

# *Introduction: Charles Hartshorne's Handwritten Notes on A. N. Whitehead's Harvard-Lectures 1925-26*

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## *The Convolute of Notes*

In 1995, I discovered a number of handwritten notes at the Center for Process Studies' Library. These notes were disguised as personal papers of Charles Hartshorne within an envelope in which there were several other materials of sundry nature. A closer look, however, revealed that these notes were of the highest interest and value. On the first page was inscribed "Charles Hartshorne's Notes 1925–1926." On the envelope in which Dr. and Mrs. Hartshorne had sent the notes to the CPS library (in March 1978), some handwritten lines of Mrs. Hartshorne explain further:

Original notes by Charles Hartshorne 1925–1926 on Professor Whitehead's course in which CH was assistant + CH typing of the virtually indecipherable parts

One of the values of these notes is that they open a window to Whitehead's lectures of the year 1925–26 when Hartshorne, back after his stay in Europe, was Whitehead's assistant. A letter from Mrs. Hartshorne to Lewis Ford, then editor of *Process Studies*, dated March 26, 1979, explained that the Hartshornes had discovered the material by chance after many decades, and that they were editing the notes and would send them to Ford:

There are 74 pages of these notes in all; but on a number of occasions Charles's fountainpen ran dry, and he continued writing, that hour, in pencil. C. can decipher the mess (no one else could) and will type it up as soon as he can. These 31 pages (really 32 because of 6a) are all I have been able to collate—and mail is going out. So I am sending you these for your immediate delectation. The rest will follow as soon as I can manage.

A further note among the papers mentioned above—signed with "B.B."—illuminates the situation with the following information:

This bundle appears to be a xerox of a xerox that DCH made soon after finding the notes @ March 24, 1978. Sent by DCH to Lewis Ford. DCH sent CPS the original notes in May—they have been reorganized (more are included) + numbered + some few pages transcribed by CH.

Nevertheless, the material contains a shipping order from the reproduction service of Harvard University library to Lewis Ford, ordered by the librarian of the CPS (and paid by it). A note on this order reads as follows:

I have a photocopy of both sets. Mrs. Hartshorne xeroxed the Hartshorne notes. Please see that—Victor Lowe knows about these two additions to the CPS archives.

The CPS, however, received the original notes, but also some additions, i.e., copies of these notes and transcriptions of part of them.

Altogether, this seems to have been the scenario concerning the notes: (1) Dorothy Hartshorne had found the material in March, 1978; (2) She sent 31 pages of the material to Lewis Ford—probably in copy; (3) another copy, probably of the copy (“xerox of the xerox”), is known to be in Victor Lowe’s collection, a copy of which was obtained by the CPS in 2000. I have examined this copy: it had been altered, i.e., some pages had additional notes not appearing in the original (probably added by Lowe); (4) The original notes were sent to the CPS in May 1978; and (5) Charles and Dorothy Hartshorne had altered the notes sent to the CPS by copying, reorganizing and transcribing them (in part).

The CPS collection of Hartshorne’s notes, thus, contains three parts: (1) The original Notes, every page of which has been placed in plastic folders. They are on yellow pages, written with a fountain pen and pencil. Some pages have lines added with colored pencils; some pages are altered by white correction liquid; (2) A copy of the original, altered by a new organization of the pages; and (3) Transcriptions of some pages of the Notes that were added to the almost illegible parts, probably written by Charles Hartshorne himself in 1978.

### ***Problems of Transcription***

The question was, how should these notes be presented in published form? Upon reflection of this for some time, I realized that they were “virtually undecipherable,” at least in parts. The notes are written for personal use; they are not systematic; sentences remain incomplete; and they represent rough versions of the themes Whitehead presented in class, and often—although probably too fragmented to be understood immediately. The most difficult problem in transcribing them was the condition of the material: it is handwritten, written either with fountain pen or pencil, and some pages of text appear double-sided.

Three consequences concerning the problems of transcription grew evident: (1) the fountain pen notes tend to be seen from the backsides so that often every side of the page contains information of both sides; (2) the pencil-written parts tend to disappear and are, therefore, often almost unreadable; (3) the nature of handwriting in the situation of taking notes within a lecture or class allows for idiosyncrasy as to how words and phrases

are shortened, for the disappearance of letters, for irretrievably corrupted texts, and generally for unbreakable codes of personal style. The letter of Dorothy Hartshorne to Lewis Ford (March 26, 1979) states that even Charles Hartshorne himself had some difficulties deciphering his writings from some decades earlier (see quote above).

Hence, it was now clear to me that the material could not be reproduced merely in typed form: the text would not be understandable at all. It had to be transcribed, at the very least. But further complications appeared: many words and phrases relate to some non-textual element in the notes (such as position on the page, forms of writing, diagrams, etc.). The meaning would only begin to unravel when the transcription somehow also transports the non-textual elements. Therefore, I decided to manufacture what I call a *dimensional transcription*. The idea was to present the material with its physical and dimensional elements that structure the text on the handwritten pages. Thus, in the transcription, the text appears within the original structure of “pages” and “sides” (of pages). On such pages, every “line” of the original notes is conserved, as also is the “position” of the notes on the pages and within the lines.

### ***Counting the Pages***

Although I was able to decipher the notes almost totally, Charles and Dorothy Hartshorne’s re-reading of the notes, the adding of some transcriptions, even the copying of the original added further complications. This is why the revision of the original text and the copy follow a different order in counting the pages—an alteration due to Charles Hartshorne’s reorganization of the material. The immediate implication is this: in the relecture of the material, Hartshorne decided at some point to alter the order of the notes; he arranged the pages differently than he had originally, erased the original pagination, and revised somewhat the order of contents. So we end up with three different versions of the material: (1) the original—probably from 1925-26; (2) a second version with different pagination within the original notes by erasing the original pagination and overwriting it with a new counting order—probably from 1978; and (3) the third version with the revised material—probably also from 1978.

In the following list, the relation of the three versions of the material are described as follows: (1) the 2. *Page-Counting* is the pagination as it appears as the final version of organization on the original notes from 1978; (2) the 1. *Page-Counting* must be reconstructed because of erased and overwritten passages; this appears to be the original page-counting from 1925-26; and (3) the *Copy-Counting* sometimes counts single pages, yet sometimes these single pages are rearranged to a new order by using double-sided pagination.

This is the actual situation of the material and its three countings:

According to the internal page-countings of the material, it seems to be complete because it interprets Dorothy Hartshorne's numbers referred to in her letter to Lewis Ford: "32 pages"—of original notes, mostly double-sided—and "74 pages"—fitting the 74 single-sided pages in the copy of the same material. Nevertheless, altogether the material as it appears in this edition has 82 single-sided pages. This difference between 74 and 82 pages is a consequence of the adjunction of the pages of transcription: pages 57-top, 59, 60, 61, 54a (between 54 and 55), 63, 64, 65b, in sum: 8 pages (= 82). In the dimensional transcription they are added (even parts of the pages) to the original material.

2. Page-Counting	1. Page-Counting	Copy-Counting
1a 1b	[1a 1b ]	1 2
2a 2b	[2a 2b ]	3 4
3a 3b	4a 4b	6 5
4a 4b	5a 5b	8 9
/ 5(e)	/ 6a7n(e)	/ 7f6a(c6a)
6a 6b	7a 7b	10 11
7a 7b	3a 3b	12 13
8a 8b	[8a 8b]	14 15
<u>9a</u> (9) 9b	[9a 9b]	16 17
<u>10a</u> (11a) <u>10b</u> (11b)	[ <u>10a</u> (11a) <u>10b</u> (11b)]	72 6a (c7)
11a 11b	13a 13b	22(c23) 19(c18)
12a 12b	[12a 12b]	20 21
13a 13b	14a 14b	23 24(c25)
14a 14b	15a 15b	25(c24) 26(c27)
15a 15b	?16a ?16b	27(c26) 28(c29)
16a 16b	17a 17b	29(c28) 30(c31)
17a 17b	18a 18b	31(c30) 32(c33)
18a 18b	19a 19b	33(c32) 34(c35)
19a 19b	20a 20b	35(c34) 36(c37)
<u>20a</u> <u>20b</u>	[21a 21b]	37(c36) 38(c39)
21a 21b	22a 22b	39(c38) 40(c41)
22a 22b	23a 23b	41(c40) 42(c43)
23(e) /	24(25n) /	43(c42) /
24(e) /	f24,26n /	45(c44) /
25a 25b	26af25 26b	44(c45) 46(c47)
26a 27b!	27a [27b]	47(c46) 48(c49)
27a 28b!	28a [28b]	49(c48) 50
29a 29b {64}	?28a [29b]	52 51
30a 30b {54a(c 54a)}	29 [30b]	53 54
31a 31b {54a(c54a)} 30	[31b]	55 56
32a {37a} 32b	31a 31b	57 58
33a {59} 33b {61}	23a 32b	59 60
34a 34b	?2 33b	62 61
35a {63} 35b {63}	34a 34b	63 64
36/37(e) /	?35a /	65 /
37f36(e) /	?36 /	66 /
38f37 {65b} /	37f36 /	67 /
39f38 39b	38f37 38b	68 69
40(e) /	39 /	70 /
43 <u>42a</u>	?1?b ?a	71 18(c19)
41f40 <u>40b</u> (41b)	40f39 40b	73 74

*Explanation of signs used for counting*

(e)...empty backpage	n...next	f...follows
c...page copied to	/...no page	...reversed counting
[ ]...no additional counting	?...corrupted text	{ }...page of transcription
—...Erased with white correction fluid and overwritten by ( )		

**Semantic and Chronological Order of the Notes**

When we try to read the order of contents of the notes, we must take into account several problems: the complex difficulty that arises by the three page-countings does not allow us to read the notes as one connected whole. To the contrary, the different countings reveal several breaks and a structure of disconnectedness with respect to the whole manuscript. Not only are pages counted differently and, thus, appear at different stages of the manuscript, but some pages are counted in reversion of a supposed order, or they are copied together with seemingly unconnected pages, suggesting a new subcutaneous relation between parts of the manuscript. Other characteristics of the handwriting may also be taken seriously for further ordering: some pages are identifiable as “left” or “right” sides because Hartshorne often left a reasonable space on the left or right side of the pages. Other pages, however, don’t have any of these characteristics. Further, we may propose the chronology of the manuscript, since several pages show dates of writing. Altogether at least these connections can be realized at a first glance. See figure 2.

Connection	Manuscript-Pages	Date	Connection
	A1a 1b <sup>A</sup>	<b>9/13/25</b>	“time as epoche”  (5)
	A2a 2b <sup>A</sup>		“eternal object”  (3a)  (31b/a)
	A3a 3b <sup>A</sup>		“Desc.”   (13 <sup>a</sup> )  (32a)
(1b)->	/ 5 <sup>A</sup> <sup>A</sup> 4a 4b <sup>A</sup>		“presentational immediacy”->30a/b “green”  (14a)
	<sup>A</sup> 6a 6b <sup>A</sup> <sup>A</sup> 7a 7b <sup>A</sup>		“exp. occ.”
	<sup>A</sup> 8a 8b		M “measurement”
	<sup>A</sup> 9a 9b		M; “quantity”; “contrast”
	10a 10b <sup>®</sup>	<b>Oct. 17</b>	“immediate occ.”  (25b/26a)
?	<sup>A</sup> 11a11b <sup>A</sup> ? <sup>A</sup> 12a 12b <sup>A</sup>		“continuum”/“vibration”  (31b)
(3a)-<	<sup>A</sup> 13a 13b <sup>A</sup>		(32a)
(4b)->	<sup>A</sup> 14a 14b <sup>A</sup>		“enduring obj.”; “concrete occ.”
	15a 15b <sup>®</sup>	<b>Dec. 10</b>	“energy-structure”; “flied”
	16a 16b	<b>Dec. 19</b>	“c’ness”  (32a), “creativity” (1x!)
	17a		
	17b		“space and time as abstractions”
	18a 18b	<b>Jan. 5, 26</b>	“knowledge”
	19a 19b	<b>Jan. 7</b>	“space-time continuum”/“epoch”
	20a 20b <sup>®</sup> (b)	<b>Jan. 9</b>	“epochal occasion”
	21a <sup>®</sup> 21b 24 /	<b>Jan. 12</b>	“scheme of things”

	22a		<b>Jan. 14</b>	“creativity & creature”
	22a	22b	<b>Jan. 16</b>	“presentational/inspectional”
	23	/	<b>Jan. 19</b>	
	24			“creativity”
(37)<-	25a	25b ? 26a® 27b!® ?		“measurement”, “accuracy”->(36)
	27a(p)			
		28b(p)®		“accuracy”
	(4b)->	<sup>A</sup> 30a30b <sup>A</sup>		“representational/inspectional”
	30b(p) <sup>A</sup>	<sup>A</sup> 29b!(p) 29a <sup>A</sup> (p) ?		“future”
	(11a)->	<sup>A</sup> 31b(p)		
(11a)(2b/3a)->	<sup>A</sup> 31b	31a <sup>A</sup> ?		“epoch”; “vibration”; “time”; “actuality”
(13a)(16a)<	(2b/3a)->	<sup>A</sup> 32a(p)32b <sup>A</sup>		“representational/inspectional”; “c’ness”
(35b)<-	<sup>A</sup> 34a(p)34b(p) <sup>A</sup>	<sup>A</sup> 33b!(p) 33a!(p) <sup>A</sup>		M; “substance”; “prehension/pattern”
	33a <sup>A</sup>			M; “esse est percipi”
(34a)<-	<sup>A</sup> 35a(p)35b(p) <sup>A</sup>			(corrupt text)
(27b/28b)<-	36	/		M
(25a)<-	37	/		
(27b/28b)(8a)<-	38(p)	/	<b>Mar. 2</b>	M; “measurement” (epoch)
	39	39b(p)	<b>Mar. 4</b>	M (epoch)
	39b			
	40	/		
	43		<b>Mar. 9</b>	M
		42a		M
	41	41b (half page)	<b>May 4</b>	

Fig. 2

Explanation of signs

A...empty space on this side of the page

->...possible relation of pages regarding same vocabulary

® ...red line

(b) blue line

M...mathematical contents

***The Dimensional Transcription***

The dimensional transcription involves not just the text but also the non-textual elements of the position of the text, its character, and color. On each side of the pages there are three page-countings found in the original (2. page-counting), its reorganization (1. page-counting), and the page-counting of the copy (copy-counting) as the first information listed. The pages appear in their order regarding the 2. page-counting (except when the clear relations of some pages needed other procedures). The sides of each page are divided by lines in which the text appears and the proportions of the appearance of a text in its line numbering, as well as its relation to the other surrounding text. Such is an approximate duplication. The transcription includes even the crossed out or erased text. If something is not readable at all, the text is marked as corrupt text. Sketches are approximately reproduced as is underlining or highlighting which appears in the text. Additional text is marked as “added,” and explanations appear within the text or at the bottom of the pages.

*Explanation of signs used in the dimensional transcription:*

Counting of pages:	<p><b>2.counting [1. counting]</b> &lt;copy-counting&gt;  <b>/page/</b> ...number missing /logical number of the page/          &lt;page(c page)&gt;...page copied to (page) in &lt;copy counting&gt;  <b>n.</b> ... “next”  <b>f.</b> ...”follows” (regarding the original notes) page? ... corrupt text of page  <b>A</b> ... empty space on this side of the page  <b>MS</b> ... Additional machine written transcripts of Charles Hartshorne</p>
Text:	<p>{text} ...addition; not in the notes  <b>CH</b> {text} ... text added by Charles Hartshorne  <b>DH</b> {text} ... text added by Dorothy Hartshorne          &lt;text&gt; ... text only appearing in copy: appears as &lt;copy&gt; in the text          ~text~ ... corrupt text          * ... non-textual character (lines, signs, sketches); explained at: {*text}          ? ... questionable</p>

***Historical Context***

1925-26 was Whitehead's second academic year in Harvard, and it was an important year. In July 1925 Whitehead sent his manuscript of *Science and the Modern World* to the publisher and he knew already that he would deliver another course of Lowell Lectures in Boston in “Science and Religion,” the book that came to be called *Religion in the Making*, dated from March 1926. At the end of 1925, Whitehead delivered a paper at the American Philosophical Association's Eastern Division, where he presents a series of definitions and distinctions regarding physical events, also breaking through to a conception of time in which future includes genuine novelty and unimaginable becoming. Finally, in September 1926 he presented a lecture at the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy in Harvard, later published in its Proceedings as “Time,” enfolding the idea of supercession of events.

The lectures of the academic year 1925-26 allow us to see into the mind of Whitehead as he was developing his philosophy. New ideas appear; there are shifts in notions: the appearance of creativity; shifts in positions: the appearance of the idea of an epochal theory of time; there are changes in terminology: the appearance of occasions versus events. This look into Whitehead's thoughts held present by Hartshorne's notes may show how fluently Whitehead was able to create terms and concepts which helped in certain situations but were

abandoned in other situations, e.g., the concept of “inspectational relations” or “imaginative occasions.” If nothing else, this is the value of the notes: to get an impression of the thought of Whitehead when he was at a point where his ideas were in a state of creation. He suggested the new (and lasting) terminology: “creativity” and “epochal occasions.” Time as epochal underlies the whole manuscript: it appears as a problem of continuity and discontinuity, of measurement, of whole and part, of energy, of waves. In this manuscript, we can feel Whitehead’s creative impulse in forming a time-theory that can stand within mathematics, physics, and metaphysics at the same time and in the same intensity. The same holds for creativity: it appears within the context of measurement, of unification, of finite structure. It is “the measure of the unification of the possible” and “has a character”; it is structured by attributes; and it is immanent, it “becomes with the creatures.” In all of his lectures, Whitehead seeks to form a philosophy that is never only philosophy, but aims at a metaphysical scheme for all knowledge, be it philosophy, psychology, physics, or mathematics. Probably the most persistent idea which recurs throughout these lectures, binding together all themes to a creative unity, is the problem of discontinuity: it enfolds as problem of measurement, of unity, of creative becoming, of space and time, of quantity and quality, of substance and process.



Samples of Hartshorne's Original Notes

Charles Hartshorne's Notes

Whithead 9/13/27

Laboratory of Phil. = general concepts actually applied to real world.

1. Indis. Substances - Arist. (had other ideas)
2. Organic Empiricism - Heraclitus
3. Function-organism - Leibn. (para 1.)

Whithead = 2 + 3.

Occasion emerges from synth. of all occasions as components of itself.

Some entities necessarily in every occasion. It = source of pure math.

"Harmony" = mathematical word. Part felt beauty of math, ideas, & of world as a whole give these. This beauty transferred elegantly to general ideas apart from world. Beauty attaches to abstract only as harmony of the concrete. No more "all possible worlds" - can only appeal to actual. But is appeal to alternatives within gen. framework of actual.

Alternative glimpses of harmony within general harmony aspects of actual.

Sheer contingency - chair just such a chair. Bits of matter - forces - cause.

Function requires depth in time - not mere hology. Beginning not comprehensible without end = final cause, Function of efficient & final cause.

Dec. 19.

166a

James' "C'ness" first? only open to question insofar as he treats physical things as having stuff while C'ness only has or is a function.

### Imaginal Occ.

Mr. Squires (Nicolas Nicolay) "nature is a  
~~Limitation of knowl. or error~~ remin'um"

Imag. occ. analysed other occ. into data for its  
 creation, not into actual parts or part-creatures of  
 it as a creature.

Creation = <sup>(=imitation)</sup> measure of unification of possibilities,  
 not mere selection from it. of "Relativity" - (beginning)  
 "Intensive quantity" as in Kant.

Data for creation - extreme realism in medieval sense.  
 Yet - data not unrelated, not a scrap heap of unrelated units,  
 This is really stumbling block in realism to nominalist.  
 Relationship of data as in general possibility of creativity.

Creativity has a character, as abstracted from ~~any~~ <sup>all</sup> haptic  
 occs, & also in rel. to any haptic occ. all rels. are predi-  
 cational, & all predicated relational. ~~of~~ Moore & Russell  
 obsessed by ghost of Cartesian substantialism.

Depression. This word aims at real charact. of un-  
 It. Obj. is how other other occ. center into other occ. w/h. is ego.  
 Artist's logic seems to have distracted attention from real  
 side - though chiefly in later Aristotelianism.

Other Obj. not idea or thought, extreme realism here, <sup>(Heidegger)</sup>  
 In Med. Age. Predicated had a scrap heap.

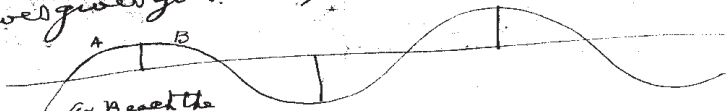
Jan 1971

20a

Every speech act, = synthesis (of opposites) of doing with undoing, given with consequent: (= reversion)

Every speech act exhibits Proterian character of creativity (Proterian always turned into something else) & now this extensive character, a no potential multiplicity of subordinate acts.

Formal log. contrast, not meant by union of opposites. Differences are within such an identity of type. Negative is not abstract - concrete opposition. Type not a bare identity, without contrasts. Continuity of curves gives you identity term of otherness.



A & B each the reverse of the other.

Below the line gives an opposite to above the line. Opposite deeper contrast gives a more definite (less or more) identity.

Above = characteristic picture of a world - line of a particle. ?

Nothing about space-time trivial = plan of fundamental adjustments between special occasions.

Creative synthesis involves creative analysis.

Not one serial line of time. This idea has gone to hell in physics. Part isn't just dropped to non-existence - physics, has always suspected this. Confused their insight to mean time is an illusion. 2 kinds of confusion, knowing

instances: ...  
 Both past & future ...  
 over ...  
 same level as ...  
 morph ...  
 immediate ...  
 couldn't give a ...  
 Cartesian ...  
 What is ...  
 staves ...  
 enables ...  
 modern ...  
 time-depth ...  
 metaph ...  
 ion ...  
 substance ...  
 energy ...  
 energy ...  
 an instant ...  
 object is ...  
 world ...  
 stuff ...  
 metaph ...  
 anal ...  
 green ...  
 with another ...  
 forms ...  
 more abstract ...