them with some students of Göttingen University; we took also other folk plays, such as, for example, the *Totentanz* (Dance of the Dead) which I had put together out of fifteenth-century texts. Some of my readers may still remember it. In 1910 I formed a permanent company, and for many years we continued to give performances in a number of towns in Germany and also abroad. For this we extended our repertoire to include dramas by standard authors. The 'Haass-Berkow Players' met with a warm welcome from young and old.

In 1921, during the days of a *Hochschulkurs* in Dornach, we put our questions to Rudolf Steiner, and his answers to them have since been published in a book entitled *Über die Schauspielkunst*. Three years later he gave, at the request of myself and others, the course of lectures called *Sprachgestaltung und Dramatische Kunst*, which has also appeared in print.¹ At the conclusion of the course, we—that is, my company and I—were vouchsafed the opportunity to give a little demonstration of our stage work, after which Rudolf Steiner spoke to us, giving us what proved to be his last suggestions and advice for our work. This was almost immediately before he was taken ill.

* * * *

Later on, after Rudolf Steiner's death, an intensive study of speech was begun in the section for the Arts of Speech and Music at the Goetheanum, under the guidance of Frau Marie Steiner. This was in the summer of 1925, and the study was continued for many years from the summer of 1926 onward. During this time a group of students was handed over to me by Frau Steiner for speech training. Quite a number of my actors remained on afterwards in Dornach, while I myself accepted an offer to undertake the leadership of the *Württemberg Landesbühne*.

So much for my own career, in so far as it has immediate connection with Rudolf Steiner and the Goetheanum.

If now to-day, thirty years after Steiner gave his lectures on dramatic art, we want to face up to the question of where we are

¹ An English translation will appear shortly.

with the art of acting, I would like in the first place to quote from an article by the actor Ernst Ginsberg, which appeared in November, 1954, in the *Deutsche Zeitung*: "There is no denying it, the theatre is completely impoverished to-day. A zealous loyalty to his work in all its detail demands from the actor such a mastery of his craft as is hardly to be met with in our time. . . . Artistic standards are sadly lacking to-day. . . . One would like to say to the young actors: 'Do take pains to learn once more how to breathe and how to speak! Study to be equal to all kinds of style in speaking, so that, for example, you are ready to speak with masterly skill classical passages which physically require you to hold the breath for a long time, and spiritually to sustain the mood throughout—instead of tearing it up into naturalistic shreds' . . . We should encourage actors much more than we do to work out of their own imagination."

The present situation in regard to stage speaking was described at about the same time by the Darmstadt stage manager Rudolf Sella, one of the leading producers of our day. "We cannot but have serious anxiety for the very existence of the theatre. The consolidation of the theatres by means of regulated dependence on the State has no sensible foundation The kernel of all the problems concerned with form and style is the relation of the actor to speech We must find new methods of working that will put the performer in his right place Compared with the theatre of olden times, our theatre is to an extreme degree a 'personal' theatre, a theatre of imitation, a theatre of the 'type'. The actor in playing his part plays at the same time himself Bent on producing a picture that is true to nature, he lets the word lose exactness and precision. The theatre must be born again out of speech. Will it ever succeed in bringing into this everyday kind of acting the ordering and dignifying power of speech?"

Rudolf Steiner has answered these questions. Thirty years have gone by since he pointed to new paths for the development of drama and opened up possibilities for that spiritual deepening of the art for which men are waiting to-day. We must, however, be prepared to find that the paths of development here implied are paths that each one has to discover—and tread and make fertile—for himself. We must also realise that any report of the answers Rudolf Steiner gave to the questions we brought to him could carry conviction only if at the same time it were possible to demonstrate them practically. All that I can attempt to do is to draw for you in writing an utterly inadequate kind of sketch, intended to suggest how such exercises can prove fruitful for an actor. And for this purpose I would like to single out two themes: first, conscious creative activity on the stage; and, secondly, the interconnection of gesture and word.

* * * *

On the occasion of the *Hochschulkurs* of 1921, we asked Rudolf Steiner: 'How is consciousness related to dramatic activity?' He replied as follows: 'Dramatic activity has a very special part to play in that enhancement of consciousness towards which man is moving in the present time. Again and again, in widely differing spheres of life, we hear it emphatically declared that this development of consciousness cannot but rob the artist of some measure of his naiveté and instinct. The faculty of immediate and vital perception, however, will most assuredly not be lost by such knowledge as we are pursuing here. One need have no fear of becoming inartistic through acquiring conscious control of one's medium For mankind in general, and more especially for the artist, the process of becoming conscious is a necessity.'

These words I myself, along with many others who have travelled the same road, can fully confirm. Rudolf Steiner went on to say that Shakespeare had to a remarkable degree the faculty of *beholding* the characters of his plays. He could see them standing before him in imagination as objective pictures, and it enabled him to creep right inside them and know them from within. This faculty of the dramatist must, said Rudolf Steiner, extend to the actor. That is to say, particular care should be taken during his training to develop it.

And now Rudolf Steiner gave us an example for the development of consciousness which, as we try to follow it with sympathy and understanding, does indeed awaken within us the forces that can be creative in the realm of drama. He quoted to us the following words of the well-known Vienna actor Lewinski, one of our foremost 'character' actors. When questioned about his relationship to his art, Lewinski said: 'I would of course simply not be able to play at all if I were to depend upon the little hunchbacked figure standing there on the stage, with his croaking voice and frightfully ugly face; he could never do anything! I help myself out of the difficulty in the following way. On the stage I am composed of three persons. The first is the little hunchback. The second is completely outside this hunchbacked figure, and leads a purely ideal existence; but I must have him there before me all the time. Finally, I myself creep out of both of these and am the third, who plays with the second upon the first—upon the hunchbacked Lewinski.' One might perhaps say, expressing it a little differently, that the artistically creative ego (No. 3) plays, with the imagined figure of his part (No. 2), upon the instrument of his body (No. 1). This division of oneself into three, said Rudolf Steiner, has great significance for the actor in all his work on the stage.

Rudolf Steiner emphasised also how necessary it is for the actor to *know* his body, before he can be ready to play upon it as on an instrument. 'He should have as thorough a knowledge of his body as the violinist has of his violin. He must come to the point of being able to listen to his own voice. He should also

know how he steps, how he places the sole of his foot in walking, how he moves his feet and legs, and so on.' The actor will, in fact, make an intensive study of how people walk; he will learn the secret of different kinds of walking. He will observe that inconsiderate people walk on their heels—which corresponds to the gesture for K; or again that the more pleasant and agreeable person has an easy, flowing gait, which corresponds to the gesture for L. He will practise rapid walking, and then a mere shuffling along; or again, swaying to and fro as he walks, and then once more stepping out firm and straight. He will do best to practise especially the kind of walking that comes least naturally to him. If in a student we call into play merely what he brings with him by natural endowment, it will mean that we hold him fast in naturalistic acting—a procedure that is only too common in the film world. And it is a fact that even many stage producers, under the contaminating influence of the film, are tending to cast their parts on this principle. If, on the other hand, an actor's work is not restricted in this way to suit his more natural talents and disposition, he can develop such an alert ability for change that he can be perpetually turning into someone else. By submerging himself in many different 'imagined' characters, he acquires a rich store of possibilities of expression. Such an actor we shall want to see again and again, for on account of his unbounded versatility he will always remain interesting; whereas we shall soon tire of one who is for ever showing us what comes easiest to him. In naturalistic acting the actor is a prisoner; in fantasy he is free to change all the time. 'The actor should know whether he has himself a quiet walk or a quick, smart step—in ordinary life as well as on the stage; he should know how he bends his knee, how he moves his hands.' With these words Rudolf Steiner touched as early as in 1921 on the theme of the fundamental nuances of movement—a theme he expounded in greater detail in the Drama Course, showing their relation to the gymnastics of Greece. 'The actor,' he said, 'should make the experiment of trying to behold himself—in daily life as well as whilst he is studying his part. In this way he becomes able to stand right *within* the role he is playing.'

Once, when present at a rehearsal, I shut my eyes in order to be able to concentrate better, and found that I could *hear* from the way in which the actors were speaking what movements they were making; I could hear—without seeing—when their muscles were taut and when relaxed. My own experience is that the more I resolve myself into the movements of my part, gliding into its very being and becoming identified with it, the nearer do I come to understanding what the art of mime really is. Observation of life is of incomparable value for the actor. Imitation of life in its external appearance leads to naturalism; imitation, on the other hand, of the form that is beheld in imagination leads to style.

I would like to give you here two examples of how a cry of

horror or dismay, which as a rule is rendered naturalistically on the stage, is lifted by a poet to the level of style. He accomplishes this by using the material that is given him in speech—rhythm, choice of sounds, alliteration, assonance, repetition, enhancement and so on. The first example is from the chorus in Schiller's *Die Braut von Messina*:

'Wehe, wehe dem Mörder, wehe,
Der sich gesät die tödlichen Saat!'¹

Notice, among other things, how d (or t) occurs seven times in the verse.

The second is from Goethe's *Pandora*. Epimeleia takes refuge beneath her father's cloak from the axe of the jealous Phileros:

— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —
'Ai! Ai! Weh! Weh mir! Weh! Weh! Weh! Ai! Ai mir! Weh!'

Many actors are completely at a loss how to render such passages.

I once asked Rudolf Steiner how spiritual science could help one to understand the art of acting better. He did not reply at once, but a few days later said somewhat as follows: 'Try one evening to build up a clear picture of some monologue or short scene. See the picture there before you. You will need to hold it there for about five minutes, no more. Next morning try to see it all backwards, to see it as a continuous series of pictures in the reverse order. This is a very good exercise, for it will mean you are no longer bound to the thread of the thought.' We all know what a dream is like, how it speaks to us in pictures. By means of such an exercise some part that we have to play is similarly converted into pictures. Gradually you find yourself becoming completely at home in the part; you are caught up into the fantasy of it. Gesture and word come alive for you, a dynamic makes itself felt in their antitheses, and you grow conscious of enhancements and of varying tempos not noticed before. In fine, you become able to do your acting out of the picture that you have there objectively before you. Liberated from yourself, you begin to have positive joy in playing your role. Practice in this exercise takes one right away from any expression of self in the acting, right away too from naturalism, and teaches one to present the part objectively. When formed on the stage in this objective manner, even a cruel scene will win applause from the audience for its art, whereas the very same scene performed naturalistically and subjectively will arouse only abhorrence and disgust.

On the subject of the quick response of movement to tone and tone to movement, which can lead us to appreciate the close inter-working of gesture and word, Rudolf Steiner said: 'If you want to

¹ 'Woe, woe to the murderer, woe,
Who sowed for himself the fatal seed!'

(From Act III, Scene 5).

represent human life artistically, try gradually to begin to notice that when, for example, you have a sentence to say that has an emotional quality, or again one that tends in the direction of sadness or distress, or when perhaps you have to scold someone—then on each single occasion you can feel that an absolutely definite movement of the body, and also a definite kind of slowness or quickness of speaking, belong to that sentence.'

Let me quote a few examples, although when they are written down, instead of being livingly demonstrated, they can give but a poor idea of the matter. Suppose we have the words: 'I've a perfect passion for skittles!' Let us imagine the situation. We are in a skittles-alley. A skittles devotee is standing there with the ball in his hand, and behind him are his comrades in the game. He takes careful aim at the skittles at the other end of the alley and finally sets the ball running. 'All nine!' shouts the boy in charge of the skittles. The man is delighted and calls out: 'I've a perfect passion for skittles!'—and goes off into a whole series of movements. The thing is done! From the sentence we have discovered the movements that belong to it.

Take another sentence: 'I am very sad!' I drop on to a chair and let my arms and legs droop. In this position, arms and legs hanging loose, I say the words: 'I am very sad!' The situation in which I find myself has to reveal to me the movement that fits the words; and then in the posture into which the movement brings me I find the right dynamic for the speaking of the words.

One more example. A peasant woman, so runs the text, has to say to her naughty little girl: 'You dirty little snuffler! You stupid, good-for-nothing child! Have you anything to say for yourself? I'll give it you!' It comes so natural to the mother, seeing before her this impudent little daughter of hers screaming and howling, to say: 'You dirty little snuffler!' and then to add in a hard, repellent tone: 'Stupid, good-for-nothing child!', and then with hands raised threateningly and in a voice trembling with annoyance to put the question to her: 'Have you anything to say for yourself?' Pause. The woman holds her clenched fists tight on to her sides and with the words 'I'll give it you!' treats her daughter to a smart box on the ears. There you have a succession of different movements, each in turn giving its particular nuance to the words.

And now we can go further and look at the relation between tone and movement from the opposite direction. Rudolf Steiner said: 'You should find a certain pleasure in moving your legs and arms, enjoying the movements simply as movements. Then, when you are studying, you should feel: The movement I am making at this moment calls for *this* tone of voice—another one for that other tone of voice.' Let us take an example. I am drumming on the table with my fingers, I am getting nervous. The sentence will form itself in a tone to correspond: "He's not here yet!" With these words I am *in* the movement I am making with my hands.

Or, I balance up and down on my toes, shrugging my shoulders. I shall then find myself saying with the corresponding modulation of voice: "Well, well, after all, there's nothing to be done. He'll come all right. Let's wait a little longer."

There are many other kinds of sentences one could take. But always the modulation and dynamic of the speaking will have to correspond with the movements. Two or more actors could make a game of it, one making the movement, and another having to find the right modulation of the voice. In this way one would arrive, without conscious design, at the recitation of a dramatic text by a separate reciter (the actor having then to find the corresponding movements)—a plan advocated by Rudolf Steiner again and again as an exercise of no little importance. In this way the actor becomes thoroughly at home in the whole play of movements, and learns also to find in the movements the right way to form his sentences.

Through the mouth of Hamlet, Shakespeare gives players instructions how to perform. It is interesting to compare these instructions with what Rudolf Steiner has given for the study of word and gesture. Hamlet says to the players: 'Suit the action to the word, the word to the action.' The first part of this advice is followed when the actor who is telling or describing elucidates and reinforces the word by his movements—as it were in picture; and the second when the dramatic action is the prominent factor. Take an example of this. You walk with quick resolute steps to an open door, shut it firmly and say in a threatening voice that goes well with your movements: '*There!* Now the door is shut and you can't get out!' Or, you take hold of the door handle gently, close the door with care, and your words have instead a reassuring ring: 'There now, the door is shut, and nothing can happen to you!'

Rudolf Steiner's indications on the subject of gesture and movement could well be followed up by experimenting, for example, with a well-known painting. Hold up before a circle of young players and students a picture, let us say *The Deluge* of Michelangelo, and cast the various parts. Each student will then proceed to make careful and exact inspection of the figure he is to present. After about five minutes the picture is taken away, so that the figures remain only in the memory. And now let the actors take up their positions in the group as they saw them in the picture. Then say to them: 'The flood is rising higher still, the danger is increasing, the little island on which you are taking refuge will soon be submerged!' At once all their gestures and mime are intensified. You then call on them to stay perfectly still, as they are. And now you have a picture absolutely in the style of Michelangelo, and so striking that it could well serve as a motif for a painter or sculptor. The actors feel this muscular tension by means of their 'movement' sense.¹

¹ Rudolf Steiner describes man as having twelve senses. By means of this one he 'senses' his own movements.

In a little while you indicate that the flood is subsiding. A feeling as of deliverance passes over the group; in one and another, perhaps, it finds utterance in speech. Again you call a halt; and once more you have an impressive picture—altogether new and astonishingly lifelike. Experiments of this nature can be carried out with pictures by every variety of painter, and also with sculptures by Rodin, for instance, or Barlach. The actors learn what it means to live in imagined figures that they themselves have first to create out of the roles allotted to them—they learn to live in these figures and to take cognizance of themselves in all the different kinds of style that the pictures provide. Participation in such an exercise will also help to develop the faculty for *imitation of forms one has oneself created out of imagination*, in contradistinction to imitation of life in the world outside.

When asked what steps one should take in order to acquire a thorough grasp of a new role and make intimate contact with it, Rudolf Steiner made a special point of the interpretation of the drama as a whole through a preliminary reading rehearsal. This, he said, is a great help for the forming of the *ensemble*. The various characters will then become alive in all manner of ways for the imagination of the actors. He laid particular emphasis on the fact that if the actors have first found their way together into the piece as a whole, they will come more easily to an understanding of their individual parts than they do when each studies his own part alone for himself—or when, as used really to happen in the days of 'written parts', the actor knows nothing of the play except his own part, bit by bit!

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What should happen with all exercises—as experience will show—is that a new instinct should mature out of them. They must become second nature in the student—a complete matter of habit. They must never remain at the stage of being regarded as a lesson, or as a rule to be followed.

In a lecture given in 1909 on *The Nature and Origin of the Arts*, Rudolf Steiner spoke of how the art of mime proceeds from man's 'movement' sense, which he described as the sensation we experience when we move the limbs or members of our own organism. In the year 1921 I asked for exercises that would develop this sense. The reply was: 'Yes, they can't be given all at once, but I will look into the matter. Things of this kind, if they are to be of use, have to be worked out slowly and objectively, and no less so because they have their foundation in spiritual knowledge. I will make a note of the question and give an answer later on.'

The answer came three years afterwards in the Drama Course. Rudolf Steiner pointed there to the gymnastics of the Greeks as a first foundation for the actor. Since the experiences these gymnastics afford, both external and inward, are fundamental, we will now proceed to consider them in some detail.

'In running, leaping, wrestling, throwing the discus, throwing the spear, the will that resides in the limbs expresses itself in its total relationship with the surrounding world and thereby brings to expression also the fundamental properties of stage speaking.' The essential mime movements or gestures that belong to the stage were designated by Rudolf Steiner as 'shadow-sketches' of the five gymnastic activities of the Greeks. Taking our start from stage speaking, we find, he said, that stage speaking should have the following properties: 'It should be able to be effective, and also thoughtful; it should be able to feel its way forward in face of hindrances, to show an antipathy that repudiates, to show a sympathy that gives reassurance; and finally it should be able to express a withdrawal into oneself or on to one's own ground. These properties of speech readily lend themselves to association with certain gestures, and the gestures again give rise to corresponding nuances in the speaking.' Thus in these six fundamental shades of expression in speech the actor has starting points for his artistic performance, much as the painter has in the fundamental colours, or the musician in the scales.

The 'movement' sense—the sense, that is, of one's own movement—is too little developed in man to-day. If it were in active use, how many and manifold discoveries it would lead to in life! In order to throw fresh light on these vitally important exercises, I would like now to give you some examples, taken from classical authors as well as from daily life.

1. 'The *effectiveness* of speech can be studied in connection with the "pointing" gesture and renders the word incisive.' The well-known words from *Julius Caesar* afford a good example:

'Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears!'

When the pointing gesture is made that corresponds to the sentence, then the gesture itself produces the incisively spoken word.

2. 'In *thoughtful* speech the inner processes of the soul are seeking revelation. The gesture will be a holding on to oneself, and the word will be fully formed.' Take the sentence in Schiller's *Wallenstein*:

'Solch ein Moment wars, als ich in der Nacht
Gedankenvoll an einem Baum gelehnt,
Hinaus sah in die Ebene.'¹

¹ *Wallensteins Tod*. Act 2. Scene 3. The whole passage in S. T. Coleridge's translation reads:

'There exist moments in the life of man,
When he is nearer the great Soul of the world
Than is man's custom, and possesses freely
The power of questioning his destiny,
And such a moment 'twas when in the night
Before the action in the plains of Lützen,
Leaning against a tree, thoughts crowding thoughts,
I look'd out far upon the ominous plain.'

You will see how in the sentence itself the gesture is already indicated—'leaning against a tree'. It is a sentence that is called up out of *memory* and requires to be fully intoned, every consonant distinctly uttered and making its contribution to the picture. Or we could take something that happens in the soul, in the realm of feeling. 'Terrible!' Even as I say the word, I shut my eyes tight. And once more, this close holding on to oneself leads to a full intonation of the word. Or suppose you are chafing inside with pent-up anger. You will perhaps clench your fists and plant them firmly on your hips, and for action administer a box on the ears which you will thoroughly enjoy, pouring the enjoyment into the words: 'There now! I've paid him out!' A further nuance of this property of speech manifests in an inability to come to a decision: 'This expresses itself in the limbs being held still, and in a long-drawn-out manner of speaking.' Repeated questions directed to someone who is disconcerted or upset will perhaps evoke for answer nothing but a continual drawling murmur. This last is a nuance that was not so much in evidence thirty years ago as it is to-day!

3. 'The feeling forward in face of hindrances. This property of speech is to be studied in the forward-rolling movement one makes with arms and hands, producing a trembling or vibrating in the word.' Such a manner of speaking may occur in a *question*, or in an expression of *doubt*, or again in a *wish*. Romeo is standing beneath Juliet's balcony, where she is seen leaning her cheek on her hand.

Romeo: O, that I were a glove upon that hand
That I might touch that cheek!

4. 'The rejecting in a mood of *antipathy* is to be studied in the flinging forth of the limbs; it gives a hard tone to the voice.' Take the opening words of Faust:

'Habe nun, ach! Philosophie,
Jur sterei und Medecin,
Und leider auch Theologie!
Durchaus studiert . . .'¹

5. 'The expression of trust and confidence in a mood of *sympathy* manifests in a reaching out to touch the object, and the speaking becomes thereby gentle.'

Faust: 'O sähest du, voller Mondenschein,
Zum letzten Mal auf meine Pein!'²

Note with what artistic feeling Goethe lets the sound O—so characteristic of sympathy—come three times in the verse.

¹ 'I have studied, alas! Philosophy,
And Jurisprudence, and Medicine too,
And saddest of all, Theology,
With ardent labour, through and through!'

(Trans. by Latham.)

² 'Full-orbed Moon, would thou didst shine
Thy last upon this pain of mine!'

6. 'The withdrawal of man into himself comes to expression in the thrusting forth of a limb that has first been held closely to the body. And this results in a short, abrupt manner of speech.' Take the last words of a dialogue in the poem of C. F. Meyer entitled *Die Füße am Feuer*:

'Mein—ist die Rache—redet Gott.'¹

Everything that is brought to revelation in speech is comprised, said Rudolf Steiner, within these nuances: and one should make a thorough study of one's sentences in the typical gestures, in order to come at last to a natural and easy forming of gesture—for word, for sentence, and even for the whole character that one is playing.

Rudolf Steiner pointed also to further—and quite astonishing—results that can follow from the practice of the gymnastic exercises. 'In *running*,' he said, 'one practises stage walking.' We shall readily recognise that walking on the stage is not a thing we can do as a matter of course. In running, the foot is called into action just where it is most mobile—that is, in the front. The whole foot is more easily guided from there; the step is best begun and finished from the fore-part of the foot. Moreover, from running one learns to walk so that the walking articulates the word. For example:

*Hoch zu Flammen entbrannte die mächtige Lohe noch einmal.*²

Down to one's very toes, one goes right into speaking, into the sounds, and learns how to work at them so as to develop them in full clarity. In ordinary life many people will set their feet moving when they want to bring their thoughts or their speech into flow. Any walking or running, but especially rhythmical running, will make itself felt in the 'feet' of the verse, in the run and flow of the language.

Another exercise that belongs here is writing with the feet. It is indeed true of this exercise, as Rudolf Steiner said: 'Man begins then to feel his own organism, and that is an incalculable gain for the soul.'

'Through the practice of *leaping*, one learns instinctively to modify one's walking—making it now slower, now quicker, to suit the character of the word.' Leaping also helps one to acquire readiness and vivacity in expressing one's thought, and a quick

¹ 'Vengeance is mine—saith God.'

Driven by a thunderstorm, a servant of the King begs a night's shelter in a castle. To his horror he finds in his host the Huguenot nobleman whose lady, three years before, he had foully murdered, because she would not betray her husband. Next morning the nobleman, after an agonising inner struggle, exchanges a few burning words with his enemy, and with this last solemn pronouncement sends him on his way.

² 'High into flame burst forth once more the great conflagration.'
(The first line of Goethe's *Achilleis*.)

versatility in dialogue, both as speaker and as listener; and moreover the faculty of being able to change rapidly from one kind of speaking to another—for example, from thoughtfulness in speech to antipathy, to brusqueness, and so on. One becomes much more sensitive to the manifold nuances in speech and simply unable to tolerate a uniform, colourless dialogue that has no life in it.

'In *wrestling*, we learn instinctively what hand and arm movements to make while speaking.' The will goes here into the movements of the arms, goes into the hands, into the fingertips. We sense what our opponent is intending to do, and in our dealings with him, in our careful "feeling" and "touching" of him, in the play of forces between ourselves and him, we learn to *feel ourselves*—down to the feet in one direction and up to the head and the senses in the other. Alternate tension and relaxation; the mood that is all alert for action; pregnant pauses; echoes that linger on afterwards—all these we experience in wrestling; in short, we learn how to speak dialogue!

'In *discus-throwing*, the eye learns to fix its gaze exactly in the direction of the throw and then to follow steadily the path of the thrown object (ball of some kind, or a little stone), to watch carefully also the movement of the hand—and from all this we learn the play of mime, the control of the muscles in mime, and moreover the "look" in the eye.' 'We are laid hold of by the object,' says Graf Fritz von Bothmer (who was chosen by Rudolf Steiner to be the first teacher of gymnastics in the original Waldorf School). Beginning from the eye, from the gaze in the eye, our whole organism feels itself caught up by the object. We can well understand that by means of such an exercise a thorough inner training of soul and body can be achieved. And it is also interesting to experience how by means of discus-throwing speech is loosened, and the speaker is then taken hold of by the dynamic of the immediate sentence, so that each sentence—and this applies especially to dialogue—receives its own particular movement. Take, for example, the sentence: 'Look! There's a bird flying over the field!' The one who calls out these words is caught up by the movement of the flying bird; he has escaped from the prison of his subjective self. His speaking is right outside him; it is out there in the realm of the air.

'In *spear-throwing*, we learn the very foundation of all speech—namely, that it shall not come about as an expression of thought, but purely as speech. For speech is by this exercise drawn away from the intellect and enters into the speech organs and into the forming of them.' Fritz von Bothmer sums it up in the words: 'In the throwing of the spear, man masters the object.' The lifting of the spear for the throw will have its effect upon the inbreathing; the aiming of the spear will have its effect upon the holding of the breath; and then this right holding and measuring of the breath will have its effect upon the sentences, upon many sentences, upon

a whole play. The actual throw goes together with a full out-breathing. Through this exercise one gains mastery of the breathing process and of its use in speaking, and also of the mutual relation of the sentences, one with another. Many experiences afforded by archery as practised in the Eastern Zen art are here confirmed, although there the approach is from an entirely different standpoint.

The professional actor can only be amazed—and filled at the same time with deepest gratitude—when he experiences again and again what love and what intensity of insight Rudolf Steiner brought to the whole domain of dramatic art.

If the art of acting is studied and practised and developed further in his spirit, then it will be possible for the ideal that Rudolf Steiner himself set up for it to find fulfilment. Dramatic art, he said, should be 'a necessary addition to every human existence worthy of the name'.

Translated by M. A.

HOW THE WALDORF SCHOOL AROSE FROM THE THREEFOLD SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Herbert Hahn

THE Free Waldorf School was founded in Stuttgart in the year 1919, hence at a time of abysmal darkness in Middle European history; and it yielded the first gleam of light for a completely new path.

Some words in Goethe's *Fairy Tale* hold good for this time of the birth of a new art of education: "One alone can do but little, but he can avail who in the right hour unites his strength with many others." But in saying that these words hold good, I must make one reservation. It was indeed the right hour, and many united their efforts. But the essential help came from one individual—Rudolf Steiner. When, on the foundation of the energy and initiative of another of whom we shall be speaking, he called the Waldorf School into being, a cycle embracing some 150 years was brought to completion in the cultural history of Germany. For Rudolf Steiner gave the guiding principles of this new art of education in the midst of the storms and crises of a vigorous current in social life which called itself the "Movement for the Threefold Social Organism." The importance of this Movement can be truly assessed only by recalling ideas and impulses that were astir at the end of the 18th century, but were destined to be covered with a layer of wintry snow.

Here we must think, first and foremost, of the young Schiller, whose medical studies at the Karlsschule in Stuttgart culminated in the writing of two treatises. One—it has survived as no more than a fragment—was called *Philosophy of Physiology*; the other, *On the Connection between the Animal and the Spiritual Nature in Man*.

Both treatises represent a new and significant germinating impulse in Schiller's life, a beginning that was not to find fulfilment until much later. For within a pronounced dualistic tendency, prone to antitheses in thinking and in style, they represent an urge, sometimes more tentative, sometimes more violent, towards a third, as yet unknown, principle. In the first of the two writings Schiller is seeking, more from physiological aspects, for an *intermediary force*. In the second treatise the essential quality of precisely *what* is to constitute the link between the animal and the spiritual nature in man remains undefined; it is summoned forth with a certain inner audacity. This seeking and probing, this challenging sum-

mons, are not only a significant prelude to the whole of Schiller's life-story; they are of interest also for the history of cultural development.

For an essential part of the development of Western culture, from before the beginning of the second Christian millennium and even earlier, is dualistic through and through. In his whole existence, his whole path of destiny, and in his struggle between necessity and freedom, man is involved in opposing principles. Torn hither and thither between body and soul, he stands perpetually before the abyss yawning between the world and God, between this side and the "Beyond". True, the light of modern Western consciousness is kindled by these opposing principles, but the soul is impoverished in respect of its deeper, creative talents, and with the gradually increasing dominance of a material culture is drawn into slavery. The soul becomes a prisoner of the body.

It was therefore a moment of evident importance when in his maturer years Schiller turned again to the theme he had set himself in his youth merely as a prelude, and brought it into definite shape. This was when he wrote his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. Through a remarkable chain of circumstances, the basic thoughts in these *Letters* were conceived in Stuttgart.

In this work, where Schiller's thought reaches a peak, a threefold membering of man's inner life is shown to arise out of two contrasting functions which partly merge into a third and partly press on to new creative activity. Schiller speaks, to begin with, of two urges: the urge of reason through which a place is assigned to man among the form-giving forces of the world of spirit; and the urge of matter, through which nature, in the abundance of her prodigious but at the same time unseeing life, breaks in upon him. If a man follows one of these two urges only, he cannot be truly free. Indeed, saturation in the one will usually throw him, enfeebled and devoid of will-power, into the clutches of the other. This holds good both for the span of an individual human life and for the successive stages of humanity.

With regard to what man can achieve in the way of self-development and the education of others, Schiller strives, therefore, to find a third state. He calls this the "aesthetic" state. Here he perceives the sway of a third urge, an artistic urge which he calls the "play impulse" (*Spieltrieb*). As this play-impulse unfolds and takes effect, the warm surge of life continues to flow in from the side of nature, but it is divested of its blind, importunate violence; the form-giving impulse coming down from the side of the spirit spreads abroad its beneficent clarity but loses all inflexibility, every element of compulsion. And so, in thus making himself free, man becomes for the first time *Man* in the fullest sense of the word.

In the child at play, in the artist at his creative work, in the man absorbed in contemplating a real work of art, Schiller recognised the signs of this true manhood. And he is led to affirm:

“For to say it once and for all, man plays only when in the full sense of the word he is a man, and he is wholly Man only when he is playing.” And in another passage: “It would be expedient to remove the former (the natural character) still farther from matter and to bring the latter (the moral character) somewhat nearer to it—so as to create a third character which, related to these other two—the physical and the moral—might pave the way for a transition from the sway of mere force to the rules of law, and, without impeding the development of the moral character, might serve rather as a sensible pledge of a divine morality as yet unseen.”

What Schiller established through his clear mental grasp of this third sphere in man cannot be valued too highly. He sets free the primal forces of the life of soul by not allowing the soul to be thrown hither and thither between Nature and Spirit, and by placing it, instead, in a condition of fruitful tension where it moves forward, conscious of itself. At the threshold of an age which under the pall of an increasingly superficial civilisation was bound to bring in its train an enfeeblement of the life of soul, his aim was to rouse the soul to stronger and purer activity.

Did Schiller also divine in advance many things that the coming phase of evolution would inevitably bring? Again and again one conjectures this in following the trains of thought in these noble *Letters*—now entombed, alas, merely as literary tradition. These thoughts seem often to have been uttered far more for the 20th century than for the early 19th.

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In speaking at some length about Schiller, I have not deviated from the basic theme of this essay. I hope it will become evident that in fact I have been leading up to it, and that the gateway through which the art of education revealed by Rudolf Steiner found entry into our age will be all the more clearly disclosed.

For at the very outset an essential question must be asked: How came it that all these significant thoughts of Schiller had so little effect, broadly speaking, upon the character of the following century? In other words, how came it that they could be entombed as mere literary tradition?

The age before whose portal Schiller had voiced his memorable thoughts, turned—as if in obedience to an irresistible, inner command—more and more resolutely and one-sidedly to the given phenomena of nature. The accepted rule was that each particular phenomenon was to be grasped through its sense-perceptible aspect alone. Applied to the human being, this meant the triumph of tangible substance over the imponderable soul. It was more interesting to get at the detailed physiological facts than to be guided by an idealistically orientated psychology. This was the fate of the basic thoughts voiced by Schiller in the *Letters*. True, in these thoughts he had paved the way for the Threefold perception, but this was purely in the psychological domain. If the thoughts expressed

in his *Philosophy of Physiology*, in the form of mere fragments, had been enriched by his new psychological insights and voiced in terms of a more comprehensive physiology, the material basis would have been provided for the Threefold principle actually expounded in the *Letters*.

Because Schiller, dying all too early, was unable to carry his work through to that stage, his most important spiritual impulses remained without the bodily vehicle demanded by the age. And so, tragically swept aside by the dominating tendencies of the new century, they sank into an enchanted sleep.

They became active again when the young Rudolf Steiner brought them to life during his student years in Vienna and endowed them with a quite new freshness and energy. Later on he spoke of the delight which the dynamic conception of the life of soul presented in Schiller's *Letters* had given him. But even then he regretted that Schiller's treatment of them soared too far into abstraction. On the other hand, he was charmed with the artistic portrayal of the same realities in Goethe's *Fairy Tale*. Whatever metamorphoses these germinating thoughts might undergo, the basic motif of threefold man was there and could not be submerged.

This motif recurs again and again in the fundamental writings of Rudolf Steiner. But it appeared in a particularly conclusive and revealing form when in the year 1917—during the first World War—his book, *Riddles of the Soul*, was published. The essential principles of the threefold nature of man, in the physiological as well as in the psychological and spiritual domains, are outlined in the fourth chapter of this book under the heading: “Brief Supplementary Remarks on the Theme of the Present Volume.” In deliberate contrast to the philosopher Franz Brentano, Rudolf Steiner starts by distinguishing the three interrelated functions of thinking, feeling and willing. The physiological correlates of these psychical processes are presented with precision and exactitude. He then endorses the views current in the first third of the 20th century by seeing the “bodily counterparts” of the psychical activity of ideation (thinking) in “the processes of the nerve-system with their outflow into the sense-organs on the one side and into the bodily inner organisation on the other.”

In the passage following, which deals with the “bodily counterparts” of feeling and willing, a completely revolutionary step is taken. The primary importance hitherto attached to thinking, in consequence of which feeling and willing are regarded as secondary functions subordinate to thinking or as merely accompanying it in a particular way, is set aside. And therewith, too, the notion that the basis for investigating the physiological substrata of psychical processes is provided entirely by observation of nerve-processes. In the exposition given by Rudolf Steiner in 1917, feeling and will are, it is true, presented as organically linked with thinking, but as self-centred, autonomous functions. The physiological correlate of

feeling is said to be the "life-rhythm" centred in, and connected with, the breathing process. And now Rudolf Steiner shows that the rhythm of the breath must be followed "to the outermost peripheral parts of the organism." In a similar way he shows that willing is based upon processes of metabolism, the ramifications of which are to be observed over the whole organism.

Through these new conceptions—which are indicated here in a very elementary way and on the subject of which a great deal of literature has meanwhile been produced—the nerves-and-senses system, with its centres situated mainly in the human head, ceases to be the most important instrument for the life of soul. The whole body becomes the instrument of the soul-and-spirit. And this comes about, not through a static departmentalisation of particular functions, but through a dynamic process which plays into the whole organism from each of the three autonomous spheres, and which in its wonderful interplay of functions, mutually attuned to one another, first makes possible the phenomenon of human life.

Rudolf Steiner was fully alive to the fact that before complete confirmation of his views could be reached, physiological data would have to be followed up in a direction that is still an unfamiliar one to-day. This realisation, however, did not detract from the inner certainty and exactitude of his spiritual-scientific concepts.

A further aspect of the threefold nature of man presented by Rudolf Steiner in the same chapter of the book, *Riddles of the Soul*, is of far-reaching significance. He points to the different levels at which thinking, feeling and willing lie in the field of human consciousness. Man is fully awake only in his life of thinking; in feeling he reaches merely the intensity of dream; while even during the waking life of day, willing takes its course in that deeply obscured state of consciousness into which our whole being passes during sleep. We shall see later how these seemingly simple principles became fruitful to an undreamed of extent.

On the physiological side, however, to which the young Schiller had been able to point only tentatively, the clear light of consciousness now illumined the presentation of threefold man. By integration into the bodily, organic functions, by emancipation from the purely psychological—by this means the spiritual was for the first time given full scope for activity. It was *this* conception of threefold man that alone had every prospect of becoming fruitful in the 20th century, notably for education.

But this particular fruit had to wait for two more years. The impulse of the Threefold perception was first to take effect in a quite different direction. It led Rudolf Steiner to a diagnosis, as profound as it was all-embracing, of the present state of the social organism. Here again there is a remarkable parallelism with the life and work of Schiller. For Schiller, too, the recognition of the Threefold principle, even though rudimentary, had become an

instrument for diagnosing the great social problems of the time. It enabled him to make predictions, astoundingly definite and all too soon to be confirmed, of the denouement of the French Revolution.

Rudolf Steiner's diagnosis was of a quite different order: it pointed simultaneously to the great remedy for which the age was seeking. Amid the forebodings of a catastrophic outcome of the first World War that were already stirring in the heart of Europe, he appeared—first in small circles and then before the public—as the bringer of new, far-reaching knowledge. The essence of this was that just as the threefold nature was laid into the human being by Divine Powers, and is a reality, it behoves men to-day to carry into effect a Threefold principle that is at present only latent in the social organism. He saw the devastating catastrophe of the times approaching from the side of the single, separate States that had crystallised out of the commonwealth of peoples as a whole. The vista before Dr. Steiner was that of the unitary States, incited by their traditional but narrow interests, clashing with one another in defence of egoistic economic interests of every kind and of forms of culture in reality fossilised and outworn. Through its inventions and discoveries the age has created a new picture of the earth; in the forming of this picture—and its detailed elaboration—man has acquired a new consciousness. Just as he himself, if he rightly understands his own being, is torn out of the old, static conditions into new, dynamic ones, so, through the world-wide expansion of trade, modern society has grown out of patriarchal forms of economy towards the problems of a global economy. This global economy tends everywhere towards emancipation from the tutelage of the State. In order to have a true economic character, it strives for autonomous forms which will develop on *associative* lines.

One of the three principles of the modern social organism is delineated here. Another will consist in a spiritual life deriving substance, impetus and configuration out of its own sources—which can only be sources of freedom. The creative impulses which, even in administrative matters, will impart to the spiritual life forms that are in keeping with the status of man who has now become a self-conscious and independent being, must be given freedom. Schools and institutions for higher education, the religious life, art and science—these can thrive only in the airs of freedom. They need the support and guarantee of the State for the maintenance of their rights; but they can and must dispense with the tutelage of the State. Rudolf Steiner saw the third member of the social organism in an Equity State, a life of Rights, in which, following the principle of equality applied in all its ramifications, every citizen has an active and fully responsible share.

It is of the essence of this Threefold Social Order that, as with the human being himself, it admits no rigid separation or loss of contact between the three spheres. Just as all the three organic functions are united and work together in one and the same human

being, so in the Threefold Social Order man himself is the binding unit. One and the same man can, as a citizen with equal rights, rely upon the democratic observance of those rights; he can do this while at the same time he thinks and acts as an industrialist far beyond the boundaries of his country in association with others; and, acting ever and again out of the wholeness of his being in a free spiritual life, he can give effect to the impulses of his individuality side by side with the other men—sometimes different men, sometimes the same men whom he meets in the other spheres.

Even while the first World War was still being waged, Rudolf Steiner summarised these basic thoughts in memoranda which were in the hands of the Cabinet in Vienna and also of government circles in Berlin. How much could have been done to solve the problems of Austro-Hungarian relations if, in accordance with the principle of a free spiritual life, it had been decided to concede full cultural autonomy to the thirteen nations of the Danubian monarchy!

And what new prospects there could have been for the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, where Rudolf Steiner's memorandum was also available! Among other things, the whole absurdity of small nations each having its own separate economy could have been avoided; the seeds of the second World War were nurtured within the border States, right up to the Baltic, from the very first day these States and their "national economies" came into existence! But ears in Vienna were as deaf as were those in Berlin or Brest-Litovsk. The first World War came to its tragic end. Under the ruins it left behind, the fire of the second catastrophic World War was already smouldering.

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In the Spring of 1919 Rudolf Steiner drew up his basic thoughts on the Threefold Social Organism in a terse, concise form, making a powerful appeal to the conscience of Middle Europe in his *Call to the German People and to the Civilized World*. In the same year his fundamental book on the Threefold Social Order had been published: *The Kernel of the Social Question in the Life-Necessities of the Present and Future*.*

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I cannot regard it as chance that Rudolf Steiner's *Call to the German People* was sent to me from Stuttgart by a friend living there. I received it in Westphalia in strange circumstances of life. As a military interpreter with the rank of subaltern, I was engaged at that time on affairs connected with the winding-up of a large hospital previously used for prisoners of war. Together with a friend who was later on a colleague in the educational movement, I read the lucid, monumental sentences in which Rudolf Steiner

* Published in England as *The Threefold Commonwealth*.

outlines the destiny of Middle Europe from 1871 until the end of the first World War. These thoughts struck into our conscience like sparks of fire. Young as we were, we were not able to assess their importance to the full; but we glimpsed something of the historic significance of the moment. My friend had not yet seen Rudolf Steiner, and I felt that this was the right time to tell him about my earlier meetings with this absolutely unique personality. All the desolate dreariness that had oppressed us in the barracks and their surroundings, like a fog, was dispersed. A ray of sun from the wide universe had penetrated to us; we felt it as a ray of sun coming from the future.

The accompanying letter written by my friend in Stuttgart mentioned a name hitherto unknown to me—that of the industrialist Emil Molt, director of the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory and also one of the leading figures in the *Treuhandgesellschaft Goetheanum* (Goetheanum Trust). My friend wrote that he knew Molt well and that he was one of a circle of men in Stuttgart who were "preparing something of great importance." It was not clear to me from the letter just what this "something" was, but in the mood induced by the reading of the *Call*, I immediately had faith in it.

The name of Molt had already passed from my mind when, a few weeks later, it was vividly recalled to my memory. Through my friend in Stuttgart, again, I was asked, to my astonishment, to go there for an interview with Emil Molt. There was a plan that I should take over work connected with projects set on foot by the Movement for the Threefold Social Order.

In Stuttgart, Emil Molt gave me more detailed information about the task in mind for me: I was to take over the direction and arrangement of educational courses for workers, to be given in as well as outside the Waldorf-Astoria factory.

My heart-beats quickened at the prospect of this new and fascinating task which gave my life some real meaning once more. I undertook it gladly: chiefly out of confidence in Rudolf Steiner, but also out of confidence which arose, almost instantaneously, in Emil Molt. I found in him an unusual and happy blend of qualities not readily combined in one person. He gave evidence of a clear and practical mind together with great warmth of heart; his will was impulsive, impetuous—but any particular action was always performed with great calmness and after deep deliberation.

When I began this new work there was no talk as yet of the founding of a school. As well as brief lectures on social and educational matters given to workers in the various departments of the factory during fully paid, half-hour intervals, and a few foreign language courses for members of the staff, my work included some educational help to the workers' children. In the afternoons I helped about forty of these children with their home-work. They were a haphazard little company, drawn from all the eight

elementary school grades in Stuttgart. Later on I saw nearly all of them again in the lowest classes of the Waldorf School. At that time, when I helped them quite without any system or guiding educational principles, it would never have occurred to anyone to imagine that they represented something like a beginning of the first set of Waldorf School pupils.

The new tasks were therefore very varied and left me little free time. But such hours as were free were taken up with intensive study of the Threefold Social Order and with earnest discussions often lasting far into the night. There was an unforgettable atmosphere of enthusiasm and expectancy, both tense and fruitful. We were waiting for the day when Rudolf Steiner himself would come to Stuttgart.

Before this happened, voices which in retrospect seem full of significance had become audible among the workers at the Waldorf-Astoria. One heard it said: "Yes, it is really a splendid thing for us older people to have these courses and lectures—but it comes a bit late. Our children should have something of the kind! They ought to be able to find in a school something that was denied to us when we were young." It is of importance, historically, to realise that these thoughts arising in the hearts and minds of the Waldorf-Astoria workers during the period of the Threefold Commonwealth activities became one of the spiritual factors in the subsequent foundation of the Waldorf School.

But it is certainly no less important to realise that the workers had the courage and desire to express thoughts such as these only because the same thoughts had already been harboured for a long time by Emil Molt. And this is the point at which to think of the unique relationship existing between Emil Molt and the workers and staff of his factory. On the one side it was a relationship of fatherly care. One would have to write at length to convey what it signified in the human sense when Molt passed on his daily rounds through the rooms in the factory. In good Swabian dialect he was called the "Vatter" (father). Only the other day I heard that during the war he had provided a cow in order that some workers whose health was gravely endangered could get extra nourishment.

But Emil Molt's relationship with the workers was not merely one of fatherly solicitude—by no means so rare in Swabian industrial life at that time. For years he had carried in his heart the thoughts of Rudolf Steiner. Above all, he was vitally interested in Rudolf Steiner's lectures on social matters and on education. Through rigorous and indefatigable self-education, Molt had set about closing the gaps in his own schooling, and this helped to give him a ready ear for the educational problems of the time. In early days he had read Rudolf Steiner's book, *The Education of the Child from the Standpoint of Spiritual Science*—a little volume compiled from shorthand reports of lectures. This book included the following words: "Spiritual Science, when called upon to build

up an art of education, will be able to indicate in detail all the things that come into consideration here, even specifying particular forms of food and nourishment. For it is realism, it is a thing for life itself; it is by no means grey theory—as it might appear to be to-day according to the mistaken conceptions of many theosophists."

When called upon to build up an art of education. . . . Thousands must have read this passage, but they had overlooked its importance. It had not dawned upon them that in reality this was a challenge to put a question—a question for which the spiritual scientist, as an undeviating guardian of human freedom, is obliged to wait. Deep down in Emil Molt's soul this passage worked on unceasingly. And when the catastrophe of 1918/19 befell, he divined that in reality it was a catastrophe due to faulty and neglected education. Education would have to be given a new basis. This insight led to lively consultations and discussions with representatives of his workers and staff, and to the organisation of the educational courses for workers. They were a first step, behind which lay far more than Emil Molt himself at first realised.

This unexpressed "more" was to be stimulated into great activity when Rudolf Steiner was able for a short time to free himself from his manifold obligations in Dornach, and came to Stuttgart. For Stuttgart and Württemberg this was the beginning of the classic period of work in connection with the Threefold Commonwealth Movement. Its effects spread far into the other provinces of Middle Europe. One of its most unforgettable and also most effective preludes was the lecture on the Threefold Social Order given by Rudolf Steiner in the so-called Tobacco Room of the Waldorf-Astoria Factory to all its employees.

The active workers in the Threefold Commonwealth Movement had been awaiting this lecture with tense excitement, and it was therefore all the more disconcerting to find that to the first part of what Rudolf Steiner said the workers listened with obvious reserve. I still remember well how near I myself was to giving way to a certain feeling of disappointment. But then, from a side that could not have been foreseen, came the break-through.

After speaking by way of introduction of certain other great motifs of contemporary history, Rudolf Steiner went on to characterise the basic mood and frame of mind of the proletariat. He laid bare its deeper, spiritual origin by presenting it as the direct consequence of a catastrophe in the whole of Western cultural development. Millions of young people, he said, are wrested away every year at about the age of 14 from the real process of cultural development and are thrust into economic and industrial life in one form or another. True, in most countries they receive further training—this means that they are given technical instruction, with as much essential theory as they require. But they get no education that is worthy of the name. And it is this realisation of inadequate, curtailed cultural development that embitters the souls of the pro-

letarians to their very depths; it is this that induces them to rebel against the existing forms of civilisation. Here, deep in the human heart, lies a permanent crater of smouldering revolutions.

"All of you sitting here," said Rudolf Steiner, "from the 16-year-old girl apprentice to the 60-year-old workers, are suffering from the fact that your real cultural development was obstructed, because from a certain moment onwards there was for you only the hard schooling of life, but no school in the true sense of the word."

This was said with such warmth and came from such a profound understanding of human nature that it struck right into the hearts of the listeners. All at once it was no longer the great sociologist and philosopher, introduced by Emil Molt, who stood there; it was a doctor who with clear perception, but also with a delicate, sensitive touch, was uncovering a wound he wanted to heal.

All prejudices which had risen up at the beginning were swept away as if by a magic hand. Every one of us present experienced in common the liberating and at the same time challenging power of a truth uttered by a man who knew. A body of mere listeners became, in the best sense of the word, a gathering of human beings in whom something began to stir—the resolve to help to prevent the cultural development of man from being further obstructed at such a critical moment of time. In the middle of a lecture on the Threefold Social Order the vista of a wholly new kind of education was opened up. Mindful of the fact that this would never have come into existence, but for the workers' decisive wish for it, it is this hour that I should like to name as that of the actual birth of the Free Waldorf School.

At this point I must speak particularly of one man who had no connection whatever with the Waldorf-Astoria Factory, but had listened to this lecture with keen interest. He was E. A. Karl Stockmeyer, who played an essential part in the birth of the new school. Stockmeyer, who at that time was still teaching at a High School in Baden, had been acquainted both with Rudolf Steiner as a personality and with his teachings from the early days. By dint of strict mental discipline, he had mastered the fundamental principles and method of anthroposophical Spiritual Science. A strong, innate urge for research and inquiry had led him not to adopt a purely conservative attitude to Spiritual Science, but to develop and elaborate certain aspects of it, in particular that of philosophy applied to the theory of knowledge. Hence his personality was marked by a refreshing independence and firm inner poise. It was just this type of man that Rudolf Steiner particularly valued among his pupils.

After the end of the first World War—indeed, even before that—Stockmeyer had been occupied in his own way with plans for school reform. Finding in Stockmeyer's ideas something that tallied with his own inner aims, Emil Molt had persuaded him to come to Stuttgart and was engaged in lively discussions with him. This

exchange of ideas had to do not only with education but also—as was only natural in view of the whole situation—with the principles of the Threefold Social Order in general, of which Stockmeyer had an excellent understanding. And so not only did he become an important collaborator in the founding of the Waldorf School; the untiring activity in the planning of the social work at that time cannot be imagined without the presence of his striking personality.

It was on April 25th, 1919, in the very late evening, that the decisive discussion about the founding of the Free Waldorf School took place. Rudolf Steiner, after giving a great public lecture to the employees of the Daimler Works, had come to the house in the Landhausstrasse belonging to the Stuttgart Group of the Anthroposophical Society, where he was accustomed to stay during his visits to Stuttgart. Emil Molt, Karl Stockmeyer and I were waiting for him there.

The basic ideas put forward by Rudolf Steiner in the ensuing conversation on the subject of the new school varied in many details from what was eventually embodied in the constitution of the Waldorf School. But the whole talk, both in its substance and in its tenor, was a source of veritable inspiration. Rudolf Steiner very soon threw off the last traces of the tremendous strain that had preceded the conversation. What he had to say to us flowed with increasing eloquence and vigour. And it was connected not only with the concrete plan for the founding of the Waldorf School, but also with social and cultural education in the widest sense.

I shall speak here of three motifs which to my mind form a basic and essential part of that conversation.

Among other questions, I asked Rudolf Steiner from which point one would have to start in order to lay the foundation of genuine social feeling in the communal life of men.

Although the question in this form was very general and vague, he went into it willingly. He said that one could naturally speak for hours about such an all-embracing domain. On the other hand, the matters that came into consideration could also be expressed quite simply. And then he went on to speak of the threefold nature of man, of the different degrees of intensity in which thinking, feeling and willing work in human consciousness: thinking alone is fully wide-awake, feeling has the intensity only of a dream, and willing rises as if out of a condition of deep sleep. Our cultural life (1) in its present form could have been produced only by clear, wide-awake thinking. This has brought man a clear-cut, vivid realisation of his own personality. It has individualised but also "de-socialised" him: it has torn him out of the natural connections of social life. In its intrinsic nature our ordinary conceptual thinking is anti-social—Rudolf Steiner underlined this. "You may hold great congresses," he said, "where the deliberations from start to finish are concerned only with social questions, but as long as the approach is a merely intellectual one, the effect of such congresses

upon social life will be nil. They will tend far rather to disintegrate it."

"The true social life," he went on, "must be built up out of those deeper strata of consciousness which are the realms of the dreaming feeling and the sleeping will. Artistic capacities and faculties, which are identical with the primal forces of the religious life, must be summoned into activity—but not in such a way that the clarity of consciousness in the man of the modern age is ignored. If that were to happen, it would be at the cost of human freedom. Clear, independent thinking must not be sacrificed in order to set in flow the process of social reform. But this thinking must imbue itself with new substance coming from deeper strata of the life of soul."

Rudolf Steiner went on to say that there is a method and a way whereby the foundations of social feeling may be laid. The abstractness of human thinking has led to far-reaching differentiation and specialisation in the labour process; it alone has made possible the technique of modern industrialism. But at the same time it has also removed the worker from the wider relationships in which he originally felt healthy and whole. He can experience himself now only as a part of a part, and what he produces only as the splinter of the part of a part. Together with the narrowing of his field of work, his consciousness has narrowed. The former must be accepted as a fact bound up with modern industrial methods; the latter, as an evil that is *not* inevitable, must be overcome.

At this point I looked at Rudolf Steiner very dubiously. The possibility that the essentially proletarian attitude could ever be overcome in the consciousness of the proletariat seemed to me to border on the miraculous.

As always, he perceived the eagerness of the question arising in the heart of one who was taking part in the conversation, and he spoke with all the greater emphasis. The essential thing—he said in effect—was to create for every worker and employee a picture of the *whole* of his work and also of its place and setting in the world. He started with the situation as it was in the Waldorf-Astoria Factory. All the employees, male and female, should be told about all the work done in the other departments. They should also be given a picture of the tobacco plant itself, of the regions where it is cultivated, of the civilisation in the countries concerned. Over and above this they should be told about the whole process of the distribution of the finished product and the economic and financial factors involved. Similarly, the salesman should be made conversant with all the practical work that had gone into the finished product. When anyone who is engaged on some productive work has a picture of the whole process involved, his consciousness is widened and his human interest kindled. He may continue his work in the narrowest of sections, but he feels spiritually linked

with all the others. The social connection then becomes real to him and the feeling of detachment is no longer there.

Rudolf Steiner thought that this widening of consciousness might be achieved by means of lectures and introductory courses. Something like a syllabus of production should be worked out for each industrial firm. He also had in mind that individual workers might be invited to visit other departments of a factory; they could go first as observers and later on be given opportunities for practical participation.

From the point of view of social history, it is important to underline that these things were said by Rudolf Steiner in April, 1919—hence very shortly after the end of the first World War—and that in the very same year they were being put into actual practice in the Waldorf-Astoria Factory. As the result of the overpowering pressure of bigoted counter-interests, working now from one side and now from another, they were soon suppressed in Central Europe—to appear once again after the second World War as an alleged "new impulse" from beyond the seas.

It may perhaps be a cause of surprise that matters of this kind figured in a talk concerned primarily with the creation of a new school. But what was so characteristic of conversations with Rudolf Steiner was that he never kept systematically, let alone pedantically, to a set topic, but took hold of what came to him at the moment from the vital interests of those taking part.

I recall a third motif in this conversation—to the effect that it was now important to build a bridge from one people to another by means of a folk-psychology based upon spiritual realities. Rudolf Steiner regarded instruction in foreign languages, particularly in the so-called modern languages, as a way to this. Every language, he said, preserves quite definite conceptions of beings and things, and these conceptions come to expression in images, in pictures. It would be important, together with the foreign language itself, to convey such pictures and words to the children and young people. Rudolf Steiner called them "linguistic values." He then spoke of the lecture-course on folk-psychology he had given in the summer of 1910 at the Nobelhaus in Oslo: *The Mission of Individual Folk-Souls in connection with Germanic and Norse Mythology*. While referring to these lectures he became deeply earnest. He said: "The intention behind these things was that, if rightly understood, they might have been able to help to prevent the catastrophe of the World War. But there were no ears to hear. . . ." And then he spoke of how he had recently sent a copy of the Oslo lecture-course, with a commentary of his own, to Prince Max of Baden, the eminent German statesman, in the hope that the German Government of the day would allow itself to be enriched by new ideas, by a new field of knowledge. And with unforgettable pain, he said: "But there were no ears to hear. People did not want to hear, and so the catastrophe befell."

We sat silent, and there was a pause. With a strong, solemn emphasis on every word, Rudolf Steiner concluded: "Far worse catastrophes will follow the present one if ears continue to be deaf to these things."

I have spoken at length about these three motifs of the conversation because they only *seem* to lie outside the sphere of Waldorf School education. Anyone who studies the latter thoroughly will be astonished to find that each of these motifs is most intimately connected with the principles and practices of Waldorf Schools. And so here, too, we have an illustration of how Waldorf School education was born out of the great diagnosis of the age and of civilisation made by Rudolf Steiner at the beginning of the Threefold Commonwealth Movement.

* * * *

From April until August, 1919, the preparations for the founding of the new school went forward in their own way. To begin with, the organising and explanatory work connected with the social-economic sphere of the Threefold Commonwealth was in the foreground. The courage and the fire, the intense devotion with which Rudolf Steiner endeavoured in lectures and discussion evenings to show how the great social demands of the time could be met, left unforgettable impressions.

Without having rested, and exhausted by conversations that might have taken up the whole of the preceding night, and then by conferences lasting from morning until evening, he would come into the lecture-room—sometimes a dreary hall in a factory, sometimes a tavern. The listeners, most of them industrial workers, sat with their mugs full of beer and cider in front of them. Smoke mingling with the fumes of the drinks soon penetrated into every corner of the room. This affected the vocal chords and made speaking very difficult for Rudolf Steiner, who had been a non-smoker and a non-drinker for decades. His voice, never known to be other than full and resonant, was often completely hoarse at the beginning of the lectures. But with wonderful strength and self-mastery he got the better of this, too. I was never present at a discussion-evening when, even if it took half an hour, he did not finally succeed in getting his voice clear.

He also had the wonderful art of responding to the idiosyncrasies of every audience. Here, too, his profound and instantaneous understanding of men—but equally, I believe, his human love—came to expression. He did not press anything ready-made upon his listeners, but developed his thoughts as it were out of their own experiences and insight, their own sufferings and joys. Hence one always felt free while listening to him, even when he spoke with intense fire. And in these gatherings, where the problems of community were being discussed, one felt challenged as a single person, as an individual.

In the discussions with the workers, with their strong party

affiliations, the great difficulty of contending with ingrained prejudices and dogmas was soon apparent. Again and again they spoke of their hopes, seldom of their achievements. Phrases such as "if the Threefold Order is introduced" were constantly to be heard. On such occasions Rudolf Steiner would cry out with a voice of fire that no human being could "introduce" the Threefold Order; that it behoved everyone to work with untiring personal activity in order that what was everywhere being prepared in the womb of the times should gradually come to birth.

A strange and grotesque objection, shedding garish light upon the attitude of many minds, was prone to crop up: "Yes—but if the Threefold Order becomes a reality, there will be no longer any class war. . . ." This was usually said with an undertone of profound regret—as if humanity would be deprived of something valuable if class war were to cease!

There were others again who took exception to the fact that Rudolf Steiner gave no sweeping definitions and also refrained from presenting detailed programmes. People had grown too accustomed to bald catchwords, aggressive epigrams, and so-called "burning protests." I remember how a worthy speaker in a discussion taxed Rudolf Steiner with making statements that were as "mushy as a plum". Rudolf Steiner bore this remark, as well as previous utterances, with the greatest equanimity and composure; he merely jotted down one or two words in his notebook. Then he answered the various points briefly, in order. When the objection just mentioned was reached, he spoke to the following effect: "One of the respected speakers complains that my remarks were as mushy as a plum. What am I to say to that, gentlemen? Perhaps that I have always tried to be very exact in observing nature. So I think, too, that the plum should also be observed very carefully. And then I find that soft plums are juicy, sweet and ripe, but hard plums are tasteless, unripe and . . ." He did not get as far as the obvious word "indigestible" because the large audience broke into delighted applause. The "respected speaker" had been dealt with in the kindest way, and the sympathy of the listeners made them more receptive to all that was said on this occasion.

On another occasion he turned aside a compliment that seemed to him too cheap; it was always his habit to reject admiration in any form. The chief engineer of a big firm came out with the words: "Yes, Herr Doktor, it is because you are such a great philosopher that you have these important things to say about overcoming the crisis in our civilisation!" Rudolf Steiner answered dryly: "Philosophy has little to do with these things. If I am able to contribute anything useful to-day, I ascribe it primarily to the fact that from my earliest youth I learnt to clean my own shoes!"

The kernel of an "Industrial Council" took shape in Stuttgart at that time as the outcome of countless meetings, consultations and discussions. Rudolf Steiner considered that in an area of the size

of Württemberg it would be possible to carry out the experiment of an industrial economy based on associations. A number of speakers travelled all over the region at that time in order to make known the contents of the book on the "kernel of the social question", which had meanwhile been published.

I myself was one of these speakers, and I well remember an evening at the Mauser Works in Oberndorf. After particularly animated and even heated discussions, the endeavour to persuade the Board of this enterprise to link up with the General Council in Stuttgart had succeeded. I had already realised that my remarks that evening were being strongly supported by a man I took to be a skilled worker or a foreman. When the meeting was over this man came up to me and told me that many years before he had attended courses and lectures by Rudolf Steiner under the auspices of Liebknecht's Workers' Educational Institute in Berlin. "We workmen liked listening to him," he said, "for what he told us was so entirely different from what the other speakers said. Among ourselves we often said, 'Something great will come from Dr. Steiner one day. . . .' And so this evening I was particularly happy. I believe that what we surmised then has now been fulfilled!"

Rudolf Steiner laughed when a few days later I told him of this episode. But he was also obviously pleased that such an enthusiastic witness still survived from those years which had been for him a period of hard spiritual struggle.

What he experienced in those weeks and months of practical activity in connection with the Threefold Order was not always so encouraging. He saw with great anxiety that these great and helpful ideas had to be presented by people who were very far from being up to the tasks devolving upon them at the decisive moment. With the wide-minded, cordial—and at the same time utterly uncompromising—sincerity that was innate in him, he would talk again and again with the individual speakers.

One day I said to him that it depressed me to be faced at such an early age with a task of this importance; I was afraid I was totally inadequate for it. He looked at me kindly, saying with warm emphasis: "Yes, but you may also be sure that the spiritual world accepts enthusiasm as a substitute for maturity."

In the economic and political field, the whole period here under review did not fulfil the hopes cherished by the pioneers of the Threefold Commonwealth Movement. Already in the year 1919 reactionary currents began to assert themselves everywhere. Hide-bound thinking and dogmatism won the day. It was as Rudolf Steiner had said immediately after the war, with grave, profoundly sorrowful emphasis: *men had not learnt how to learn!* And so under the pressure of dark powers of opposition, the "Industrial Council" which had represented a new seed in the economic field was crushed before the end of the year. What remained was the consciousness that valuable seeds had been scat-

tered abroad and that a group of men had exercised and steeled their forces in a struggle which for the present had no prospect of success. But who can say whether, after all, a great deal more had not been accomplished? Many a lightly sounded theme seems to die out in history, thereafter to form the leading motif in a future age.

The question remains whether, when he inaugurated a social movement of such promise, Rudolf Steiner knew that it was destined to have so little immediate success. From the reports I had of many things he said, mostly in personal conversations, I can only assume that he foresaw exactly the course things would take. All the more worthy of admiration was the indomitable enthusiasm he showed in the many activities of the movement, the way he had of presenting things as being so urgent that there was not a moment to lose, as if they ought to happen the next day.

Not until years afterwards did I hear of illuminating words of his—that there are "prematurities" in history. They occur of necessity, in order to die like grains of wheat out of which good, fertile seed is to grow. Extreme renunciation is demanded of those who are the human bearers of these "prematurities"—renunciation that is not resignation but the silent soul of an activity enhanced to the utmost. And so a life that is dedicated to them is necessarily a life of heroism.

With this inner attitude, hardly perceptible in outward appearance, Rudolf Steiner bore also the wrecking of the attempts which, in the sphere of a free spiritual life, were striving to find new forms for the autonomous development of culture—attempts to establish a council of culture and similar institutions. In this sphere everything was wrecked by hide-bound prejudices, by a passivity that had become a rule of life. One might well be reminded once again of Fafner's words in Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen*: "I lie and I possess, let me sleep!"

The Principal of a High School in Leipzig was, for example, asked one day: "Surely it would be easy for you, who are so convinced of the necessity for a free spiritual life, to arouse enthusiasm in your staff for a new kind of collaboration?" "My staff?" the Principal said bitterly. "What are you thinking about? Apart from their teaching, they are interested at the very most in questions of pay and position!" What was there to be done with such a generation of men?

Seen against this background, the founding of the Free Waldorf School, upon which all the energies of the movement for the Threefold Social Order were now soon concentrated, becomes an event of real significance in the social history of our time.

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It will be obvious from the foregoing paragraphs that in founding the Free Waldorf School it was not Rudolf Steiner's aim merely to add another school to the good schools, private and modern, already

existing in Middle Europe. His aim was to build up a real science of education, and it was only as a seed born from a free spiritual life that the Waldorf School interested him. It was not a matter of particular reform or of supplementing good existing methods, but of creating a new atmosphere and a new ground for education in the widest sense. Whenever I encountered Rudolf Steiner in those days, with his utterly uncompromising, spiritual resoluteness, I could not help thinking of an utterance that had come to my knowledge shortly before my arrival in Stuttgart. It was a saying of Alfred Lichtwark, reported to me by Hermann Itschner, the educational reformer, with whom I was in close contact at that time. "A merely partial reform of existing conditions does nothing but strengthen the existing tendencies."

Already in 1910 an attentive observer of the times might well have become conscious of a striking contrast which even to-day is not obliterated but has become even stronger. It applies, on the one side, to industry; on the other to the cultural life, particularly to education. As is apparent everywhere, industry, vigorously carried forward by the spirit of the age, is at least on the way to achieving new forms and conditions of labour. By its very nature industry is progressive, and its pioneers realise quite clearly that humanity is in the throes of a change of consciousness. More insistently, however, than people are willing to admit, cultural life bases itself on forms of thought which in widespread areas of the West do not differ essentially from the spirit of the 18th century. And again, the reason why so much is wanting in European education is often because only a few perceive that things which in the Middle Ages were unconditionally to be regarded as good, and even inspired, are working on in a diluted and sterile, but also a tenacious and unyielding form. Rudolf Steiner's aim was to imbue cultural life and education with the progressive forces of the age. It was a question of rousing them out of static rigidity and of leading them into the dynamic movement of free, spiritual development.

That this could be achieved only on absolutely clear, objective foundations was proved by the great introductory course* he gave for the College of Teachers of the Waldorf School in August, 1919. In the course of a review of bodily, psychical and spiritual phenomena, these lectures built up a knowledge of man which affords entirely new starting-points for the education of the child at each stage of its development. They showed how the principle of threefold man could be the basis of an educational method genuinely congenial to the child: one which does not persist in applying to a child's early years the categories which are suitable at most for the adult life of soul.

An atmosphere of festival prevailed during this course, which

* Published in English as *The Study of Man*. (Rudolf Steiner Publishing Company.)

was given in three sections: "General Knowledge of Man," were a foretaste of what was to be learnt and experienced later on "Didactic Methods," and "Educational Practice." These lectures in the many conferences led by Rudolf Steiner himself at the Waldorf School. In an age when learning is split into sections, with its branches unrelated to each other, here there was organic universality, embracing the whole scholarship of the times. This great knowledge, permeated with an equally great artistic power, was crowned by an even greater humanism. Here there was no trace of self-consideration or of vanity, no trace of satisfaction in dominating other human beings through the power to convince. One felt—in humility and as a server this man stands at the great well-springs of spirit which have opened themselves to him; and he respects and protects every single individuality who comes before him. Rudolf Steiner possessed the rare art of lowering his own greatness to the level of the one to whom he was speaking—not out of condescension, but out of an attitude of human understanding and inquiry. In his presence one breathed freely, even when he was presenting things of the utmost greatness. One felt that one was being addressed in one's own language, and experienced the joy of an entirely natural converse between man and man. So it was, too, during this course of lectures. One felt confirmed in a hundred things hitherto only surmised; but admittedly one clung to the pleasant dream of having surmised them.

Some years afterwards, during a searching study of the lectures heard at that time, it was easy to realise how alarmingly little one had assimilated at first. And new perspectives open out every year as the interval of time lengthens. Yet the sheer enthusiasm with which one listened, with which one participated in the educational practice, was certainly responsible for part of that miracle in the year 1919. Here, too, the words that were said to me in the midst of the struggle to bring the Threefold Social Order to fulfilment hold good: the spiritual world accepts enthusiasm as a substitute for maturity.

On 7th September, 1919, the Free Waldorf School came into being. This day, too, was a festival from morning until late in the evening. In the house in the Uhlandshöhe in Stuttgart, in the former restaurant that had been rebuilt into a school, there was no suitable lecture-hall. So the actual inauguration ceremony took place in the Stadtgarten-Saal; it was opened by Bach's Prelude in C major, played on the piano by Paul Baumann, our first music teacher. Frau Marie Steiner recited, and children demonstrated certain examples of the young art of Eurhythmics inaugurated by Rudolf Steiner. But the crowning point was Rudolf Steiner's address, in which he characterised once more the great social perspective in which Waldorf School education was now taking its first steps. Science becoming alive, art becoming alive, religion becoming alive—these he declared to be its well-springs. How

easily these words might be repeated as phrases! The essence of the matter is that for Waldorf School education they have a spiritual, concretely real significance, down to the very details of practice.

In the afternoon the different classes were introduced to their teachers in an atmosphere of happiness and vivacity. In the evening the whole College of Teachers was invited to a performance of Mozart's "Magic Flute." Rudolf Steiner, sitting by Emil Molt, pointed out to him with eager alertness where the teachers of the new school were sitting, all over the great Opera House. The delight and childlike joy with which he did this, before the performance began, revealed once again the sweetness of spirit incarnate in this great Friend of Man.

Translated by D. O.

WIDENING THE ART OF HEALING

Grete Kirchner-Bockholt

WHEN Rudolf Steiner began to give out his world-conception, and an ever-widening circle of people gathered round him, there were more and more requests for his advice on possible ways of restoring health and overcoming illness. It goes without saying that a great initiate such as he is also a great healer. He gave advice of this kind very readily, as often as he was asked, and in the early days recommended for the most part old remedies which had come originally from instinctive perceptions; they had been revived by M. E. A. Ritter and tried out upon herself. Later, however, when medical doctors joined the Anthroposophical Movement, Rudolf Steiner preferred to give his advice to members of the medical profession, starting at the same time to suggest new remedies, or even whole courses of treatment.

At Dornach there was already a little laboratory where vegetable colours were prepared for the paintings in the cupolas of the first Goetheanum; Dr. Schmiedel now began to prepare medicaments there as well. When in 1920 a considerable number of doctors were gathered together, Dr. Steiner gave them the first doctors' course. Some of them wanted to found clinics where anthroposophical knowledge of medicine could find practical expression. Thus there arose in Stuttgart a Clinical-Therapeutic Institute run by Dr. Palmer, Dr. Friedrich Husemann, Dr. Peipers, Dr. Noll; Dr. Ita Wegman acquired a house in Arlesheim and had it transformed into a modest little Clinic.

About this time, in August, 1921, I too came to Dornach. But although I already had my medical degree, my concern was the new art of Eurythmy, as I had the idea of studying Curative Eurythmy later; indeed, I came near to giving up medicine for Eurythmy. Had I known of Eurythmy two years earlier, I should certainly never have completed my medical exams. I now studied for a year under the tuition of Frau Marie Steiner, who accepted me as a pupil in the kindest way. I made her acquaintance when I had just arrived in Stuttgart and was arranging the chairs in the lecture-room at the house in the Landhausstrasse. She herself proposed that I should learn Eurythmy with a view to practising Curative Eurythmy, and she invited me to Dornach. It was during the period of inflation, and a stay in Switzerland at my own expense would have been impossible; this generous invitation, coming as it did out of the blue, very much surprised me; I accepted it with the greatest joy. In order to be able to give at least some practical help in my odd moments, I learned to type, though I fear I was never much good at it; nevertheless Frau Marie Steiner

comfortingly assured me that the goodwill of others does not as a rule get even as far as that.

After a year of training in Eurythmy I had a talk with Frau Dr. Steiner, telling her how difficult it would be for me to go on as a student and how I craved—after studying medicine for so long and then Eurythmy—at last to have a profession. She listened most sympathetically and proposed that, with Frau Fels, I should direct the newly founded School of Eurythmy at Stuttgart. It was a hot day in summer when this conversation took place in a room behind the stage in the Schreinerei. Just at this moment, before I had time to reply, Dr. Steiner walked into the room. He gave me his hand and said, emphasising each word, “Well, Doctor, how are you?” Nothing more. Yet these words went right home. It is impossible to explain by what means I instantaneously grasped what he wished to say. The emphasis on the “Doctor”, the question spoken so deliberately, the carefully chosen moment—within me there was no shadow of doubt how his words were to be taken. They were meant to say: “Shoemaker, stick to your last.”

How the interview with Frau Marie Steiner ended, I no longer remember; in any case nothing was decided, and soon afterwards Dr. Ita Wegman wrote to ask me if I would go as assistant in her Arlesheim Clinic, which had then been running for a year. The head assistant, Frau Dr. Walter, was ill, and Dr. Norbert Glas wanted to start a practice in Vienna. This letter was written in August, 1922. Dr. Steiner was on a lecture-tour in England, Frau Marie Steiner was with him; thus, whether I liked it or not, I had to make a decision without being able to consult either of them.

At that time we were not in the habit of telephoning all over the world; perhaps it was not even possible. On the other hand, the position in the Clinic allowed of no hesitation. Dr. Wegman was momentarily without a single assistant and had a good number of patients. I therefore went to the Clinic. I had, it is true, to make the condition that I should occasionally attend to the sale of books in the Schreinerei, for I had promised Miss Mackenzie to deputise for her, she too having gone to England.

When, among the customers to whom I sold Dr. Steiner's lecture-cycles or books, there were people I had shortly before examined medically, this occasioned some surprise. But it was I who was surprised when one day, as I was trailing along through the Schreinerei with a package of books, I ran across Dr. Steiner. He had just returned from England and he stopped me to say: “You have been to see Frau X to-day?” “Yes, it seems to me that the trouble is so-and-so,” I answered. Dr. Steiner nodded—all was right, treatment included. He then turned left into his studio while I, with my pile of books, continued straight on to Miss Mackenzie's little room. . . . It was then the thought first came to me that I should have told Dr. Steiner about my starting work at the Clinic. “Dr. Steiner, I have not yet told you that I am working at the

Clinic now!” I called after him. As he went on he said something that sounded like, “Yes, that's good,” and only afterwards did it occur to me that this was no news to him.

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There now began a great period of learning. Dr. Steiner often came to see patients at the Clinic and each time his coming was an event. Generally, during these visits, Dr. Walter and I were allowed to be present in Dr. Wegman's little consulting room. Dr. Walter took shorthand notes of what was said, and afterwards we worked out her notes together, so that we still have a copy of the instructions given. Before each of his visits everything was carefully prepared—analyses, results of examinations, all lay ready. Dr. Steiner gave everything the most minute attention. But when he had the patient in front of him, his method was completely different from the traditional one. He looked at the patient with the utmost concentration, his gaze turning towards the various members of the patient's being; for him it was possible to investigate the cause of illness with a clairvoyance that was exact. For him, the symptoms were concentrated into a complex of causes which, as a totality, could be easily surveyed; the passage of time became one long present. Thus on one occasion he was able to say of a patient, who for years had suffered from eczema, that the cause lay in his having taken poison as a child. At first the patient was unable to recall anything, then it came to him suddenly that in about his ninth year at school he had inadvertently swallowed some hydrochloric acid in the laboratory. The ten-year-old cause of the illness had been perceived by Rudolf Steiner in the man then standing before him. From this it will be readily understood that most of the ordinary diagnoses fell to the ground; for what revealed itself to perception of this kind was always the picture of a quite special case of a quite special illness. In the light of such knowledge the treatment was immediately forthcoming. Whereas to-day we describe and determine the typical manifestations of definite illnesses, which one might say we look upon as detached from the person who is suffering from them, this method was completely the reverse.

One day we took a patient, a woman, to Dr. Steiner. Her illness had already been diagnosed in other clinics; we agreed with this diagnosis and considered hers to be a characteristic case of multiple sclerosis. After looking at the patient, Dr. Steiner said that hers was a constitutional weakness of the *medulla oblongata*, so that the connection between the spinal cord and the central nervous system was disturbed; moreover, this had been aggravated by an accident. On being questioned, the patient said that once in Paris, when she was about eighteen, she had fallen from a tram, but at the time was unaware of any real injury. In her twenty-eighth year there had come upon her this illness, which gave a picture of multiple sclerosis.

As soon as Dr. Steiner had established the exact state of an illness, he went on to seek the treatment, and we can say that for this the whole world was at his disposal. In his all-embracing survey he looked upon the human being as born out of the macrocosm and bound up with nature, with plants, minerals, metals. . . . Even if within man the processes are changed, they still show affinity with the corresponding processes in external nature; and in the case of illness the kindred forces of nature can be drawn into the service of healing.

For the faculties of knowledge possessed by Rudolf Steiner, the processes of nature were an open book. What he knew was for us young folk positively overwhelming; whether it was a question of minerals, metals with their countless salts and combinations, or a question of plants, his choice was always sure. From the algæ and fungoids, up to the most highly developed plants, remedies were taken from every kingdom. Sometimes he considered it necessary to change the air for a patient. One patient had difficulty in waking, and often it was nearly evening before he was really capable of doing anything. The prescription was that he should wake up in air with a large content of carbon dioxide, so that the waking process might be intensified precisely through overcoming this difficulty. Thus we added carbon dioxide to the air through the keyhole of the patient's room—no simple process, chiefly on account of our having to seize the moment before he began to wake of his own accord. In any particular treatment there were always variations and fresh plans, the details often being carefully given by Dr. Steiner himself—for example, that a metal should first be reduced to a vaporous condition, in order then to let it settle as a sublimate.

There was only one method of healing to which Rudolf Steiner never had recourse—the direct use of his own powers, which would have been, in a certain sense, magical healing. Certainly for him, who had all the forces of the surrounding world at his disposal in the highest and widest sense, it would have been easy to effect cures by this means. Yet from his knowledge of man's evolution he had to refrain from such a proceeding as not being in accordance with the age. For him, the highest ideal in our cosmic age was the struggle for freedom. He had no wish to figure as a healer with phenomenal powers; he wished to found a school; all the methods of healing which he gave were capable of being looked into and learnt.

It would be quite wrong to imagine that learning under the guidance of such a teacher took its course without many surprises and questionings of heart. What was shown here in the way of spiritual revelations and insight into the being of man often brought one to the very limits of one's powers of understanding and endurance. What confronted us in the way of knowledge concerning nature and the cosmos was a unique phenomenon, yet all the time

we had to struggle with the question how one's own inadequate self was to attain to such knowledge and capacity.

Considering the charitableness and kindness one knew to be in Rudolf Steiner, his verdicts upon people, too, often came as a surprise. Once when I was treating a patient who was a subtenant in a certain house, I asked Dr. Steiner what had to be done, since the patient showed no improvement. He replied, "Yes, it isn't easy to get well if one lives in the same house as such a poisonous fellow." His wisdom always hit the nail on the head; there was no sentiment in the sane way he faced up to facts; what he said was the very breath of truth, and because it was so, one lived in an atmosphere of complete confidence.

It was this confidence alone that made it possible to learn in a way which differed so essentially from that of one's university. When we did not understand Rudolf Steiner's instructions, we never rejected them, but made every effort to enhance our powers of understanding; in this way our own activity was stimulated to the utmost. When we were working on our patients in accordance with his directions, either by medical treatment, Curative Eurythmy, massage, baths, or anything else, we tried to understand in each case what he had told us about the connection of the various members of the patient's being and the causes of the illness. If Rudolf Steiner said, "Here the astral body has not entered fully, do so-and-so," we learned from the very questions that arose in us as we went about our work. We were all the time sensible of the goading of these questions; thus it was not a taking-in of knowledge in terms of thought, but a learning through the activity of this inner questioning, which led finally to a process of cognition. In our struggle for the answers, we had to change ourselves in order to bring to full understanding what was often alien to us; and if after a time we had the impression that we understood something, unexpectedly a light would arise, illuminating whole fields.

There was one case which occupied my attention for a long time—a patient who came to us with abdominal and intestinal symptoms. Dr. Steiner said that this man's thoughts were actually poisoning him and prescribed compresses of burdock root. This root contains a quantity of oxalic acid, which always has the effect of giving fresh life. After a little of this treatment, the patient, who had been looking very dismal, felt better. If this case is understood with all that has to do with it, including the remedy, it can give the answer to many questions. To learn in this way is possible only when we constantly experience afresh how justified is our unbounded confidence in our teacher. How quickly to-day medical books become out of date! Remedies that to begin with make a great stir often lose their significance after a few years. Dr. Steiner's recommendations are a lasting treasure of knowledge.

I must here put in a word that has to do with Dr. Wegman—namely, that nothing I have said about learning holds good for her

in the same way. At that time she was already a ripe human being, having had in her work up to then an extraordinary faculty for entering with her feeling into the very being of the patient and into the manifestation of the individual illness; besides which, she had acquired great medical experience. The way in which she gave her whole soul to each individual case allowed her to find the right medicament through what Rudolf Steiner called a power of medical Inspiration and Intuition. Naturally, she did not possess his clear vision or his great insight into all the forces of nature, but she could live herself with such intensity into what we might call the picture of an illness that Dr. Steiner's instructions appeared to her a matter of course.

It makes a great difference whether we pass on a recipe to a good cook or to one who has little understanding of the art; the good cook will know at once what to do and will not ask how to beat the eggs or brown the butter. . . . Dr. Wegman understood in the profoundest sense all that was involved. Out of her deep connection with Rudolf Steiner, which was a matter of destiny, Ita Wegman took her stand, called as she was to found together with him a new source from which healing was to flow.

Out of such inner conditions she was able, after the burning of the first Goetheanum, to ask him: "Can we not renew the Mysteries of medicine in a Christian sense?" As leader of the Medical Section at the Goetheanum, and working in collaboration with Rudolf Steiner, she was destined to make this a reality. "All that she begins will spring up and blossom," he had once said of her. We experienced the full truth of these words in those years of development and growth in the whole of the medical work. An ever-increasing number of patients had to be taken in and cared for, new remedies constantly worked out—even if the manufacture of them often made chemists tear their hair.

It was my duty at this time to look after the patients in the newly acquired "Sonnenhof", and also to give special attention to developing Curative Eurythmy. During the course for doctors in 1921 the principles of the new art of therapy were given, and since then Rudolf Steiner had been furthering and completing his instructions. The year I had devoted exclusively to my training in Eurythmy now became an organic part of my destiny. In the treatment of almost every patient there had to be Curative Eurythmy, often a trying-out of new suggestions; it was wonderful to see how these suggestions were always modifications of the actual sound-movement, to suit the form of the illness and the patient's capacity for movement.

For example, spastic children, such as those with Little's disease, had great difficulty in making a wide movement because it was then that the convulsions started. I was advised to let them make all movements with the upper arms firmly pressed to the body and to carry out the movements only with forearms and hands. Then

everything went splendidly! Curative Eurythmy was certainly not an art of modified movement alone; each single movement was prescribed with physiological precision as to its effectiveness upon the existing state of the illness, and thus it became a remedy. Art and medicine—in a sublime union.

Dr. Steiner required of us complete absorption in our work; he often trusted in us more than we did in ourselves, and this trust awakened forces. Thus, for example, when I had been practising Curative Eurythmy for a bare two months in the Clinic, a request for a lecture on this subject came to us from England. It seems that Dr. Steiner had recommended me. I made it clear to him that I was not competent, since I had been practising Curative Eurythmy for so short a time and also lacked sufficient command of English. His answer was: "But you are capable of Curative Eurythmy, and your English can soon be improved." Some little time after this I concluded that I ought not to be practising Curative Eurythmy exclusively, but ought to make a greater study of the use of remedies, and I said so to Dr. Steiner. "Have patience, that will come of itself," was his reply. "but your destiny is Curative Eurythmy."

* * * *

This medical work of Rudolf Steiner's, which was something so new, embracing as it did the whole man, aroused in a great number of young students eager questions and intensive searching. It was a way of healing entirely in keeping with their own inner conception of their calling. But how was it to be learnt? It was not only a question of adding new methods to those already learnt, but of bringing healing forces to life within one. This was a goal that called for special methods of training and practice. The young doctors sought not merely a deepened knowledge, but inwardly developed powers which could give depth and renewed life to the whole art of doctoring. To the stammering questions they brought to Dr. Steiner, he gave answers which can be summed up in the words: "You are seeking to make medicine more human." As he always wanted to be sure that everything proceeded concretely from man and was carried through by man, he gave this advice to his questioners: "Gather together thirty or forty young doctors who think in this way, and I will give you a course of lectures." The first to approach him were the medical students Henk and Maddy van Deventer and Helene van Grunelius; we in the Clinic took the greatest interest in what would come of this.

In January, 1924, in direct connection with the Christmas meeting for the founding of the General Anthroposophical Society, the first course for young doctors was held—the first course within the newly founded Medical Section at the Goetheanum. For the whole day and a great part of the night those attending the course were together, discussing and taking counsel with one another concerning what Dr. Steiner had said in his lectures. The whole house rang with fresh, enthusiastic voices. Much as I delighted in it all,

secretly I was disturbed lest with this extra work we were not doing justice to the patients in the Sonnenhof and Clinic. I confided my fears to Dr. Wegman, and the next day through her received a message from Dr. Steiner that he was glad the Sonnenhof afforded a meeting place for the young doctors; glad too that I was actively engaged with them. This is mentioned as one example among many of how he had in mind not only the whole but the individual details of it.

Dr. Steiner now appeared in the Clinic almost daily, generally in the morning. And in difficult and acute cases he was ready with his help at any hour. For a time we had with us a little patient of nine suffering from severe asthma. This youngster went to school at the Goetheanum and was so pleased about everything that he said he was glad to have asthma; otherwise he couldn't have come to Dornach. The asthma improved apace. But one evening—it was his birthday and he had been over-excited by all the love shown him—he had an attack which left him unconscious. We three doctors were busy with him and Dr. Steiner, when telephoned, came immediately. He stayed at the Clinic the whole night and with the three of us tried to bring the boy back to life. In addition to artificial respiration he constantly advised new measures which we tried at once. It was only at 6 o'clock the next morning—the dawn of an autumn morning was breaking and the window looking east was opened—that we relinquished our efforts; then Rudolf Steiner spoke to us of how it was impossible for the boy to continue his life on earth for reasons which lay in his whole organism. Our work being ended, I offered to bring him coffee, which in his kind way he declined. He went home and was off to Basle station the same morning. He was travelling to Vienna where, in the autumn of 1923, he was to give his lecture-course, "Anthroposophy and the Human Heart". Never was he known to spare himself!

At times there were very difficult cases which it was necessary to receive because Rudolf Steiner made a point of such patients not going into other hands. I remember a case of mental illness so exacting that it was almost beyond our strength. Rudolf Steiner had promised us help if we were driven to extremities and no longer able to deal with the patient. One evening things arrived at that point; I went to the Schreinerei, where we knew him to be still in his studio, met at the door a strong young Goetheanum watchman, and asked Dr. Steiner if we might take this friend down with us to the Clinic. He quite agreed, but, in spite of the urgency of the moment, gave us a lesson on always respecting the authority of others. He said he had given over the organising of the watch to Dr. Wachsmuth, and we must therefore ask Dr. Wachsmuth whether this would be convenient.

In the summer of 1923, after seeing the patients, Dr. Steiner called Dr. Walter and me and told us that in future he would have to put more responsibility for the Clinic on our shoulders. This

was necessary so that he could do more intensive work with Dr. Wegman for the Anthroposophical Movement and for medicine. They had decided to write a medical book together. Dr. Walter and I must have looked rather disconcerted, for he added, "What—do you find that so hard? I thought I was giving you a piece of good news."

After that the work took on a rather different shape. For the most part Dr. Wegman, after having discussed everything with us in the morning, went off to Dr. Steiner in his studio, working there with him till about 11 o'clock. They then came together to the Clinic in the little dark blue Ford—generally accompanied by a small shaggy dog given the name "Mussolini" by Dr. Steiner; this little dog was always reluctant to give up his place in the car. Then began the consulting hour.

The amount of work Dr. Steiner did was inconceivable. What happened in a single hour was a constant source of astonishment to us—and without a pause in the work one hour followed another. After the Christmas Meeting in 1923, when his health was already affected, we were always making vain efforts to spare him. The following situation is an example. One morning, already very late—perhaps nearly half-past one—I had still to report on a patient in the Sonnenhof, and I gave an account of several new symptoms. The patient's chief complaints were of pain in the head that ran down into her neck and arm, and a nasty-smelling discharge from the nose. Dr. Steiner became more and more serious, finally saying: "I shall have to see this patient myself." Now the symptoms did not appear to me of very great importance; therefore my only thought was to spare him, and I said: "But, Herr Doktor, surely that is not necessary; one really does not see anything." He looked at me quite kindly but with some surprise, and said with emphasis: "One perhaps sees nothing." Then he visited the patient and saw an extraordinary amount, namely a progressive lethargy of the forebrain, and by the exhaustive nature of what he prescribed, the serious illness was arrested.

I should like to end by mentioning one more incident, because it so often comes back to me when we are exercised in our minds about our young workers being tired. They may feel what I then experienced and have to recover without the encouragement of the teacher. During the Christmas Meeting in 1923–1924 every room, even every corner, of our house was occupied. The stream of visitors from all the various countries could hardly be dealt with. In the Sonnenhof, people were sleeping on any improvised structure, often several in one room. There were scarcely sufficient hands to cope with the most necessary tasks in the sick rooms and kitchens. Hot and breathless, we rushed into the lectures. One day, as I was going up along the Bretterweg to one of the meetings, I thought to myself how terrible it was—such a world-historic moment, and here was one of us, simply by reason of tiredness, unable to bring to it all her forces and ideas. Feeling guilty and depressed, I toiled

up the hill and entered the hall of the Schreinerei. There I was stopped by those standing around; they pointed in a certain direction; and as I turned I saw Dr. Steiner coming towards me with outstretched hand. After his handshake all tiredness left me. With new energy and open-heartedness, one could again enter into all that was going on.

The completion of the book, written in collaboration with Ita Wegman, was a great joy to Rudolf Steiner. He received the proofs on his sickbed. The book—called in English *Fundamentals of Therapy: An Extension of the Art of Healing through Spiritual Science*—appeared after his death in 1925. A seed was here sown which bore within it powerful forces of growth. Rudolf Steiner said of it: "This book will be able to give only the very first elementary beginnings; we shall have long left the earth by the time it is accepted as a developed science. . . . What is important is that everything should have passed through human experience."

In an age when even in medicine the materialistic world-outlook has more and more to say, and man's perception threatens to be destroyed by technical and mechanical diagnosis, Rudolf Steiner with Ita Wegman laid down the first principles of the renewal of a medicine that has its starting-point entirely in the knowledge of man. This knowledge does not take into consideration only man's bodily sheaths that may become sick, but also what the eternal in man wishes to experience, has to experience, in an illness. With the knowledge of reincarnation and karma as background, the conception of sickness and healing given us by Rudolf Steiner can be ever further developed.

Translated by V. W.

THE RISING GENERATION

Ernst Lehrs

SOMETIMES children have strange dreams of professions and vocations which bring a smile to the lips of an adult, yet if one looks back on them in later years, they appear to be a child-like figurative expression of deeper relations of destiny. The ideal profession of my childhood was "the Emperor." I wanted to become an Emperor, because I was convinced that being an Emperor implied "knowing all." For I was unable to imagine that anybody could fulfil the task of a ruler without knowing everything. Even when I learned that only certain people had the prerogative of becoming an Emperor, namely, the eldest son of the living ruler, I continued to regard the Emperor as the representative of the absolutely ideal profession. For I was still convinced that an Emperor must "know everything."

What I experienced as a young student in meeting Rudolf Steiner for the first time brought back to my memory that long-forgotten dream of an ideal profession which had accompanied my childhood. Here I faced the man whom I seemed to have sought in an instinctive divining of destiny, and who evoked in me the comforting experience that the human spirit is able to ascend to a sphere where it is possible to "know everything," though, indeed, in a manner different from the usual conception.

Somewhat later, when I had become familiar with the nature of spiritual training in its historical development, I was able to understand why the idea of the "All-knowing one" had become identified with "the Emperor" in the mind of the child. Echoing in it was something like a primeval memory of those times when initiates, in enhanced states of consciousness, had speech with the all-knowing gods and received their counsel, which enabled them, in turn, to become leaders of their peoples. "A king should have nothing more at heart than to be as many-sided, as well informed and as free of prejudice—in fact, to be and to remain as complete a human being—as is possible." That is how Novalis expresses the same primeval memory and the same hope in his essay: "Faith and Hope, or the King and the Queen."

It is necessary to indicate, if only in a few words, what impelled me, a student of physics and mathematics, to take part in the anthroposophical course of lectures for students held in Stuttgart in March, 1921, when I first encountered Rudolf Steiner and his work. For only so can the decisive effect of all that took place during this course become comprehensible.

The conviction that I was living "in the best of all worlds," which had become mine as a result of the conventional education before the first world war, had been thoroughly shaken by the

experience of war in the front line. When I resumed my interrupted studies, another conviction was shattered: that the scientific method of cognition, as it had been developed by mankind in the course of the past centuries, could enable us to order and handle all human affairs for all times by means of exact thought. For not only had all the nations been drawn into the catastrophe of the world war in spite of their scientific achievements, but this war had also surpassed in cruelty all preceding wars by the application of those very achievements.

Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, then the subject of much discussion and sharp controversy among professors and students, became for me an eloquent symptom of the problems thus haunting me. For the relativism pervading this theory resulted in denying all reality of being and existence to man as man. Nevertheless I felt compelled to accept Einstein's method of thinking as a consistent development of prevalent scientific thinking, whereas all attempts to refute it appeared to lack this logical character. Thus the refutations appeared to me to be of no avail.

Arising out of these premises, a definite spiritual demand in relation to the further evolution of mankind shaped itself within me, clothing itself in the following picture: I saw before me a river, on the banks of which we—existent humanity—were standing. On the opposite bank lay the new land which was to be reached. The question therefore was: how to bridge the river? Knowledge of the laws of nature would enable one to begin to build the bridge—but, at best, to reach only the middle of the river. In order to build the remaining half, a knowledge of the forces and laws prevailing on the opposite bank of the river would have been necessary, and this could be obtained only over there. But how could one get there while the bridge did not yet exist? First of all, no doubt, some pioneers would have to cross the river by swimming. Where could the men be found who were prepared to equip themselves for such a deed? Where were those who could muster the courage for it?

What I read in the programme of the anthroposophical lectures for students in Stuttgart, pinned on the notice-board of the university where I was studying, appeared to me to speak of a willingness to carry out such a courage-demanding deed in the spirit, and so I decided to attend.—I was led to recall in my memory these feelings and impulses when, on a later occasion, in summing up what he had said before in various ways, Rudolf Steiner told us young people: "Anthroposophy is meant to be the great school of courage."

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Besides Rudolf Steiner's lectures and those of his co-workers, the course included daily discussions in the style of a seminar on various subjects. The content of these discussions cannot now be reproduced: apart from the fact that the memory of the beginner of those days fails me here (except for isolated details), there

are unfortunately no shorthand notes of those impressive deliberations. However, what did leave an indelible mark was Rudolf Steiner's personal attitude. He was present at all the seminars, listening kindly without immediately taking part. Presently, however, a moment would come when he spontaneously entered the discussion. All that he then brought forward, in reply to a question or an objection, made the members of the seminar realise with astonishment that they were faced with a thinker who was not only fully versed in every specialised field, but could also amplify the existing body of knowledge by offering essential information drawn from his own knowledge of the spiritual side of man and the universe. Whether the question concerned some problem of science, higher mathematics, the history of art, philosophy or anything else, it was just the same—he invariably made his contribution in a quiet voice, instinct with inner assurance, as a friendly offering, thus giving the impression that it took no effort to know and master all this. Here one could recognise a mind which had reached this all-embracing knowledge in a different way from that of accumulating a mass of learned details, exhausting its vitality in the process. Rudolf Steiner lived—as I came to realise in the course of these days—on a higher vantage-point in relation to knowledge; from there he could dive down into a given realm and speak about it as though he had occupied himself with nothing else throughout his life. It can be imagined what this meant to a student who was thirsting for the truly human, and for an understanding of the real nature of man. In this connection it was a special experience to watch how very differently Rudolf Steiner would behave in situations apparently similar in character, taking into account the human background of those who had raised a question. Three examples will bring this out.

Among those taking part in the discussions there were some who tried to draw attention to themselves by praising everything brought forward from the anthroposophical side, but at the same time liked to mention some other spiritual teaching, with the "good" advice not to neglect it, but to bring it into a synthesis with Anthroposophy. There were others who felt the call to disturb almost every discussion, just when it had reached a generally satisfying conclusion, by raising an objection which appeared to be relevant but was not based on personal knowledge.

Towards the end of a discussion on the significance of mathematics for a natural science extended by spiritual science, the conversation touched on synthetic geometry, following a remark by Rudolf Steiner. One of those who took part in the discussion, a representative of the first group, remarked that he was not a mathematician and had no knowledge of higher mathematics, but on the subject of synthetic geometry, recommended by Dr. Steiner, he would like to advise the anthroposophical scientists not to under-rate the importance of the infinitesimal calculus.

Barely had this been said when Rudolf Steiner stood up with flashing eyes and thundered into the room: "I don't understand how anyone who has to admit that he knows nothing of mathematics can venture to give us advice in these matters." The adviser never made himself heard again during the whole course of lectures.

Another man, representative of the other attitude, who had come to be quite a burden on all the open-minded members of the conference because of his futile or superfluous objections, raised his voice at the end of a history-seminar which had been dealing with the spiritual differentiation of humanity into an Asiatic-Eastern, an Anglo-American-Western and a mediating European group: "But what about Czecho-Slovakia?" he asked.

The discussion leaders, certain of being backed by all the open-minded students, were just about to ignore the remark and to close the seminar, when Rudolf Steiner quickly rose to his feet and, pointing towards the audience, said: "The gentleman at the back has raised a very interesting question which I would gladly answer." He added that he would need about three-quarters of an hour for it, and asked whether this could be fitted in on the following day, which of course was agreed to.

At the appointed time on the following day, Rudolf Steiner, addressing a packed audience, gave a survey of the history of the Czech people, going into amazing details, with the aim of making clear the special spiritual task of the Czech, as bridge-builders between the Central-European and the East-European-Slav spirituality. In the course of his talk he repeatedly turned to the man who had put the question, addressing him somewhat as follows: "You may remember, in such and such a century (the exact date followed) such and such an event occurred with such and such significant consequences." Or: "Then your well-known writer (the name followed), in publishing his work in such and such a year, exercised a powerful influence of such and such a nature on the evolution of the Czech people." Listeners sitting near the man thus addressed saw him become more and more astonished. While leaving the lecture-room I passed him accidentally and heard him say, partly to himself and partly to the man walking by his side, "No, never would I have thought that anyone could know so much about the Czech people." His "but" was silenced for the rest of the conference.

A third happening which threw a liberating light on the theory of relativity, so sorely troubling me, was the following. Some representatives of orthodox science took the opportunity of the conference to invite Rudolf Steiner to a discussion on a number of fundamental theses such as the electromagnetic wave-nature of light, the atomistic structure of matter and the relativity of movement. The invitation was accepted. One of the speakers tried to demonstrate the validity of the theory of relativity in a somewhat light-hearted way by first striking a match on a matchbox which he

held motionless in his other hand. Then he lit another, this time holding the match still and moving the box across it. Whereupon Rudolf Steiner, quite calmly and with what seemed like a sly smile, replied: "I would like to know how you would carry out your demonstration if I were to nail the matchbox over there on the wall?"

It was clear: in order to carry out the second method of striking a light, the person holding the match would have to take his stand somewhere outside the earth, at a fixed point in space, and from there would have to move the whole earth, with this building and the matchbox attached to it, across the match! In this way Rudolf Steiner illustrated the fact that, as he repeatedly expressed it, relativity theory operates with "thoughts one cannot really think."

Among those who represented the views of science was a well-known theoretical physicist, to-day one of the leaders in this field, who was then at the beginning of his rise to fame. Not long before I had myself attended, at my university, a course of lectures he had given on the theory of electrons. He now himself entered the discussion and advanced in favour of relativity the fact that for our observation there exists no standpoint from which a cosmic motion such as that of a planet can be observed, except in relation to the movement of some other cosmic object of observation, and that therefore we have no right to bring such a motion into our scientific considerations in any other way than as a relative one. To this Rudolf Steiner gave the following reply. He asked us to imagine two people sitting on a bench in a park, and therefore both in the same state of motion, outwardly; but differing in that one of them is breathing normally and has a normal complexion, while the other is deeply flushed, with his forehead covered in sweat, and is panting for breath. In such a case it would be evident, from observable differences in the physiological conditions of the two people, that one of them—though in this case at a time previous to that of the observation—had been in a different absolute state of motion from the other. And science will develop to the point of observing in a similar way, on the single planetary bodies, phenomena from which it will be possible to read their absolute state of motion.

For myself, this was a moment when a curtain seemed to lift, giving a glimpse into a realm of possibilities of knowledge such as my heart had yearned for. There was the joyful realisation: "Here is genuine science! Here is no countering of one hypothesis by another; here, limited experience is answered by an actually—or at least potentially—wider experience!" At the same instant the physicist, greatly moved, sprang from his seat, and with emphatic gestures showing his emotion, exclaimed: "Yes, yes, indeed—if some day that becomes possible, the theory of relativity will collapse!"

For a few moments all was quiet in the hall; then the discussion went on. Although at the time I was unable to give a clear account

of it to myself, I had the impression that in the destiny of the physicist's entelechy something had taken place of far greater significance than his acknowledgment or denial of the spiritual-scientific statement. Through an intuitive recognition of his personality, Rudolf Steiner had helped him to gain this, just by refraining throughout the discussion from making the slightest effort to compel his opponents to acknowledge the correctness of his views and the error of theirs. Again and again he simply set forth, with quiet assurance, what a realistic method of observation had to say about the matter under consideration.

The concluding words of Rudolf Steiner's lectures at that conference must be given here verbatim, for one can hear in them a keynote which rang forth again eighteen months later in a significantly altered situation.

"It is not my habit to use traditional phrases, even when they have acquired a hallowed character; I prefer to go back always to the unadorned truth. In our histories of literature and culture a pompous phrase frequently occurs, supposed to have been the last words of the dying Goethe: 'Light, more light!' Well, Goethe lay in a dark corner of his small room and the opposite window had closed shutters. From all I know about Goethe, I have good reason to believe that these words were simply, 'Open the shutters!' But in dealing so heretically with this pompous phrase in relation to Goethe, whom I love and revere, I should like all the same to invoke the simpler phrase, at the close of our study-course, by saying: To you, my dear fellow-students, now that we feel united in the room from which the windows open on spiritual knowledge, I would address this call. . . . Out of the spirit which has brought us here together, I say to you: Open the shutters!"

A year and a half later, in October, 1922, young people crowded round Rudolf Steiner—this time not merely to hear about the possibility of a spiritual renewal of science, but in order to receive an answer to essential questions concerning their own development as human beings. And in view of the chaos in human affairs which was then clearly beginning to manifest itself, they also sought guidance for the social tasks of the future. Again Rudolf Steiner contrasted the phrase attributed to Goethe with the real one, but this time in a somewhat different key, characteristic of his way of speaking to these young people: "Perhaps the words Goethe really said are more apt than the phrase, 'More light!' The state of things prevailing at the end of the nineteenth century gave rise, indeed, to the feeling, 'The shutters have been closed by those who came before us.' Then this new generation came along, and they felt hemmed in; they felt, 'The shutters which the older generation has closed so tightly must be thrown open.' Yes, my dear friends, let me promise you that, although I am old, I will speak to you in the next few days of how we can try to get the shutters open."

These were the words with which Rudolf Steiner concluded the

opening lecture of that series of thirteen lectures which we called "Pedagogical Course for Young People," or, simply, the "Youth Course," a name they have retained.* In many respects this course was an unusual occurrence in the life of the anthroposophical movement, for it had come about through a group made up partly of very young people who had approached Rudolf Steiner directly, ignoring the functionaries of the Anthroposophical Society as well as the active members then living in Stuttgart. Besides this, these young people found themselves in a difficult situation before the course began. During the preliminary conversation between their representatives and Rudolf Steiner, he was told that in their opinion all the preceding conferences and lecture-courses contained too much of the element of "programme," and that this was detrimental to the unfolding of individual creative powers. All this appeared to them to have too much of a "19th century flavour." Rudolf Steiner listened to all this with visible, positive interest and promised to arrange the lectures accordingly. Then these young people went off to travel round and kindle interest in the project among those of their own age. Great was their shock, however, when they heard shortly before the course was to begin that Rudolf Steiner, in reply to a query about the actual purpose of this course, had replied that he did not know it either. The representatives of the young people had brought him a variety of requests, but they had not made it clear what they really wanted.

One of us went to see Rudolf Steiner, hoping to hear from his own lips how matters stood. The answer was that as we had told him of our aversion to "programmes," he had decided to give the course of lectures entirely without a programme. He had been informed that we proposed to arrange one or two days before the beginning of the course in preparation for our work with him; we ought to use that time for getting our minds clear about the subject of the first lecture. After the first lecture we could take what he had said to us and from out of it find the theme for the second lecture, and so on. "In this way we will shape the course together, entirely without a premeditated programme." At that moment we got a foretaste of the inexorable method he was following—throwing us back on our own initiative and waiting for at least a first step from us before stretching out his hand to give us further help and guidance.

Never before or afterwards can human beings have been so grateful for Rudolf Steiner's *not* coming as were the young people then gathered together: in the course of two and a half days they received repeated telephone messages from Dornach to the effect that unfortunately Dr. Steiner was still unable to leave. This gave us more time to wrestle with the formulation of a subject which

* There is a (duplicated) English translation with the title, "The New Generation. The Spiritual Impulses of the Twentieth Century for the Cultivation of the Inner Life and for Outer Deed."

would express our spiritual situation. Barely had we found it, when the message reached us that Dr. Steiner had left Dornach.

Punctually, at the appointed time, he arrived. But when our subject was mentioned, he surprised us by not appearing to be particularly interested; he merely said kindly that he would first give a lecture which would be of the nature of a welcome and an introduction. In fact, this lecture contained in close-knit structure all the themes which had exercised our minds during the preceding days. Throughout the following twelve days we were never asked for another subject. Obviously in the days of our wrestling something had happened spiritually which sufficed to provide Dr. Steiner with a setting for all he wished to say.

The arbitrary procedure of appealing directly to Dr. Steiner arose from our feeling that our situation in the anthroposophical movement was a very specific one, forcing us to ask questions which could not be answered profitably by the older members. We also felt that we could not find the help we needed in the existing anthroposophical literature, whether books or lectures. We sought for clarity about our own aims; we wanted to know how we, as young people, could train ourselves in order to become creative co-workers in shaping the new culture which was demanded by progressive humanity. Above all, we wanted to know how one could proceed "from speaking about the spirit to speaking out of the spirit"; how spirit could stream into the manifold professional activities which were coming to engage us. Then we were exercised by the problem of how a human community could be formed and nurtured in the spirit of our time. As a goal before us, we saw the creation of foundations for a modern "cultural pedagogy," and particularly a pedagogy for the adolescent age.

Referring to those lectures, Rudolf Steiner remarked later on that, thanks to the character of his audience, he had been able to speak more pictorially than almost ever before. Indeed, lecture after lecture called up a whole series of pictures growing out of one another. He started by dwelling on the inner stress and strain experienced by young people at the beginning of our century, because the older generation confronted them with all manner of standpoints derived from this or that philosophy of life. But all these standpoints, he said, had by then acquired beneath them a crust of ice. The spiritual ice-age had come. The ice was thin, but as people had lost the sense of weight in their standpoints, they did not break through the crust. Besides, being cold at heart, they did not thaw the ice. The young people stood alongside their elders; *their* hearts were warm. Their warmheartedness was still speechless, but it broke through the ice. The young person did not feel, "This is my standpoint," but, "I am losing the ground from under my feet. My own heart's warmth is breaking the ice."

The ice, he said, had been formed out of *empty phrases, convention, and routine*—empty phrases, which intruded into spiritual

life when in the last third of the 19th century thoughts ceased to be permeated by the soul; convention, which dominated social life, instead of a real human community coming into being; routine, which in the practical life of men had usurped the place of personal commitment.

When Rudolf Steiner used these images, he was not merely giving an artistic clothing to a fact which could have been expressed in an unpictorial way. What troubled the young people was essentially an emotional experience which they did not fully understand. But the life of feeling takes its course on a level of consciousness which is similar to dream-consciousness. Just as we dream in pictures, so, too, we feel in pictures, although the latter may not always rise to the level of awareness. Hence they can torment us. Rudolf Steiner raised these pictures into the consciousness of the young people. So, for instance, when he spoke of *Wissenschaft** as a being. When one made her acquaintance, when she has been repeatedly introduced to one, then the recognition comes (in this degree it probably came only to Rudolf Steiner, who even as a young man could consciously experience what we only dream) "that another being has stealthily crept away to one side in a shamefaced manner, feeling that she was no longer tolerated. But she would still say if one felt goaded to talk to her secretly in a back-room: 'I have a name which may no longer be mentioned in the presence of Objective Science. I am called Philosophy, Sophia: Wisdom. I take my disgraceful first name from Love (*philo*), and I have something which by its very name is bound to have something to do with man's innermost being, with love. I dare not let myself be seen; only in a shamefaced way dare I move about.'"

With words such as these, Rudolf Steiner did not intend to make the young people arrogant or supercilious towards higher learning and its achievements, or to dissuade those who studied it from continuing their work seriously. Earlier on, in fact, referring to a certain tendency in the first youth-movement to treat thought in its "pallor" in a contemptuous way and to flee from it, he had said: Thoughts are necessary for living as a human being, and we can never dispense with the thoughts given us by the last few centuries. However, they should not get stuck in the head, but they should be conceived so strongly "that they stream through the heart and through the entire human being right down into his feet. For, truly, it is far better if not merely white and red blood-corpuses, but thoughts also, pulsate through our blood." It is right for man to have a heart, and not merely thoughts. *But the most precious thing of all is for thoughts to have a heart.*" It was not science, but the way science was handled, that he had in mind when in this way he characterised the inner experience of the young people.

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* Untranslatable here: the word covers both science and the humanities.

In the course of these lectures he spoke of the significance of the path leading to the strengthening of thinking, as indicated in his *Philosophy of Spiritual Activity*. In making the effort really to practise what is there called "pure thinking," one comes to experience that this is a will-exercise, leading right into the centre of man's being. It shows one that ordinary thinking is indeed nothing but an activity of the head; you feel you are beginning no longer to think "so high up there," but to think in the breast. "You notice that as the process of thinking becomes more and more an activity of the will, it first wrestles itself free from the chest and then gradually from the entire body. It is as though you had to draw forth this thinking from the last fibre of your big toe." In this way one comes to feel that "a new inner man is born who, out of the spirit, can bring about the unfolding of the will."

Throughout the Youth Course, Rudolf Steiner had repeated occasion to refer to his *Philosophy of Spiritual Activity*, because he wished to bring out the significance of *moral intuitions*, which had to be drawn forth from every individual for the moral life of the present and the future, and because this book indicates the path to this intuitive capacity.

For the fourth lecture he appeared carrying a small notebook. Those familiar with his method of working knew that he possessed a great number of notebooks, dating from all his years of work, in which he was in the habit of putting down thoughts or making sketches. He did this, as he said, not for the purpose of looking up, later on, what had been written down, but because it is easier to remember something the spirit has grasped when it is immediately connected with a movement of the limbs. We young people were deeply touched when we realised that Rudolf Steiner had taken the trouble of going through his notebooks on our behalf in order to pick out one belonging to the year 1893. From this notebook he read us a review of Spencer's *Principles of Ethics* which had appeared in a German literary magazine of those days, where the reviewer had written that Spencer's master-work must silence, at least in the realm of exact knowledge, the last attempts to found ethical discrimination on intuition, inborn feelings, even self-evident axioms, etc."

Then he began to describe how he had had to place his *Philosophy of Spiritual Activity* right into the ethical mood of that time—this book which shows that "the whole future of human ethics depends on the power of moral intuition becoming stronger every day." When he described from various aspects his own radical opposition to the prevailing views of that period, the inner struggle he had gone through at the time became more and more movingly evident. What can be read to-day in the clear and smoothly running report of this lecture should be pictured as having been uttered in tones of vibrant emotion. There he stood before us, once again a man of thirty-two, who, out of a self-imposed duty of

service to his time and because of his spiritual insight into its needs, faced his contemporaries in complete loneliness and boldly raised his voice against the ever-rising storm of materialism.

The inner drama he had gone through, while to outward appearance sitting quietly in a Vienna café—this came before us at that moment in bodily reality! There he was, standing at the balustrade of the platform, with shining eyes, his right hand holding his notebook, and hammering thunderously on the balustrade, while with a voice that filled the entire hall he called down to us: "It was therefore necessary for me, my dear friends, to make the attempt to write a book representing, in a most determined way, the very standpoint which was described by men of learning, in an equally determined way, as one that should be finally silenced." The "search for the hero," so often mentioned in the youth movement, here found fulfilment; here the heart of youth, oppressed by the troubles of the time, found its hero of the spirit.

We went home after this lecture without saying very much to one another; the experience had stirred us to our depths. Many among us may have pledged themselves silently to follow in Rudolf Steiner's footsteps in the unfolding of courage, in soul and spirit, on however humble a scale. Later on we were to learn more exactly the actual character of this courage. It was the courage to say to oneself, "The life of the world must be made new again from its very foundations." And certainly, "Courage—one learns it very quickly, or not at all."

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Our question—"How can we learn to progress from speaking about the spirit to speaking out of the spirit?"—was answered by Rudolf Steiner during the Youth-course, and subsequently, by simply demonstrating it in practice. The word "simply" is meant in the sense that he often took the apparently simplest examples, thus illustrating what in the 1924 lecture-course, which laid the basis of curative education, he called "reverence for little things." Almost daily, too, he met us apart from the lectures, entering into the manifold needs of those taking part in the course. There were young sculptors who showed him samples of their labours, in order to seek advice for future work; poets who received from him individually the most varied indications concerning rhyme and rhythm; daily he came to the recitation lessons provided by Frau Steiner, gave speech-exercises, explained the vowels and consonants, and on two occasions even recited to us himself. Because an interest in painting had arisen, he gave a few painting lessons. Finally, he was present at some of the discussions which the members of the course had arranged among themselves.

During one of these discussions, a young farmer spoke as best he could about the being of the Christ. Although he expressed himself rather awkwardly, we listened to him with a certain respect, due above all to his subject. But as he went on and began to speak

of what his experience in farming had taught him about manure, we turned up our noses with the feeling that Dr. Steiner's presence should not be claimed for such "vulgar" matters. The next day those responsible for running the course had an interview with Rudolf Steiner on some special points. He asked for the name of the farmer and said to our surprise: "What the young man said about Christ was fairly insignificant." Then he added, with friendly emphasis: "But what he said about manure was excellent." He would like to add something himself to it at the next meeting. (The course of lectures which founded bio-dynamic agriculture had not yet been given.) The following is an attempt to record not only what he said at this meeting, but also his manner of speaking:

"It was interesting what you said yesterday, as a farmer. I have no time to stay here much longer, so I will briefly add the following. In agriculture, too, the spiritual is being sought. There, too, it is believed that new methods should be found, right down into the handling of material substance. If you turn to modern materialistic science, you will not find much affection for agriculture. Modern science holds that in the case of a field needing so much nitrogen, one must put this quantity into it. The scientists are not aware that one need only plant sainfoin* systematically round the field in order to draw in the right amount of nitrogen by radiation. It would be enough to plant a single row of sainfoin all round the field."

A brave man among us, who did not know what sainfoin is, asked about it. Dr. Steiner immediately replied, and in such a way that we felt he was not speaking "about" this plant, nor as though it were absent, but that through the intimate tone of his voice, the pondering attitude, the movement of his hands, the immediate spiritual presence of what he was describing could be experienced deeply and impressively. It was as if the sainfoin actually came into being through his words and gestures. Perhaps one might try to catch an echo of this experience from the following recorded words: "Sainfoin . . . they are plants . . . they have flowers that grow in clusters . . . butterfly-shaped flowers . . . they are pinkish-red . . . the leaves are feather-like . . ." And then: "This plant has the remarkable capacity to permeate the ground over a considerable area with what human beings are trying to introduce into the soil artificially. Do you believe this is nonsense? No! These are indeed things which can be recognised if one is able to penetrate into matter by means of definite spiritual knowledge right into the material realm."

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The scope of an essay such as this is limited by the space available. Much of what was experienced in connection with the great addresses to young people which followed in the years

* *Onobrychis sativa*.

1923/24, and during my own life as a Waldorf School teacher, must be left out. There is room only for a few aspects which are as valid to-day as they were valid then; their significance for the young people now growing up, as well as for the coming generations of this century, will indeed increase continually.

The older generation usually tends either to criticise and reject the rising one, or else tries to win it over to its own side and for its own aims. When some of the young people brought their questions in a corporate way to Rudolf Steiner for the first time, he responded so readily because the spiritual background lay open to him—the background whence the new generation had started on its way earthwards, and whence all the following generations would proceed. He saw that deep in the souls of these young people there was living something new in the history of mankind. He knew that what was "rumbling" in them had great possibilities, but that it could also involve great dangers if the right guidance were lacking. His first step in this direction was to help the young people to become conscious of their own inward tendencies. He emphasised repeatedly that the opposition between young and old which at the turn of the century had emerged for the first time on a large, organised scale, was different from anything of the kind that had arisen previously.* As he told us in his address to young people gathered at Arnhem in Holland in the summer of 1924, it had been quite clear to him from the very beginning of the youth movement that "in the deepest subconsciousness of the great majority of the young people of the present day there lives a tendency towards a remarkably thorough understanding of the fact that a *great earthquake-like revolution in the entire development of mankind is bound to take place.*"

We are in the habit of associating definite, clearly outlined ideas with certain centuries, as when we speak of the two phases of Renaissance painting, designating them simply as Quattrocento and Cinquecento. We speak of the XXth century and connect with it a certain way of thinking which differs from that of the XIXth century. To the spiritual penetration of Rudolf Steiner the turning-point between the XIXth and XXth centuries revealed itself in a far deeper sense as something very special in the history of mankind. This turning-point is connected with a unique change in spiritual conditions, not only on earth, but in the whole cosmos—that is, the world in which the human soul dwells before birth. It was this change which made it possible for Rudolf Steiner to begin his teaching work from the moment of that turning-point—as, in fact, he did. Naturally, it sounded presumptuous to the older people when the human beings born at that time described themselves as "totally different people"; in reality it was a stammering,

* This refers to the German *Wandervogel* movement which arose in 1899 and, together with its successors, played a significant part among the rising generation up to World War I.

a begging to be taught to understand *themselves*, the human beings whom they felt to be "totally different." Rudolf Steiner saw what was trying to break through. Since the turning-point these souls had indeed been bringing down to earth, in the depths of their will-nature, an urge towards the spiritual—an urge which, if it fails to find its goal, is bound to manifest in pathological ways: in organic defects, in mental disturbances, juvenile delinquency, political mischiefousness. Because Rudolf Steiner foresaw all this, he took every opportunity of lending his ear to the questions of the young people about their problems, of talking with them and addressing them in impressive fashion, so as to bring to their consciousness their historical responsibility. But as with him everything was kept in true balance, he allowed those who came to him to experience also a necessary damping down of premature aspirations, or, at least, a correction of their impulses. Some of the foregoing accounts provide examples of this.

There was still another anxiety which one could hear in his words when he spoke to the young people. The human soul is not given its character only by what it brings with it from pre-natal existence as unconscious memory and the subsequent impulse for earthly life. It is affected also by everything that comes to it from environmental influences, especially education and upbringing. Frequently Rudolf Steiner had to help to clear away "the senile foreground" in the souls, so that the "juvenile background" might come into its own. When he experienced how young people, thinking that they ought to talk with special "cleverness" in his presence, got themselves entangled in abstractions; when he felt that their souls were too heavily burdened and oppressed—and every soul suffers from this in one way or another to-day—his kindness was instantly ready to help in overcoming such hindrances.

It is against this background that we can understand on the one hand his great addresses, charged with stimulus, and on the other the humorous stories and anecdotes which were never absent from his talks to young people, sometimes occurring in the midst of the most fundamental expositions of world problems. They embodied some essential thought in a way that brought it into direct contact with life, making it the very reverse of an intellectual abstraction. How readily did he let his eyes twinkle in warm-hearted humour—while perhaps at the very next moment he would seem to be gazing out with lofty earnestness, far over his audience, as into cosmic distances.

In the last lecture of the Youth Course, Rudolf Steiner gave to us—and thereby to the young people of our whole epoch—the crowning picture of the course: Michael's fight with the Dragon. It is the picture for the struggle of the spiritualised intelligence of man against the power of materialism and all its effects—killing men, devouring men. In older times, too, this picture was known and given outward expression, but in those days it had a prophetic

character and was intended as a pointer towards what was to be expected in the future. To-day the struggle has become acute. In theories such as that which recognises in man nothing but the final stage in the sequence of animal development, or in the theory of the conservation of matter and energy which prevails in physics, the spiritual signature of the Dragon of our time is revealed. For through these theories "the way to the truly human is closely barred." But "the Dragon *must* be conquered, and therefore people must come to understand that the picture of Michael conquering the Dragon is not only an ancient picture, but a picture which has attained its highest degree of reality in our own time."

Rudolf Steiner then transformed this into another picture which is entirely new—indeed, one can say that it inaugurates a new mythology for mankind. In the imaginative speech of old, the "chariot" repeatedly played an important part. Elijah was seen ascending to heaven in a chariot of fire. The sun-god was experienced as driving across the sky in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds. And now Rudolf Steiner revived this image for what he wished to impart to the young people—the picture of a chariot, but of one coming from the spiritual world *into* the earthly world. Once more he spoke of the forces in man which he brings from his pre-earthly life into earthly existence; forces which work on the child and continue to work on him and to reveal themselves through him as he grows up. "This is a reality which, if we cherish and nurture it, will become for Michael the chariot in which he will enter our civilisation. If we educate in the right way, we are preparing the vehicle for Michael, so that he may enter our civilisation." To fashion the vehicle for Michael means being able to become a companion of Michael. "And you will best achieve what you want, my dear friends, by becoming conscious that *you want to become the companions of Michael.*"

Thus the new generation of our time, the generation of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow, was given its sign—the sign from which the impulses for its spiritual tasks are seeking to flow.

Translated by V. E. P. and C. W.

ONE OF THE YOUNG DOCTORS

Kurt Magerstädt

IN 1921 I had gone to study in Tübingen. At that time there were few vacant rooms in German towns, or only very expensive ones, and as I could not spend much money I had taken up my quarters in a neighbouring village. I had to go on foot a fairly long way every day to the University, and as I walked along in the dusk between the lime-trees of the avenue, I put a question to a quite definite star which I did not know at the time to be Sirius. I asked: "If there is a spiritual world I should like to know something about it." I was interested at that time in Swedenborg's writing, especially his *Heavenly Jerusalem*, and this may have ultimately prompted the question.

One evening—deep snow had fallen, the stars glittered in the sky and I had stayed late in the University Library because I had no coal at home—I put my question more intensively than usual, and in the night I had a dream. I heard these words spoken by a member of the family who was dead and whom I had deeply revered: "Pay attention to the next three days." With these words I awoke.

Two or three days later I was in a group of theologians—how as a medical student I came to be there I no longer remember—and heard a tall young man give a lecture. It was on Anthroposophy and new theological knowledge; it appeared, moreover, that there had been two Jesus-children. The speaker was named Emil Bock, and the student who sat next me and then lent me Rudolf Steiner's *Philosophie der Freiheit* was Kurt von Wistinghausen. Inwardly I pricked up my ears; was it to this that I had to pay attention?

About a year went by; I moved to the University of Rostock and was one day called upon with another student—as was customary with the seniors—to attend a Polish peasant woman at the birth of her child. The child did not come; a whole night was spent in waiting, and during the night my fellow-student—Heinrich Hardt—told me about Anthroposophy. We struck up a friendship and a few days later he said to me: "We will go presently and meet a colleague who has just been in Dornach." As we stood on the platform after our work, the man we were expecting got down from the train and Hardt introduced us: Manfred v. Kries—Magerstädt. "What is your name?" asked Kries in astonishment, "Magerstädt? You are the one I was to look for." "How is that?" I said. "Because it has struck some of us that you are on the look out for something definite. If you had not been here now, I should have asked for the list of students and gone to find you. I was told that you belong to the group that is to travel to Dornach."

I was trying at that time to fix up my doctorate work and had come to Rostock because the University there seemed the most likely to accept the theme I had set myself—'Iriscopy', diagnosis from the eye. It naturally interested me now to hear that Rudolf Steiner had also worked for his doctor's degree at Rostock University, and in all simplicity I wrote to him that as I was invited to Dornach for the coming Medical Conference, I would make so bold as to consult him about my work, and thereupon I gave an account of my idea of the threefold membering of the eye.

Our course was to begin early in January and we started in advance—it was 1923—for the Christmas Foundation Meeting at Dornach. We Germans came out of inflation and depression into the well-ordered conditions of Switzerland and those who had grown up during the World War—I had been a volunteer—had their first fully conscious experience of a land of peace. On the Dornach hill, however, stood the ruins of the burnt-down Goetheanum, prophetic symbol of the countless ruins which Europe was to experience.

It was swarming with people. One saw an amazing number of interesting faces, the most peculiar individualities. For the first lecture that I was to hear from Rudolf Steiner I found a seat on the stage of the Schreinerei, behind the speaker's desk, in order to be able to observe everything as closely as possible. From here one looked out over the throng who sat and waited. Finally there arose a general movement, faces turned to a doorway. . . Was it a youth who came striding in? Everyone has his own way of walking; one person bobs up and down, another pushes forward with his head, another has his nose in the air—and here one saw a man calmly advancing who from the distance looked like a youth; one could only say of him that he walked with resting head. He greeted one or other person with a movement of the hand, with a glance of the eyes or a nod, and then he came on to the stage. All I could think of was—What a walk, what a carriage, this man has! That was my first impression of Rudolf Steiner.

Like many homeless souls, I had sampled all sorts of groups, such as the Wandervogel, the Eucken-Kreis, the Lhotzki circle, the Kloster-Beuron, and nowhere had I found a satisfying conjunction of action, thought and speech. Here now was a complete human being. Nevertheless, since many negative experiences had made me cautious and critical, I exercised the skills which I fancied I possessed in order to see through any possible artifices. Up to a point I was familiar with palmistry, physiognomy and graphology. So I sat there and took careful note. I studied the face, tried to see the lines on the hand when Rudolf Steiner raised it. . . Who is this man? I asked myself. Never before had I seen such lines. It was a full firm hand, the hand of a sculptor, the first finger almost the same length as the middle finger; Jupiter and Saturn, as one was accustomed to say, developed in equal strength.

Then, at an unexpected time, I came to the conversation I had hoped for. Rudolf Steiner stood in the light, I in the darkness. I was struck by his wonderful iris, an iris that shone differently in every light; at the moment it was amber-coloured. Then I had a peculiar experience. I must have observed too closely and without the right respect, and was wordlessly rebuffed. I felt it like a blow that went right through me. It was a repulse and seemed to say: No—not like that. The spoken words, however, were: "I have received your letter and now that I know you I can say: You can become a University Professor—or you can become an Anthroposophist." I was speechless. This was truly no answer to a student's question about his doctorate-thesis; yet it was one of those answers which one has to puzzle over for a long time. Moreover, after his unspoken rebuke I had at the same time an overwhelming realisation. I knew spontaneously: I who have felt homeless, this is my home. Here I belong. This home was connected intimately with the personality of Rudolf Steiner. All that is good and fine of which a 24-year-old is at all capable came powerfully to life within me.

During the next three days I heard all the lectures that Rudolf Steiner gave, sitting at one time on the right, at another on the left, or behind, or in front. The figure of the teacher appeared to me immersed in a coloured spirit-atmosphere, and I could not so quickly give up my habit of wanting to test everything. The impression remained unchanged. The people, too, whom I encountered revealed immediately the fundamental nuance of their soul and spirit. It was an experience that grew too much for me; I could hardly bear it. One day in this mood and for no particular reason I went up to the Schreinerei. There round the corner came Rudolf Steiner. 'Well, are you going to be an Anthroposophist?' 'Yes', I replied. He gave me his hand, and with this handclasp all the peculiar experiences of the last few days were taken from me.

During the Christmas Meeting I had taken over the night-watch from one of the watchers.* By night and sometimes also by day I now walked round the grounds. Once I had to take duty between midnight and 3 a.m. From my post I could see the Villa Hansi, where Dr. Steiner lived, and was aware of the light burning in his room. As I was relieved at 3 o'clock it went out; but when for some reason or other I went over to my quarters in the Sonnenhof an hour later, I saw that it was already burning again. So he had slept for only one hour.

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When the Conference was over, the Course for young doctors began, in the early days of the New Year. And now all the questions and longings that I had carried within me found their answer.

*The watch was a precaution prompted by the burning down of the Goetheanum a year before.—*Editors' note.*

Until then I had not seen my way in the world. To be sure, I had got through my first medical examination quite well, but through my study of medicine had not the human being become more than ever a mere pieced-together, mosaic picture? The idea of the archetype of man was lacking, and since I had not found this, the real human relevance of my studies was also lacking. Now for the first time I gained a picture of man and so, too, of the universe. Until then I had been a stranger on the earth, even though I had often been in the mood for all sorts of frivolous nonsense. Sometimes I could take myself by the ear and ask: Man, how do you come to be here? Are you really you? Now, for the first time, I felt myself truly incarnated and awake; at last I had found the wholeness of universe, earth, man. I was a blind man whose bandage had been removed; who looked round and rejoiced: "Oh, how beautiful it is in the world! Spirit and nature are one!" All at once I became happier and healthier.

A second course for young doctors was promised for Easter, 1924. Heinrich Hardt and I were in the middle of the State examinations, between two sessions, but we could not resist travelling from Rostock to Dornach for at least a few days. Coming from the North, where there was still hardly a hint of spring, we plunged into the superabundantly blooming garden-world of Dornach. We walked through white cherry-tree clouds along the Breitterweg to the Glashaus, where the windows for the first Goetheanum had been ground.

We could not stay till the end of the course; the date of the examination was unalterable. I was overcome by the feeling that if I could take leave of Rudolf Steiner personally, I should be able to do everything. It was difficult to get near him, so that in the end I had to push rather forcibly through rows of colleagues, but it was successful; I could say adieu and thank him. The same afternoon we got back to Rostock and the examinations began in the evening.

This time in Dornach, amidst all the causes for happiness, there had been moments full of unexpected deep anxiety. In my love for my new-found teacher I began to notice everything carefully in a new way, and thus I saw that his bodily forces were lessening. When he came up to the Glashaus, there were no longer the even, winged footsteps; the head no longer sat on a poised body. These moments, however, were quickly supplanted by opposite impressions and I could hope that I had been deceived.

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The State examination was over in May and after my graduation I began to work as a doctor in a nature-cure clinic at Jena, where my friends Löffler, Strohschein and Pickert were on the point of creating the first Home for Anthroposophical Curative Education at Lauenstein. When Rudolf Steiner came in June to open it, I was able to be there. During a pause between the meet-

ings I presented myself to him as he walked in the garden. I thanked him for the fact that one could cultivate a right nature-sense again, notice whether one were walking on flint or chalk, how the flora reacted to this or that, what animal life was present. . . . And how one could now arrive at results; if one puzzled over a problem in the evening, the answers would come in the morning. "Yes, Magerstädt," he said kindly, and smiling a little in jest, "the Lord gives to His own in sleep." Then he became serious. "In the night thoughts are accepted, or not. If they are right, it is possible to come to results; one finds remedies and so on."

A pupil of the Home came up with a little Kodak in his hand and asked Dr. Steiner if he might photograph him. This was agreed, and in the silence I was already looking forward to the snapshot (of which, unfortunately, nothing came out). Rudolf Steiner invited the boy to take a second snap, but for this he would have had to fetch another film from the house, and now the child's will was negative—he no longer wanted to do it. Dr. Steiner pointed out how this incident already provided a certain diagnosis—namely, that the child was failing to bring his interest down into the metabolic-limb system, because his etheric and physical bodies struggled against it. In the Curative Education Course he would return to the case of this child in detail; I had decided, however, on the spur of the moment to take advantage of the precious time and remained at his side. We walked slowly out of the garden and passed a lime tree that had a large protuberance in the wood. Rudolf Steiner pointed to the tree, which, as he said, was not developing vertically, but horizontally, away from the direction of growth. He would like to have this excrescence, he said, if someone would cut it off for him, so that experiments could be made with it in the Dornach laboratory. When I asked in what way, he replied that the wood would be reduced to charcoal and then worked on further.

I was anxious to take up one of his remarks during the midday meal. He had mentioned how all the men who had brought about movements of some importance in Jena had come from outside—Schiller, Goethe, Fichte, Haeckel—and my local patriotism as a Thüringian thus came off badly. Even if the Thüringians, I said, had set going no great events, yet they were very strongly connected with nature and had a special relation to the art of healing. "Yes," he responded, "the link with nature and the relation to healing are there; it was not without cause that Goethe laid his Brocken scene in the Thüringian landscape—he could as well have chosen the Inselberg for it. A connection with the elemental spirits can be found all over Thüringia."

We were walking now on a road high above the valley of the Saale. A lovely blue early-summer sky spanned the day, and I could see how profoundly Rudolf Steiner's senses were open to all the beauty around. Might I still put a few questions? I enquired,

and he assented with fatherly kindness. "Here is the wild rose," I said. "The nature-cure people say they use the inner part for stone in the kidney." "Yes, that is quite true, but look at the red rind of the rose-hip; it has been reddened by cosmic astrality. Make a decoction of this rind. . . ." He explained in what way the fluid should be used in order to be 'a wonderful remedy' for kidney complaints. Then he stooped down and from the wayside took a leaf from the rosette of *plantago major*, the broad-leaved plantain. He divided the ribs and took out a tiny piece about the size of a square centimetre. "If you put 10 or 12 such bits on the salad when it is made, you have a good blood-purifying remedy for the children of Lauenstein." "Then what is it that is active in the broad-leaved plantain?" I asked, and to my astonishment I was told, "Manganese."

After that we spoke about aesculin and the horse-chestnut, and now I felt I could ask if there were anything in the alchemical methods of the Rosicrucians, the way they made remedies? Personally, I did not like the alcohol in the homœopathic potencies; I had the impression that the remedies became too strongly mummified. He went into this question with great warmth and said: "Undoubtedly this is quite an important matter. One must make a plant extract at a temperature of 37° [98.6° F.]. The 37° is a cosmic heat-entity. If you make an extraction of portions of a plant—leaves, flowers or whatever you like—for 1-3 days at 37°, you get 'a very good remedy.'" (Later on various remedies were developed on the lines of this indication.) "Here is cow-wheat," I said, "with its two complementary colours—the corona yellow, and the flower itself violet: how is such a thing possible?" Rudolf Steiner answered: "That I cannot tell you at the moment." This was an example of the way in which Rudolf Steiner investigated such things; if I could have been with him again the next day, the answer might well have been given.

All anxiety about the beloved teacher had vanished that day; my worries at Easter seemed to have been unjustified. Although he kept to a strict diet, he was fresh and apparently quite unburdened. And when we came again to Dornach in September, that month in which he gave over 70 lectures, and I was able to attend the Dramatic Course as well as the one on Pastoral Medicine, there was nothing unusual to be noticed. The question seemed much rather to be: How can we endure all that is offered us? In unfathomable fullness the Spirit streamed forth. Every domain which Rudolf Steiner touched became as fresh as dew. Every aspect was completely new: there was no repetition, either in the formulating or in the train of thought. An overflowing spring poured out its blessings for us. We drank, and did not guess that we were seeing our Teacher for the last time in his earthly body.

Translated by M.C.

THE BEGINNINGS OF EURYTHMY

Lory Maier-Smiths

DURING the winter months of 1903 my mother heard Dr. Rudolf Steiner speak for the first time in Düsseldorf. It was a public lecture given in the largest concert hall of the town. My mother, already a member of the Theosophical Society, was so strongly impressed by the personality of the speaker, by the style and content of the lecture, that she approached Rudolf Steiner with the request that he would come regularly and give lectures in Düsseldorf. So it came about that he was a guest and spoke in our house once or twice a year from 1904 onwards.

I was eleven years old when I saw him for the first time. To my sorrow, he addressed me from the first as *Sie*,¹ because "that is what one does in Austria"; I greatly envied my younger sisters whom he often played with and took on his knee. To make up for this, however, I was allowed as early as 1907 to come and listen to a lecture "in the room", after he had apparently observed that my listening at the door was not merely a sign of curiosity and love of sensation. I still remember clearly that he spoke about the Rose Cross, and about the two black beams lying in the same directions of space as the human and animal spine; about the red roses, the chaste and passionless blood of the plant; about man, who, because of his desire-filled blood is, at it were, crucified on these black beams, and has the possibility and the duty to work in such a way as to transform and purify his blood.²

In November, 1911, my father died quite unexpectedly, and two weeks later my mother travelled to Berlin to see Rudolf Steiner after he had expressed his sympathy in a telegram—"My thoughts are with you"—at a time when he could not have received the news either by telegram or by letter.

She had to wait awhile in his Berlin flat in the Motzstrasse, and while doing so entered into conversation with an acquaintance who told her that her daughter was very happy and successful as a teacher of the Mensendieck system of gymnastics; and this reminded my mother of my wish to study some method of dancing or gymnastics. During her ensuing talk with Rudolf Steiner, he asked her suddenly and apparently on the spur of the moment: "What is your daughter Lory going to do?" My mother told him of my wishes and also of the conversation she had just had.

"Yes," said Dr. Steiner, "one can naturally be a good theosophist and also practise Mensendieck gymnastics, but the two

¹ *Sie*—you. In Germany it is customary to say *Du* (thou) to younger children.

² Compare the description of the Rose Cross meditation in *The Outline of Occult Science* (the chapter called "Knowledge of the Higher Worlds").

things have nothing to do with one another. One could, however, build up something of the kind on a theosophical foundation, and I am very willing to show your daughter how this could be done." He had already made a similar suggestion to somebody else, but had met with no response.

My mother asked whether one could not, by means of rhythmic movements which stimulate and strengthen the etheric forces, call forth healthy and healing processes in the human being? This question was to be confirmed some months later, in the indications given for the very first exercises. "Something stimulating—hygienic—pedagogical—good for—against—". Such remarks were frequently written beside the drawings and explanations concerned.

In that very first conversation Dr. Steiner said that this new art of movement would in the first place have to do with the spoken word, not with music. Thereupon the first exercise was given: "Tell your daughter that she should step alliterations; she should take a strong, somewhat stamping step on the alliterated consonants and then make some "pleasing" kind of arm movement where this consonant is absent. While doing this she should think that alliterations really appeared only in the North—hence in lands where it is very windy. She should picture an old bard and imagine him striding along on the seashore, a lyre under his arm. Each step is a deed, is a battle and a victory over the storm. And then he strikes the strings and makes his song one with the song of the storm."

In the late autumn my mother returned from Berlin with this gift, but we certainly had no notion that it was to be the introduction of a new art. And now began the weeks of most beautiful, most earnest expectation, a real Advent time. In January, 1912, my mother took me with her to Cassel, where Rudolf Steiner was giving lectures, and one day he had time for us also. He looked at me very kindly, smiling a little. "Yes, your little daughter must now learn a great deal; afterwards she must forget it all again."

He then drew up the following plan of study. I was to learn to know the human body with its bones, joints, muscles and ligaments; he recommended for this work an "Anatomical Atlas for Sculptors". Secondly, I was to look as much as possible at Greek sculpture, but really only look at it, never try to imitate the actual postures or gestures. I was also to read as much as I could about the Greek dance. He recommended a book by Agrippa von Nettesheim: in this book I would find drawings in which the human form was portrayed in various geometrical positions. I was to practise jumping quickly from one of the postures to another, and in so doing pay particular attention to the parallel or contrary movements of arms and legs; on the other hand, I was to take no notice of the planetary and zodiacal signs shown in the drawings.

As a wonderful octave to these apparently "to be forgotten" things, he gave as the last exercise in the important Eurythmy

Course of 1924: *Ich denke die Rede . . .*, "I think Speech . . ." Except for a slight change in the order of the movements, geometrical figures appear again here, but now full of content. How significant and suited to modern consciousness are these postures, with their short accompanying sentences.

Then came speech exercises. I was to form sentences containing only one vowel, speak them, and while doing so, observe closely what was taking place in my larynx, and *this* I should then—dance! As an example, he wrote and spoke the following:



Barbara sass stracks am Abhang

He drew the line over the sentence, at the same time repeating it once more, strongly accentuating each syllable and bringing out the —a— (English ah) with special modulation. *Bar* is a sudden upward movement, a short —a—; *ba—ra—sass* are three long sounds, the third being especially extended, all three are stretched out on a level; *stracks* is again a sudden movement, but this time downwards; *am Abhang* consists of three wave-like movements.

I should like here to interpolate a remark which can perhaps throw light on Rudolf Steiner's procedure in pedagogical matters. He once gave us a very beautiful explanation of the word *unterrichten* (to teach). *Unter-richten* means: something is directed, is brought into a right direction, is guided rightly—but below the surface. Children in school are guided; the Professor in a university expounds or lectures. Now I was guided like a child. The child was given a task; she had to practise, practise over and over again (this preparatory work lasted a good six months), and at the same time under the surface faculties were awakened that did not come fully to consciousness for a long while, but gradually became part of one's flesh and blood, if I may so express it. That this "above or below, this stretching or curving", arose through the interplay between vowel and consonant, was something that had to be actually experienced and done, not only known. It was certainly better done as long as the head could not interfere, and one had only to ask one's heart again and again: "Now what do you really feel here?"

This "asking one's heart", and letting all one's knowledge and understanding rise up out of its depths, was regarded by Rudolf Steiner as a fundamental basis for any artistic Eurythmy work: "You must learn to let your heart rise up into your head." This means making a movement over and over again and always listening inwardly, for these movements can tell the practising Eurythmist ever more and more, can reveal even deeper secrets. Mere head knowledge is of no use here; first the heart must intuitively sense

and know; then it can and should rise up into the head also and there become fully conscious.

Later he said on one occasion: "You are doing this quite rightly, but that is not enough; you must know exactly how you are doing it, you must be able to explain it to your pupils also." That was in the spring of 1913, when he came to Düsseldorf and we were able to show him what we had learned in the meantime. Then, with regard to one particular exercise he said suddenly to those who were looking on: "Lory walks quite rightly; she walks just like a tight-rope dancer, or like a savage in the primeval forest." It was then that I was called upon to make it clear to myself how I walked in order to explain it to my pupils. It took much time and trouble before this "had risen up into the head" and could be clearly formulated as the "threefold walking" familiar to-day to every Eurythmy student.

This apparently instinctive way of walking correctly must, however, have been just one result of his *Unter-richtens* (guidance below the surface). Rudolf Steiner had once shown me two pictures: one represented an Egyptian statue with the strange earth-bound posture of the legs, the other a Greek statue with its characteristic standing posture. At the same time he drew my attention to the difference between these two leg-positions. "Speaking from the purely human standpoint, the legs and feet would have to bear man's weight equally, as is shown in the Egyptian and early Greek sculptures. And if no other impulse had taken hold of the human being, he would have had to remain always on the same spot, like a plant. However, another impulse enters into him and now he tries to revolt against being earth-bound. One foot begins this revolution and resists the earth, wants to get away from it, withdraws from its force of attraction, and in so doing transfers the whole weight on to the other foot. In this connection, therefore, the essential thing in Greek sculpture is not the standing leg, but, on the contrary, the other leg, which has freed itself from the fetters of the earth." And he added laughingly: "You see, no progress is really possible—even in space—without Lucifer."

That was one thing. Besides this, in addition to the speech exercises, other tasks were given: "And then you must learn to write with your feet. By doing this one acquires a very delicate feeling in the feet and learns to make intimate, differentiated foot movements." I had of course done both these things; I had often tried to experience and inwardly to become aware of the contrast between the Egyptian leg-and-foot position and the "standing-leg" of the Greeks. I had also practised writing with my feet a great deal, and so the correct way of walking—"walking like a tight-rope dancer"—was to some extent already the fruit of these efforts—that is to say, the result of his guidance (*seines Unterrichtens*).

Rudolf Steiner had never given indications for Eurythmic walking, had never even stressed the necessity of trying to discover

how to do it. But it seems to me that he had done everything to prepare for it, so that this walking was called forth, apparently "instinctively". And a clear indication that our later formulation was the right one is that in the last lecture-course, given in July, 1924,* it was used word for word.

* * * *

I devoted the following year, from January till July, 1912, to this preparatory work. I read about the Greek dance, but I soon discovered that the real object of my research was not to be found. Dr. Steiner had spoken about Mystery Dances. But only one scanty allusion by Lucianus pointed in this direction: "And then there were also Mystery Dances, but about these it is not permitted to speak, for that would mean introducing Mystery Dancing among the people and the consequence would be death!" It had also occurred to the philologist Kirchhoff that one could find no information in Greek literature about this art of dancing, although there were frequent references to it. He was of the opinion that the Greeks made no use of such information because they could read the movements from the text. Everything that he reconstructed with regard to rhythms and steps was fully recognised by Rudolf Steiner and incorporated in the work for the development of foot movements, but completed by corresponding movements for the arms and hands.

I tried further, with the aid of diagrams in the "Anatomical Atlas for Artists", to study one joint after another, with all the muscles and ligaments, and to experiment with all this in my own body, in order to achieve a more conscious relationship to the physical body and its possibilities of movement.

From the next task, the looking at Greek works of art, there arose a completely different experience, especially when I was able to look at the actual works themselves, not only at their pictorial representations. In the face of this divine beauty—repose, yet within this repose flowing movement—I felt my own bodily organisation in a new and different way. I had a dawning sense of being at home in my own body, in a way that was justifiable, indeed god-willed. It was even possible to shut one's eyes and still feel how one's breathing was different, how the blood flowed and pulsed in a different way. One felt like a plant which had been growing in dusty, parched earth, and had begun to droop and fade without water in the heat, but was now watered and permeated with new life right into the smallest leaves and fibres. Was it a delicate, as yet unrecognised perception of one's own etheric body in face of these works of art from the time of the most beautiful, harmonious, penetrating grasp of the physical body? We are Greeks no longer; our physical body has become harder and heavier; our etheric body is firmly imprisoned within it and is no longer perceptible. Nothing of essential value would be gained by

* "Eurythmy as Visible Speech," Dornach, 1924.

however faithful an imitation of the gestures and movements of Greek works of art. We moderns must train ourselves to experience our etheric body as the first supersensible member of our being, at home in the last, the lowest heaven; we must find the way again into the higher heaven out of which it has descended. The way to this re-ascent was shown to us. One of the keys was given by Rudolf Steiner with the ten or twelve drawings done by his own hand, which he entrusted to a nineteen-year-old girl. They were the foundation of a completely new art, an art which can awaken the very strongest impulses and quicken healthy, harmonious forces, having their source in the supersensible structure of the human being.

July came, and in July the rehearsals began for the Munich Festival Plays.* I was allowed to be present during these weeks and was given instruction myself. When my mother and I arrived, work had already begun on Rudolf Steiner's new, third Mystery Play, *Der Hüter der Schwelle* ("The Guardian of the Threshold"). Something completely new, taking all participants by surprise, was included in one of the scenes: Beings were to appear on the stage and these beings were "to dance". Just as I entered the hall, a big gymnasium which had been taken for the rehearsals, these dances were being practised. Luciferic and Ahrimanic beings were represented, who, according to Rudolf Steiner's stage directions, carried out dance-like movements corresponding to the thought-forms, to the words of Lucifer and Ahriman. The movements and forms cannot be elucidated within the framework of this essay; nevertheless, it was the first Eurythmy which was shown, although nobody knew that this new art would develop out of it.

I waited from day to day until Dr. Steiner should send for me and the lessons begin. At last I met him one day as he was coming out of a door. Perhaps I looked at him questioningly and expectantly; in any case he laid his hand on my shoulder and said, "Yes, little one, the wisdom of the whole world is involved—I cannot tell you yet. I cannot spare the time that I need during these weeks. Would it be possible for you to come to me in September when I am in Basle? Then I shall have time." However, the day before our departure from Munich, my mother and I had a surprise. We were sent for by Rudolf Steiner, and during our conversation that evening he gave the first concrete indications about three vowels. He said approximately the following:

"Stand quite upright and try to feel like a pillar from the balls of the feet up into the head; this pillar, this upright position you must learn to experience as *I*" (English E). I believe he was not satisfied with what I tried to do, for he called, while I was still doing my best: "The weight rests on the balls of the feet, not on the heels." Now it went, more or less. I stood in the given position

* Yearly conferences (1907-1913) were held by the then Theosophical, later the Anthroposophical Society, with courses of lectures and performances of dramas by Eduard Schuré and Rudolf Steiner.

and felt all at once how, starting from the balls of the feet, something streamed upwards, as it were, into the vertical. I experienced it in front of my body as though it were carrying breast and heart up into the forehead, the latter seeming as though it must become warm and begin to shine.

"Now change the position of this pillar so that the head is further back than the feet, and then you have the posture which you must learn to feel as *A*" (English *Ah*). This was a completely different experience. The weight is transferred to the heels; the pillar rises upwards as though outside the body and yet maintaining its upright position. It takes hold of and penetrates the vertebral column so that one now has a definite experience of the bony system and therewith a certain sensation of weight, of being bound to the earth. To make up for this, however, the breast and heart are, as it were, opened to all influences. The whole world and the whole heavens send their rays into me. And all these rays meet in the heart. In comparison with what is experienced in connection with the first position, there is now a slight sense of pain, of being affected by something one is open to, and also at the mercy of the outer world.

"And now comes the third position: For this, bring the top of the head of the pillar in front of the spot where the feet are standing; you will learn to feel this as *O*." Again there was a considerable difference between this and the first two sounds, when practice taught me to experience it.

Out of the *A* (*Ah*), out of this feeling of being plunged down into the physical body, until one experiences the spine, the ribs; until one becomes actually aware that the arms are really ribs which have made themselves free and are not just appendages—out of this *A* one passes through the *I* (*E*), which is the experience of gravity being overcome in the vertical, to the *O*. There then arises in a delicate and yet convincing way the feeling that the sentient soul, released from the constraint of the body, can experience itself outside, in the "otherness" to which this slightly inclining gesture draws it near. Through this exercise the astral body, the third member of the human organisation—the instrument of Eurythmy—is called into activity, and a first delicate consciousness is thereby awakened of how the sentient soul can unite itself in a threefold way with its own body and with the outer world.

* * * *

There was about a fortnight between the weeks devoted to the Munich Drama Festival and the course of lectures given in Basle on the Gospel of St. Mark. A kindly Providence, one might almost say an artistic intervention of Destiny, made it possible for me to put this time to good use by absorbing the most varied impressions of Nature in the mountains, by the Bavarian lakes, on Lake Constance and by visiting the Rhine waterfall. Added to this, changing weather conditions contributed to ever new and in part strongly contrasting

moods and humours which took possession of my young heart, made doubly sensitive by the weeks spent in Munich: moods of astonishment, of wonder, of reverence, and also a somewhat anxious feeling of being overwhelmed. And so, on the 14th September, we arrived in Basle.

On the very first evening, after the lecture, Rudolf Steiner made an appointment for us the next morning at Bottmingen, a country suburb. Our daily journey thither led us through gay autumn flowers and rustling trees along the side of a stream until we reached the little house where Rudolf Steiner was living during his stay in Basle. He received us in a tiny little room on the ground floor. There were a couple of chairs in this room, and a small sofa on which Rudolf Steiner always sat. Only a very little space was left. On our first two visits we were with him alone; on the third day we were joined by Marie von Sivers—later Frau-Marie Steiner—and Dr. Steiner said with a smile: "Yes, now Fräulein von Sivers is also interested in our affair. She has asked me how I could possibly show all the "steps" in this little room!"

On the first Monday afternoon—it was the 16th September, 1912—after a short, affectionate greeting, Rudolf Steiner entered immediately into the primal, most fundamental basis of Eurythmy—the vowels. "You must learn to acquire a fine, differentiated feeling for the individual sounds. And for this you must learn to let your heart rise up into your head. First, the heart must speak and later the head. . . . Learn to feel *A* (*Ah*) as a defence. Learn to feel *O* as a loving embrace, *U* as a tending upwards, shown by big arm movements when in serious vein, but in lighter mood by a spring."

Dr. Steiner gave not only all the vowels, but also the modified vowels and diphthongs during this first lesson at Bottmingen; and in addition he gave a slight indication as to how one should work. First one should try to make each single sound into an experience; then one should combine two sounds, for instance *I* (*E*), *O*; then three sounds, *I* (*E*), *O*, *U* (*OO*); and then, taking this order of sounds, let one pass over into the other, "forming the movements almost at the same time". "You will see how beautiful this is and how a differentiated experience is expressed by this means." There was such a ring of expectant joy in his voice—so much expectant joy that the unforgettable sound was always a help, supporting one when later on difficulties arose in the work, or when times of painful flatness came along.

At the end of the first afternoon Dr. Steiner spoke about three consonants. He had impressed upon me that one must feel, and live through and with, the vowels in their tendencies towards movement—stretching, seizing, bending, crossing, striving. The soul does indeed live in all this activity and expresses itself in ever-varying ways. "The whole realm of the soul is portrayed, as far as the feeling life is concerned, in the vowels." Over against this

weaving life of pure soul were now placed three specific consonants; with these, something belonging to the outer world is made use of, for we "have something in our hand". One's whole attention, all one's adaptability, must now be focussed on this "something", this object. The realm of the vowels was blotted out, that realm in which the soul expresses what it experiences as strange and hence astonishing; what it experiences as purest consciousness of self in the upright posture; what it experiences as loving inclination towards an object of admiration and wonder; what it experiences, when cold and forsaken, it turns to a Higher and a Greater. With the consonants something taken from the outer world was given into man's keeping, and one must adapt oneself to it, to its nature and character; one must give oneself over to a completely different element, imitating, copying, reforming what is outside oneself in the outer world. Warmth of feeling and a sense of truth must be developed when expressing the vowels; with the consonants one must become skilful, clever, quick-witted.

It would be impossible to relate in detail all that happened during those September days, for this would offer a perspective of such richness that even to-day it has not by any means been explored in all its possibilities and consequences. This first part of Eurythmy is now called "Dionysian Eurythmy". In the case of most of the group or round dances, the indications originally given used to place the figure of Dionysus in the centre of the circle, and for two round dances, in particular, Dr. Steiner gave the following explanation: "Had one passed by a temple dedicated to Dionysus shortly before the outbreak of war, one would have heard the characteristic cry with which Dionysus inspired the warriors in a definite, cultic dance. For us, this is the 'Energy-Dance', which gives strength for working in common with others. After the battle the second cry could have been heard, the purpose of which was to calm and bring peace once more to the souls excited by warfare." Dr. Steiner called this second dance the "Peace-Dance". Nearly all such dances had to be carried out in the anapaestic rhythm. Dr. Steiner showed me himself how the call of Dionysus should be given, for both the Energy Dance and the Peace Dance, by making use of the three Dionysian sounds, I (E), E (A), U (OO). At the same time he tapped the anapaest pointedly with a pencil, so pointedly that the top of the case sprang off. He put it on again and began afresh; a second and third time it sprang off—but ever since then I know: it must be an anapaest! In this way I had also received the answer to the question about the Mystery Dances of the Greeks, not to be found in books.

Then came forms for the personal pronouns—for I, thou, he and their plurals. It is really most delightful every now and again to look over lyrical poems and see how many of them can be expressed in a completely satisfying way when one takes this particular point of view into consideration. As a further step,

poems should be studied with a view to discovering whether they express the thinking, feeling or willing soul, and the forms should be designed accordingly. Thinking demands straight lines; willing, rounded forms; and feeling, a combination of both. Each calls for a quite different spatial experience, a different way of filling and feeling space. And so we had the possibility, even then, of experiencing what Rudolf Steiner was later to work out more in detail in one of his lectures—that thinking takes place in the first dimension, feeling in the second, and willing in the third. Thus, in the very first beginnings, there was the possibility already of verifying the truth of what Rudolf Steiner said in his introductory words on the occasion of the founding of this new art: "This new art of movement is intended to be the means whereby things which demand a too intensive attention from the onlooker, or are so deep that their full significance cannot be expressed in words, may be imparted to the understanding of the onlooker in this new way."

On the last of these days in Bottmingen, Dr. Steiner gave me two special pieces of advice. The first was pedagogical, the only advice of this kind that he ever gave me. He said more or less in these words: "Now when you have learned all this and go out into the world to bring it to other people, and you are confronted with a pupil who makes, let us say, six mistakes, do me the favour of telling him only of the seventh. You were present recently at the rehearsals in Munich and you will have seen that I actually say or correct very little, and yet people do everything as I would have it in the end."

The second piece of advice was the following: "When you go into the world and teach people, you must let them pay, and pay well, for their lessons. This new art of movement has been taken by *force majeure* from Ahriman, and he must have its equivalent." I do not wish to pass over these words in silence, because I believe they are of importance to many, not only to Eurythmists. Experience shows that when somebody lacking a sense of responsibility has lightheartedly made a "gift" of Eurythmy, it has never proved to be fruitful in the right sense of the word.

And then in September, 1912, at the last lesson in Bottmingen, the new art received its name. When Rudolf Steiner said somewhat meditatively and thoughtfully, "Now we must find a name for this affair of ours," Fräulein von Sivers said quite spontaneously and naturally, "Eurythmy", and to this name Dr. Steiner agreed wholeheartedly and immediately. If mothers ought to know the names of the children who come down to them, then Marie Steiner-von Sivers was, in this connection also, "the mother" of Eurythmy.

The days passed all too quickly; we returned home and the work began.

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At the end of April, 1913, when Dr. Steiner came again to give lectures in Düsseldorf, he visited us also, and soon after lunch we assembled in a large room decorated with fresh young birch

boughs, and showed him what we had learned up to that time: Erna Wolfram, Anne-marie Donath, my younger sisters and I. The six others wore pale green dresses, a "Dionysian green"; I myself wore white. For the rod exercise, the first we had worked out in different rhythms, we used wooden rods bound round with copper wire. In Bottmingen Dr. Steiner had given us this advice: "If it is difficult to obtain copper rods, let us use wooden ones, bound round with copper wire. But it must be copper, for that imparts an inner certainty to the movements; one will move rightly by instinct, one will handle things purposefully—for instance, one will go to a bookshelf and at once pick out the right book."

We began with alliterations, and metrically rhythmic exercises. In both cases Rudolf Steiner required a very marked acceleration, and with one dactyl—it was the chorus from "Pandora"—he took the book from my mother's hand—she had been reciting—and spoke himself. I believe I have never heard anybody else speak so quickly, and yet with such control and such clear accentuation. At first we showed the rhythm with our arms and legs, then, as it became quicker and quicker, it was no longer possible to make a "beautiful and exact" dactyl: one was nothing but a dactyl, there was absolutely nothing else, one was caught up in an actual happening, in a living reality. It was a powerful experience, and I re-experienced it with the same intensity when Rudolf Steiner called for a similar acceleration of tempo in the later "Curative Eurythmy Course". Many of the exercises given there should be carried out "quickly, quicker, still quicker", and only rarely is one expressly told: "This exercise should not be taken so quickly, and between-whiles there must always be pauses." The acceleration of tempo is actually a means whereby one's own clever head is to some extent put out of action, and in its place the actual power of the sound can make itself felt. Naturally, well-considered, careful preparatory work must precede any such acceleration.

We then proceeded to show other rod exercises, and especially one with which we had taken considerable pains because its purpose was to correct bad habits of posture, and it was therefore very necessary for us all. As soon as we had finished, Rudolf Steiner took a rod himself and showed us various ways of holding and catching it, with movements which "may also prove to be very health-giving and efficacious". He showed great pleasure in all this, attempted the most difficult "catches" with the rod—which often fell to the ground—and the rest of us were all very busy imitating him, picking up the rod and trying again, letting it fall and picking it up. We were extremely happy and full of zest; and when we showed our "prepared work", taking one exercise after the other, in the same order as earlier in Bottmingen, he was glad and pleased too, and he took a very kind and positive attitude towards our efforts. He pointed out little unimportant things to those who were looking on. "Just see how charmingly little Thea

runs backwards!" Or when I drew eights and spirals on the floor with chalk for my pupils, "It really is something to be able to do that so dexterously."

For one form we had been able to find no suitable text—it was the form for the pronoun "he"—but this proved fortunate for us. "I see, what you need are the words—I will compose them for you." After a few moments' silence and reflection, he called us three "big ones". We had to stand in a small circle, our faces turned to the centre, and he then spoke in a resonant, powerful voice the first poem composed especially for Eurythmy, at the same time directing our movements in space:

He who illuminates the clouds,
May he illuminate,
May he irradiate,
May he inspire,
And fill with warmth and light,
Even me.

*Der Wolkendurchleuchter,
Er durchleuchte,
Er durchsonne,
Er durchglühe,
Er durchwärme,
Auch mich.*

We repeated it several times, and I believe all of us, onlookers and performers, had the same experience—now true Eurythmy is born; in its sacramental and forming power it has become alive.

He then gave us new tasks, and, turning over the leaves of an anthology of lyrical poems, chose after some search a little poem by Richard Dehmel, *Hieroglyphe*, which begins with three very interesting rhymed couplets. This brought our "lesson" to an end. Dr. Steiner, who was accompanied by Fräulein Waller and Frau Helene Roehling, then took his leave, for he had to give a lecture in Düsseldorf the same evening. I do not relate what follows for any personal reason, but simply to describe his greatness of heart, his kindness and never-failing support. He took my hand in both his own and . . . thanked me. When, disconcerted and completely taken aback, I stammered, "But, Herr Doktor, it is *we* who must thank you!" he again took my hand and repeated: "No, I thank you." And yet again, before he got into the car, there was a pressure of the hand and "I thank you". In this way, with all his simple greatness and sustaining warmth, he gave us an example of the virtue of gratitude, so largely lost to-day.

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During the whole of May, 1914, several of us, Flossy von Sonklar (later Frau Leinhas), Elizabeth Dollfuss (later Frau Baumann), Ada Smits and I were in London. I gave lessons every day, and moreover I gave them in English. To make this possible, Mr. Collison had tried, together with me, to translate what was most necessary into English. This was not achieved without conflict, for when I had translated something, he said it was not English, and when he translated, I said it was not Eurythmy.

The outbreak of war interrupted the Eurythmy classes, owing to difficulties of travel. In the summer of 1915, however, I was

able to get a passport and go to Switzerland. Just at that time Rudolf Steiner gave the so-called second part of Eurythmy, the Apollinian, in a course in which Frau Kisseljeff, Erna Wolfram, and Elizabeth Dollfuss took part. For many exercises, Dr. Steiner needed larger groups, and other Dornach Eurythmists joined in these.

In this course* a new second world of Eurythmy was revealed: to the creative fiery-radiant Dionysus, arising out of one's own soul, there came now Apollo with his formative forces, drawn from a more objective spirituality. The movements in space of this Apollonian Eurythmy were based on the grammatical character of the single words, and even the representation of dramatic situations followed strict and clear-cut laws.

With all this we had a programme of work which needed several years to be fully assimilated and developed. It lay in my personal destiny that I was not able to take part in the further development of Eurythmy in Dornach for about two years. During this time Dr. Steiner began to give individual forms for poems. These forms, described by him as "Standard Forms", were "forms which, when worked out, brought to expression the individual characteristics of a poem".

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At the beginning of the last year of the war, 1918, Rudolf Steiner gave some lectures in Nuremberg in which I, too, was able to participate. During these days a quite small Eurythmy demonstration was arranged for a private circle of intimate friends. It had to be small, for Frau Marie Steiner-von Sivers and I bore the whole brunt of it. Added to this, Frau Marie Steiner had a bad cold, and was so hoarse after the rehearsal that she feared she would not be able to recite in the afternoon. Rudolf Steiner promised to read for her should this be necessary. But it was not necessary. She managed the whole programme, and her voice became ever freer and better. "You see, one must always try, then somehow things go all right," said Dr. Steiner to her afterwards.

After a few words about my performance, he gave me a vivid account of the Eurythmy in Dornach, which I had not seen for a long time, as I had been prevented by war conditions from travelling. "Yes, Eurythmy has really taken a big step forward in the last weeks. At last we have succeeded in putting a humorous poem on the stage; the *Gebratene Flunder* (the "Roasted Flounder") by Peter Schlemil, from *Simplicissimus*. The roasted flounder itself appears, as well as the burning oil lamp, the yellow silk family sofa and the rocking chair. In the end the lamp is knocked over and there is a terrible set-out! But, you see, this really means considerable progress in Eurythmy, and we shall work out many things along these lines. I should like always to have a humorous last part in our programmes."

* The content of the course, which was not published, is rendered in "Fundamentals of Eurythmy", by A. Dubach-Donath, 1928.

How important humour and satire were to him I experienced some years later in Dornach. I was doing one of Nietzsche's most beautiful poems, *Liebeseklärung* ("Declaration of Love"). It is addressed to the albatross, whose lofty flight is described with wonder and longing. The poem ends with these words: "O winged albatross, my ceaseless impulses drive me up towards the heights—I think of thee; then my tears flow—yes, I love thee." Rudolf Steiner saw it in the rehearsal and was pleased; I was to do it at the next performance in the Goetheanum (the building was already open). "Only," he said, "there is one thing you have not noticed." He pointed to the epilogue, in small print: "With which, however, the poet fell into a ditch." "Now, I have drawn a coda (*Nach-takt*) for you. Leave everything just as you have done it, but then, when you have held the last posture for a moment, plunge quite suddenly into this silent *Nach-takt*."

Now for what followed: The last posture at the end of the poem was one which bore heart, soul and all the forces of the will upwards to "star and eternity". Then came the *Nach-takt*, an angular, straight-lined form with abrupt changes of direction, and in order to illustrate the position a little figure was drawn at the side: the upper part of the body had to be bent forwards almost in a right-angle, and the arms drawn backwards on a level with the head. The entire form of the *Nach-takt* was to be danced in this posture. I practised most diligently, but nevertheless at the dress rehearsal I was overtaken by mischance—and took a seat in the middle of the stage, just when I should have been leaving it by running backwards on the last line of the form. This pleased Dr. Steiner so much that from then on I had to practise this sitting down, and had even to remain seated until the curtain fell. We then went on tour with the programme, and I took a seat in the middle of the stage in Stuttgart, in Dresden, in Leipzig, in Halle, and finally in Berlin. In Berlin this drew spontaneous applause; it was only in Berlin that the audience immediately grasped the humour of the situation.

One person alone could naturally practise sitting down suddenly, but how about two? We were doing *Séance* from Goethe's *Parabolisch*. In this humorous poem the letters of the alphabet make their appearance; the vowels, clad in scarlet, take the seats of honour; the consonants, walking with stiff steps, make a more modest entry and have their places allotted to them by President A.* . . . It was just at this point of the poem that it happened.

* Hier ist's, wo unter eignem Namen
Die Buchstaben sonst zusammen kamen.
Mit Scharlachkleidern angetan
Sassen die Selbstlauter obenan. . . .

Die Mitlauter kamen mit steifen Schritten
Mussten erst um Erlaubnis bitten.
Präsident A war ihnen geneigt,
Da wurden ihnen der Platz gezeigt.

Ise von Baravalle and I were the consonants S and L, and we had to cross the stage with quite stiff legs making an S form, one from left to right, the other from right to left. All went well in the rehearsals, but at the performance our legs became entangled—and right and left . . . our places were indeed allotted to us! A roar of applause! Naturally, we both jumped up again and went on.

Behind the stage—our *Séance* was one of the last numbers—our “interlude” gave rise to eager chatter and laughter. Rudolf Steiner joined us and laughed as heartily as the rest. “We can never do it again,” he said, “for the audience will naturally expect you to repeat your performance and you will not be able to do it. The way you both fell—it was an absolute hit; and it came at the one right moment! The way you sprang up again, and went on, and everything absolutely together! Such symmetry! It was simply magnificent. But we can never do it again.” And indeed from that time the *Séance* was cut out of the programme.

In conclusion—in order that my contribution to this collection may have some slight correspondence to a Eurythmy Programme, which should end with a humorous part—I should like to describe just one more humorous number. One day Frau Marie Steiner brought us a form which Rudolf Steiner had just drawn for the *Hystrix*, a poem from the *Galgenlieder* by Christian Morgenstern. She asked me if I would like to study it. Not only were the forms very interesting, but very exact and strange directions were written by the side of them. “The whole thing is to be danced with the feet turned inwards, and the legs must often be crossed one over the other, making an *E* (A). Besides this, the upper part of the body should be waggled from left to right and from right to left. The head should often be turned round and round like a top.”

I was naturally thrilled and set to work with great delight, but my pleasure very soon vanished and gave place to a positively dreadful, terrifying experience. Even by carrying out the first two indications—feet turned inwards and legs crossed in an *E* (A)—one had the feeling that the arms had become long, heavy and unfree. The upright human posture was lost! And when, added to this, there came the wagging of the upper part of the body, and the top-like turning of the head, the human form was completely broken up, blotted out—nay, changed into its opposite. It was really an animal that stood there! I felt changed, even in the very form of my face; I no longer had a mouth; the lower jaw was pushed forward and transformed into the muzzle of an animal . . . at any moment, I might foam at the mouth. The change I felt in my face was particularly horrible, and I looked once more through the directions given with the forms. What did I find? The very first direction referred to the costume and began as follows: “With a pale blue veil thrown over the head . . .” So Rudolf Steiner had foreseen that it would be necessary to throw a protective veil over this somewhat too crass metamorphosis. It would really not have

been possible without this veil. But the veil was there, and something else was there besides. The wagging to and fro of the upper part of the body and the top-like turning of the head were to stop with the last verse and during the whole of the final silent form (*Nach-takt*), so that from the outset indications were given for a diminishing of the “non-human” element and a return to a certain measure of equilibrium. The longer I worked at this task, the clearer it became to me, that in the long run it could be mastered only with “humour”.

Rudolf Steiner recommended humour to us as a most necessary equipment for every artist. Once, in answer to a question from a woman painter, he defined it as the “controlling power of the soul” (*beherrschende Seelenkraft*). On a higher level it was given artistic form in that being whom Rudolf Steiner himself called “Cosmic Humour”, and for whom—in order to achieve “balance”—he found a place in the grouping of the figures in that great work of art which he carved in wood and called the Representative of Humanity.

Translated by V. C-B.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN AGRICULTURE

Ehrenfried E. Pfeiffer

IN 1922/23 Ernst Stegemann and a group of other farmers went to ask Rudolf Steiner's advice about the increasing degeneration they had noticed in seed-strains and in many cultivated plants. What can be done to check this decline and to improve the quality of seed and nutrition? That was their question.

They brought to his attention such salient facts as the following: Crops of lucerne used commonly to be grown in the same field for as many as thirty years on end. The thirty years dwindled to nine, then to seven. Then the day came when it was considered quite an achievement to keep this crop growing in the same spot for even four or five years. Farmers used to be able to seed new crops year after year from their own rye, wheat, oats and barley. Now they were finding that they had to resort to new strains of seed every few years. New strains were being produced in bewildering profusion, only to disappear from the scene again in short order.

A second group went to Dr. Steiner in concern at the increase in animal diseases, with problems of sterility and the widespread foot-and-mouth disease high on the list. Among those in this group were the veterinarian Dr. Joseph Werr, the physician Dr. Eugen Kolisko, and members of the staff of the newly established Weleda, the pharmaceutical manufacturing enterprise.

Count Carl von Keyserlingk brought problems from still another quarter. Then Dr. Wachsmuth and the present writer went to Dr. Steiner with questions dealing particularly with the etheric nature of plants, and with formative forces in general. In reply to a question about plant diseases, Dr. Steiner told the writer that plants themselves could never be diseased in a primary sense, "since they are the products of a healthy etheric world." They suffer rather from diseased conditions in their environment, especially in the soil; the causes of so-called plant diseases should be sought there. Ernst Stegemann was given special indications as to the point of view from which a farmer could approach his task, and was shown some first steps in the breeding of new plant types as a first impetus towards the subsequent establishment of the biological-dynamic movement.

In 1923 Rudolf Steiner described for the first time how to make the bio-dynamic compost preparations, simply giving the recipe without any sort of explanation—just "do this and then that." Dr. Wachsmuth and I then proceeded to make the first batch of preparation 500. This was then buried in the garden of the "Sonnenhof" in Arlesheim, Switzerland. The momentous day came in the early summer of 1924 when this first lot of 500 was dug up again in the presence of Dr. Steiner, Dr. Wegman, Dr.

Wachsmuth, a few other co-workers and myself. It was a sunny afternoon. We began digging at the spot where memory, aided by a few landmarks, prompted us to search. We dug on and on. The reader will understand that a good deal more sweating was done over the waste of Dr. Steiner's time than over the strenuousness of the labour. Finally he became impatient and turned to leave for a five o'clock appointment at his studio. The spade grated on the first cowhorn in the very nick of time.

Dr. Steiner turned back, called for a pail of water, and proceeded to show us how to apportion the horn's contents to the water, and the correct way of stirring it. As the author's walking-stick was the only stirring implement at hand, it was pressed into service. Rudolf Steiner was particularly concerned with demonstrating the energetic stirring, the forming of a funnel or crater, and the rapid changing of direction to make a whirlpool. Nothing was said about the possibility of stirring with the hand or with a birch-whisk. Brief directions followed as to how the preparation was to be sprayed when the stirring was finished. Dr. Steiner then indicated with a motion of his hand over the garden how large an area the available spray would cover. Such was the momentous occasion marking the birth-hour of a world-wide agricultural movement.

What impressed me at the time, and still gives one much to think about, was how these step-by-step developments illustrate Dr. Steiner's practical way of working. He never proceeded from preconceived abstract dogma, but always dealt with the concrete given facts of the situation. There was such germinal potency in his indications that a few sentences or a short paragraph often sufficed to create the foundation for a farmer's or scientist's whole life-work; the agricultural course is full of such instances. A study of his indications can therefore scarcely be thorough enough. One does not have to try to puzzle them out, but can simply follow them to the letter.

Dr. Steiner once said, with an understanding smile, in another, very grave situation, that there were two types of people engaged in anthroposophical work: the older ones, who understood everything, but did nothing with it, and the younger ones, who understood only partially or not at all, but immediately put suggestions into practice. We obviously trod the younger path in the agricultural movement, which did all its learning in the hard school of experience. Only now does the total picture of the new impulse given by Rudolf Steiner to agriculture stand clearly before us, even though we still have far to go to exhaust all its possibilities. Accomplishments to date are merely the first step. Every day brings new experience and opens new perspectives.

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Shortly before 1924 Count Keyserlingk set to work in dead earnest to persuade Dr. Steiner to give an agricultural course. As Dr. Steiner was already overwhelmed with work, tours and lectures,

he put off his decision from week to week. The undaunted Count then dispatched his nephew to Dornach, with orders to camp on Dr. Steiner's doorstep and refuse to leave without a definite commitment for the course. This was finally given.

The agricultural course was held from June 7 to 16, 1924, in the hospitable home of Count and Countess Keyserlingk at Koberwitz near Breslau. It was followed by further consultations and lectures in Breslau, among them the famous "Address to Youth." I myself had to forgo attendance at the course, as Dr. Steiner had asked me to stay at home to help take care of someone who was seriously ill. "I'll write and tell you what goes on at the course," Dr. Steiner said by way of solace. He never did get round to writing, no doubt because of the heavy demands on him; this was understood and regretfully accepted. On his return to Dornach, however, there was an opportunity for discussing the general situation. When I asked him whether the new methods should be started on an experimental basis, he replied: "The most important thing is to make the benefits of our agricultural preparations available to the largest possible areas over the entire earth, so that the earth may be healed and the nutritive quality of its produce improved in every respect. That should be our first objective. The experiments can come later." He obviously thought that the proposed methods should be applied at once.

This can be understood against the background of a conversation I had with Dr. Steiner en route from Stuttgart to Dornach shortly before the agricultural course was given. He had been speaking of the need for a deepening of esoteric life, and in this connection mentioned certain faults typically found in spiritual movements. I then asked, "How can it happen that the spiritual impulse, and especially the inner schooling, for which you are constantly providing stimulus and guidance bear so little fruit? Why do the people concerned give so little evidence of spiritual experience, in spite of all their efforts? Why, worst of all, is the will for action, for the carrying out of these spiritual impulses, so weak?" I was particularly anxious to get an answer to the question as to how one could build a bridge to active participation and the carrying out of spiritual intentions without being pulled off the right path by personal ambition, illusions and petty jealousies; for these were the negative qualities Rudolf Steiner had named as the main inner hindrances. Then came the thought-provoking and surprising answer: "This is a problem of nutrition. Nutrition as it is to-day does not supply the strength necessary for manifesting the spirit in physical life. A bridge can no longer be built from thinking to will and action. Food plants no longer contain the forces people need for this."

A nutritional problem which, if solved, would enable the spirit to become manifest and realise itself in human beings! With this as a background, one can understand why Dr. Steiner said that

"the benefits of the bio-dynamic compost preparations should be made available as quickly as possible to the largest possible areas of the entire earth, for the earth's healing."

This puts the Koberwitz agricultural course in proper perspective as an introduction to understanding spiritual, cosmic forces and making them effective again in the plant world.

In discussing ways and means of propagating the methods, Dr. Steiner said also that the good effects of the preparations and of the whole method itself were "for everybody, for all farmers"—in other words, not intended to be the special privilege of a small, select group. This needs to be the more emphasised in view of the fact that admission to the course was limited to farmers, gardeners and scientists who had both practical experience and a spiritual-scientific, anthroposophical background. The latter is essential to understanding and evaluating what Rudolf Steiner set forth, but the bio-dynamic method can be applied by any farmer. It is important to point this out, for later on many people came to believe that only anthroposophists can practice the bio-dynamic method. On the other hand, it is certainly true that a grasp of bio-dynamic practices gradually opens up a wholly new perspective on the world, and that the practitioner acquires and applies a kind of judgment in dealing with biological—i.e. living—processes and facts which is different from that of a more materialistic chemical farmer; he follows nature's dynamic play of forces with a greater degree of interest and awareness. But it is also true that there is a considerable difference between mere application of the method and creative participation in the work. From the first, actual practice has been closely bound up with the work of the spiritual centre of the movement, the Natural Science Section of the Goetheanum at Dornach. This was to be the source, the creative, fructifying spiritual element; while the practical workers brought back their results and their questions.

The name, "Bio-Dynamic Agricultural Method," did not originate with Dr. Steiner, but with the experimental circle concerned with the practical application of the new direction of thought.

In the Agricultural Course, which was attended by some sixty persons, Rudolf Steiner set forth the basic new way of thinking about the relationship of earth and soil to the formative forces of the etheric, astral and ego activity of nature. He pointed out particularly how the health of soil, plants and animals depends upon bringing nature into connection again with the cosmic creative, shaping forces. The practical method he gave for treating soil, manure and compost, and especially for making the bio-dynamic compost preparations, was intended above all to serve the purpose of reanimating the natural forces which in nature and in modern agriculture were on the wane. "This must be achieved in actual practice," Rudolf Steiner told me. He showed how much it meant

to him to have the School of Spiritual Science going hand in hand with real-life practicality when he spoke on another occasion of wanting to have teachers at the School alternate a few years of teaching (three years was the period mentioned) with a subsequent period of three years spent in work outside, so that by this alternation they would never get out of touch with the conditions and challenges of real life.

The circle of those who had been inspired by the agricultural course and were now working both practically and scientifically at this task kept on growing; one thinks at once of Guenther Wachsmuth, Count Keyserlingk, Ernst Stegemann, Erhard Bartsch, Franz Dreidax, Immanuel Vögele, M. K. Schwarz, Nikolaus Remer, Franz Rulni, Ernst Jakobi, Otto Eckstein, Hans Heinze, and of many others who came into the movement with the passing of time, including Dr. Werr, the first veterinarian. The bio-dynamic movement developed out of the co-operation of practical workers with the Natural Science Section of the Goetheanum. Before long it had spread to Austria, Switzerland, Italy, England, France, the north-European countries and the United States. To-day no part of the world is without active collaborators in this enterprise.

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The bio-dynamic school of thought and a chemically-minded agricultural thinking confronted one another from opposite points of the compass at the time the agricultural course was held. The latter school is based essentially on the views of Justus von Liebig. It attributes the fact that plants take up substances from the soil solely to the so-called "nutrient-need" of the plant. The one-sided chemical fertiliser theory that thinks of plant needs in terms of nitrogen-phosphates-potassium-calcium, originated in this view, and the theory still dominates orthodox scientific agricultural thinking to-day. But it does Liebig an injustice. He himself expressed doubt as to whether the "N-P-K" theory should be applied to all soils. Deficiency symptoms were more apparent in soils poor in humus than in those amply supplied with it. The following quotation makes one suspect that Liebig was by no means the hardened materialist that his followers make him out to be. He wrote: "Inorganic forces breed only inorganic substances. Through a higher force at work in living bodies, of which inorganic forces are merely the servants, substances come into being which are endowed with vital qualities and totally different from the crystal." And further: "The cosmic conditions necessary for the existence of plants are the warmth and light of the sun." Rudolf Steiner gave the key to these "higher forces at work in living bodies and to these cosmic conditions." He solved Liebig's problem by refusing to stop short at the purely material aspects of plant-life. He went on, with characteristic spiritual courage and a complete lack of bias, to take the next step.

And now an interesting situation developed. Devotees of the purely materialistic school of thought, who once felt impelled to reject the progressive thinking advanced by Rudolf Steiner, have been forced by facts brought to light during research into soil-biology to go at least one step further. Facts recognised as early as 1924-34 in bio-dynamic circles—the significance of soil-life, the earth as a living organism, the role played by humus, the necessity of maintaining humus under all circumstances, and of building it up where it is lacking—all this has become common knowledge. Recognition of biological, organic laws has now been added to the earlier realisation of the undeniable dependence of plants upon soil nutrient-substances. It is not too much to say that the biological aspect of the bio-dynamic method is now generally accepted; the goal has perhaps even been overshot. But, important as are the biological factors governing plant inter-relationships, soil structure, biological pest-control, and the progress made in understanding the importance of humus, the whole question of energy-sources and formative forces—in other words, cosmic aspects of plant-life—remains unanswered. The *biological* way of thinking has been adopted, but with a materialistic bias, whereas an understanding of the *dynamic* side, made possible by Rudolf Steiner's pioneering indications, is still largely absent.

Since 1924 numerous scientific publications that might be regarded as a first groping in this direction have appeared. We refer to studies of growth-regulating factors, the so-called growth-inducers, enzymes, hormones, vitamins, trace elements and bio-catalysts. But this groping remains in the material realm. Science has progressed to the point where material effects produced by dilutions as high as 1:1 million, or even 1:100 million, no longer belong to the realm of the fantastic and incredible. They do not meet with the unbelieving smile that greeted rules for applying the bio-dynamic compost preparations, for these—with dilutions ranging from 1:10 to 1:100 million—are quite conceivable at the present stage of scientific thinking. Exploration of the process of photo-synthesis—i.e., of the building of substance in the cells of living plants—has opened up problems of the influence of energy (of the sun, of light, of warmth and of the moon); in other words, problems of the transformation of cosmic sources of energy into chemical-material conditions and energies.

In this connection we quote from the book *Principles of Agriculture*,* written in 1952 by W. R. Williams, Member of the Academy of Sciences, USSR: "The task of agriculture is to transform kinetic solar energy, the energy of light, into the potential energy stored in human food. The light of the sun is the basic raw material of agricultural industry." And further: "Light and

* Translated from the Russian by G. V. Jacks, Director of the Commonwealth Bureau of Soil Science (London, 1952).

warmth are the essential conditions for plant life, and consequently also for agriculture. Light is the raw material from which agricultural products are made, and warmth is the force which drives the machinery—the green plant. The provision of both raw material and energy must be maintained. The dynamic energy of the sun's rays is transformed by green plants into potential energy in the material form of organic matter. Thus our first concrete task is the continuous creation of organic matter, storing up the potential energy of human life." And still further: "We can divide the four fundamental factors into two groups, according to their source: light and heat are cosmic factors, water and plant food terrestrial factors. The former group originates in interplanetary space . . ."

Or again: "The cosmic factors—light and heat—act directly on the plant, whereas the terrestrial factors act only through an intermediary (substance)."

We see that the author of this work rates knowledge of the interworking of cosmic and terrestrial factors as the first objective of agricultural science, while ranking organic substance (humus) second on the list of objectives of agricultural production. This is what was published in 1952. In 1924 Rudolf Steiner pointed out the necessity of consciously restoring cosmic forces to growth processes by both direct and indirect means, thereby freeing the present conception of plant nature from a material, purely terrestrial isolation; only through such restoration would it be possible to re-energise those healthful and constructive forces capable of halting degeneration. He said to me, "Spiritual scientific knowledge must have found its way into practical life by the middle of the century if untold damage to the health of man and nature is to be avoided."

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Our research work began with the attempt to find reagents to the etheric forces and to discover ways of demonstrating their existence. Suggestions were given which could only later be brought to realisation in the writer's crystallisation method. Then it was our intention to proceed to expose the weak points in the materialistic conception and to refute its findings by means of its own experimental methods. This meant applying exact analytical methods in experimentation with physical substances, and even developing them to a finer point. We proposed to work quantitatively as well as qualitatively. During my own years at the university, for example, it was my regular practice to lay my proposed course of studies for the new term before Rudolf Steiner for guidance in the choice of subjects. On one occasion he urged me to take simultaneously two—no, three—main subjects, chemistry, physics and botany, each requiring six hours a day. To the objection that there were not hours enough in the day for this, he replied simply, "Oh, you'll manage it somehow."

Again and again, he steered things in the direction of practical activity and laboratory work, away from the merely theoretical.

Suggestions of this kind were constantly in my mind during the decades of work which arose from them. They led me not only to work in laboratories, but also to apply the fundamentals of this new outlook to the management of agricultural projects, both in a bio-dynamic and in an economic sense. Dr. Steiner had insisted on my taking courses and attending lectures in political economy as well as in science, saying, "One must work in a businesslike, profit-making way, or it won't come off." Economics, commercial history, industrial science, even mass-psychology and other such subjects were proposed for study, and when the courses were completed, Dr. Steiner always wanted a report on them. On these occasions he not only showed astounding proficiency in the various special fields, but—what was more surprising—he seemed quite familiar with the methods and characteristics of the various professors. He would say, for example, "Professor X is an extremely brilliant man, with wide-ranging ideas, but he is weak in detailed knowledge. Professor Z is a silver-tongued orator of real elegance. You needn't believe everything he says, but you must get a thorough grasp of his method of presentation."

From these and many other suggestions it was clear what had to be done to promote the bio-dynamic method. There was the big group of practising farmers, whose task it was to carry out the method in their farming enterprises, to discover the most favourable use of the preparations, to determine what crop rotations build up rather than deplete humus, to develop the best methods of plant and animal breeding. It took years to translate the basic ideas into actual practice. All this had to be tried out in the hard school of experience, until the complete picture of a teachable and learnable method, which any farmer could profitably use, was finally evolved. Problems of soil treatment, crop rotation, manure and compost handling, time-considerations in the proper care and breeding of cattle, fruit-tree management and many other matters could be worked out only in practice through the years.

Then there was the problem of coming to grips with agricultural science. Laboratories and field experiments had to provide facts and observational material. I was now able to profit from the technical and quantitative-chemical education urged upon me by Dr. Steiner. This was the sphere in which the shortcomings and weaknesses of the chemical soil-and-nutrient-theory showed up most clearly, and where to-day—after more than thirty years—one can see possibilities of building a bridge between recognition of the existence of cosmic forces and exact science.

The first possibility of breaking through the hardened layer of current orthodox opinion came through discoveries that cluster around the concept of the so-called trace elements. Dr. Steiner had pointed out as early as 1924 the existence of these finely dispersed material elements in the atmosphere and elsewhere, and had stressed the importance of their contribution to healthy plant

development. But it still remained an open question whether they were absorbed from the soil by roots or from the atmosphere by leaves and other plant organs. In the early thirties, spectrum analysis showed that almost all the trace elements are present in the atmosphere in a proportion of 10^{-6} to 10^{-9} . The fact that trace-elements can be absorbed from the air was established in experiments with *Tillandsia usneoides*. It is now common practice in California and Florida to supply zinc and other trace elements, not via the roots, but by spraying the foliage, since leaves absorb these trace elements even more efficiently.

It was found that one-sided mineral fertilising lowers the trace-element content of soil and plants, and—most significantly—that to supply trace-elements by no means assures their absorption by plants. The presence (or absence) of zinc in a dilution of 1:100 million decides absolutely whether an orange tree will bear healthy fruit. But in the period from 1924–1930 the bio-dynamic preparations were ridiculed “because plants cannot possibly be influenced by high dilutions.”

Zinc is singled out for mention here not only because treatment with very high dilutions of this trace element is especially essential for both the health and the yield of many plants, but also because it is an element particularly abundant in mushrooms. A comment by Rudolf Steiner indicates an interesting connection which can be fully understood only in the light of the most recent research. We read on page 107 of the *Agricultural Course*: “. . . Harmful parasites always consort with growths of the mushroom type . . . causing certain plant diseases and doing other still worse forms of damage. . . . One should see to it that meadows are infested with fungi. Then one can have the interesting experience of finding that where there is even a small mushroom-infested meadow near a farm, the fungi, owing to their kinship with the bacteria and other parasites, keep them away from the farm. It is often possible, by infesting meadows in this way, to keep off all sorts of pests.”

Organisms of the fungus type include the so-called *fungi imperfecti* and a botanical transition-form, the family of actinomycetes and streptomycetes, from which certain antibiotic drugs are derived. I have found that these organisms play a very special rôle in humus formation and decay, and that they are abundantly present in the bio-dynamic manure and compost preparations. The preparations also contain an abundance of many of the most important trace elements, such as molybdenum, cobalt, zinc, and others whose importance has been experimentally demonstrated.

Now a peculiar situation was found to exist in regard to soils. Analyses of available plant nutrients showed that the same soil tested quite differently at different seasons. Indeed, tests showed not only seasonal but even daily variations. The same soil sample often disclosed periodic variations greater than those found in tests of soils from adjoining fields, one of which was good, the other

poor. Seasonal and daily variations are influenced, however, by the earth's relative position in the planetary system; they are, in other words, of cosmic origin. It has actually been found that the time of day or the season of the year influences the solubility and availability of nutrient substances. Numerous phenomena to be observed in the physiology of plants and animals (e.g., glandular secretions, hormones) are subject to such influences. The concentration of oxalic acid in bryophyllum leaves rises and falls with the time of day with almost clock-like regularity. Although in this and many other test cases the nutrients on which the plants were fed were identical, the increase or decrease in the plant's substantial content varied very markedly in response to varying light-rhythms and cycles. Joachim Schultz, a research worker at the Goetheanum whose life was most unfortunately cut short, had begun to test Dr. Steiner's important indication that light activity acts with growth-stimulating effect in the morning and late afternoon hours, while at noon and midnight its influence is growth-inhibiting.

When I inspected Schultz's experiments, I was struck by the fact that plants grown on the same nutrient solution had a wholly different substantial composition according to the light-rhythms operative. This was true of nitrogen, for example. Plants exposed to light during the morning and evening hours grew strongly under the favourable influence of nitrogen activity, whereas if exposed during the noon hours, they declined and showed deficiency symptoms. The way was thus opened for experimental demonstration of the fact that the so-called “cosmic” activity of light, of warmth, of sun forces especially, but of other light-sources also, prevails over the material processes. These cosmic forces regulate the course of material change. When and in what direction this takes place, and the extent to which the total growth and the form of the plant are influenced, all depend upon the cosmic constellation and the origin of the forces concerned. Recent research in the field of photosynthesis has produced findings which can hardly fail to open the eyes even of materialistic observers to such processes. Here, too, Rudolf Steiner is shown to have been a pioneer who paved the way for a new direction of research. It is impossible in an article of this length to report on all the phenomena that have already been noted, for they would more than fill a book. But it is no longer possible to dismiss the influence of cosmic forces as “mere superstition” when the physiological and biochemical inter-relationships of metabolic functions in soil-life, the rise and fall of sap in the plant, and especially processes in the root-sphere are taken into consideration.

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In an earlier view of nature, based partly on old mystery-tradition and partly on instinctive clairvoyance—a view originating in the times of Aristotle and his pupil Theophrastus, and continuing on to the days of Albertus Magnus and the late mediæval “doctrine of signatures”—it was recognised that relationships exist between

certain cosmic constellations and the various plant species. These constellations are creative moments under whose influence species became differentiated and the various plant forms came into being. When one realises that cosmic rhythms have such a significant influence on the physiology of metabolism, of glandular functions, of the rise and fall of sap and of sap pressure (turgor), only a small step remains to be taken by conscious future research to the next realisation, which will achieve an experimental grasp of these creative constellations. Many of Rudolf Steiner's collaborators have already demonstrated the decisive effects of formative forces in such experiments as the capillary tests on filter paper of L. Kolisko and the plant and crystallisation tests of Pfeiffer, Krüger, Bessenich, Selawry and others.

Rudolf Steiner's suggestions for plant breeding presented a special task. Research in this field was carried out by the author and other fellow-workers (Immanuel Vögele, Erika Riese, Martha Kuenzel and Martin Schmidt), either in collaboration or in independent work. Proceeding from the basic concept of creative cosmic constellations, one can assume that the original creative impetus in every species of sub-type slowly exhausts itself and ebbs away. The formative forces of this original impulse is passed on from plant to plant in hereditary descent by means of certain organs such as chromosomes. One-sided quantity-manuring gradually inhibits the activity of the primary forces, and results in a weakening of the plant. Seed quality degenerates. This was the initial problem laid before Rudolf Steiner, and the bio-dynamic movement came into being as an answer to it.

The task was to reunite the plant, viewed as a system of forces under the influence of cosmic activities, with nature as a whole. Rudolf Steiner pointed out that many plants which had been "violated," in the sense of having been estranged from their cosmic origin, were already so far gone in degeneration that by the end of the century their propagation would be unreliable. Wheat and potatoes were among the plant types mentioned, but other such grains as oats, barley and lucerne belong to the same picture. Ways were sketched whereby new strains with strong seed-forces could be bred from "unexhausted" relatives of the cultivated plants. This work has begun to have success; the species of wheat have already been developed. Martin Schmidt carried on significant researches, not yet published, to determine the rhythm of seed placement in the ear, and to show in particular the difference between food plants and plants grown from seed. According to Rudolf Steiner, there is a basic difference between the two types, one of which is sown in autumn, nearer to the winter, and the other nearer to the summer. Biochemists will eventually be able to confirm these differences materially in the structure of protein substances, amino-acids, phosphorlipoids, enzyme-systems and so on by means of modern chromatographic methods.

The degeneration of wheat is already an established fact. Even where the soil is good, the protein content has declined; in the case of soft red wheat, protein content has sunk from 13% to 8% in some parts of the United States. Potato growers know how hard it is to produce healthy potatoes free from viruses and insects, not to mention the matter of flavour. Bio-dynamically grown wheat maintains its high protein level. Promising work in potato breeding was unfortunately interrupted by the last war and other disturbances.

Pests are one of the most interesting and instructive problems, looked at from the bio-dynamic viewpoint. When the biological balance is upset, degeneration follows; pests and diseases make their appearance. Nature herself liquidates weaklings. Pests are therefore to be regarded as nature's warning that the primary forces have been dissipated and the balance sinned against. According to official estimates, American agriculture pays a yearly bill of five thousand million dollars in crop losses for disregarding this warning, and another seven hundred and fifty million dollars on keeping down insect pests. People are beginning to realise that insect poisons fall short of solving the problem, especially since the destruction of some of the insects succeeds only in producing new, more resistant kinds. It has been established by the most advanced research (Albrecht of Missouri) that one-sided fertilising disturbs the protein-carbohydrates balance in plant cells, to the detriment of proteins and the layer of wax that coats plant leaves, and makes the plants "tastier" to insect depredators. It has been a bitter realisation that insect poisons merely "preserve" a part of moribund nature, but do not halt the general trend towards death. Experienced entomologists, who have witnessed the failure of chemical pest-control and the threats to health associated with it, are beginning to speak out and demand biological controls. But according to the findings of one of the American experimental stations, biological controls are feasible only when no poisons are used and an attempt is made to restore natural balance. In indications given in the agricultural course, Rudolf Steiner showed that health and resistance are functions of biological balance, coupled with cosmic factors. This is further evidence of how far in advance of its time was this spiritual-scientific, Goethean way of thought.

The author is thoroughly conscious of the fact that this exposition touches upon only a small part of the whole range of questions opened up by Rudolf Steiner's new agricultural method. He is also aware that other collaborators would have written quite differently, and about different aspects of the work. These pages should therefore be read in accordance with their intention: as the view from a single window in a house containing many rooms.

RUDOLF STEINER AS PERSONAL TEACHER

Maria Röschl-Lehrs

TO meet a great personality in the relationship of pupil and teacher is a source of strength for life. The invigoration flowing from this source can be used for the fulfilment of tasks that life brings one. The details of the instruction received are not of a kind that can be reported directly. What can be given here is only a reviewing of one's memory, and a number of impressions which can help to bring out with some clarity the picture of the teacher's personality.

In several of his published books, Rudolf Steiner gave counsel about the inner development of man. This will be spoken of here as his "teaching". But he also instructed some people as his pupils individually. This can be called "personal guidance". The distinction between "teaching" and "personal guidance" should be carefully observed.

The teaching about the inner Path which a great individuality gives to his age forms part of the history of human culture. It arises from the facts and conditions of evolution in the period in which it is given, and influences this period in the direction of a further, higher evolution. It is addressed to the many who are willing to seek, and to make efforts, in this realm, and who are prepared to follow such indications. It is given in a form which takes into account the general, healthy average level of inner strength, and which brings about, when rightly followed, a harmonious, positive development of the human being.

Since the teaching is addressed to people in general, it can in our time be published in print. For human beings are now developing to the point where they can begin to experience, both in themselves and in other people, aspects of man's nature which were not previously grasped, and have remained for the most part unknown. The Romantic writers of the beginning of the XIXth century spoke in this connection of the "night sides" of human nature. Several of them gave particular attention to these—for example, Justinus Kerner, who as a physician took care of the "Seeress of Prevorst". But at that time only scattered phenomena of an unusual and often chaotic, pathological kind were—at least publicly—known. Now an extension of the field of experience for the human soul into the region of the supersensible lies on the general line of development for mankind. We need to understand how such phenomena are related to the condition of man at the present time, and how they can be rightly understood and controlled. Therefore Rudolf Steiner, who had full insight into this realm, published, out of a sense of

responsibility, explanations and directions for a healthy inner development. For if these phenomena of the soul's life are not understood, they may be regarded as illnesses, or defined as such, even when they are not. Dangerous and unhealthy aberrations into mediumistic or spiritualistic practices may occur, which have nothing to do with a healthy development of the human being in the realm of supersensible experience, as this has been made possible by the teaching of Rudolf Steiner.

Everyone is free to notice and read these books by Rudolf Steiner or to neglect them; to skim through them superficially or to recognise their value; to ridicule them or to make active use of them. This is the sphere of freedom—a freedom which permits neglect, with all its far-reaching consequences. There is also a question of moral responsibility: whether one is willing to recognise the coming into being of the new stage of human development, or believes it one's duty to oppose this for the sake of traditional standards.

Looking back over history, one might ask: Why do there continually come into being new directions for the inner training of man? The briefest form of answer would be: because each stage in the evolution of humanity needs a modification of the inner path, owing to the changes in man's psyche and his physiological condition. Different methods were right for oriental man; different methods again for the ancient Greeks, for the medieval Christians, and for the men of our time.

The living connection that man experienced with the divine-spiritual world, as it meets us in the ancient religious and literary documents of mankind, and as it lives particularly in the myths, depended upon early man having a different condition of body and soul. This clairvoyance was gradually lost, and had to be lost. It becomes plain to unprejudiced research that man has purchased his hold upon, and mastery of, the material world, which has meant an immense enlargement of his field of experience through the senses, with a great narrowing of his consciousness in the supersensible. How indeed could a man be active in the modern technical and mechanical fields if he experienced material forces as living beings, as did the men of ancient times?

In this way man has been deprived of his "wholeness". The part of his being which could once unite itself in experience with the real supersensible world, and draw from it strength and guidance, had to become silent for a long time. But man is the bearer of a spirit, and cannot, in the long run, work and live in conformity with his real being without the sources of strength that come from the supersensible world which is his origin. The number of those who are aware of this is increasing at the present time, because they feel themselves inwardly broken up by modern civilisation and its demands. And so the cry for the "wholeness" of man is heard more and more. It is realised that man has become *incomplete*

and through this has lost power. Many would like to recover this power, and thus to experience their whole nature once more. And so lectures and publications point back to old forms of religion and their methods of training, to oriental books and meditative writings—there is a wide choice. In Rudolf Steiner's book, *Knowledge of the Higher Worlds and How to Attain It*, the way into wholeness which is fitted for European and Western man in our time is described. It does not lead to personal power, but to moral purification, to a widening of consciousness into spiritual experience, and to the possibility of fully effective service to others, to humanity. This is the "teaching" of Rudolf Steiner.

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"Personal guidance" presupposes that the pupil takes the "teaching" fully into account, and therefore follows its principles, which are of general validity. It acquires its individual character through having as basis the knowledge gained by the teacher of the pupil's being and destiny. The pupil's individual past, which has formed him as he stands before the teacher, provides the starting-point of his training. And when personal guidance bears fruit, the pupil also recognises sooner or later his teacher's eternal Sign. Full pupilship really begins when this knowledge is attained.

A relationship of this kind between teacher and pupil is just as unique as an individual destiny. And since personal guidance is built, from the side of the teacher, on such a basis, it is not possible to pass on directly the counsels and exercises given by the teacher in such a particular case, as if they were valid also for others. For these instructions are based on preconditions which are not applicable to another person—on the special characteristics of the pupil, right into his physiology. They take into account his national origin, and the stage of development he has already reached. There is thus a profound difference between the "teaching" and "personal guidance".

If therefore one is asked to give a picture of Rudolf Steiner as a personal guide, this can be done only in individual outlines, which require for their understanding purely personal preliminaries. But I will select here a particular line, which has a quite general bearing on our present-day culture, and is therefore objectively understandable.

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Two regions of experience, connected with one another, stand in the foreground; both occupied my attention from very early childhood. First, and the earlier in time, the child's pondering recognition that some human beings are felt to have significant and desirable qualities, while others arouse opposite feelings. From this gradually developed, in youthful years, the conception of the "kernel" of a human being. This kernel was very different in particular people—with some, weighty and strong; with others, light and insignificant. Some might be quiet and retiring, and

appear outwardly insignificant, but had a worthy kernel. Others appeared colourful and brilliant, but one experienced something quite disappointing as their kernel. Later, this kernel was recognised as the personality, the "I", of the other.

Similarly, there was from childhood the question why one should experience at night, in dreams, so much that was beautiful, but so much that was terrifying, too. During the day there were the rich and significant impressions of the surrounding world, which the child absorbed attentively in every detail. Fine differences in the processes of blossoming and growth in the trees during spring, below in the garden; the behaviour of the animals in the courtyard close by; exactly observed symptoms of illness in playmates and people of the neighbourhood; all this was intensively absorbed and remained clear in the memory as isolated impressions, about which one neither spun theories nor asked other people. Only later, generally after years, such sequences of memory were linked, often suddenly, into clear knowledge, and provided through the childhood memories, which reached unusually far back, something like a broader basis for understanding waking life.

But dreaming and sleeping, intervening every night in this other experience, remained a great question. There were dreams in which the figures of fairy stories, and the human beings of the day, reappeared. But there were also dreams which were not dreams, and remained indelible in the memory of the school-child, clearly outlined, overwhelmingly moving. About this, too, one asked nobody; it remained a question. Thus at an early age the problem of the different levels of consciousness became a pressing one. How did all this happen? University studies did not give any answer, nor did the culture of my native town, so rich in noble arts. Hence there was nothing for it but to go on observing exactly and studying independently.

In this Goethe became my friend and leader. A thorough study of his whole life and work did not indeed provide the knowledge of how sleep and dream come to be, but they brought the rewarding and important insight that dreaming was of quite special significance for his creative work. From his youth onwards, his poetry sprang from this condition of consciousness. He himself pointed to the rich world that man cannot yet consciously grasp. The dream-like creative conditions which powerfully, almost violently, took hold of him during his youth, he learnt to control and to command by an "actively contemplative" (*tätig-nachdenkliches*) life. Goethe, therefore, had learnt—as he says himself—to master such phenomena of consciousness; this much my studies showed. They gave to my problem a deepened, significant background. But my questioning and seeking concerning the origin of sleep and dream were not answered in this way, or by studying philosophy and psychology. I found the answer only some years later in the picture of man given by Rudolf Steiner.

When I then met Rudolf Steiner personally, and he received me into the college of teachers of the first Waldorf School, he asked me to come to him directly, by word of mouth or by letter, with all questions concerning inner development. In this way personal pupilship began. And without my having touched, in any conversation, on the questions which had occupied me from childhood in the way I have recounted, my training began precisely at the point where these questions had their root.

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It belongs to the essence of the inner path, as Rudolf Steiner describes it, that in striving for self-knowledge one should face oneself as an observer. This applies also to the individual line of training. From this arose a particular attentiveness to the *method* of the guidance given to me, to the progress from conversation to conversation, together with a particular feeling for the way in which this guidance was built up. It became evident to me as a living work of art, formed of delicate, steadily increasing clarification and deepening. Every conversation was a step forwards, an enrichment of my inner being. I learnt what delicacy of observation is, and I was endowed with a teaching about life through the discussion of situations and phenomena with which I had to do. A wealth of help, not only for inner endeavour, but also for the understanding of the demands of external life, resulted from these conversations. A joyful beauty lived in them, and everything was illuminated by a wise goodness.

This goodness became for my soul the living soil for something which is inborn in man, and yet is so seldom aided in its development by life: I experienced what truth is. Not as logical consistency of facts or thoughts and the like. I felt it shine out in myself as a light illumining the whole human being. No wish remained in the soul but to become translucent in my whole being for the teacher's gaze. This wish had no personal aim or purpose. I experienced that without this desire to become transparent, I could not have in myself that light which penetrates not only one's own being, but can reveal the surrounding world with its life and its creatures in their own innermost nature. Its rays fell also on the teacher, and in its light his being became ever more transparent.

In this light a confidence in oneself became established, which gave the inner freedom that liberates from the confusion and delusion of conventional opinions. This kind of self-confidence is not based on recognition by others, or on one's own valuation of one's personality, but on the finding of the bridge to those worlds which guide human fate through divine wisdom. It is based on faith in God—something of which one began gradually to realise the true meaning.

A special quality of Rudolf Steiner's guidance was the care with which he left his pupils free. I never felt myself bound by a chain of obligations which would have suppressed my own creative

will. He never gave further directions, except when in my own endeavour and seeking I met with a hindrance, could get no further alone, and asked for help. One's own will to endeavour developed in harmonious agreement concerning the goal: the knowledge of the goal, towards which he helped me, and the will to the goal, which answered to it in myself. Thus one experienced Rudolf Steiner as guardian of freedom.

These are indications about the living work of art of his personal guidance; I indeed experienced it immediately as such, but came to recognise its far-reaching significance for one's development and the forming of one's character only at a much maturer age, through further knowledge. Rudolf Steiner was incapable of behaving like a schoolmaster towards another person; rather, he helped the other to bring his own being to full development and blossoming, in an unconditional, objective way, as the sun helps on each particular plant and flower. One felt oneself in the presence of a cosmic power, in the truest sense of the word—one that gave help and aid in a gentle, loving way. Through this one was rescued from the narrowness of an all-too-personal human attitude, both in the judgment of oneself and in assessing the helpful positivity of the teacher, for this was concerned with what is actually great in the pupil's *higher* being—something that the pupil himself had not yet attained, but had the will to make his goal, seeking to achieve his "wholeness".

These characteristics of Rudolf Steiner remain in one's memory as ideals for one's own endeavour and for the relationship of human beings to one another. In spite of the stern clarity of his judgments, the first thing for Rudolf Steiner was to foster another's destiny, to give helpful guidance about the tasks and possibilities which were founded in the other person's innermost being. He did not himself need or use the other person, but led him towards the best that lay within him, or her. Thus I learned to be a pupil in freedom, constantly helped forward by the experience of truth and goodness, conveyed to me not in an overwhelming way, but in beauty.

If during my studies of Goethe I came to know him as a work of art shaped by life, in Rudolf Steiner I experienced an artist in the shaping of life itself. That is how he stands in memory, clarifying and purifying the still unclear, not yet formed substance of the pupil's destiny.

Translated by A. B.

AT THE WALDORF SCHOOL

Karin Ruths-Hoffmann

*Rett' uns Herr, aus allen Nöten,
Sankt Georg hilf den Drachen töten,
ein armes Volk, vom See bis Danzig
sind wir im Jahre dreiundzwanzig.*

AFTER the lapse of 33 years I can still hear the voice of our teacher reciting this verse in the scripture lesson. If I remember rightly, the inscription had been found on a centuries-old memorial stone in the very year when inflation was at its peak.

But were the Germans actually such a pitiable folk in the year 1923?

We had flocked to Stuttgart from all directions: there were pupils from Austria and Switzerland, England and Portugal, Denmark and Italy. I am firmly convinced that we are still all at one in realising that at no other time or place could we have experienced the richness of the world in the way that was possible during those years, when old conceptions and certainties were tottering, chasms of distress were yawning ahead, and the breath of the dragon of universal fear was poisoning the hearts and minds of men.

The seeds of courage for deeds worthy of man were planted in our souls by the new art of education practised in the Waldorf School. How had it all come about?

In Breslau I had heard Thomastik, the violin-maker from Vienna, give an account of a course of lectures to teachers delivered by Rudolf Steiner at the Goetheanum. A picture was presented of how one-sidedly our modern educational system aims at intellectual knowledge. "Is it not scandalous that it took a world war to bring home to a man that he ought to learn how to sew on a button for himself?" Thomastik said that in the Waldorf School the boys as well as the girls learn to knit—and I thought longingly of my beloved *Samskola* in Sweden, where the very greatest importance was attached to handicraft (*slöjd*). Rilke had come to know about this school while on a visit to Ellen Key, and had spoken enthusiastically of it in Germany. But here there was something else as well—I realised this from what Thomastik was saying. What could it be?

I myself was then a pupil at the Senior Girls' School and every day came home tired and bored, laboriously forcing myself to grapple with the homework. In the middle of Thomastik's lecture something whispered inside me: "Away with it all!" . . . I went home and told my parents that they had given me the wrong kind of education, that they had forgotten the "limb-man." Not one day longer would I attend the school; later on I should be able by

some other means to take the matriculation examination. First of all I must go into domestic service.

My father understood and acquiesced in the decision of his 17-year-old daughter, out of whose sight, until then, broom and iron, duster and kitchen-cloth had been kept hidden by three or four servants. As a Grammar School boy in Sweden he himself had once thrown his herbarium, with its dried dandelions and grasses, out of the window, and had gone to a shipyard to learn how to forge iron. My mother was tearful, because from the cradle onwards an academic career had been intended for me. But as she had the greatest faith and trust in Friedrich Rittelmeyer, she agreed to my father's proposal that I should go into his household to do domestic work.

In the household—10 in number—of the first leader of the Christian Community, I was now to find the opportunity of making up for the hitherto neglected activity of the "limb-man" by cleaning vegetables and washing floors. Every Wednesday and Saturday it was also one of my duties to remove the everyday appurtenances from the dining-cum-living room of this large and hospitable family and turn it into a chapel. I did my duty willingly but not really adequately, and enviously admired the writing and painting books which the children of the house, all of different ages, brought home from the Waldorf School in the Kanonenweg.

It had been my intention to enquire on the spot whether the Waldorf School could not come to the rescue at any rate of my youngest sister, so that in her case the proper balance between the activities of head, heart and hand might be achieved. . . . I myself, at my age, would have to rely on self-education. But was I really too old? The rumour came to my ears that one of the girls in the highest class at the Waldorf School was actually engaged to be married, and young Count Keyserlingk was said to be very nearly 20. This gave me courage. I had really no loftier wish than to be one of the throng of boys and girls whose merry voices filled the Kanonenweg every day. I had never seen such happiness on the faces of the pupils at any school known to me in Austria, Germany and Sweden. They looked like a new race of human beings; it was as though one wanted to sing in chorus with them: *With us comes the new age.* . . .

The day and the hour, the colour of the walls in the room, the shimmer of the light during that fateful conversation with a friend which sealed the resolve to apply for admittance to the Waldorf School, are inscribed forever in my soul. On 18th February, 1923, I went confidently up the wide stone staircase to Herr Stockmeyer. "What do your parents say?" was his first question. "They do not know about it yet." "Then ask them first. We are not really intending to accept new pupils for the highest classes after the unfortunate experiences we have had. . . . But go upstairs to Herr Baumann in the song room." And so for the first time I went into

the room from which later on we could see the colours of the sunsets over Stuttgart, while the choir of the highest classes was singing Baumann's songs: *Wind, du mein Freund—lang hielten Berge mich grämlich umzäumt. . .**

I had already seen Rudolf Steiner on several occasions and had also heard him speak. Before actually setting eyes upon him I had seen his photograph. My father, a Swedish engineer who, like many of his countrymen, had worked for years as a kind of peace-maker between Germans and Slavs in Bohemia and Upper Silesia, had returned to Sweden because he felt that the political developments in border-regions of this kind precluded that atmosphere of peace in which his children could be educated for true manhood. In my Swedish godfather's library I then saw for the first time not only Leonardo's "Head of Christ," Michelangelo's "Creation of the World," and a bust of Goethe on the bookshelf, but also a post-card-size photograph which at once made an indelible impression on me. The man in the photograph was Rudolf Steiner. And so from the first moment onwards he was surrounded in my mind with pictures speaking of the nearness of the Divine and the greatness of the human spirit. Then I had seen him at a Eurhythmy performance in Breslau when he gave the introductory address, and after the performance, when a respectful crowd surrounded his car before it drove off. He waved and smiled, and my companion, a girl of my own age, said to me: "Surely goodness itself speaks out of that smile!"

On the previous day, 31st January, 1922, he had appeared for a moment, with his high fur cap on his head, in the central doorway of the Breslau Concert Hall, just before the lecture was due to begin. He looked quietly at the crowded audience waiting in tense expectation, and then disappeared. At that time his name was on everybody's lips. I heard a voice behind me say: "Everyone who sets store by spiritual things is here to-day." In a long black coat, Rudolf Steiner walked quickly to the lecture-desk. It seemed to me that his way of lecturing bore the hallmark of an inviolable probity; there was absolutely nothing suggestive, fanatical or mystical about it, although it was just these elements that might have been expected from him. He was on a three weeks' lecture tour and this was the 19th evening. He gave me the impression of being overstrained, and to begin with he spoke with eyes closed, as if to ward off the curiosity and insistence of the audience.

Although I was still in my teens, I had already been to schools in three different countries, and in every case what had made the school endurable for me was that there was always one teacher or another whom one could love. However interesting the material, if it was presented by an uncongenial teacher I simply could not assimilate it. What impressed itself upon me this evening was not,

* "Wind, thou my friend—long had dark mountains glower'd around me."

primarily, the personality of the speaker, or even the content of his lecture. It was the manner in which he spoke, the tone and the method, the approach to the subject. Because of this completely selfless devotion to his theme, he seemed to me to be the model of what a true teacher should be.

And now, a year later, the moment had arrived when he was to decide whether I could be accepted by the Waldorf School as a pupil in the real sense. The doubt was not so much on account of my age—now 18—but because it had recently been found necessary to dismiss one or two pupils from the highest class as incorrigibly disturbing elements, and new experiments of the kind were not regarded with favour.

Herr Baumann took me behind the curtains and put the request to Dr. Steiner. He looked at me for a moment and I saw a memory rise up in him. "Karin Ruths . . . the daughter of Karl Ruths? Yes, why not, why not?" I was happy that at this moment when destiny was being sealed, he remembered my father whom, as far as I knew, he had seen two years previously in circumstances more tragic than pleasant. But I must first ask for my father's permission. This I duly received, and his gentle 'Yes'—he did not like being parted for a long time from one of his daughters—resounds across the years and on beyond his death, just as the 'Yes' at the marriage-altar echoes on through the whole of life.

* * * *

The first day of school was at Eastertime. At the beginning of each school year it was the custom of the teachers at the Free Waldorf School to greet each class individually in the presence of the whole body of pupils assembled in the gymnasium. This time, Rudolf Steiner himself—the teacher of the teachers—was present. Together with the others, he went on the platform and addressed the pupils. In Breslau it had been the objectivity of his lecture that had impressed me; now, together with my schoolfellows, I was seized with a heartfelt enthusiasm such as I had never yet experienced. I have forgotten the details of what he said; I remember only that he finished his address with the question: "Do you love your teachers?" and that I, the newcomer, joined in the 'Yes!', shouted so jubilantly that the walls might have been brought down like the walls of Jericho.

In the very first lesson I knew that one could really love these teachers and also the subjects they had to teach—what they taught and how they taught. Not a single lesson in the following school year—sad to say, there was only one—cast the slightest shadow over this first experience of the character of the school. At that time, when the corridors and classrooms in all other schools were painted grey or brown, leaden yellow or at most white, a rose-coloured glow shone towards one from the stairways and also from the walls of our own classroom.

In the course of this year, Rudolf Steiner's visits to Stuttgart were times of festival. I heard that when the Waldorf School was being spoken of elsewhere, he often referred to it as the "Free Waldorf School founded by Emil Molt and directed by me"—always mentioning, first, the one who had taken the initiative, and then his own share in it. At one of the monthly assemblies he spoke to us, his pupils, as follows: "You see, when I come to the Waldorf School I always feel great happiness—and when someone is happy, ideas come to him. And so to-day a humorous idea came to me. . ." He then told the story which was included later on in the reading-book compiled by Caroline von Heydebrand, the story of the two children each trying to pick the best bunch of flowers. When they compared their bunches, one of the children had included thistles among the honey-yielding flowers. "Why thistles?" asked the other. "So that the donkeys too shall have something to eat. . ."

But reading a story is not the same as hearing it told. It was an unforgettable experience to hear Rudolf Steiner saying *Eseln*, pronouncing it as only Austrians can, and to see the children's eyes, how they hung on his every word—for he had the supreme art of arousing the attention of the youngest and oldest alike. Art? It seemed the most natural thing in the world. He himself had said that he was happy when he came to visit us, and all the children were jubilant. When he went across the courtyard of the school they clustered around him like the berries on a vine.

An elder girl, who had only recently become a pupil and was taken to him because of her state of health, was asked by him how she liked the school. "Oh, very much," she said, "the only thing I don't like is descriptive geometry." He was very disappointed, saying that nothing more beautiful than descriptive geometry could possibly be imagined. (One is reminded here of how Rudolf Steiner describes his joy when, as a child, he first came into contact with geometry.)

It once happened to me that at the beginning of a mathematics lesson I was called to the blackboard to demonstrate the homework. I knew I could not, and got up hesitatingly from my place. Imagine my fright when the door opened and Dr. Steiner, our "School Inspector", came into the classroom. Like lightning I saw myself from top to toe—it was that familiar moment when one wants to sink through the floor. I was conscious of everything, from my clothes to my inmost self, which was now being shown up in all its imperfection and incapacity. Tremblingly I went forward to the blackboard, for there was no drawing back. With his black, broad-rimmed hat still in his hand, Rudolf Steiner sat down in the left-hand corner at the back of the classroom.

I made desperate efforts to remember some of the homework and to write and draw on the blackboard. Suddenly the whole tension relaxed; it was as though peace itself had come into the room,

and I was completely calm. Out of this calm came the power to do what was required of me. In later years this occurrence has always seemed to me a basic illustration of the effect of Rudolf Steiner's influence: first, agonising self-judgment, painful realisation of one's own shortcomings and incapacities; then, balance of soul, inner tranquillity whence springs the power to attempt the utmost possible.

Pupils who had particular difficulties or irregularities of health were now and again taken to him individually. I remember having heard that he once advised a boy to learn shoemaking. A girl prone to states of depression was to have a blister applied to the pelvic vertebrae every six weeks by Dr. Kolisko, the school doctor. Asked about the reason for this, Dr. Kolisko explained to her: "You see, a person who easily gets depressed walks about with a bent head and bowed back. A blister like this stimulates the forces for holding oneself upright."

In my family there were several cases of a disease generally regarded as hereditary. As the time was approaching when we should have to decide in what profession we wanted to pass on the impulses received in the Waldorf School, this became a vital question for me. Would not a tendency to such a disease prove a burden rather than a help to the Movement? The teacher to whom I went for advice sent me to Rudolf Steiner. The conversation with him took place in the teachers' room at the Waldorf School. Dr. Steiner received me standing up, scrutinizingly, seriously. . . My smile of greeting was not returned. This worked like a shock—in smiling one goes out of oneself, smiling has a uniting effect. I felt thrown back upon myself, upon my own person. He wanted to see my handwriting. I ran back to the classroom, happy that just to-day I happened to have my tidiest exercise-book there. Dr. Steiner put it aside, almost with irritation: "This writing is not really characteristic of you, it is one you have acquired." In fact it was not my usual writing; I had been making strenuous efforts at the time.

"What ought I to do?" I asked him, after having spoken of my plans and apprehensions.

"You ought not to give a single thought to heredity," he replied with emphasis.

"I am not afraid of it, I am only reckoning with it."

"You should not reckon with it either," he rejoined with equal emphasis. "What you need is great variety"—he made a sweeping gesture. "Become a Waldorf School teacher! When you are standing in front of a class, there you have the variety you need." Now he was smiling, and I went away as if the wings of Mercury were on my feet.

Why was it that everything Rudolf Steiner said carried such weight? There is a pleasing story which seems to me to illustrate this. It was told us by Dr. Walter Johannes Stein, our history teacher, during a lesson on current affairs. Shortly after the first

world war, he had taken the "Appeal to the German People and to the civilized World" to certain leading men in Austria, including Hermann Bahr, the writer. "From Steiner Rudi?" asked Bahr, even before he had read it. "Whatever comes from him I will sign." And when he had read it, he said: "I would have signed that even if it had not come from Steiner Rudi." One felt that objective truth itself spoke through this personal allusion.

* * * *

The end of the final term was drawing near. As the Waldorf School was not yet five years old, nobody in our class had been able to go through it from the start, and all of us would have preferred to be beginning now, rather than leaving. Then one day in the late afternoon, when, reluctantly as always, we were obliged to tear ourselves away from our classroom, an idea came to one of us—I think it was Valdo Bossi, the Italian boy. "Could not all of us together ask to have a talk with Dr. Steiner before we have to leave here?"

This talk was promised to us.

The sun was shining into the teachers' room and they all sat around us along the walls, while we were told to take our places at the conference table, at the head of which, with Frau Dr. Wegman beside him, sat Rudolf Steiner. There he was—a leader of mankind, the most universal spirit of our age, nay of whole epochs—and he took us, a few boys and girls leaving school, so seriously that he listened to each individually. But to begin with he addressed us all together. He said that when life brought us face to face with crucial decisions, we should feel the spirit of the Waldorf School behind us, whispering the right resolutions into our ears. "The intercourse with your schoolfellows will be of the very greatest significance for you; think back to it again and again."

We were then asked to say what we wanted to be in life. He said he could well imagine that many of us would like to be Waldorf School teachers—but naturally not all at this particular school, because it was to be hoped that the teachers we loved would not so soon be dead. (He pointed to them sitting along the walls.)

The 'best' scholar among us, our most capable mathematician at any rate, actually spoke of his readiness to become a teacher. But he was advised to train for a commercial career. "Go to England and America—see how things are done there—and then come back and do them *here* as they ought to be done." Another wanted to be an architect. For him Rudolf Steiner proposed a technical training; he should try to carry right into technology the artistic element he was seeking. Two of us who wanted to go in directly for teaching were advised to study physics, chemistry, philosophy and psychology. To a classmate who was thinking about becoming a kindergarten teacher, Dr. Steiner said that the one and only thing that mattered there was that the children should love her—a kinder-

garten teacher might sometimes be quite stupid intellectually. . . . Looking back afterwards, it seems to me that while entering into our youthful problems in the most loving way, Rudolf Steiner wanted at the same time to keep us from losing our heads, in order, first and foremost, to prevent spiritual arrogance. The following may be a still better illustration of this.

The eldest of us, who was already engaged to be married, had originally wanted to study medicine, but we were all so thoroughly convinced of the entirely new impulse in Waldorf School education that to enter the traditional life of a university seemed to us a retrograde step. "After the Waldorf School I simply could not endure an ordinary medical training—it would kill me," the girl said with emphasis. "But why?" rejoined Rudolf Steiner, pointing in a friendly way to Frau Dr. Wegman at his side. "She has stood up to it very well. . ." He continued: "In your position"—meaning that of a girl shortly to be married—"it would be a good thing to learn Curative Eurhythm, because that is not a full-time profession." (This was before the days when it became one.)

Then he turned to us who were racking our brains over our 'lofty spiritual tasks' for the future. "Above all, dear girls, the most dreadful thing for the Waldorf School would be if it produced a lot of inveterate old maids—it is to be hoped that you too want to marry."

Almost with indignation I cried out: "But, Herr Doctor, marriage is not a profession!"

"In what sense not a profession? It is a generally recognised one."

"But men marry and have a profession as well."

"Yes, but I was speaking of this quite special case."

To a girl whose desire was to become a nursing sister, he said: "That is a profession which demands great sacrifice. The patients in the Arlesheim Clinic sometimes do not get better at once because an interesting lecture which the nurses want to hear is being given up at the Goetheanum. . . . A good nurse must have something about her that does the patient good the moment she comes in at the door."

A classmate who wanted to devote herself to artistic work was advised to go to Dornach. It was also mentioned at this point that the Goetheanum could not yet take the place of a 'High School'—in the sense in which the Waldorf School now took the place of an ordinary school. But in this conversation it was clear to me that Dr. Steiner regarded the inauguration of a 'High School' in the real sense as desirable.

When he then made the suggestion that we should come again to Stuttgart in the autumn in order to exchange the first experiences in our careers, it seemed to me that the present gathering was like a veritably new beginning. I thought I understood Dr. Steiner to

mean that we should come back once a year, in our holidays, for an Extension Course under the guidance of our former teachers.

* * * *

In September, 1924, we had the second and last conference with Rudolf Steiner. He listened attentively to what we had to say—I remember especially that he seemed to be delighted when a pupil spoke about his work in a factory, describing how entirely the character of a department where woodwork was going on differed from another where iron was being manipulated. He went into this point and then began to talk to us about the Threshold Social Order. "The idea of the Threefold Social Order is not dead," he said, "only at present it has not been understood. And I hope that understanding of it will grow from the circle of Waldorf School pupils." That is more or less what I remember.

When another of us spoke of his wish to go to South America, in order to work out certain scientific matters on the spot, he was told: Whatever is being studied, whether it be plants or minerals, one should try not to rely on collections in museums or in some artificial setting, but to explore them in their actual locality and natural environment.

We were also invited to the Youth Course on education which was planned for November, but could not be given. On 28th September, Rudolf Steiner gave his last address, and the future autumn gatherings of former Waldorf School pupils, which we owe to his incentive, were destined to take place without him.

During the first days of April, 1925, a few of us met in the Schreinerei at Dornach. Without any previous arrangement we encountered one another outside the studio where the earthly sheath of our teacher was lying. We were allowed to go in. The breath of life in death stirred through the stillness of the room where the greatest spirit of our epoch lay at the foot of the work wrought by his own hands—the statue of the Representative of Humanity.

When we left the Waldorf School he had given us words of guidance for our lives. We listened to them standing up and afterwards received them from him in writing. When we were together for the last time he enjoined us to meditate on them assiduously—we should soon become aware of their effect. The words thus given to us confirmed and set their seal upon the fact that our training during youth was under spiritual leadership, and that what our hearts had been able to receive must be mirrored along our paths of life and preserved in the depths of remembrance.

Translated by D. O.

THE BIRTH OF CURATIVE EDUCATION

Albrecht Strohschein

AFTER the first World War, as a student in Jena, I got to know some of the workers at a large Children's Home. They wanted to hear about Anthroposophy and they came along one after another, until finally there were eight. One day I was invited by those in charge of the Home to go and see them, and was asked if what these young people brought forward at conferences was anthroposophical. (It was in connection with the education of handicapped children.) Since these workers could not be called educationally experienced or anthroposophically trained, I felt I must give them some support. I was successful in this, for first Siegfried Pickert and then Franz Löffler became teachers in the Home. They were not appreciably older than the others, but they had been connected with Anthroposophy for a longer time.

Now the great Christmas Foundation Meeting in Dornach was at hand; our seven or eight wanted to go and we set about finding the journey-money. Germany had just changed from the paper-billions to the Rentenmark, and we were all as poor as beggars. Pickert and Löffler were now working with backward children, and it grieved them that their endeavours to gain knowledge of man and the universe had to be made apart from the practice of their profession. On the other hand, in their daily life with the handicapped children, they were constantly confronted with decisions which they had to reach merely on the basis of feeling, and not from any penetrating pedagogical knowledge. That was the cleft which my friends were experiencing.

I myself, through an inner experience at the the age of fifteen, had been led early to seek for the knowledge of what life actually is. It became clear to me that Rudolf Steiner was the initiate of this mystery when, before I was twenty, I returned from the first World War and a friend read to me in the space of a few days the *Outline of Occult Science*.

It appeared that in connection with the Christmas Foundation Meeting, Rudolf Steiner was to give a Medical Course, and I thought this might perhaps offer a possibility for my friends. But since about 800 people had gathered in Dornach for the Christmas Meeting, how was a young man to approach Rudolf Steiner, whose burden of work was so obvious?

On one of the first days—we had had our lunch in the canteen—I was walking up the hill from the Glashaus to the Schreinerei, lost in thought, and as I looked up, there before me was Dr. Steiner, coming down alone. I raised my hat and would have respectfully made a wide circuit, but he held out his hand and asked, "How are you?" This question from him, the great initiate, could not be

merely conventional, and so I took courage, began immediately to give an account of the work at Jena, and asked if it were possible for my friends Pickert and Löffler to attend the Medical Course. I had turned back with Dr. Steiner; we had gone down the hill and now stood before the Glashauss. "That is something I must think about," said Rudolf Steiner. "I must speak with Frau Dr. Wegman who is arranging the Course. Come to me again."

From this time onwards Pickert and Löffler urged me every evening after the lecture to go and get the answer. All I could learn, however, was, "I have not yet found the time, come again." After I had asked several times in vain, and when my friends were no less insistent the next evening, I got angry, flung at them some downright rude words, turned on my heel—it was in the anteroom of the Schreinerei—and found myself facing Dr. Steiner. He had appeared at a side-door, and now he beckoned me. "Very well, you can come, you three." "Herr Doktor, I asked only for my two friends," I faltered in the surprise of the moment. "Yes, come, you three," he calmly replied, whereupon I felt obliged to say that I should then be the third and that I was not studying medicine, but psychology. "Yes, come," said Rudolf Steiner, conclusively.

At a meeting ten years later, Dr. Wegman took occasion to relate this episode. "I have three young people," Dr. Steiner had said to her; "they will take part in the Medical Course. They are, it is true, not students of medicine, but they will take part." His words appear to have been spoken with such decision that it simply did not occur to her to ask what it was about these three. The incident seems to me to be an example of how Rudolf Steiner knew exactly the moment when impulses in the soul were ripe, and how he then accepted them and gave them form and order.

So now we actually attended the Medical Course, sitting unassumingly in the back row behind the young doctors. After the last lecture Dr. Steiner walked down the rows and said to us, "Come to me in the Studio early to-morrow at ten." There was astonishment, puzzling and guessing among us as to why we had been summoned; we realised, however, what was necessary and therefore got our questions in order. When we arrived at the Studio at the appointed hour, Rudolf Steiner was sitting in his arm-chair quietly waiting, and he let us ask and say all that we had to say. Then came the answers to everything we had asked, and, far beyond that, to much that we carried unexpressed in our souls.

He spoke so impressively of how these "abnormal" children cannot incarnate completely with their ego and astral body, and for this reason are already concerned with shaping a future earthly life, that we could only listen and take it in with all our senses. The impression was so great that later none of us could give a connected account of all he had said. I know that when at the end I asked what such a difficult earthly life really meant for the souls of the so-called pathological or feeble-minded children, Rudolf Steiner

waited a little while and then quietly replied: "When in my investigations I look back, starting from the genius of to-day, I always find that a genius has gone through at least *one* such feeble-minded incarnation." Siegfried Pickert remembered that Dr. Steiner had said, "When I visit the class for mentally backward children at the Stuttgart Waldorf School, I say to myself: 'Here one is working for the next earth-life, quite apart from what is accomplished now, which however can be a very great deal.'" Finally he shook hands with each of us, said goodbye and added, "Perhaps it will be possible sometime for me to give advice on the spot." Those simple words meant for all three of us a searching question: What was intended? Were we to invite him to come to Jena to that Children's Home? Would he give lectures there? It seemed to me that he would never go there; that the friends must start something on their own—but they, on their part, protested that they were too young and inexperienced.

So the other two returned to their work and I to the University. But whenever I met someone on my way there, I asked him whether he knew of a large house in Jena that was available. Finally the anthroposophical doctor, Ilse Knauer, came with the promising news that a large empty house up on the hill at Lauenstein was to let. Now the creation of the Rentenmark had made not me alone, but most of our older friends, as poor as church-mice. Nevertheless, Ilse Knauer and I went at once to see the house. The woman-owner named a shameless price; I offered half. That was at mid-day. In the afternoon I sent my landlady's son to my two friends to ask them to come to see me that evening as soon as they were free. Our discussion culminated in the question, "Are you willing or not willing?" And they at once said, "Yes."

The next day I borrowed 20 marks and took the train to Stuttgart, as I knew that Dr. Steiner was there for the Easter Conference. When I got to the Gustav-Siegle-Haus, a friend told me that I ought to take my stand at the stage-entrance; Dr. Steiner was expected immediately. There was much unrest in Germany at that time, and after threatening incidents in Munich we had begun to guard the entrance and exit doors. Nothing pleased me better, and in fact Dr. Steiner came almost at once. I asked him if I might have a talk with him. He replied that this would be difficult; I had better come to the Waldorf School one morning and try to catch him in one of the intervals. . . . "One morning"—but my soul was on fire; I was convinced that we must act immediately. I could not help it—I began to talk at once. We went behind the stage in the Siegle-Haus, and standing at the window I told Dr. Steiner about the chance of obtaining a house. He listened to it all quietly; then he said, "If you can get the accommodation, we shall certainly find the form of co-operation." But there still remained the ton-weight of our economic situation! "Yes, Herr Doktor, but we have no money at all," I confessed, adding, "I will try to find

some. . . ." At this, Rudolf Steiner looked me up and down and said with an emphasis that quite unmistakably applied to the money-question, but only in this one case and particular connection: "You need not take that into consideration."

I sent in my name at noon to Emil Molt, the benevolent director of the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory. He had founded the Waldorf School and so I thought he would view this new foundation with understanding. But when he had heard all about it, he exclaimed, horrified, "I beg you, let us start nothing new; we have cares enough already with the Waldorf School!" The disappointment of the moment made me lose control of what I said, and it is thanks solely to the greatness of Herr Molt that he overlooked it and later expressly showed me friendship. "Herr Molt," I said, "I have not come to seek advice; I asked you for money," and got up to take my leave. "Wait a moment," he said, "I will give you 1,000 marks." "As a loan?" I asked, still extremely cool. "Non-returnable," he replied.

That was the first money for the budding curative education. In the afternoon a few more thousands were acquired, and the proposal of an agreement for a lease went to my friends by express letter. Two days later came a telegram: "Please return. Make agreement." The agreement was made, and by pooling resources we had the rent for several months. We did the most necessary repairs at Lauenstein ourselves, and now my purchase of thirty old army beds at an auction, two years previously, with the idea of starting a students' hostel, turned out to be money well spent. We sent for the beds—they filled a wagon as they could not be folded up—painted them, and bought the cheapest mattresses to be had. We begged the rest of the essential pieces of furniture, and received touching help from elderly friends.

In May of the same year, 1924, we were able to move in and receive the first children. I had kept on my student room in the town, and while Pickert and Löffler carried out the organising work at Lauenstein, I undertook the necessary journeys for additional furniture and money, above all the journeys to Dornach or Stuttgart to see Dr. Steiner, whose advice we continually needed. Thus, among other things, we felt we must get out a prospectus and we thought we could simply take over our predecessor's description of the Home at Lauenstein; he was a doctor who had wanted to found a "Home for Pathological and Epileptic Children." "No," objected Dr. Steiner, "it must be clear from the title what is being done there." I looked at him inquiringly, and he said: "Curative and Educational Institute for Children in need of Care-of-the-Soul" (*seelenpflegebedürftig**).

I still looked at him inquiringly, not fully understanding the new expression, but I took out my notebook and he dictated to me word for word: "'Care-of-the-Soul,' large letters, 'in need of,'

* The English Homes express this as "children in need of special care."

small letters . . ." and added, "We must choose a name that does not stamp the children immediately." Now I slowly realised for the first time that 'care of the soul' was something belonging to all education, which everyone might be called upon to practise; there was therefore nothing in it to separate our children from others. And with this, our future centres of curative education had received their name.

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During one of these visits to the Dornach Studio, Rudolf Steiner said of his own accord, "I will come to you," and, after we had talked it over, "but there is no need for anyone to know. I will give a Course for you." His visit to Lauenstein began towards 12 o'clock in the evening of 17 June, 1924. Dr. Steiner came to Jena in the express train from Breslau, where he had given the Agriculture Course; we three met him on the platform. Following his instruction that "no one need know about it", we had told none of the numerous Jena members of his arrival, however bad we felt about it. His instruction obviously meant that on this visit he wished to speak only with those who were connected with our work.

Very few people got out; he arrived with two members of the Dornach Vorstand, Dr. Elizabeth Vreede and Dr. Wachsmuth, walked slowly along the platform and was the first through the barrier. He held out his ticket to the collector—but the man looked at this traveller with such astonishment that he made no attempt to take the ticket. I stood directly behind and saw the fascination. Dr. Steiner waited a moment, handed him the ticket and went on. We drove by taxi to the old Bear Hotel, "Zum Bären", where Luther had lived, and in passing through the hall Rudolf Steiner looked at the oil paintings on the walls. When the reception clerk asked for registration in the visitors' book, he took his fountain pen and entered: "Dr. Rudolf Steiner, writer; Dr. Günther Wachsmuth, travelling companion; Dr. Elizabeth Vreede."

At 8 o'clock the next morning I went to fetch him; he was already sitting at breakfast with Dr. Vreede and Dr. Wachsmuth. He said he had a fine room and did I know who had stayed there? Alas, I had to say "No," although I had looked at the room and had been assured it was the best in the hotel. I had missed the little silver plate fastened to the head of the bed saying that Bismarck had slept there on such and such a date. I felt ashamed and took the lesson to heart, although it had been no more than a simple allusion. A few minutes later Rudolf Steiner stood up, being always very punctual, and as the four of us got into the taxi, he asked to go first to the post-office, as he wished to send a telegram. I got out with him, hurried to the counter, took the proper form and stood, pen in hand, ready for him to dictate, but was told that he would write it himself. We then drove on to Lauenstein.

Our friends and fellow-workers were already standing at the door, together with our first five children and a few others who had also to be presented. We then led Dr. Steiner through the whole

house, and as we came to the cellar-stairs a woman pressed past us in the narrow space. I was immediately asked about her. I replied that she was a cleaning-woman, and received for answer, "You must see that you remain in contact with her." (The remarkable thing in the destiny of this woman were two children, aged thirteen and six years, both albinos of a peculiar kind. In the gleam of their delicate light hair they looked like two fairy-tale princesses. They were to be presented to Rudolf Steiner, a fact we had not yet mentioned to him.)

We stood a little while in the courtyard, looked at the building from outside and then at the picture of the landscape in the light of summer. This landscape is so beautiful that even the Jena guide-book notes: "One should not miss seeing a sunrise up at Lauenstein." Rudolf Steiner at this moment bent towards me and asked quietly, "Tell me, how have you actually done this?" I scarcely made reply—I myself did not know exactly how it had been done.

Soon after the arrival we wanted to get to work and therefore led the guests into the reception room, where, since we had to be very economical, the chairs that stood round the table were cheap ones. For the day's festival we had hired a comfortable armchair, and had had it brought up from the town with no other thought than that Dr. Steiner would use it. We had not reckoned, however, with his exemplary courtesy. He offered it at once to Dr. Vreede, the leader of the Mathematical-Astronomical Section at the Goetheanum, and after she in her energetic way had declared, "Herr Doktor, the armchair is for you," he invited the next lady. She accepted; he sat down on one of the simple chairs and we had had our lesson.

Werner Pache, who had come as a fellow-worker soon after Lauenstein had been taken over, now brought in the children one after the other. He remained for the discussions and could record the most important things in shorthand, which was of great importance to us. The first boy, a quite feeble-minded and very restless child, first ran round the table and then went up to Dr. Steiner and leant confidently against him. He became for the moment quite quiet and friendly, so that his true fine nature broke through. Rudolf Steiner interested himself in his sense-perceptions, and it was established that he could see very little at a distance. When we remarked on the boy's bad teeth, Rudolf Steiner said that the finger-nails, too, were weak and soft. "Has nothing struck you about the mother?" he asked. We knew neither father nor mother, having been in touch with the parents only through correspondence. "It is really an individual destiny, it has not much to do with the family," he explained. "It is a remarkable karmic case. The astral body is over-mature. Something is working in from the former incarnation. He spent only a short time between death and a new birth, so that he still has something of the astral body of the previous incarnation. He still has remarkable dreams at night; this will be shown by his saying strange things in broken sentences

on waking up. He might see snakes writhing out—if he has already seen ordinary snakes. It is a bad astral body, located mainly here at the back of the head" (Rudolf Steiner laid his hand with intense interest on the stiff black hair). He went on, "One could deal with that by administering the opposite astrality; it could be done with the help of seaweed. Seaweeds draw in the astral forces of the surrounding air; mushrooms still more. But there is no need to start at once with the strongest. Parasitic plants draw in astrality strongly. Through seaweed injections healthy astrality is drawn in, the opposite of what is in the body. There is bad astrality there." He then gave the therapy, consisting of a seaweed preparation and belladonna, together with the exact potencies.

The case of the second child gave us experience of Rudolf Steiner's educational attitude. This was a pupil who had gone normally through elementary school, but had moral difficulties, told lies, swaggered boastfully and was inclined to steal. As the boy was brought in and introduced, he went forward and said, with self-assurance and emphasis, "Good morning, Herr Doktor." Now one had an immediate feeling that the way Dr. Steiner handled this boy was both educative and healing. For instance, he asked, "Can you do sums and write?" "Yes, naturally," came the arrogant reply. "What is your father's name?" "Karl." "Then please write down: 'I am from Berlin, my father is named Karl'."

Dr. Steiner explained to us that there was a great weakness of the ego which caused the moral failings. Even to-day I doubt if any of us would have come to this diagnosis from the boy's outward self-assertion. Once, for instance, he had come downstairs wearing the shoes belonging to one of our fellow-workers. And as the latter took him to task the boy retorted, with self-confident ease: "You're not thinking, perhaps, that these are your shoes?" For his educational therapy we were told, among other things, that he ought to mend the shoes of everybody in the house, in order to improve his relation to social life. Then, however, indications were given for medical treatment. We were astonished: moral delinquencies to be treated medically? Yes, certainly; the sugar formation in the blood must be regulated; one must work on the warmth organisation, since it is there that human soul-qualities unfold.

When all the children had been considered, we fellow-workers received a word of advice. Dr. Steiner pointed out that at least one of us ought to have a teacher's certificate—he foresaw coming necessities. Now all three, Pickert, Löffler and I, had been active for a certain time in educational work, yet none of us in the course of his studies had thought of taking the teachers' certificate. In fact, we had none of us meant to go in for curative education. Löffler had originally been a Hungarian officer. Destiny had connected us with the problems of mentally backward children and we had simply sought for anthroposophical light in a sphere where we saw others helpless. The advice relating to the teachers' certificate

was followed, and it very soon transpired how necessary this was if our organisation was to get concessions.

At about the same time perplexed parents had brought pathological children individually to Rudolf Steiner at Dornach, and in her energetic way of tackling things Dr. Wegman had taken a small house for them, "Die Holle". The first backward children had appeared at the Stuttgart Waldorf School, and Rudolf Steiner had entrusted them to the Austrian teacher, Dr. Karl Schubert. It was evident that the hour for putting curative education on a new basis had struck before we were even clear about our own aims in life, and before the general public guessed that these children for whom Rudolf Steiner found the phrase *seelenpflegebedürftig* were to become an ever more pressing problem over the whole civilised earth.

It was time for the midday meal; I sat next to Dr. Steiner and said Grace, and he joined in the Amen with his warm deep voice. It seemed like a benediction, a gracious protection for this table, at which ate together the messenger of the spirit to our age, pathological children, members of the Dornach Vorstand and we novices of curative education. Conversation began, and we found that Dr. Steiner knew Jena better than we did: he drew our attention to the phenomenon of the tower in which one can see the stars in daytime. But he also related jests and amusing stories, among them the accident that had just happened at Koberwitz. He had written something at night, having already retired, and a spot of ink had fallen on the pillow. Countess Keyserlingk, however, the hostess, was fortunately not at all conventional, and when he had apologised the next morning she said joyfully that this pillow would be preserved. Dr. Wachsmuth leant forward: it was to be hoped that this ink-blot would not be treated like the one at the Wartburg, which was attributed to Luther and was stained again from time to time for the benefit of visitors.

Walking through the garden, Dr. Steiner told us that every child must learn to know all the trees and flowers growing there, and we were by now able to grasp that this was not only a matter of awakening an interest in natural science. Knowledge of the surrounding world is decisively important for the life after death. From an exact knowledge of the surrounding world one can form a knowledge of the inner world for the next life.

It was gradually coming to be evening, although the sun still stood high in its summer course. Dr. Steiner had to think of continuing his journey. He said he would much like to stop a short time in Weimar. Hearing this wish, I suggested ordering a car to drive him the twenty-odd kilometres. Instead of replying, he called to Dr. Wachsmuth, "Wachsmuth, can we afford a taxi to Weimar? Have we enough money left?" We were relieved when the question was answered in the affirmative, for what Dr. Steiner accomplished in those weeks passed all imagination. We felt dimly, though none of us younger ones realised it consciously, that some

day all this might be too much for the strength of an earthly body.

The 18th of June was at an end. If we celebrate this date in many Children's Homes as the Foundation Day of our curative education work, it is also because this one day which we were able to spend with Rudolf Steiner became for us in every sense a prototype for the whole future life with the children. If we were told later that a special tone prevailed in our Homes, it was the tone that he had given; it was our endeavour to acquire it and carry it on. It became clear to me during this visit that from then on I must not merely arrange external affairs in this field, but must myself take an active part in the coming work of curative education.

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Two days later we four travelled to Dornach for the Curative Education Course. We had to wait a few days, however, for Rudolf Steiner had found an immense amount of work awaiting his return. He had said that this Course would be confined to those who were directly concerned. From Stuttgart came Dr. Schubert and Dr. Kolisko, the curative educationalist and the doctor of the Waldorf School; from the teachers, Dr. Ernst Lehrs; from the Priesthood of the Christian Community, Licentiate Emil Bock; while Frau Lili Kolisko, founder of the "Goetheanum Research Institute" at Stuttgart, came for a few days. Together with the members of the Dornach Vorstand, the doctors of the Arlesham clinic—among whom was Dr. Julia Bort, who later devoted herself entirely to curative education work—we were altogether about twenty persons. Rudolf Steiner wished that no stenographer should be called in, but if one of us could write shorthand, he had nothing against the lectures being taken down. Three of those present did their best to produce a transcript.

We sat with great expectations in the hall of the Schreinerei; only the front rows of chairs were occupied, and Rudolf Steiner spoke from a desk down below to this unusually small audience. What exists as lecture-notes can never convey the impression. How he developed the incarnation process, normal or irregular, manifesting in various diseases; how he presented the children who were in Dornach for treatment, read out the history of their maladies, and then, starting from the notes of the doctors, illuminated the various symptoms with reference to karma; or how he occasionally expounded certain educational measures, such as the release from insistent ideas—these were impressions that cannot be reproduced. "A complete catechism for incipient curative educationalists is contained in these 12 lectures" was said later by Dr. Karl König, who came to us after the death of Rudolf Steiner.

Another friend pointed out that undoubtedly Rudolf Steiner gave the Curative Education Course with such pleasure and satisfaction, and entered so warmly into the spirit of the young people who wanted to be active in this field, because he himself after his

university studies had been occupied as a private teacher in this very field. Dr. Steiner once said that this work had at that time offered him the sole possibility of a livelihood and saved him from one-sidedness. He wrote in his Autobiography of how destiny had assigned a special task to him in the pedagogical field.

As tutor in a family where there were four boys, he had to take three of them through to elementary level and then coach them for a secondary school; the fourth boy, who was about ten years old, was entrusted entirely to his care. This was the family's problem child; he was considered to be so abnormal that it was doubtful if he could be educated. "His thinking was slow and dull. Even the slightest mental exertion produced headache, lowering of vitality, pallor and a state of mind that caused anxiety. After I had come to know the child, I formed the opinion that the sort of education required by such a bodily and mental organism must be one that would awaken the sleeping faculties. . . . I had to find access to a soul which was, as it were, in a sleeping state and must gradually be enabled to gain mastery over the bodily manifestations. In a certain sense one had first to draw the soul into the body. I was thoroughly convinced that the boy actually had great mental capacities, though they were then hidden. . . . This educational task became for me a source from which I myself learnt very much. Through the method of teaching which I had to employ there was laid open to my view the association between the element of soul and spirit in man and the bodily element. In this way I went through my own real course of study in physiology and psychology. I became aware that education and instruction must become an art that has its foundation in a real knowledge of man."

We know that this pupil of Rudolf Steiner was led on to the Lower Sixth, that he was then so advanced as to need no further special guidance, that he passed the university entrance examination, took his medical degree, and fell as a doctor in the first World War. Thus in his own first task in life Rudolf Steiner set before us the model of what curative education can and will accomplish. He himself provided this living example of the ideal goal of future curative education. In the Curative Education Course, three-and-a-half decades later, concrete instructions for reaching this goal were given. Our expectations were fulfilled beyond measure. New and beneficent knowledge was imparted to us; immense enthusiasm for the work was instilled into our souls, and the fact that after only a few years a number of new Homes could arise was due entirely to all that Rudolf Steiner bestowed on us.

Nevertheless, these days of the Course were at the same time our parting from him. When we celebrated the first anniversary of the founding of Lauenstein, he was no longer on earth. But work in anthroposophical curative education has since developed in very many countries from the seeds sown at that time.

Translated by M.C.

THE LAST YEARS

Guenther Wachsmuth

1921

THE seeds of far-reaching events were sown with the setting up of the research laboratory at the Goetheanum in Dornach in the summer of 1921. The arising of such institutions from the impulses of the Anthroposophical Movement never came about because on external grounds it was decided to found an institution in order to carry out certain tasks or experiments, or for any other external reason. It resulted directly from the meetings of persons who in the course of life were led by destiny, and by their own free decision, to work for Spiritual Science in a particular field. I may be permitted to say that this research laboratory in Dornach arose at that time through my contact and friendship with Ehrenfried Pfeiffer. Brought together in a united work by destiny and by freedom, in the same place and with the same interests and objectives, it was inevitable that we were soon searching for premises where we could carry out experiments to test and bring to realisation what was in our thoughts.

To think of those days calls up amusing memories, for the laboratory started in a primitive cellar which had just one advantage—gas and running water—but in other respects reminded one of the formless void of Genesis. Rudolf Steiner had agreed to our request to use this space in the basement of the Glashaus, where on the first floor the glass for the windows of the Goetheanum was engraved, and there we made the most primitive preparations for a laboratory by borrowing a few tables and chairs and procuring some indispensable glass vessels, retorts, Bunsen burners, and so on. Our research was aimed at obtaining insight into rhythm and the life-forces, and I remember very clearly a large Torricelli barometer as one of the first instruments. It was so cumbersome that it soon proved unusable for measuring air pressure, but its vacuum and its quicksilver were very handy for other experiments.

In order to give some idea of the boundless problems confronting this elementary groping, let me relate how Ehrenfried Pfeiffer and I, with a thirst for knowledge and some primitive work behind us, went to Dr. Steiner and asked him how the life-force, the formative forces—in short what he called the life-ether—could be won from nature or in some way introduced into an experiment. I do not know whether he took our very high-flung question quite seriously or with a good percentage of kindly amusement—but after all, the questions of beginners invariably reach out first for the stars and then, afterwards, for something more attainable. At all events he replied that this was quite a simple matter: all we had to do, for

example, was to get a fly into a vacuum. Armed with this indication for an experiment, which in the joy and excitement of prospective achievement we understood more or less correctly, we clattered down to our cellar. Catching a fly and putting it into a vacuum was soon done, but then for both of us the crucial question arose—"What next?" Perhaps we really had the life-force there within the vacuum; but what we lacked was the possibility of establishing this fact, of testing or confirming, assessing or putting it into practical application.

This trifling first experiment, in itself perhaps to be taken humorously, nevertheless influenced us decisively, for we now realised that our prime need was for a re-agent, a test, something to indicate whether, where and how these forces are present, grow stronger or weaker, and the like. In the framework of this chapter it is not possible to describe the many labyrinthine ways we were obliged to take at the beginning in order to reach the goal, or to mention the countless other, even more concrete indications and stimuli given us untiringly by Rudolf Steiner during the following years, or to record the successes and failures, the lines of thought and experiments involved in the further development of this work. Nevertheless it can be affirmed to-day that at many decisive points the aim was achieved, as is shown by numerous publications and their success in many different countries. Here I will mention particularly the fields of application which became apparent to us as time went on. We realised above all that two basic foundations must be established for further research work: first, a systematised knowledge of the teaching concerning the etheric formative forces, and then a practical testing of experimental arrangements which, by producing reactions to the phenomena of life and the underlying action of the formative forces, could make the workings of these forces evident, their rhythms and form-building functions perceptible, and even reflect their normal and abnormal, healthy and unhealthy, components. After a discussion with Rudolf Steiner at that time, I began to attempt a systematic exposition of the teaching of the formative forces, on the basis of his indications, by drafting the book, *The Etheric Formative Forces in the Cosmos, Earth and Man: A Way of Research into the Living*. This went forward under Rudolf Steiner's kindly guidance.

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1922

Through the founding of the biological research laboratory, active investigation and experimentation had been going on since 1921 in connection with the etheric formative forces, plant cultivation, and the study of the delicate reactions that can occur between living organisms and substances in solution and in course of crystallising. Rudolf Steiner participated in all this work with constant advice and help, encouraging, correcting, indicating directions to

be followed. Together with fellow-workers, I had also arranged a discussion evening on questions of natural science as an extension of the practical work. A small circle of us met every week in the old "Baubureau", as the room was called, usually in the presence of Rudolf Steiner himself, who helped us by answering our questions. We sat in a semi-circle round a blackboard on the wall, presented our problems, difficulties, experiences and ideas, and in these free and spontaneous conversations received from him corrections and impulses for our further work.

In this primitive little wooden room, many important results of spiritual investigation were communicated by Dr. Steiner during our lively discussions. The principles of a science of formative forces, systematic experiments in the domains of chemistry, physics, geology and botany, and also general problems of cosmogony—all these subjects were discussed and clarified. To give a concrete example, on one occasion we came to speak of the very first manifestation of forms of movement in the cosmos, and in this connection I asked Rudolf Steiner how the original lemniscate-movement, so often referred to by him, was to be explained. Thereupon he spoke in a most graphic way about the primal beginnings of the cosmos, the so-called "Saturn condition", and described how the first movement in the cosmos arose from the rotatory balancing of huge bodies of coldness and heat, how the whole cosmic system then began to move around yet another axis and how the lemniscate-movement developed through the combination of such movements of the cosmic system, both inwardly and around different axes. These expositions were accompanied by lively gestures of the hands or sketches on the blackboard, and helped us to gain gradually deeper insight into the fundamental laws of cosmic evolution.

Those Tuesday evenings, with their vigorous and fertile conversations, remain unforgettable, and have been rich endowments for our paths of life and for practical activities in the laboratory and in agriculture. In spite of his overwhelming burden of work, Rudolf Steiner devoted a great deal of time to me; with every readiness to help he indicated literature for preliminary study, made suggestions about the ordering and grouping of the material, gave me courage, energy and substance for the writing of my projected book. When fear of being swamped by the sheer abundance of the material, and by one's own inadequacy to master and arrange it properly, had made one now and then despondent, a few words from Rudolf Steiner in conversation could restore one's vigour, power of concentration and self-confidence for months, and give a right direction to the work.

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In connection with the laboratory founded by Ehrenfried Pfeiffer and myself, even while the work was in its first modest and germinal beginning, Rudolf Steiner had recommended investigation and experimentation in the field of biological phenomena, of the life-

processes and their rhythms, particularly also in that of plant cultivation. Hence we now went to ask him how these indications and experiments could be turned to practical use in agriculture, and it was then, for the first time, that he gave us the impulse to obtain preparations from the animal and plant kingdoms. These preparations were to be exposed to the rhythms of the cosmic and earthly forces in summer and winter, in such a way that their life-promoting energies would be concentrated and enhanced, and then, in a state of extremely fine dilution, but having a powerful dynamic effect, could be applied beneficially in practical agriculture.

Measures of this kind have since been tested so extensively and with such unmistakable success that a few details only need be mentioned here. I still have a vivid memory how staggered we were when Rudolf Steiner advised us to procure cow-horns, fill them with certain substances, bury them somewhere near by and leave them to winter under the soil. After our first astonishment had subsided, we naturally began to ask many practical questions—for example, whether when the horns to be buried had been filled, they should be covered at the top with linen, wax or something of the kind, how long the wintering period should be, how deeply the horns should be buried, and so forth. Rudolf Steiner immediately gave definite answers to all these questions, describing what was to be done and what avoided. With regard to the latter, I remember asking whether the animal and plant preparations should have certain metallic supplements added to them, whereupon Rudolf Steiner gave a highly instructive talk about the harmfulness of certain chemical products used in modern methods of manuring and the elimination of pests. In answer, for example, to a question about the use of quicksilver, he said that its injurious influences would affect not only immediate nourishment but also subsequent generations, and must therefore be avoided under all circumstances.

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At that time I was also able to lay before Rudolf Steiner certain problems in the spheres of physics and technology with which we were intensely occupied, trying to find new solutions. It was the time when radio had just developed out of wireless telegraphy, and radio instruments (which had formerly been used for special purposes only and were still very primitive in comparison with those of to-day) were beginning to find their way into private homes, thereby exercising a far-reaching influence on everyday life. I had in my house one such primitive apparatus with interchangeable gadgets—young people of to-day will hardly be able to picture anything of the kind—and when I asked Rudolf Steiner whether I might make one for him, he raised no objection. But we spared his studio from this infliction.

The problem now occupying our minds was that here was an apparatus for the transmission of speech, of the word—man's

highest and noblest expression—which depends on electricity and magnetism; that is, on forces and mechanical devices utterly alien to the delicate life-processes operating in human speech. In a conversation which Dr. von Dechend and I had with Rudolf Steiner on this subject, we asked him whether it would not be possible to find a more delicate form of reaction to the spiritual and physical formative forces contained in speech, and after brief reflection he said: "You must work with the sensitive flame."

In this and in later conversations he gave us deep insight into the unique position occupied by the element of warmth in the sphere of transition between the psychical and physical process in nature. He spoke of the delicate interweaving of inner, psycho-spiritual processes with the warmth-processes in the human body, the relation between consciousness and temperature in the life-processes, and the formative action of the speech-organs on the air outbreathed and warmed through by man when he speaks. He then recalled the discovery of Tyndall, who had observed the delicate changes caused in open gas flames by noises, musical notes and words in the same room, and he advised us to concentrate our thought and research in this direction. Extensive series of experiments in the physical laboratory, which had been set up in addition to the laboratory for biological research in Dornach, arose from these indications given by Rudolf Steiner, and in the hands of Paul Eugen Schiller they led to valuable results. So, as in the realm of the life-forces, the new knowledge opened up by Rudolf Steiner has made fruitful the work of a wide circle of students in the study also of substance and energy, and in the domain of physics and technology.

Rudolf Steiner had promised to give me a sketch of his own for the title-page of my book, *The Etheric Formative Forces*. This had been somewhat delayed owing to the mass of other work, and I did not venture to ask about it once more. Then one night on a railway journey—these journeys were often made by night because of the scanty time available—there suddenly came a knock on the door of my sleeper just as I was dropping off. Rudolf Steiner looked through the door and handed me a sheet of paper on which was the finished sketch in colours for my title-page. In spite of all the strain upon him, he had found time to complete it, even while travelling by night. This token of remembrance has since accompanied the book through all its destinies, and in the following months Rudolf Steiner was also kind enough to read through the contents, discuss them thoroughly with me, amending and expanding them. With such guidance and help, the writing of a book was a joy.

* * * *

1923

The long railway journeys with Rudolf Steiner were for us the most treasured times of personal contact with this great individual, who could go out to meet every single person with such under-

standing, cordiality and openheartedness. The return journey from Vienna to Dornach on October 4th, 1923, with its atmosphere of gaiety, still lives vividly in my memory. It was my 30th birthday, and Rudolf Steiner had arranged to give a little party for me during the long journey in the sleeping-car of the Arlberg Express. On such occasions one had direct personal experience of his inexhaustible kindness and warmth of heart. We sat for hours round a little table in the narrow coupé, and in the course of lively conversation he soon began to recount amusing reminiscences of his own life; and then he went on to answer some deep questions concerning esoteric life, of the kind that confront the individual and the community to-day, and to expound their far-reaching connections.

This strange little group in the Arlberg Express, composed of such different kinds of people, must in some way have attracted the attention of the other travellers—Rudolf Steiner's striking figure in his black overcoat, and the rest of us with our often exuberant and worldly behaviour, alternating between merriment and long, earnest conversations. Next morning, before the train arrived at Basle, one of our friends heard a fellow-traveller ask the sleeping-car attendant whatever kind of people these could be. The attendant thought for a moment and replied: "*C'est une famille religieuse.*"

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Rudolf Steiner's lectures and words were always adapted to the given situation, to the character of the audience, of the country and its people, to the spiritual quality of the environment. In one country he would speak more from the philosophical aspect, in another he would often take history and mythology as his starting-point, and so forth; in England he liked to go straight into the world of facts, into the factual realities of occult, supersensible phenomena. Indeed, we were all astonished at the International Summer School organised by the initiative of D. N. Dunlop at Penmaenmawr in Wales, when in his lectures (which were attended by many people unfamiliar with Anthroposophy, as well as by members) he dealt not only with concrete phenomena of supersensible experience, but also with the fallacies and aberrations of many endeavours in the sphere of occultism. With the most concentrated and seemingly relentless directness he led his listeners into the realm of spiritual investigation, its results, its dangers and the mastering of them, the errors, temptations and victories, the battle-arena of spiritual strivings at the present time.

After the morning lectures* there were opportunities to go off in larger or smaller groups or alone, up the high, rocky hillsides to the dolmens of ancient Druid centres, whose history and decline, significance and influence, had been brought near to us in the lectures. It was an unforgettable experience when Rudolf Steiner asked me one day to go alone with him to the high plateau on the

* Printed in English as *The Evolution of the World and of Humanity in the Past, Present and Future*. (Anthroposophical Publishing Company.)

crags above Penmaenmawr in order to see the Druid circle. In spite of his 62 years, he climbed rapidly and nimbly. In keeping with the spiritual atmosphere of the locality, our conversation centred on the Druidic Mysteries and their counterpole in Europe, the Mithras cult, which came up against the Northern Mysteries from the South. During this walk I was able to tell him about the unusual experience I had a few years earlier, when I had discovered an old Mithraic centre by the Danube. While climbing steadily and without tiring, Rudolf Steiner explained to me the great antithesis of the Druidic and Mithraic cults, the Mysteries of Northern and Southern Europe, how the spiritual stream going out from the North, from Ireland, met the stream from the South in Middle Europe—the Mystery-centres in the region of the Danube being evidence of this—and how both these Mysteries then met their fate in the Christianity which was then arising.

When we reached the crags high above Penmaenmawr, there lay before us the lonely expanse of the plateau, framed by rocky peaks, with massive stones of the Druid circle in the middle of it. It was a moment in life still vividly remembered, a strange, unique picture, when Rudolf Steiner walked into the middle of the Druid circle in the isolation of this high plateau. He told me to take a sight over the towering stones at the peaks of the mountains surrounding the plateau, and with retrospective vision as intense as if everything were happening at the very moment, he described how once upon a time the Druid priests, by thus studying the constellations passing across the horizon during the course of the year, experienced the spiritual cosmos, the Beings working actively within it, and their decrees for men. He related how the priests arranged the sacred festivals and rites of the year in accordance with these cosmic rhythms, and issued their injunctions to the people; how the happenings of the yearly seasons had to be mirrored spiritually in cult and ritual, and physically in the practice of agriculture. He spoke of the experience of sunlight and shadow in the innermost stone chamber of the ancient holy centres, and of how the visions and impulses received there by the priests spread far over the earth.

When we left the Druid circle and the silent plateau to return to Penmaenmawr at the foot of the mountain, it came to me as an inner conviction that in this place something real, something that transcended time, had taken place through the fact that a seer such as Rudolf Steiner had been here, was able to read the spirit-happenings of the past at this place, and to communicate what he had seen to men who in our day desire to tread the path of spiritual training for the tasks of the future.

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The sacrifice demanded of Rudolf Steiner by the work and travelling in connection with the new constitution of the Anthroposophical Society in all the countries comes vividly to remem-

brance when, looking back, one realises what a devastating strain upon his physical health he bore during these years in order to prepare the way for the decisions to be taken and to help people to shoulder spiritual and earthly responsibilities. In the year 1923, during the many journeys in Europe, he still had the strength for the indescribable pressure imposed by all the external arrangements and procedures, the lectures, conferences, discussions, and so forth. Those of us who accompanied him, who were with him every day, often had cause to fear that the excessive strain of this year would show itself in early symptoms of impaired health. In the following year the strength for all these activities had to be drawn from the bodily reserves, and the unexampled energy of one who was now 63 years of age had to be wrested from actual physical illness. Yet even then he continued these lecture-tours—indeed, there were not fewer, but more of them. During those journeys of 1923, with his untiring joy in initiative, his open-heartedness and the unceasing work both by day and night, he set before us all the example of a man who, while bearing the heaviest burdens himself, lightens those of others.

It would be an entirely misleading picture to imagine that at this time, when Rudolf Steiner was inaugurating all the new development out of the esoteric core of the Movement, he would have tolerated in his environment any note of solemn importance in outer behaviour. How cheerful, open and happy he was on those unforgettable night journeys, at meals and during evening conversations in the hotels of the great cities of Europe. When, for instance, in November, 1923, we were sitting together one evening in the stately hotel, "Oude Doelen" at The Hague, he told us many delightful and amusing anecdotes from his eventful life, and how heartily he could laugh when we gave unadorned accounts of our crazy battle with the water supplies in our rooms the previous night. I still remember a gentleman who followed him steadily during a walk at that time with an expression of funereal profundity, and how Rudolf Steiner suddenly turned and said with a friendly smile: "What a face to go about with all the time!" He wanted to have around him happy, free, gay human beings, who were serious at the proper moment but also cheerful and life-loving, and he often quoted with amusement the words of an Italian Member, Princess d'Antuni, who in her original way of talking spoke indignantly of people who always go about with "a face reaching down to the stomach!" These things are mentioned only in order to give some little examples of the balance of seriousness and merriment that was always present in the environment of this great man.

* * *

Although there were never enough hours in the day for meeting the innumerable demands upon him, Rudolf Steiner had an extraordinary capacity for getting through an enormous amount of work

with speed and concentration. When I took him his letters in the morning, he had generally already received a number of visitors or was writing an article, or he was carving at the great wooden statue which had been set there in his studio, or he was modelling, or painting, or writing, or he was engaged in discussion. Yet in the midst of these other tasks he was at once ready to concentrate on his correspondence; he went straight into it and gave his comments and instructions quickly and clearly. For anyone who had had previous opportunities of making reports to the chief of a big organisation, it was a particular joy to experience his method of working—the uniquely harmonious way in which he combined a grasp of great matters with care for the smallest details, and a kindly human understanding with unambiguous precision in giving directions for the work.

Many people who have studied the life of Goethe have perhaps found it strange that this prince of poets should have troubled himself, as a Minister, with the minutiae of administration, including mining, river control, road-building, uniforms for recruits, and various even more specialised matters affecting his department. In Rudolf Steiner this interest in every person and every detail could be observed in fullest measure. He devoted himself equally to spiritual principles and to the most specialised questions that came up in the daily round. He created the model for the new Goetheanum, and at the same time concerned himself with the design of the crockery for the Dornach canteen. At one moment he would give someone the most far-ranging advice for spiritual work, and then, when the caller was leaving, would warn him not to go out in the hot sun without a hat. He looked on every human being as a whole to such an extent that nothing about the person, inward or outward, great or small, right down to external traits of behaviour, escaped his interest. This gift for noticing everything, because it was never used pedantically, but always with generosity, kindness and a readiness to help, strongly stimulated everyone around him to look at the things of everyday life with wide-awake, affectionate attentiveness.

* * * *

1924

After the founding of the agricultural movement at the home of Count and Countess Keyserlingk at Koberwitz in June, 1924, Rudolf Steiner went to Jena on the way back. He had again asked me to accompany him, and I still remember vividly how during the journey from Breslau to Jena, after a period of silent reflection about the Koberwitz conference, he said suddenly, with joyful emphasis, "Now we have got this important work started, too!" Seldom had I seen him so happily moved after the completion of a task. Several times again during the journey he spoke with pleasure about that gathering.

On the following day, June 18, we visited the home for children in need of special care which had just been opened on the slopes of the Lauenstein, near Jena; here Dr. Steiner gave some of the first directives for the work which has become widely known as Curative Education.* From Jena we went to Weimar, and there Rudolf Steiner went round in search of all the places that were so rich in memories from the decisive Weimar period of his life. He showed me the house where he had lived, stopped before another building and gazed for a long time in silence at the windows of the first floor. Then he said that someone whom he greatly respected had lived there, and he spoke with evident inner emotion of his experiences and vicissitudes during that time. He took me also to the café where he had so often had stimulating discussions with artists and Goethe enthusiasts. He paused here and there before a house or at a street-crossing and told me wonderful anecdotes about striking personalities of the 'eighties and 'nineties. During this day in Weimar I felt in him a mood of fulfilment, sustained by the work of the preceding days, and also of retrospect, conjured up by the Weimar atmosphere. Exactly thirty-five years had passed since he had come here from Vienna to examine the Goethe Archives—a visit which led to the fateful seven years of his work at Weimar on Goethe's scientific writings. The experiences and stages of those years came back to him most vividly while we walked through the familiar places, after thirty-five years of his earthly work had been accomplished.

Something else happened during this visit to Weimar which may be mentioned here, for it bears on his relation not only to Goethe but also to the works of Schiller. While walking through the town he stopped suddenly in front of a hoarding and pointed to a notice announcing the performance of a play by Schiller in the Weimar Theatre on that very day. Since a little while before I had foolishly made a not very enthusiastic remark about some of Schiller's dramas, he now said, "We must really see this." It happened to be a not very distinguished performance for the Weimar girls' boarding school, and so in the theatre—I believe we were the only men present—there came about the curious picture of the striking figure of Rudolf Steiner in a black suit in the midst of a sea of young girls in white, who in accordance with educational custom were being made acquainted with Schiller's work. In spite of the somewhat inferior quality of the production, he leant over several times and said to me encouragingly, "There are really many excellent passages in this!" Two years before, on his advice, I had read Deinhardt's *Contributions towards the Appreciation of Schiller's 'Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man'*; now, through this visit to the theatre, he gave me the impulse to come to terms again with Schiller's writings as a whole, in spite of having had my

* For a detailed account of this visit, see the chapter by Albrecht Strohschein, *The Birth of Curative Education*.

taste for them ruined at school. This was a characteristic example of the way in which Rudolf Steiner kindly but effectively corrected inadequate and one-sided judgments on the part of his pupils.

After this moving and eventful visit to Weimar, we went on to Stuttgart. Late in the evening, directly after our arrival, Rudolf Steiner had a session with the teachers at the Waldorf School. As his companion, I had to take part, and this night session has remained vivid in my memory, for after all the strenuous activities of recent weeks—conferences, journeys, continual discussions, visits to towns and institutions—I was naturally rather weary, and yet in Rudolf Steiner there was no sign of weariness, although he had gone through incomparably more than I had, and he was in his sixty-third year. I had to do my utmost to keep my eyes open, but he, in spite of the illness already seriously affecting him, showed such wakefulness and energy that no one could have guessed at his past exertions. He conducted the session with the most vital intensity and concentration. As on so many previous occasions, questions with regard to the curriculum, the spiritual and practical foundations of the school, were thoroughly discussed, and he not only gave advice and help in cases of special difficulty brought up by the teachers, but also fundamental suggestions for the further development of the pedagogical work.

Often during this period it happened that when the night session was over, after many hours, he would call immediately for the car, and in the same night we covered the 150 miles from Stuttgart to Dornach. Dr. Steiner had the capacity to relax and fall asleep for a short time while travelling in the car, although the roads then were far from good. When we reached Dornach in the grey of dawn, he was able immediately to go to work, beginning the strenuous round of the day, as full of tasks as the days at Dornach always were. Yet on the same evening he appeared on the platform of the Schreinerei, gave a report on his latest journey to the impatiently expectant gathering, and then launched immediately into the first of a series of lectures arranged for the coming weeks.

Often during these years the car trips from Stuttgart to Dornach would take place in the following way. He would ask me to have the car ready, perhaps, at noon. But when the time came, the stream of callers waiting for interviews at the house in the Landhausstrasse where he stayed was still growing. He would then come out with a friendly smile and say: "We will leave after coffee," and disappear again. This would be repeated again and again—at 5 o'clock, 7 o'clock, 9 o'clock in the evening; and only when the night was well advanced would he actually get into the car and start the journey to Dornach.

* * * *

Ricarda Huch, in her book, *Der Sinn der Heiligen Schrift* ("The Meaning of the Holy Scriptures"), speaks of the fate of the great

spiritual leaders in the history of humanity: "Everyone who is called is a sacrifice which feeds the flame; but, while he is being consumed, he illuminates and warms the wide world." This was the destiny and the deed also of Rudolf Steiner in the 20th century.

The sacrificial flame consumed him during the months that remained until his return into the spiritual world. His sufferings kept his physical body tied to a sick-bed from September, 1924, until his death on March 30, 1925. And even throughout this time of suffering the sacrificial flame gave light and warmth.

Where his workroom was, there Rudolf Steiner stayed during the months when he could no longer go out among people. He never returned to his dwelling-house, but remained until his death in his studio on the Dornach hill, in the simple lofty room where he had worked for decades and had given counsel and help to many thousands. His bed was at the foot of the Christ statue on which he had been carving as long as he could. Now it had to be quieter in this workroom. He could speak directly with only a few persons; his voice became weaker, his hearing a tax on his physical forces. The countenance had become thinner. Because of his suffering, the form of the noble head was even more plastically evident. His eyes spoke of pain, but they were kinder and more brilliant than ever. His lofty spiritual powers created in the stillness and concentration those gifts which from now until the end were bestowed on human beings through the written word.

Upon entering the studio during these weeks and months, one generally found Rudolf Steiner resting half-erect on his bed, reading or writing. He continued to work without interruption. Almost every day during this time he asked me to bring him his correspondence at the usual hour of eleven o'clock; he had the letters read to him, dictated answers and instructions, or gave directions for replies to all parts of the world. For the stream of questions and of requests for advice from all quarters never ended. If, in order to protect him, I showed him as little as possible, his questions drew into the discussion what had been withheld; for even in this time of apparent external separation he shared most intensely in the life of the Society, of the friends, of his students. Every week Albert Steffen received for the weekly journal, *Das Goetheanum*, an instalment of his autobiography, *Mein Lebensgang*, painstakingly written in bed with his own hand. During conversations in the studio there came to light constantly new glimpses into the nature of significant individualities, into the tasks of mankind, and into contemporary events. Many things connected with the work, and especially the personal care and treatment of Rudolf Steiner, lay in the hands of Dr. Ita Wegman, in whose advice and friendly assistance he had the utmost confidence.

During these months Rudolf Steiner addressed himself week by week to the whole body of his students in a letter called *To the Members*, published in the News-Sheet. Here he was leading them

more deeply and fully into the inner essence of the new age of Michael. These weekly letters were a concentrated epitome of what he had been bringing home to the consciousness of modern man during the long years of his activity as spiritual teacher; and at the same time they gave practical help and guidance for making further progress with courage and independence along these paths. Each letter ended with a concise "Leading Thought" (*Leitsatz*), making it possible for the student to unite himself through concentration and meditation with the spiritual substance of the knowledge given, and thus gradually to make it ever more his own.

Besides this creative work, carried on day by day from his sick-bed, Rudolf Steiner continued as always to do an extraordinary amount of reading, keeping himself continuously abreast of new publications in science, art, history, and all other fields of work. Since he could no longer visit the bookshops and the dealers in antiquarian rarities, I was given the difficult job of regularly selecting and buying books which might be of interest to him. This was an exacting but richly rewarding task, for it was really hard to guess what he already knew, what might or might not interest him, what he would consider important or unimportant. Every few days, accordingly, I visited the bookshops in Basle, and often in other towns, looking for books which might be what he would care to read. And then, whenever I came to his bedside with a great pile of books, it was always a time of suspense as he thoughtfully took one book after another, looked at the title and the name of the author, turned a few pages, and made his choice. The books that he wished to keep and read he stacked on the right side of the bed, and the others on the left. I was proud, naturally, when most of the books lay finally on the right; but I had to go at once in search of others if the heap on the left was the larger. It was very instructive to notice what he considered interesting or important in the flood of new publications in world literature; often, too, he characterised author and theme in a few words, and placed them in general perspective. How he managed to study the huge pile of books lying on the right side of the bed, in the midst of all his other work, and in spite of his illness, was a mystery, but chance remarks on the next occasion when I brought him books showed that in the meanwhile he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the contents of their predecessors.

As an indication of his heartfelt concern for the persons about him, it may be mentioned here that he did not forget during his illness to co-operate by means of letters to friends in bringing about a worthy celebration of the fortieth birthday of Albert Steffen on December 10, 1924. On the day before this event he wrote for the notice-board in the Schreinerei some words which marked his feelings:

"To our friends at the Goetheanum:

On Wednesday, 10th December, friends wish to assemble at the

Goetheanum to do honour to Albert Steffen on his fortieth birthday. I cannot be present in person, but I shall be altogether present in spirit; for my heart is filled with admiring recognition of Steffen's life-work, and with warmest spiritual joy that we can call him our own."

In this December, 1924, a building work still had to be made secure for the future: the construction of the second Goetheanum. Already the scaffolding, the foundation, and the walls of the great edifice, following the model made by Rudolf Steiner, were rising on Dornach hill; and repeatedly he called on those working with him in this spiritual movement to become fully conscious of the significance of the Goetheanum and to labour energetically for its realisation. Thus, in a letter dated December 30, he wrote the following words as a reminder of the need for steadfastness:

"For a year I carried about with me in my head the idea for the new Goetheanum. The transformation of this idea out of the medium of wood, used for the first Goetheanum, into the artistically unyielding medium of concrete was not easy. Then, at the beginning of this year, I began to work on shaping the model. . . . For many years, in my anthroposophical writings and lectures, I have emphasised that Anthroposophy is not only a theoretical conception of the world, but from its nature gives rise to a special style of art. And, since that is so, a building for Anthroposophy must grow out of Anthroposophy itself. . . . I beg you to believe that this results from an iron necessity."

This creative fulfilment of what was known to be right and necessary according to spiritual laws—to produce out of Anthroposophy itself the building where science, art and religion were to come together in a new unity based upon the Spirit—had from the beginning indwelt his creative purpose. He had called upon human beings in the spirit of Michael, the Time-Spirit, to be true to this task, to carry further the work which he had placed in the stream of evolution by establishing it in space and time. He now again summoned all those responsible to be consciously active in this spirit, so as to assure for him a working place in the future.

* * * *

1925

As he drew his last breath, he himself closed his eyes; but this filled the room with the experience, not of an end, but of a sublime spiritual action. The forward-striding figure of the Christ statue, pointing into the expanses of the universe, which he himself had created and at whose feet he now lay, spoke for the eyes of those left behind on the earth of what was here taking place for the spirit of a great human being who had dedicated his life to the annunciation of the Christ. Even in dying, Rudolf Steiner bestowed

upon humanity the supreme gift of consolation: the certitude that death is a waking entry into worlds of spiritual life and deed.

What Rudolf Steiner gave to humanity in this earthly life was not only a teaching that can be accepted or rejected; not only a work that can be developed or destroyed. Teachings and works have always been subject to the destiny prepared for them by their contemporaries. Rudolf Steiner achieved in the course of his life the *deed* of receiving out of spiritual worlds, and incorporating in the earthly sphere, the spiritual Being, *Anthroposophia*. Such a Spirit-Being now dwelling in the earthly sphere cannot be overcome by opposing powers through the fact that one or other of its forms of expression on earth is destroyed; it does not forfeit its existence because a blind decade will not look at it; it does not die even though a part of earthly humanity is not ready to accept it, or betrays or destroys its place of work and its dwelling. For it is of a supersensible nature, and so rebuilds for itself constantly its earthly body.

From *Rudolf Steiners Erdenleben und Wirken*, by Guenther Wachsmuth. (Philos.-Anthropos. Verlag, Dornach, 1951.) Published in English as *The Life and Work of Rudolf Steiner*. (Whittier Books, New York, 1955.) The above parts of it have been newly translated for the present volume.

RUDOLF STEINER IN HOLLAND

F. W. Zeylmans van Emmichoven

ALTHOUGH I had already heard the name of Rudolf Steiner once or twice, it took a chain of events to bring me into closer contact with him and with Anthroposophy. This came about in the following way.

From my school days onwards I was always deeply interested in modern painting; while still at a Grammar School I often conducted my classmates through art galleries and was an ardent champion of Cézanne, van Gogh and Gauguin. It was the colours themselves that interested me primarily, and the new message that was trying to express itself through them. In 1916 this led to my making the acquaintance of the painter Jacoba van Heemskerck, who together with Franz Marc, Kokoschka and Kandinsky, among others, belonged to the "Sturm" Movement¹; and in the great Exhibition at The Hague I got to know not only her paintings but also her friend Maria Tak van Poortvliet, who later on had all her estates in Walcheren and North Brabant cultivated according to the biological-dynamic principles of agriculture indicated by Rudolf Steiner.

These two ladies gave me a number of books on Anthroposophy, every one of which I read. At that time the general view I held was that in the course of the centuries a few personalities of real significance have appeared in the world. The Buddha and other outstanding figures may be reckoned among them, and now, certainly, Rudolf Steiner as well—that is what I thought to myself. All of them are there to reveal aspects of the "eternal truth". But it was far from my mind to think that I should ever have anything to do with one of these personalities in particular.

In the years 1917 and 1918, while still a medical student, I was a frequent guest of the two friends on Walcheren and we had many discussions about modern painting, above all about the new use of colours apart from objects. What effect do colours make upon the human soul? We carried out tests with school-children and I investigated how the pulse reacted to different colour-impressions, and other things of the same kind.

When the World War was over, summer visitors came to Walcheren from Germany, among them acquaintances of Jacoba van Heemskerck: Professor Spalteholtz, the author of a well-known text-book on anatomy, and his wife. Spalteholtz was of opinion that the most favourable conditions for colour-experiments of this kind would be found in Leipzig, in Professor Wundt's laboratories there. So in June, 1920, I went to Leipzig. In the mornings I

¹ Better known in this country as Expressionism.

worked in Professor Flechsig's neurological clinic and in the afternoons carried out tests in the Wundt Laboratory. When I had time I was always able to go to the musical evenings held in the house of the Spalteholtz family in the Mozartstrasse, at which many members of the "Thomaner" Choir¹ were often present.

Marie Tak had asked me to convey greetings from her to the leader of the anthroposophical group in Leipzig, and this I duly did. When I told this lady that I was in Leipzig for the purpose of making colour-tests, she enquired whether I would care to attend the course on the theory of colours then being given by Willy Stokar, a young Swiss who was studying in Leipzig. I went to his course, but thought that everything he put forward was fundamentally unsound, and sad to relate I made things so difficult for him that one day he said to me in despair that if I went on like this I should ruin the whole course. He was quite right. So I went to the Library of the University, borrowed the volumes of Goethe's writings on Natural Science and began with Rudolf Steiner's Introduction. It was as though rays of light suddenly fell in showers from the sky, penetrating right through me, when I read Rudolf Steiner's sentence: "It follows that 'the world', which confronts our senses, is a sum-total of percepts in continual metamorphosis, without any material substratum." This single sentence left me spellbound. It gripped me so deeply that as I walked every day from the Brockhausstrasse through the Park, watching the colours displayed by nature, it was constantly before me; a whole world arose from colour as though from a living being.

From the autumn onwards I had many valuable talks with Willy Stokar. And when I heard that a course of lectures on medicine had been given by Rudolf Steiner—until then I had no idea that anything of the kind took place—and that Professor Römer, who held the Chair of Dental Surgery in Leipzig, and a few other members of the Anthroposophical Society, were proposing to study this course, I went to the leader of the Group and told her that I wished to join the Society. "Why?" she asked. "Because I should like to participate in this work." "That is quite out of the question. What do you know about the subject?" "Very little, but that is just why I want to study it." The lady said she would think it over because after all, as she said, I was a respectable person; I was to return the following week. When I came as arranged, she had the dressmaker in the house and opened the door a very little way. "Who is there?" she asked. "Zeylmans." "What do you want?" "I want to become a member." "I have nothing against it," she replied . . . so I became a member through the chink of a door!

In December, 1920, I went to Dornach. My relation to Anthroposophy had meanwhile become such that I had an intense desire

¹ The famous Choir of the Church of St. Thomas in Leipzig.

to meet Rudolf Steiner. This was the decisive event. It came about in the following way.

On December 17, in the evening, I was sitting in the Schreinerei with my fiancée, who was studying Eurhythmy in Dornach. Happy at being together again, we were waiting for Rudolf Steiner's lecture. Outside it was bitterly cold; Dornach lay covered in snow. Suddenly the blue curtain by the side of the stage lifted, and Rudolf Steiner went to the lecture-desk. At that moment I had the direct experience of recognition. The impression was so strong that a whole series of pictures simultaneously arose before me, pointing indeterminately to earlier situations—as if I were seeing him as my teacher through ages of time. It was the most memorable experience I have ever had in all my life. For some time I sat as though carried away and did not realise until later that his lecture had already begun. It was the first of the three lectures subsequently published under the title: "The Bridge between the Spirituality of the Cosmos and Physical Man." These lectures were mentioned by Rudolf Steiner himself later on, when some young doctors asked him what he would recommend for preparatory study.

When I came to myself again and saw Rudolf Steiner standing at the lecture-desk, I had the strange feeling that for the first time I was looking at a Man! It is not at all easy to describe this impression. I had met many well-known and famous people, among them scholars and noted artists, and had always moved in circles where a great deal was going on—it had by no means been a humdrum existence. But now I realised: this is what Man is meant to be! I began to question myself: What is the explanation of it? You have encountered many human beings—what is it that is so significant here? I said to myself first of all that it was his whole bearing, the bearing of one who is like a tree that grows freely between earth and sky. This impression was connected not only with his straight, erect figure, but above all with the poise of the head—it seemed to hover between heaven and earth. The second feeling was profoundly moving: from this beautiful, powerful voice came forth words which lived on even after they had been spoken. And thirdly, there were the thoughts. I was obliged to confess to myself that I could not always understand them, but I realised that they were not there merely to be understood intellectually, but they had another, quite different significance as well. Listening to professors, what always mattered was whether one understood everything they said. What mattered here was not whether I actually understood—it was something different. To-day I could speak of "ideas", of "seed-bearing impulses" and the like, but at that time I could not. I knew only that different impulses were at work here.

When the lecture was over, my fiancée said that she would now introduce me to Rudolf Steiner, for he liked this to be done; he

wanted to meet young people. I had not thought of anything of the kind, but if it was the custom—well and good. I went to the front with her and was introduced. Rudolf Steiner said: "I have been expecting you here for a long time." I thought he meant that I had already been in Dornach for a long time. "But, Herr Doktor, I arrived only late this afternoon." He smiled merrily: "That is not at all what I mean." Having now been introduced, I was anxious to ask certain questions arising from my colour-experiments in Leipzig, and I asked if I might be allowed to have a talk with him sometime. "Please come to my studio to-morrow at 3 o'clock," he said.

The next day I came punctually to the anteroom of the studio, where a lady was carving wood. She asked me in a not very cordial way what I wanted. "I have an appointment with Dr. Steiner." "Herr Doktor is not receiving visitors to-day." "But please, he told me to come." "No, he is seeing nobody to-day." This was really going too far. "Will you please be good enough to tell him that I am here." Before there was time for another refusal, the door opened and a Dutch lady came out, saying: "Come in, Herr Doktor is expecting you." So I went into the studio where Dr. Steiner was sitting by a fiercely burning stove. An empty chair was standing as close to the stove as his. Luckily, I too like warmth and so felt comfortable.

The questions I put were on the following subject. In the course of my experiments I had discovered that the so-called active or warm colours stimulate the will-nature in the human being, whereas the passive, or cold colours cause a psychological retardation. When I encouraged the subjects of the tests to speak, asking them what they experienced, it was actually the case that after looking at active colours, they used expressions deriving from the sphere of will or passion; after impressions of the blue-violet side of the spectrum, they spoke more in terms of thought, contemplation or mysticism. Green lay midway, producing neutral qualities of feeling, with mere nuances of like or dislike. In the case of "peach-blossom" colour (*Purpur*),¹ lying at the other pole of the spectrum, also at a zero point, the effect was a kind of synthetic enhancement, all the qualities from the right and the left merging together. Green was a zero point because here the feelings were equilibrated; peach-blossom colour a zero point because intense will-activity balances out the qualities of thought and contemplation

¹ See Ernst Lehrs, *Man or Matter* (Faber), p. 252. "For lack of an existing proper name for it [this colour], Goethe termed it 'pure red' (since it was free from both the blue tinge of the mauve, and the yellow tinge of the red end of the ordinary spectrum), or 'peach-blossom' (*pfirsichblüt*), or the red end of the ordinary spectrum), or 'purple' (as being nearest to the dye-stuff so-called by the ancients after the mollusc from which it was obtained). It needs only a glance through the prism into the sunlit world to make one convinced of the natural appearing of this delicate and at the same time powerfully luminous colour. . . ." "Purple" in modern English usage would be a misleading translation.

when these are enhanced to the utmost. I had discovered this by experiments, but a great deal was still obscure to me; above all, I had a number of questions relating to the peach-blossom colour.

"Have you really discovered all this?" Dr. Steiner said with a smile. "Yes, Herr Doktor, that is what resulted from the tests." "Then you have been lucky. You should really not have discovered it at all, considering the way in which you experiment. For you see"—he took writing-pad and pencil—"it is like this. The spectrum with the seven colours is only one part of the whole spectrum, the part that is visible in the solar spectrum. To understand the whole spectrum one must draw a circle, and then here are the seven colours of the solar spectrum and on the other side the five peach-blossom colours. You ought really to have taken your start from these twelve." Then he said: "One sees these seven colours because there the astral body swims, as it were, in the colours. But the peach-blossom colour is so subtle and ethereal that it hardly appears at all in external nature; there the 'I' is living in the etheric; peach-blossom is actually the colour of the etheric."

He explained all this quite quietly, tore off the sheet and put it on my knee. He had drawn a rough circle and had indicated the seven colours by letters on the one side, and on the other side the peach-blossom colours.

I sat there as if spellbound. It was almost impossible to believe that anyone could speak in this way about colours, for here were the answers to all the questions which I could not formulate properly, but which had lived within me subconsciously for the last six months. Suddenly, quite spontaneously, Dr. Steiner said: "You are a doctor, aren't you? What the doctors nowadays do not know, but really ought to understand, is the law of reversal (Umswälzung)." He made the movement of pulling off a glove which turns it inside out, so that what was formerly inside, directed towards a centre, is now outside, directed towards the periphery. "Only when that principle is understood can the human organs be understood in their relation to the universe. This applies especially to the spinal cord and the brain. . . . Goethe surmised it but did not fully understand it."

He gave certain other examples of organ-metamorphoses, and I stood up to go, noticing only at this moment that I had been sitting the whole time with my back to the Christ statue. According to the standards of art previously acquired, I did not really think the statue beautiful, but for all that it gripped me, and he saw what I was feeling. "Yes, that is how the eyes of my spirit saw the Christ in Palestine," he said. I stood still for a time while he waited in silence. Then he continued: "But it is very difficult to show everything that would really be necessary." He pointed to the robe. "If it could be truly portrayed it should be nothing but flowing love." He took up the chisel and hammer lying there. "I have had to find a technique of my own, like this . . . one

must always take care that the left hand keeps turning, while the hammer is held by the right hand." He gave a few knocks with the hammer while I stood there speechless, and then we said good-bye. Only later on did it dawn upon me that he was trying to convey to me certain laws of the etheric forces and movements with which a doctor ought to be conversant.

During this conversation I had felt aware, to my surprise, of the greatest inner freedom I have ever known in the presence of a human being. Just picture it: one was in the presence of Rudolf Steiner, the great Initiate, who could see through and through one—and one would have expected to feel great embarrassment. To my astonishment it was exactly the opposite. I felt freer than ever before, as though caught up into another world where only essentials count, where what is usually considered essential lapses into insignificance. This gave a wonderful feeling of happiness and freedom. The fact that because we were sitting side by side and not facing one another, he was not looking at me all the time, strengthened the feeling of freedom. He was mostly looking in front of him and only turned quite suddenly at crucial moments; it was then that the whole sunlike power of the eyes was revealed. There were moments when without giving the slightest impression of inattentiveness, he was not listening while I was trying to speak about something or other, but was obviously listening to something else in my soul.

* * * *

At Easter, 1921, when I went to Dornach again, the Goetheanum with blossoms all around it revealed to me more clearly than three months earlier that its forms had been shaped according to the laws of plant-life, the laws of the living; it seemed to me to be a living being with which from then onwards I felt united, and I tried to understand how such a great building could produce such an organic, living effect. When I had set eyes on it the first time, I had merely felt aware of some very unusual effect without being able to define it; now it was an actual experience. The meaning of the forms in their metamorphoses dawned upon me; I understood why pillars—which no longer fulfil any real purpose in modern architecture—were standing here, and I felt them as the ego-force within these metamorphosing forms. The light streaming through the coloured glass windows harmonised in a most wonderful way with nature in Spring.

It was also very impressive to hear Rudolf Steiner speaking in the great auditorium of the Goetheanum. This was the first time I had heard him here, for at Christmas he had spoken in the Schreinerei, the temporary wooden structure where work in connection with the Goetheanum was carried out. It was as if his voice could resound to the full only in the great auditorium. His words remained there, and lived on. In one of the lectures—he had spoken of it in the second medical course which was being

given during the same period, but this time it was in the presence of a public audience—he showed how Natural Science must develop into Spiritual Science, and that to practise magic in any form whatsoever was not permissible. In parenthesis he cried: “Oh, but it would be possible!” He stood there seeming suddenly to have grown gigantic, like a magician, with arms outstretched. It was a deeply moving moment, because one realised what strict, undeviating principles he had prescribed for the course his life was to take.

This second course for doctors, like the first, was built up entirely on the basis of questions. It was given in the Glashaus, and one or two people came to the first lecture a few minutes late. After a remark by Rudolf Steiner on the virtue of punctuality, nobody failed to arrive exactly on time. The contents of the lectures entailed hard struggle. Would one ever be capable of correlating what was said with the knowledge and habits of thoughts acquired from seven or eight years of medical studies? On the other hand, every sentence strengthened the feeling that a door was opening into a hitherto unknown world.

At that time I also had conversations with Rudolf Steiner about patients, partly from my own practice, for in the meantime I had taken a post as medical superintendent in a department of a mental hospital near Rotterdam. My questions were inspired by the hope that from now onwards one would be able to cure every sufferer. But in discussing specific cases, Rudolf Steiner explained to me that the trouble might originate in destiny and that nothing could really be achieved; nevertheless in every case I was given advice about medicaments. This astonished me, for the attitude that one tries to cure in spite of the fact that nothing can really be achieved is unknown in orthodox medicine.

In November, 1921, Rudolf Steiner made a long tour through Holland, speaking in The Hague on the Threefold Social Order and on education; he emphasised in public the need for a World School Union for the promotion of freedom in the sphere of education. It pained him greatly that a professor at the Technical School, who would have been capable of taking up this idea, did not do so. It could have become a splendid demonstration of free spiritual life over the whole free world, something that could have remained neutral, independent of political happenings.

At Whitsun, 1922, at The Hague, Rudolf Steiner gave a series of very impressive academic lectures on Anthroposophy and Science. I had many opportunities of speaking with him, mostly about medical questions. At that time he wanted the doctors to bring out a medical *vademecum*, a handbook entering right into practical measures; with him, deepest esotericism and concrete action were always in balance. So it was, too, when on one occasion he said to me that if the marketing of Biodoron—the Weleda medicament for migraine—were cleverly done, the Goetheanum could be financed from that source alone. In connection with the *vademecum*,

one of us asked what was the latest date when it ought to appear. “The latest date? June, 1921!” he rejoined. (It was already May, 1922, when we wrote!)

During this Spring I had discussed with a friend the possibility of founding a clinic. I now asked Dr. Steiner for his views, saying at the same time that I felt I was really too young and lacked sufficient knowledge of Anthroposophy. He consoled me: “That you are young is of no account, for every day you become that much older. Nor does it matter that you still know little of Anthroposophy, for every day you will understand more.” Then he became very serious and recommended me to go to Dr. Wegman, “for she has the true courage for healing.”

In November, 1922, he again gave lectures in Holland which were rather poorly attended; in Rotterdam, especially, so few people came that we were very discouraged. But he himself thought differently, for in conversation with a friend he remarked that in Rotterdam there had been a very good audience. One had the impression that he perceived the worth of certain souls, and whether a large or small number of people were sitting there was of less importance to him.

I was still on the medical staff of the mental hospital on one of the islands in South Holland, inwardly rejoicing that I had found the path from Goetheanism to Anthroposophy, and Rudolf Steiner as my teacher from an age-long past. But now some older anthroposophists got together and decided that the work was not progressing well, that a group feeling itself spiritually responsible should be formed and should place itself at Dr. Steiner's disposal. I was invited to the meeting, although I emphasised that I was not conversant with the problems of the Society. Nevertheless I welcomed the opportunity of contacting Rudolf Steiner. On every occasion there was an atmosphere of festive happiness, whether I was talking to him about a particular case of illness or some other matter, whether the conversation lasted for half an hour or two minutes. Others besides myself will certainly have had the same experience.

A suggestion made with the best possible intentions by someone at the meeting appeared not to please Rudolf Steiner at all. He sat there quietly listening, tapping his foot. I waited in great suspense, wondering what would happen now. “As long as our Society has such a sectarian character, we shall not progress a single step,” he said. A gunshot could not have had a more electrifying effect. He went on to say that in the way it was functioning at present, our Society could not be taken seriously by the outside world. And then he told us that a Roman Catholic priest had recently asked him for a talk; at last he had been able to speak with somebody about really important world-affairs; the priest, too, had been delighted and had invited him to visit him. Rudolf Steiner regretted that he had not found time to accept this invitation; he would also

have liked to invite this priest to Dornach, but had abandoned the idea because he could not be sure how the members would behave.

Finally he asked if there was nobody in Holland capable of lecturing to the public? At this there was silence, because one or two such attempts had been made without success; there had been extremely poor audiences. I had given some very elementary lectures at the wish of the members who thought that a qualified doctor might make more impression; true, a few more people came, but always less than a hundred. When one of the members present expressed the opinion that I had given one or two quite well-attended lectures, it was an astonishment to me as well as to everyone else, when Rudolf Steiner said: "Well, then, all you need do is to free Dr. Zeylmans for anthroposophical work and offer him a handsome salary." He turned to me: "Would you agree to this, doctor?" Now I did not consider that my lecturing activities were of any value; I regarded the lectures as having been quite insignificant, even blundering, performances in which with pain and labour I had strung together the little I knew. But I said: "Yes, Herr Doktor, if you think I am capable, I will naturally do it gladly." He repeated that I must of course be free in order to work for Anthroposophy. After that there was silence; something different had been expected from him. Only one of the members, Peter de Haan, took the matter up, and to him I said, although inwardly embarrassed, that I would try to move to The Hague in order, possibly, to found a clinic and make a living out of my practice.

When, soon after this, the Goetheanum was destroyed by fire, I was still working in the mental hospital and could not travel to Dornach, because although I was allowed more leave for studies than others, the maximum had already been exceeded. I did not see Dr. Steiner again until the Delegates' Meeting in June, 1923. Although I took part in the discussions on the subject of providing funds for building the new Goetheanum, when I actually spoke to him it was, as usual, mainly about patients. Finally, I also asked him about the statues that had been discovered not long before on the coast of Walcheren. Among them was the statue of a goddess by the name of Nehallenia. I had brought photographs with me and showed them to him. "Yes," he said, "that is one of the aspects of the Goddess of Fertility, similar to Herta, of Germanic-Celtic origin. Here you can see the fourfold nature of man indicated: the temple is the physical body, the dog is the etheric body, the astral body is indicated by the fruits, and the child is the unfolding ego. More than that is not yet entirely clear to me. One would have to make further investigations in the neighbourhood itself. The whole of the west coast of Holland is important because from time immemorial there has always been a link with Britain."

The Anthroposophical Societies in the different countries were to be founded anew, and the founding of the Society in Holland

was planned for November, 1923. At The Hague, Rudolf Steiner gave a course of evening lectures with the title *Supersensible Man in the light of Anthroposophy*. There were also two public lectures and two in the recently founded Clinic (I had now come to live in The Hague); also a number of lectures for members. It was a tremendous programme. Both the little Clinic—established to begin with in a private house—and the little School were now inaugurated, and dedicated in the real sense.

I went with a few friends to fetch Dr. Steiner from the station. As the train slowly came in and I saw him sitting at the window, I was shocked by his pallor and look of utter fatigue—and at the same time I saw in his face the hallmark of eternity. It was as though the countenance were chiselled out of rock—an impression that went through my very bones. Then came the ordinary conventions: I helped him to get down from the carriage, welcomed those who had come with him—Frau Dr. Steiner, Myta Waller, Frau Dr. Wegman, Dr. Wachsmuth—and when I was accompanying him down the stairway leading from the station, I asked if he had had a good journey. He stopped still in the middle of the stream of passengers, turned to me and said with surprise: "What do you mean, a good journey?" What he wanted to say was suddenly clear to me. I had seen him arrive, our eyes had met, I had seen who he was, and he had seen that I had seen . . . and now I was asking whether he had had a good journey. What he wanted to say was: Wake up! Don't be conventional! We were still standing immobile in the stream of travellers. "I mean only whether there were any outer annoyances," I said at last. "Ah, so that is what you mean! Well then, yes, I have had a good journey."

He visited the little School, which consisted of no more than two or three rooms in a private house, with very few children in three classes, but he conducted the inauguration with as much earnestness and solicitude as if it were already a large School, looked at the children, gave advice about each one individually, in some cases medical advice as well. As the School doctor, I was very often astonished by these medical indications. There was a poor little thin child with an ashen grey skin. "He is full of fear down into his very organs," said Dr. Steiner. "He must do the movement for 'I' (ee) in Curative Eurhythmly while jumping over a rod . . . and then, of course, he must take *Prunus spinosa*¹ . . ." I had never heard of *Prunus spinosa*, for botany was hardly ever included as a subject at the University, and I felt like a stupid child; everything was so new and full of surprises. "*Hypericum perforatum*² . . . that you surely know? The leaves are all perforated and one can see the drops of oil," he said to me as I sat at the back with my notebook. And it continued like this for three whole mornings, with the two class teachers, van Bemmelen and Frau Mulder, and the Eurhythmly teacher, Fräulein Hoorweg.

¹ Blackthorn.

² St. John's Wort.

The Clinic, too, was simply a private house where I worked with one nursing sister; at first we had only a single patient who regarded herself as a permanent boarder. And again Rudolf Steiner behaved as though a big hospital were being opened. I had collected some 35 doctors and senior medical students for two medical lectures which he then gave. The lectures were surprisingly well received, although it was the first time that most of those present had heard anything about Anthroposophy. After the second lecture one of the older doctors got up to speak. He said that the lectures had made a great impression upon him, that they represented an integrated system in which, admittedly, there were many gaps, but he realised that these gaps would be closed in further lectures. "My natural scientific world-view is also an integrated system," he added, "equally with gaps to be filled, but these too may disappear. For which system am I to decide?"

The doctor who put this question was sitting at the very back. Dr. Steiner walked slowly through both parts of the room to him and said: "You are perfectly right. More cannot really be said. But it is the heart that makes the decision."

This doctor telephoned to me the next day and said that although he was not entirely convinced, he wanted to give anthroposophical therapy a "fair chance", and asked me to treat him for angina pectoris.

After the evening lectures, a group of us always went with Rudolf Steiner to his hotel. After he had had food, we sat round an open fire in the hall, and conversation continued, often until very far into the night, about new literary publications, political happenings and other subjects. Dr. Steiner was usually full of cheerfulness, told us anecdotes or answered questions. For example, Herr van Leer asked: "A wonder-working Rabbi such as the Ba'al Shem¹ must surely have had great powers—is he to be regarded as an Initiate?" "No, such a man is capable of a very great deal, but was not even a semi-Initiate," was the reply.

This year, following the burning of the Goetheanum, was marked by the new foundation to be given to the Anthroposophical Society. Dr. Steiner, who until then was explicitly not an actual member of the Society but wished his task to be only that of teaching Anthroposophy, was hoping that impulses and efforts sufficiently vigorous to give a new form to the work would be forthcoming from the membership itself. A first step was the founding of independent Societies in the different countries. And so in Holland, too, various enterprises had been set on foot in preparation for the actual founding of the Society in the presence of Dr. Steiner. In speaking on the subject, he had never given more than indications, and one tried to understand what it was that he really hoped for. But in

many preliminary meetings we really did not get much farther than saying that what was wanted was not an 'organisation' but an 'organism'. Many thoughtful ideas with a Goethean trend were expressed in connection with this, but actually we were in a sea of doubt and perplexity.

At this time too—November, 1923—when Dr. Steiner was at The Hague, there were meetings in his presence. Reports were given from the different spheres of work; I, too, had to give an address which seemed to me such a poor performance that I felt obliged to apologise to Dr. Steiner. He laughed quite cheerfully, and said: "That kind of thing is by no means bad; not until one has given a hundred lectures can one count upon there having been a good one among them." I found this a source of real encouragement.

During the discussions about the founding of the Society, Dr. Steiner sat for the most part silently waiting. What he wanted, of course, was that the members themselves should find what the situation required. While the talk was proceeding, he studied, for example, the mechanism of the writing-tablet of a lady sitting beside him—the writing could be obliterated by moving a slide; he took out of my hand the tobacco pouch which I had inadvertently drawn from my pocket, scrutinised the zip fastener, then recently invented, and said to me: "What a pity that one of us did not invent something so ingenious!"

On the evening before the actual founding of the Society he was very downhearted and spoke bitter words about the members, saying that they were full of good intentions, but failed to grasp what was really desired by the spiritual world. We sat there shattered, realising what sorrow filled him and what heavy cares weighed upon him. Conversation began again only slowly, and Dr. Steiner explained more clearly his disappointment with the Society everywhere and what he found lacking in it. He said, too, that he had given definite promptings; now, instead of taking them up, people came with quite different, totally inadequate proposals. It was late in the night—the next morning, Sunday, 18th November, the actual Foundation Meeting was to take place—when the conversation finally ended. I told Rudolf Steiner that I was willing to accept office as General Secretary of the Society in Holland.

Quite unexpectedly, the next morning was the happiest that could possibly be imagined. We made one blunder after another, but Dr. Steiner sat there confidently, and finally gave us a draft for the Statutes of the Society in Holland. We were to work it out and subsequently bring it into line with the principles of the General Anthroposophical Society to be founded in Dornach at Christmas.

After lunch he spoke to me about my functions as General Secretary. "Remember," he said, "from now on you have to bear the whole esoteric and exoteric responsibility for everything that happens in the anthroposophical domain here in Holland." He

¹ The famous founder of *Hasidism*, a religious and profoundly mystical movement which arose among the Polish Jews in the 18th century.

took both my hands and gazed at me for some time. That was the last meeting in the year 1923, before the Christmas Foundation.

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When at Christmas, 1923, we came to Dornach for the Foundation of the General Anthroposophical Society, it was clear to me from the moment when Dr. Steiner "laid the Foundation Stone", that we were witnessing a Mystery-deed that concerned the whole of mankind, the first Mystery-enactment to be performed openly before the world. True, the eight hundred or so people present were members, but members of such different kinds and stages of development that this deed could certainly be said to have been performed in public. There were friends who felt, as I did, that we had lived through a kind of birth-hour—now I have been born as a spiritual personality. Gradually it dawned upon me how this laying of the Foundation Stone was connected with the original laying of the Foundation Stone of the first Goetheanum on 13th September, 1913. At that time the Foundation Stone was laid in the earth in the form of a double dodecahedron, and the forms of the Goetheanum had been able to arise over it. Now, after that Goetheanum had been consumed by fire, all its forces and forms and colours, everything it made visible as a kind of embodied Imagination came back from the spiritual world as Inspiration, in the words of the Foundation Stone Meditation at Christmas, 1923.

The second impression was connected with what Rudolf Steiner planned as the Free High School of Spiritual Science, with three classes. He wanted this High School to be regarded as an institution standing openly in the world; progress through the different classes would depend entirely upon actual inner development. Here, too, the manifest and the secret together: the revealed secret in the Goethean sense.

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During these days I also had talks with Dr. Steiner which shall be briefly reported here. First of all I asked about a member who had died—she was a painter—and whether it would be possible to form a link with her. Dr. Steiner said: "One can come near her by recalling a definite moment of importance—for example, when one was looking at a picture while she was actually painting it. Such a situation should be visualised in all detail; then, when it becomes a vivid experience, one should damp down the waking consciousness, allow what is now living inwardly in it to flow on, and then bear it up to her in the spiritual world, waiting in stillness for a response. That is how contact can be established."

Another time I asked him about the work now devolving upon me in Holland, saying that I found it very difficult to carry out my duties as a medical practitioner, to help in promoting understanding of anthroposophical medicine, and now also to shoulder the tasks

incumbent upon the General Secretary of the Society. I found the last—the work for the Society—especially difficult, for I was less interested in it than in Anthroposophy itself. "But it is your karma and nothing can be done about it," he said. As we talked on he repeated this, and yet a third time at the end. In reply to my remark that I found it extremely difficult to combine the functions of doctor and General Secretary, he said: "It is a very good thing that you, a doctor, should be the General Secretary, for the Society will more and more be in need of healing." And about the work he said: "Everything will develop in time, but the first thing to be done is to get the High School established. As for the problems of the Society, you may think of them like this: the Society imposes tasks all the time; it is in the loneliness of the soul that the solutions are found."

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Mention shall also be made of the meeting I had with him in Paris in May, 1924. He gave a lecture in the Salle Solférino, in the Boulevard St. Germain. Jules Sauerwein, foreign editor of *Le Matin*, translated, and Edouard Schuré, then a very old man, was among the listeners. Between the lectures for the members and all the other demands on Rudolf Steiner I was able, to my joy, to speak with him at some length about the work in Holland. The conversation was always serious and at the same time cheerful. Then one morning I went for a walk, and in the precincts of Notre Dame met Rudolf Steiner and Frau Dr. Wegman coming across the great Square; they had evidently just been in the Cathedral. I went up to them. "Have you already been in the Sainte Chapelle?" I asked, meaning the historic thirteenth-century Chapel that had once been the scene of fiery disputations between the great Dominican scholars of the Sorbonne and those known as the Arabists. "That is just where we want to go," answered Dr. Wegman, "but how does one get to it?" As I had just come from there, I showed them the way through the gate, pointed to the little tower that was visible from where we were standing . . . and that was all. Yet the incident seemed to me to mean more than can be put into words.

During the Christmas Meeting I had already asked Dr. Steiner if he would be willing to give a course of lectures on education to us in Holland, and he himself at once suggested the dates. "What exactly do you want me to do then?" I produced my list of requests—first, a public course on education; secondly, one or two public lectures on medical themes; and thirdly, three lectures for members. He agreed to the whole programme without hesitation. Two other special meetings and an address to young people were subsequently added.

We had given a great deal of thought as to where these lectures ought to be held, had visited several likely places and had finally decided on Arnhem, because a fine conference hall on the banks of

the Rhine could be rented there. In the neighbourhood there were also memorials of ancient Germanic times, and historic traditions of that kind are rare on the young soil of Holland. In short, we were convinced we had found the right place. But when Rudolf Steiner arrived and was driving to his hotel, he glanced around him and said: "Surely this is a kind of holiday resort? Apparently it is becoming more and more the custom to combine anthroposophical studies with a summer holiday." At this we all felt a little embarrassed.

Shortly before I had been obliged to make one of the most difficult decisions in my life. Dr. Steiner had telegraphed that as he would be late in arriving, he would not be able to give his first lecture. On 17th July, 1924, when Peter de Haan, Michael Tschchow, another Russian actor and I fetched him from the station at the time indicated, I was appalled to see how deadly tired and ill he looked. We went to the car, and even before it started he said to me: "So I was not able to give my first lecture this morning. What do you think, Doctor—ought I to make up for it by giving a lecture this afternoon?" I had been obliged to give the opening lecture myself, because several public officials and important guests had come to hear it. Dr. Steiner was aware of this. Frau Marie Steiner insisted that a lecture was out of the question because Dr. Steiner was exhausted after the many sessions in Stuttgart and simply must rest this afternoon. One could fully sympathise with this, but Dr. Steiner, quite unperturbed, looked only at me and repeated that it was for me to decide, since I was responsible for these meetings. "Do you think I should or should not give this lecture?" Again Frau Marie Steiner interjected that it was out of the question, and again Dr. Steiner emphasised that it was up to me to decide; it was my responsibility. Everything in me cried: Rest, rest, cancel the whole programme! But on the other part I thought: other laws hold sway here. At last I said: "Herr Doktor, I believe you should give the lecture." He replied quietly—very well then, he would give it.

During these meetings it was impossible not to realise how ill Rudolf Steiner was. When others were lecturing—Dr. Schubert, Dr. von Baravalle, Mr. Van Bemmelen, Mr. Stibbe and I—it was heartbreaking to see how exhausted he seemed to be; I noticed, too, with grave anxiety, how emaciated he had become. For all that it was evident on every occasion that in spite of utmost fatigue nothing escaped his attention, and when he was standing at the lecture-desk he was, as always, sparkling with fire, full of life and vitality—one could hardly realise that this was the same man. It was profoundly moving that in the lectures on education, as well as in the address to young people, he should have spoken about Schiller and Schiller's death, about the fire of enthusiasm which consumes a man's being, about Schiller's heart which, at the end, appeared to be almost devoid of physical substance. The inevitable

impression was that there, in front of one, was an illustration of what he was speaking about: the fire consuming the body.

At that time in Arnhem I was also able to have talks with him, and asked for advice in the dilemma of having to speak in public about anthroposophical matters of which one knew so little from direct personal experience. "You may speak about anything in my courses and lectures provided you take care that a year has passed since you studied it," he answered. We also spoke about another question of principle: that all expressions of modern cultural development to be perceived in painting and literature had always fascinated me, and that I should find it very difficult to put all this aside. He answered: "Your attitude should be this. You should always have the greatest imaginable tolerance for what comes to manifestation in the world, while at the same time training yourself to let the strictest truth hold sway in presenting Anthroposophy." I realised that this must be the guiding principle in my work.

One evening during those days a few of us were together with him, discussing the point that the 'International Laboratories' in Arlesheim, where the medicaments were prepared, should at last be given an appropriate name. We sat round the table, one after another making suggestions, some humorous, some ingenious and some less ingenious. Dr. Steiner sat with his writing-pad in front of him, pencil in hand, listening with a faint, almost mischievous smile. He began to let the pencil play above the pad. Suddenly he made a wavelike movement, coming nearer and nearer to the paper, and finally he said: "Welle-da . . . yes, the old Germanic priestess of healing." And that was how the "Weleda" Company received its name.

All of us who went to attend the new courses in Dornach in September, 1924, felt that we were lifted into other spheres, high above our ordinary consciousness; our very faces changed, we were seeing and hearing beyond the range of our own capacities. As we looked at one another we asked ourselves inwardly: Is that really so-and-so? It was something quite unbelievable and indescribable. We were already living in a spiritual world that was by no means within our grasp. There were moments during the last lectures of the course on Pastoral Medicine when only love and spirit radiated from Rudolf Steiner—with such intensity that it was almost difficult to listen to what he was saying. But the audience was, of course, one to which he could allow his whole being to speak.

In the evenings he was giving the great series of lectures on the karmic relationships of individuals. The lecture in which he spoke of Otto Weiniger¹ was the last I myself was able to hear.

That same afternoon, one or two doctors among us, together with Frau Dr. Wegman, had been with him. He lay on his couch

¹ See *Karmic Relationships: Esoteric Studies*, Vol. IV, lecture 9. (Anthroposophical Publishing Co.)

with a rug over him and gave us a last injunction. I had then to return to my work in Holland.

On 30th March, 1925, his death summoned us to Dornach. We shared the vigil by his death-bed, and some account shall now be given of the last night and the direct impressions I received at that time.¹

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Rudolf Steiner lay there in his studio, on his death-bed. What his spirit revealed to me through the picture of death—of this I will try to speak. It will be but a feeble stammering, for only the divine-gifted poet can say what is beyond all speech. . . . It was a picture of the joy of gods and the sorrowing of men. "The friend of God, and the leader of mankind," as Albert Steffen called him, had passed through the gate of death. Outside in nature the gods were celebrating a festival, because the great leader of mankind came to them. Within, around the death-bed, men were mourning because the friend of God was taken from them. Outside, the Spring arrived. The birds suddenly began to sing. The joy of resurrection lived in the plants and animals. The joy of resurrection sought its way to man, entered through his senses, and sank down into his heart. Within, around the death-bed, stood the mourners, and gazed, stricken with grief, upon the beloved countenance. Memories, the most precious and beautiful of their lives, arose. Grief convulsed their souls or was packed away in their hearts. Thus the joy of resurrection and the pain of death met with one another: heavenly joy and human pain.

How wonderful he looked on the first day after his death! As in a light sleep—so peaceful and thoughtful—as if he could awaken at any moment, to tell us what his spirit experienced there above with the gods.

His death had been a prayer, so we were told. He lay for hours in deepest meditation, gazing into far distances. Then his meditation became more and more a prayer. He lay motionless with folded hands. Only a few words had he spoken to his intimate friend and nurse, Dr. Wegman. It was only after some hours that he closed his eyes and died—without any agony of death. His prayer on earth was ended.

But to us, it was as if his spirit continued to pray, as if his mighty prayer moved through our sorrowing souls. And in our hearts, where the joy of resurrection and the pain of death were, something blossomed forth and soared aloft, borne upward by his prayer. And that which was for each individual a prayer of thanksgiving became for us all collectively a sure picture of the future.

On the second day, it seemed to me different. There now lay a shadow of grief upon his countenance. It was as if something of

the grief of the many hundred of friends who came together from many lands was reflected in this countenance. It was more difficult now to experience the joy of resurrection. But from his shining brow solemn and happy thoughts seemed to float upwards.

Then came the third day. Again a change had taken place. One now saw the face of a saint—griefless and sinless. A face that appeared super-humanly great—but which contained in miniature everything that is good and true and beautiful. Separated from us far beyond our reach—but at the same time near; godlike, but containing all things human. His noble brow was even more radiant than before. In his deep-set eyes, world-secrets lay hidden. His mouth spoke cosmic language. Never were there such hands. They were as strong as the hands of one accustomed to heavy manual labour. But they were spiritualised right into the very muscular fibres. With them he had chiselled the hard wood; with them he had written his clear, flowing writing. To countless numbers he had over and over again given his hand, and everyone had felt it as a blessing. . . .

Six doctors and four others who were near friends of Dr. Steiner were allowed, during the last night, to keep the vigil, two by two. The hours we passed there were full of unforgettable beauty and holiness. It was a still and peaceful spring night. The moon shone bright like a sun. Black demoniac-looking clouds tried over and over again to darken her radiance—but she threw the sunlight to the earth ever more brightly.

In the studio, now in the coffin, lay the body, unlike any other body of the dead. Lighted candles around threw their golden light upon the black coffin. The scent of flowers filled the air, speaking a delicate language of the soul. The statue of the Christ, with its gestures expressive of world-destiny, rose great and silent at the foot of the coffin.

On the right and on the left two of us stood watching, guarding the candles that they might burn with an even and quiet flame. How strange and mysterious everything seemed, and yet at the same time how familiar. Pictures from a long, long past rose before us, gleaming like silver in the candlelight—and disappeared. Surely we had been at this scene before. . . .

Then all at once we knew: this is an event that is beyond all time. It points into the long-distant past and into the still more distant future. Past and future are here molten into one and form together an eternal, macrocosmic picture—a picture of the Divine guidance of man and of his cosmic destiny.

Some friends came in and a death-mask was taken. We stood around in silence. When it was evident that the mask had turned out well, we thought with joy: Now, through long years to come, many more will be able to see this expression of deepest wisdom, tenderest love and greatest holiness. The birds were now singing in the early dawn. . . .

¹ This account appeared in *Anthroposophical Movement*, Vol. II, No. 16, 19th April, 1925.

We know well that difficult times are before us. But for every one who in his sorrowing heart has entered into the meaning of the Festival of the Resurrection, the difficult times will be only times of testing—trials of soul that he will have strength to endure.

At that time Albert Steffen wrote these moving verses:

*Brach gelegte Ackerkrume
Winterlicher Grabesfeuchte
Hat verwandelt sich zum Leuchte-
Leibe einer weissen Blume.*

*Und es werden Kelch und Krone
Lichtes Angesicht und Flügel.
Christus hebt Dich von dem Hügel
In die heiligsten Aeone.*

*Wie der Sternenchor erklingt
Und sich alle Himmelssöhne
Freuen Deiner ird' schen Schöne,
Die sich sanft dem Tod entringt!*

*Ja, Du kommst im Erdgewande,
Aber von Verwesung ferne,
Fortan sehen Engel gerne
Menschen in dem Geisterlande.*

*Denn die Farben von der Erde
Lieben sie, durch Dich gereinigt.
Menschheit hat mit Gott vereinigt
Deine gütige Gebärde.*

Translated by D. O.

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