Goethe’s Educational Theories in Wilhelm Meister

by Ethel Ermine Clarke

June, 1912

Submitted to the Department of Germanic Languages of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of Wilhelm Meister in the Lebrjahre</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of Wilhelm Meister in the Wanderjahre</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Entsagenden</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renunciation</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrictions</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locality</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Plan of the Emigrants</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation to the Pedagogical Province</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education of Felix in the Wanderjahre</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical Province</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverence and greetings</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of the three religions</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sanctuary</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israelitish history</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The life of Christ</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pictures of the third series</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical Province continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punishment</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language teaching</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental music</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyric poetry</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastic arts</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Genius</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public decorations</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epic poetry</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The departure of Felix from the school</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous theories</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First impressions</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginnings</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education of women</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of elders toward children</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation to history of education</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION.

Goethe's novel, Wilhelm Meister, stands pre-eminent among those of its type, in which the author undertakes to show the development of a soul. Authorities\textsuperscript{1} seem to agree that this is the primary purpose of this book. Schiller expresses it thus:\textsuperscript{2} "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahres sind die Bildungsgeschichte eines Menschen der von einem leeren unbestimmten Ideal in ein bestimmtes werkthätiges Leben tritt ohne die idealisierende Kraft dabei einzubüssen." The second part, "Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre" which appeared in 1821, twenty six years after the Lehrjahre had been published, while conforming to this general purpose has in addition the more specific one of educational reform.\textsuperscript{3} At any rate Goethe has set forth many pedagogical ideas which seem to deserve more attention than they have received from critics.

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{1} Reimann, Dr. Robert in Goethe's Remantechnik page 196 says; Die Lehrjahre antworten nicht auf die Frage: "wie wird man tugendhaft?" "noch weniger auf die," "wie soll man sich bilden?" sondern sie behandeln das Problem der halben Begabung und stellen den Tragischen Irrtum eines selbstbewussten Dilettanten in allen seinen Konsequenzen.
\item\textsuperscript{2} H. Hettner, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur Book III\textsuperscript{a} page 114.
\item\textsuperscript{3} Bielschowsky - Life of Goethe. Vol. II page 260.
\end{itemize}
This phase of the book is most prominent in the institution called the Pedagogical Province. The system of education presented there is, to be sure, incomplete and unpractical. Goethe himself realized this, for he makes one of his characters, Leonardo, speak of the institution thus:¹

Als ich ihn vor Jahren das letzte Mal sah, erzählte er mir gar manches von einer pädagogischen Verbindung, die ich nur für einer Art von Utopien halten konnte; es schien mir, als sei unter dem Bilde der Wirklichkeit eine Reihe von Ideen, Gedanken, Vorschlägen und Vorsätzen gemeint, die freilich zusammenhingen aber in dem gewöhnlichen Laufe der Dinge wohl schwerlich zusammentreffen möchten." But however unpractical may be this theory, it is of interest not simply because it is the idea of a famous man, embodied in a famous book, but also because of its relation to the history of education.

It is the purpose of this paper then, to present Goethe's educational ideas as seen in Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre and Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre. The more specifically pedagogical theories are given in the setting of general culture, since they are so closely connected it is impossible to wholly separate them. The outlines of Wilhelm's development, and later that of his son, form the background.

The text used was that from the Gotta edition of Goethe's Sämtliche Werke 16, 17 and 18 and all references are to those volumes.
In "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre", it seems to be Goethe's purpose to lead his hero up through his errors and varied experiences to a harmonious education. In the beginning we see him a young man of twenty two years, a dreamer and idealist with strong tendencies toward the stage and a love for art. The inclination for the stage is greatly strengthened— and perhaps wholly accounted for— by his familiarity with puppet shows in his boyhood and by his love for a pretty actress, Mariane. He wishes to become an actor and poet, but his father who is strictly a materialist wants him to become a business man and even threatens to stop his visits to the theater. So Wilhelm is put into a counting house while his lessons are continued with a tutor. He is sent by the firm on a business journey in order to fit him better for his life work but his sympathetic nature causes him to turn aside from his errand to help a pair of runaway lovers, the young man being an actor. After his return he becomes convinced of the faithlessness of Mariane, and upon recovering from a severe illness, throws himself into business, resolving to give up all thought of the stage. He even burns all his manuscripts. In three years however, he is sent out again as a commercial traveler and upon seeing some plays performed, he feels again his old passion for the theater. He falls in with some
players, and once more his business seems to be forgotten, for he tarries indefinitely, and finally, out of a desire to be helpful to some unemployed actors, he invests in some scenery and becomes the stage manager and playwright of a strolling company. This tie, together with the love of a little Italian girl, Mignon, whom he has rescued from a harsh master, prevents Wilhelm from returning to his home, though he frequently decides that he must do so. Later he goes with the theatrical company to the castle of a count, thus coming in contact with the aristocracy. Here Wilhelm writes and also becomes a performer, but of most importance is the fact that he becomes acquainted with Shakespeare's works. At this point he ceases to wear his quiet business clothes but puts on a fanciful costume more in keeping with his calling as an outward sign of the break with his former self. After leaving the count's castle the theatrical company is broken up because of an attack made upon them by some robbers. Wilhelm wavers for some time but finally becomes the stage manager in a city theater controlled by Serlo. Here our hero plays very successfully the role of the Prince of Denmark in a presentation of Shakespeare. But he becomes more and more dissatisfied with his chosen calling, feeling that acting is only a trade.
About this time he reads "Die Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele", the story that tells of a beautiful girl who gave herself up to inactive introspection and pious devotion. In the criticism which the girl's uncle makes upon this sort of a life, Wilhelm himself gets some much needed advice. He says: 1 "Das ganze Weltwesen liegt vor uns, wie ein großer Steinbruch vor dem Baumeister, der nur dann den Namen verdient, wenn er aus diesen zufälligen Naturmassen ein in seinem Geiste entsprungenes Urbild mit der größten Ökonomie, Zweckmäßigkeit und Festigkeit zusammenstellt. Alles ausser uns ist nur Element, ja, ich darf wohl sagen, auch alles an uns; aber tief in uns liegt diese schöpferische Kraft, die das zu erschaffen vermog, was sein soll, und uns nicht ruhen und rasten lässt, bis wir es ausser uns oder an uns, auf eine oder die andere Weise, dargestellt haben." In another place the Uncle remarks: 2 "so ist Entscheidendheit und Folge nach meiner Meinung das Verehrungswürdigste am Menschen."

1. Lehrjahre II page 116.
2. Lehrjahre II page 117.
Still further in the conversation he says: "Ohne Ernst ist in der Welt nichts möglich, und unter denen die wir gebildete Menschen nennen, ist eigentlich wenig Ernst zu finden; sie gehen, ich möchte sagen, gegen Arbeiten und Geschäfte, gegen Künste ja, gegen Vergnügungen nur mit einer Art von Selbstverteidigung zu Werke; man lebt, wie man ein Pack Zeitungen liest, nur damit man sie los werde. Man will mancherlei wissen und kennen, und gerade das, was einem am wenigsten angeht, und man bemerkt nicht, dass kein Hunger dadurch gestillt wird, wenn man nach der Luft schnappt. Wenn ich einen Menschen kennen lerne, frage ich sogleich, womit beschäftigt er sich? und wie und in welcher Folge? und mit der Beantwortung der Frage ist auch mein Interesse an ihm auf zeitlebens entschieden." In the light of these keen criticisms and searching questions Wilhelm sees how useless his life has been. He has, to be sure, acquired a great deal of culture and knowledge, but he has been weak and wavering.

In going upon an errand for Aurelia, the dying sister of Serlo, Wilhelm meets for the first time people who are capable of exerting the right kind of influence upon him. In Lothario to whose

1. Lehrjahre II page 118.
castle he goes, he sees a man who is constantly accomplishing something, not for himself alone but for the people who live on his estate. Wilhelm is sent from the castle upon an errand to the home of Theresa an active energetic woman who is acting as a manager of a neighboring estate and at the same time conducting a small private school for girls, whom she instructs in the household duties. These people furnish just the example needed by Wilhelm after reading "die Bekenntisse einer schönen Seele" and he decides to give up the stage in order to enter into a new and useful career. When he returns to the city to make the necessary arrangements for this change, Wilhelm learns that little Felix, formerly cared for by Aurelia as her son is really his own son and that the mother Mariane is dead. With Felix and Mignon he then returns to the castle of Lotharia and at this time he is formally introduced into the society which has its headquarters in the tower of Lothario's castle.

The purpose of this organization seems to have been to aid good men to develop into useful lives in accordance with their nature. Jarno, who had first made Wilhelm acquainted with Shakespeare, is a member and also the Abbe who had acted as the agent in purchasing the pictures of Wilhelm's grandfather years
before. He had also appeared several years after that as a stranger at the inn where he gave the young man some good advice. Among other things he said:

"Leider höre ich schon wieder das Wort Schicksal von einem jungen Manne aussprechen, der sich eben in einem Alter befindet, wo man gewöhnlich seinen lebhaften Neigungen den Willen höher wesentlich unterzuschieben pflegt." and also: 

"Ich kann mich nur über den Menschen freuen, der weiss was ihm und andern nütze ist, und seine Willkür zu beschränken arbeitet."

When Wilhelm is taken to the secret chamber in the tower and goes through the various rites, he sees two other people with whom he has previously come in contact. One is an officer who had stopped to talk to Jarno in the Count's park and who has at that time expressed a mysterious interest in Wilhelm's welfare. The other had appeared and acted the part of a country clergyman once when the young man was in a boating party with his actor friends. The fact that he is said to resemble the Abbe although he does not appear exactly the same person, suggests to us

that possibly it may really be the Abbé, but there is no definite answer to be found to this question. At any rate in his serious conversation with Wilhelm in the earlier part of the novel he shows, particularly by what he says of the puppet plays, that he is familiar with the young man's life. When he appears to Wilhelm in the tower, he speaks again some wise words:

"Nicht vor Irrtum zu bewahren den Irrrenden zu leiten ja, ihn seinen Irrtum aus vollen Bechern ausschöpfen zu lassen, das ist Weisheit der Lehrer. Wer seinen Irrtum nur kostet, hält lange damit Haus, er freuet sich dessen als eines seltenen Glücks; aber wer ihn ganz erschöpft, der muss ihn kennen lernen, wenn er nicht wahnsinnig ist." So it seems that this strange society has been following him and exerting an influence upon him throughout his life.

At the close of the ceremony Wilhelm is presented by the Abbe with the Lehrbrief of the Society which reads as follows:

"Die Kunst ist lang, das Leben kurz, das

1. Lehrjahre Vol. II page 197.
und ihre beharrliche Mittelmässigkeit ängstigt die
Besten. Des Echten Künstlers Lehre schliesst den
Sinn auf; denn wo die Worte fehlen spricht die Tat.
Der sechste Schüler lernt aus dem Bekannten das Unbe-
kannte entwickeln und nähert sich dem Meister."

This is all Wihelm is permitted to read then,
but he is allowed to ask a question. He asks if Felix
is really his son and is assured that he is. This question
seems to be the last thing needed to show his development
complete and he had stood the test. The one thing he
desired to know concerned some one besides himself
and shows that he was not wholly selfish. At this
point the Abbe declared his apprenticeship at an end
in these words; "Die Natur hat dich losgesprochen."
Wilhelm is ready now and desires to lead an active
useful life, so he purchases some land in partnership
with Lothario. He offers his hand in marriage to the
energetic Theresa, who, he thinks will be a good mother
for Felix, but circumstances finally lead him to a
different type of a woman in Natalie. She it is
who had been of assistance to Wilhelm at the time of the
attack by the robbers, and about whom he has always
dreamed since. In her is combined the activity of
of Theresa with the spirituality of the "Schöne Seele". Although their mutual love is declared, Wilhelm and Natalie are not married, but arrangements are made by the society for the tower for Wilhelm to set out as a traveler.
II. It is upon this foundation from the Lebrjahre that Goethe has built the Wanderjahre. Much dissatisfaction has been expressed with the ending of the Lebrjahre and it certainly would be most unsatisfactory if that were really the end of the novel, for Wilhelm who has just realized the importance of an active useful life is again starting out to wander. But his development is not yet complete and the Wanderjahre takes it up at this point and completes it according to Goethe's educational ideals. The Wanderjahre is often compared in its relation to the Lebrjahre with that of the second part of Faust to the first part.¹

It belongs to it just as closely and is just as necessary to the proper understanding of the Lebrjahre as in the case of Faust II. The comparison might be carried still further, for the Wanderjahre seems to be as much neglected by the critics as is the second part of Faust.

At the point where the Wanderjahre begins, Wilhelm, through his contact with the tower society has come to see how useless his life has been and wishes to improve. Indeed there is danger of his going to another extreme but for the influence of Natalie who represents the happy medium between idealism and

¹ Hettner page 124.
activity. It is true that from the standpoint of novel-technique we might have expected to see him settle down at the end of the Lehrjahre to a useful domestic life. But Goethe did not believe him yet ready (for) for that. His culture and education has been too general, and he has yet, in order to become a useful member of his society to become skilled in some handicraft. That is the educational message of the Wanderjahre which finds expression in the words of Montau-formerly Jarno-1: "Narrenposen sind eure allgemeine Bildung und alle Anstalten dazu. Dass ein Mensch etwas ganz entschieden verstehe, vorzüglich leiste, wie nicht leicht ein anderer in der nächsten Umgebung darauf kämmt es an, und besonders in unserm Verbande spricht es sich von selbst aus." The"Verbande" mentioned here is that of the tower society of the Lehrjahre, now much enlarged, and whose members are called"Die Entagenden."

At the beginning of the Wanderjahre we find Wilhelm traveling under the orders of the association with the prescribed rules that he must not stop more than three days under the same roof and must leave no inn without going at least a mile away. At first these seem purely capricious injunctions, but they are not

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as Jarno shows when he says to Wilhelm: 1 "Du bist von der Menschenart die sich leicht an einen Ort nicht leicht an eine Bestimmung gewöhnen. Allen solchen wird die unstete Lebensart vorgeschrieben, damit sie vielleicht zu einer sichern Lebensweise gelangen."

The story is begun with Wilhelm and Felix at the top of a mountain chain and the first incident is the meeting with the family of Joseph the Second, which makes a profound impression upon Wilhelm. Joseph, who is a carpenter and a master of his craft, lives with his family in an old monastery which he has restored on the mountain side. There under the influence of the pictures in the chapel they have come to imitate the holy family both in costume and in manner of living, and are most useful members of the community; doing good to all around them.

After leaving this place the travelers next meet Montan- the Jarno of the Lehrjahre- who has become a miner and geologist. In their lengthy conversation Jarno discourses upon the value of a handicraft. When Wilhelm urges the advantages of a many sided culture he says: 2 "Vielseitigkeit

1. Wanderjahre page 249.
2. Wanderjahre page 33-34.

As they talk Wilhelm confides in Jarno the fact that he has for sometime desired to devote himself to a special profession, and requests his friend to use his influence with the brothers of the association to have freed from his obligation of remaining only three days in one place. Jarno believing his purpose to be a good one promises his aid. We are not told
yet what Wilhelm's intentions are but an old surgical case which he carries with him as a sort of a fetich is suggestive.

The father and son soon come to the estate of an interesting man, whose grandfather had settled in America with William Penn. This extraordinary man could not fail to greatly influence anyone with whom he came in contact. The motto over his gate, "Besitz und Gemeingut" is an indication of his character. His property he manages as a steward, giving the people the benefit. For example, he has large nurseries from which he gives young fruit trees to deserving people while others must pay. Thus he encourages activity among his tenants. Another indication of his practical nature is the fact that in his picture gallery are the portraits of only men who have achieved some great work. Upon leaving this miniature commonwealth, Wilhelm, at the request of Hersitia, this landowner's niece, next visits Markaria, Hersitia's aunt. She is a most remarkable person whose nature is related to the spheres. After an evening of lofty conversation, Wilhelm spends a wonderful night with Markaria's astronomer. He sees at this place also another energetic young woman, Angela, who is teaching some girls. He leaves Markaria
to go on a commission to her nephew Leonardo, who has been away for some time and hesitates to return because of some painful memories in connection with a young woman on his uncle's estate. He feels that he did not sufficiently intercede for her father who was being expelled from his cottage and has a great anxiety for the girl's fate. Upon meeting Leonardo and assuring him of the happiness of the "Nut Brown Maid" they ride together to her supposed dwelling but meet there another acquaintance whose name Leonardo has confused with that of the other. Again he is plunged into despair and to relieve his conscience, Wilhelm promises to undertake a journey to find the real "Nut Brown Maid." At Leonardo's suggestion he decides to leave Felix in the meantime at the Pedagogical Province, and he stops for information in regard to it at the house of an old antiquarian. Here Wilhelm hears another discourse on the value of handiwork from the old gentleman who says:¹ "Allem Leben, allem Tun, aller Kunst muss das Handwerk vorausgehen."²

1. Wanderjahre page 132.
2. See page 30 for the rest of this speech.
After visiting the Province and leaving Felix there, Wilhelm finds the "Nut Brown Maid" in a community of weavers, as he writes to Leonardo; and next he undertakes a pilgrimage to Mignon's birthplace. When he returns he finds waiting him a letter from the Abbe' freeing him from the exacting rule of the order. We do not follow Wilhelm into his new work, but we find from what he later relates that he spent sometime at a medical school in learning surgery which is his chosen handicraft. He is not a physcian merely, for that would be too general. He becomes a surgeon, one who must do skilled work with his hands. Thus Wilhelm has proved himself a most useful link as he had occasion to demonstrate during his second visit to the Pedagogical Province and when an accident happens to one of his guild brethren whom he nexts visits at an old castle. It is here that he makes to Leonardo a report of his studies which is interesting from a standpoint of medical education. His studies began, he says at a large institution in a large town, with anatomy as the fundamental study. His theatrical career had already given him some knowledge of the human frame. He felt repugnance for actual dissection and became the pupil of a man who believes in the constructive method and makes anatomical dissections of wax. In explaining
his method to Wilhelm he said:¹ "Sie sollen in kurzen erfahren, dass Aufbauen mehr belehrt als Einreissen. Verbinden mehr als Trennen, Totes beleben mehr, als das Getötete noch weiter töten." Wilhelm was set to work at first in putting the wooden skeleton of an arm, and afterwards in building the sinews and muscles of wax. Not only was the work done forward in this constructive way, but also backward. For example a cast had been made of a torso of an antique youth and the medical master tried to remove the epidermis from the ideal form made by the sculptor and display the muscles. The promoter of this system, which was depreciated by medical professors, had no wish to do away with the medical schools. He felt that there was a place for them, but that they should be occupied only with tradition.

The group of craftsmen which Wilhelm finds at this place consists chiefly of carpenters and masons who are employed in rebuilding a country town which had been destroyed by fire. An interesting thing about these workmen is the fact that they understand singing perfectly and sing a great deal in chorus, seeming in this way to regulate and govern the actions of the whole body. These lines from one of their songs indicate their serious purpose in life.

¹ Wanderjahre III page 264.
"Und dein Streben, sei's in Liebe,
Und dein Leben sei die Tat."

Leonardo is one of the superiors of this group and another is Natalie's brother Friedrich, seen before in the Lebrjahre. His speciality in which no one surpasses him, is a good memory, which he turns to account in a clerical way—constituting a whole office in himself, as he says. At this place, preparations for migration to America are being made under Leonardo's leadership; and Wilhelm learns that Lothario, Theresa, Natalie and the Abbe' have already sailed. Other members of the society gather at Markaria's in order to start. After their departure Wilhelm starts down the stream to pay a visit to Felix. The boy has left the school however, and in rushing on horseback to find his father, falls into a stream. Wilhelm brings him back to life, using the extraordinary method of bleeding. Thus his surgery is made at the end to serve the fitting purpose of restoring his own son to life.
III. Because of the influence which the order of the "Entsagende" has upon Wilhelm, and because of the educational nature of its principles, a more complete explanation of this association should be made. The information however, can only be gleaned from scattered fragments throughout the book. The clearest statement of their purpose is given by Leonardo in his speech to the emigrants as follows:\(^1\) "Unsere Gesellschaft aber ist darauf gegründet dass jeder in seinem Masse, nach seinen Zwecken aufgeklärt werde. Hat irgend einer Lawd in Sinne, Wohin er seine Wünsche richtet, so suchen wir ihm das einzelne deutlich zy machen, was im ganzen seiner Einbildungs, kraft vorschwebte; uns wechselseitig einem Überblick der bewohnten und bewohnbaren Welt zu geben, ist die augenweisste, höchst belohrende Unterhaltung."

As the name implies the members must live in renunciation of something, for a time at least. There seem to be various things to be given up by different members. Wilhelm, for example gives up the joy of a quiet domestic life for a life of wandering.

\(^1\) Wanderjahre III, 10, p. 318.
Montau goes out on his travels with love unrequited. The young barber, Christopher, who was by nature very talkative is denied the privilege of talking while he works. He is, however, allowed to tell some tales, which he does all the better seemingly because of the restriction placed upon his freedom of speech. Besides these individual renunciations there is one limitation placed upon every member, and that relates to vocation. It is a rule of the order, and one frequently mentioned— that each member restrict himself to one craft and become skilled in that. Accordingly Jarno becomes an authority on mining and geology, Wilhelm is a skilled surgeon, and Leonardo, though we see him principally as a leader, has attained that place because he was a master mechanic.

Still another obligation upon the members of the order is that they speak neither of the past nor future when they meet. The reason for this limitation upon the conversation is easily understood, for persons who believe as faithfully in activity and achievement as do the "Entsagende" have no time even to think of past and future. They must live in the present.

The regulation of remaining no more than three days in one place, seems not to be imposed upon all the members, but only upon those whose natures seem to
necessitate it, as in Wilhelm's case. But the whole order seems to feel a "Wanderlust" as the emigration of a great number of them indicates. This spirit is well expressed in the wanderer's song which is sung by the laborers at the old castle:

"Bleibe nicht am Boden heften,
Frisch gewagt und frisch hinaus,
Kopf und Arm, mit heitern Kräften
Ueberall sind sie zu Haus;
Wo wir uns der Sonne freuen,
Sind wir jede Sorge los;
Dass wir uns in ihr zertreuen,
Darum ist die Welt so gross."

The association seems not to have any permanent central office or location for the Abbé sends to Wilhelm a little chart whereby he can tell where to send his letters at each season of the year. "Ich lege zum Schluss ein Täfelchen bei," writes the Abbé to Wilhelm, "woraus Sie den beweglichen mittelpunkt unserer Kommunikationen erkenen werden." The society is, however, in possession of some land, as we learn from this same letter, though

1.. Wanderjahre III, 1-page 257
2.. Wanderjahre II, 1-page 217
we are not told exactly to what use it is put. It seems most probable that it was used for some social purpose, since that is the most important phase of the association, as we see at the time of the emigration.

However interesting that may be, it does not belong to this subject, with the exception of the system of education planned for the new country. Friedrich, explaining it to Wilhelm says:¹ "Gewisse Dinge freilich müssen nach einer gewissen gleichförmigen Einheit gebildet werden: Lesen Schreiben, Rechnen mit Leichtigkeit der Masse zu überliefern, übernimmt der Abbé; seine Methode erinnert an den wechselseitigen Unterricht, doch ist sie geistreicher; eigentlich aber kommt alles darauf an, zu gleicher Zeit Lehrer und Schüler zu bilden.

The comprehensiveness of the association is indicated in the words of the Abbé:² "Wir müssen den Begriff einer Weltfrömmigkeit fassen, unsere redlich menschlichen Gesinnungen in einen praktischen Bezug ins weite setzen und nicht nur unsere Nächsten fordern, sondern zugleich die ganz Menschheit mitnehmen."

¹ Wanderjahre III, 11 page 331.
² Wanderjahre II, 7 page 217.
A close connection is established by the order to the Pedagogical Province. The Abbé himself says in regard to this point: ¹ "Im ganzen wird zu jener pädagogischen Anstalt, und nötig werden. Wir müssen tun und dürfen aus Bilden nicht denken; aber Gebildete heran zu ziehen ist unsere höchste Pflicht." Accordingly, Lothario goes to the pedagogues to procure skilled artisans—though only a few as the Abbé adds—and then goes on to say further: ² "Die Künste sind das Salz der Erde; wie dieses zu den Speisen so verhalten sich jene zu der Technik. Wir nehmen von der Kunst nicht mehr auf als nur dass das Handwerk nicht abgeschmackt werde."

Concerning officers of the association we are told nothing, and it probable that in this democratic organization there were none. Yet the Abbé seems to be the one of most influence and highest authority, for he is most often quoted by the other members and it is through him that Wilhelm finally obtains his freedom from the restriction placed upon him. Lothario seems to be a leader, but he seems to be such by virtue of his ability and strength of character, rather by any election or appointment. Among the craftsmen at the

¹ Wanderjahre II, 7 page 216.
² Wanderjahre II, 7 page 216.
old castle, Leonardo, Fráedrich, and the bailiff act as authorities, and Wilhelm's invitation to remain is said to come from the "Band", a title probably applied to the three together. The whole idea of the organization and government is essentially democratic. IV. While the association of the "Entsagenden" seems to have been largely responsible for Wilhelm's development, it is connection with the education of young Felix that the purely pedagogical ideas of Goethe are expressed, particularly in the description of the Pedagogical Province. Before the time that the child enters this institution, he has very little special training. His earliest childhood was spent with a theatrical troupe, without his real mother; though Aurelia cares for him as though he were her own child. When Wilhelm becomes connected with the society of the tower he realizes his own unfitness to bring up the boy properly, yet he takes him with him on his travels. We do not know just how old Felix is at the beginning of the Wanderjahre when we see him with his father in the mountains, but he is an active boy, eager for knowledge, who plies his father with question which many times he can not answer.
A mystical side of the boys nature is shown when when he dives into a cave on the mountain side, guided by some mysterious impulse, and finds a little golden casket. The meaning of this has been variously interpreted. Bielschowsky\(^1\) thinks it is a symbol of the life of Felix, inasmuch as it is locked and he has not the key. Düntzer\(^2\) applies it particularly to his relation to Hersilia for whom he forms a great attachment. Either of these ideas seems plausible, but they are both pure speculation, since there seems to be nothing in the story to determine a definite meaning. The next thing of importance occurs in the boy's life when the travelers visit the estate where he sees Hersilia. He loves her at once,—though she is a grown young woman. The influence of this strange passion,—which lasts throughout the book—begins to be seen at once, for, when at the leave taking Hersilia asks Felix what he is going to learn, he says:\(^3\) "Ich lerne

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schreiben, damit ich dir einen Brief schicken kann, und reiten wie keiner, damit ich immer gleich wieder bei dir bin." These were no idle words either, for at the very next stopping place,-with Hersália's aunt Makaria,- he is discovered diligently writing and he still declares that writing and riding are the only things in which he has pleasure.

Just before Wilhelm starts on the journey for Leonardo, he leaves his son at the Pedagogical Province which Leonardo recommends. Wilhelm protested to Leonardo as he had before to Jarno, that the best place for the development of a child is with his father, but Leonardo overcomes his objection by saying 1

"Keines wegs, dies ist ein holder väterlicher Irrtum: der Vater behält immer eine Art von despotischem Verhältnis zu dem Sohn, dessen Tugenden er nicht anerkennt und an dessen Fehlern er sich freut; deswegen die Alten schon zu sagen pflegten, der Helden Söhne werden Taugenichtse."

The old antiquarian to whom Leonardo sends Wilhelm for directions, in speaking of the institution says: 2 "Da wo ich Sie hinweise, hat man alle Tätigkeiten gesondert; geprüft werden die Zöglinge auf jedem

1..Wanderjahre I, 11 page 125.  
2..Wanderjahre I, 12 page 132.
Schritt; dabei er kennt man, wo seine Natur eigentlich hinstrebt, ob er sich gleich mit zerstreuten Wünschen bald da, bald dort hin wendet. Wie Männer lassen den Knaben unter der Hand dasjenige finden, was ihm gemäss ist; sie verkürzen die Umwege, durch welche der Mensch von seiner Bestimmung, nur allzu gefällig, abirren mag."

Location. To describing the nature and methods of this pedagogical Utopia, Goethe has devoted considerable space in the novel. To begin with, he locates the institution in a fertile region. Belonging to it is a large tract of land. How large it is impossible to say, but there are within its boundaries wooded mountains and broad valleys where sheep and other domestic animals graze. Deep within this region is a forest valley surrounded with high walls, and it is within this enclosure that the visitor first meets the men who have in charge the administration of the institution. There is at the head of it a man called "der Obere". In one place where he is mentioned he is said to be in the sanctuary teaching and blessing; and this is the only definite statement in regard to his work. Of almost equal power, apparently, and with the special duty of presiding over things holy are the three.
These together stand in place of the superior authority. They are usually spoken of together and seem to be closely united. They work separately sometimes, however, for Wilhlem has the Eldest for his conductor through the sanctuary where the pictures are kept; and on another occasion they go separately to inspect the various departments of the institution. The only other officers mentioned,—except the teachers, of course,—are the subordinate overseers sometimes called inspectors. On one occasion, the man who has charge of the boys' games is called the superintendent.

The purpose of the institution is to educate boys into useful industries, self-respecting and high-minded men, through the mastery of a craft. Its basic principle is that the beginning of all activity should be preceded by handiwork, and that the sphere of this should be limited because a correct knowledge and practice of one thing brings a higher culture than a half knowledge of a great many things. Consequently, the various activities have been placed in the curriculum of the school. The pupils are allowed to find what is suited to their natures, and then the pedagogues attempt to develop what nature has given, cutting off the byroads which might tempt the pupils to stray from the chosen vocation.
Students

In regard to the admission of students, who come from all parts of the world, no requirements are made as to qualifications or age. There are boys there, of course, yet in some instances the students are called men. We can not tell either, how long they are supposed to remain there. The only clue to this question is found when Wilhelm asks the overseer why they do not have an exhibition of the three years work of the best pupils. From this it is to be assumed that they stay at least that long, but how much longer, if any, it is impossible to say. Probably however, they remain until the authorities consider them sufficiently proficient for dismissal. Each year at the time when the pupils take leave of the institution, there is a festival to which the parents are invited.

Singing

During the first visit of Wilhelm Meister to the Province he is informed of some of the important pedagogical methods in use there. The first thing he notices is the importance given to singing, and is told by the overseer that this is the first step in education with them, that everything else is subservient to it and obtained by means of it. In explanation of this strange statement he says further:¹ Der einfachste Genuss so wie die einfachste Lehre werden bei uns durch

¹ Wanderjahre II, 1, Page 135.
Gesang belebt und eingeprägt, ja selbst, was wir
überliefern von Glaubensverschwistem sich sogleich:
denn indem wir die Kinder üben, Töne welche sie
Hervorbringen, mit Zeichen auf die Tafel schreiben
zu lernen, und nach Anlass dieser Zeichen sodann in
ihrer Kehle wiederzufinden, ferner den Text darunter
tu fügen, so üben sie zugleich Hand, Ohr, und Auge
und gelangen schneller zum Recht und Schönenschreiben,
as man denkt; und da dieses alles zuletzt nach reinen
Massen, nach genau bestimmten Zahlen ausgeübt und nachgebildet
werden muss, so fassen sie den hohen Wert der
Mess- und Rechenkunst viel geschwinder, als auf jede
andere Weise. Deshalb haben wir denn unter allem
Denkbaren die Musik zum Element unserer Erziehung
gewählt, denn von ihr laufen gleichgebannte Wege
nach allen Seiten.

Play
Not only do they teach writing and arithmetic
by means of vocal music, but the singing continues
even to the play hour of the younger boys. The games
that they play consists of a chorus in which all
join under the direction of the superintendent. He
sometimes causes them considerable merriment by
suddenly stopping the chorus and calling upon. Some
individual to adapt a suitable song to the time and to
the passing idea. Those who fail in doing this cheerfully pay a forfeit.

Reverence Another interesting thing about the methods
of the institution is the importance placed upon the
quality of reverence. In Wilhelm's conversation with
the Three, they tell him that reverence is one thing
that no one brings into the world, and yet it is that
upon which everything depends through which a man be­
comes a man on every side. So it is a part of the duty
of the teachers not only to develop what nature has
given, but also to cultivate reverence in a child.
They teach three kinds of reverence: first, veneration
for that which is above; second, veneration for that
which is below; and third, veneration for that which
is around us. All of these combined teach the pupils
reverence for self. The youths are taken through these
various stages and when they are sufficiently impressed
with one kind of reverence, they are passed on to the
next. Each stage is indicated by a different attitude
and gestures given by way of greeting. In the first
stage where the untutored children begin, the arms are
folded on the breast while the child glances cheerfully
upward at the sky. This is to teach that there is a
God above who reflects and reveals himself in parents, tutors, and superiors. Those who in the next stage are learning to regard the earth well and cheerfully stand with hands behind the back while they look down smilingly. Every pupil is taken from this stage as quickly as possible, and in the third he stands erect among his companions, who stand in a row, being no longer isolated as before. Fear has no place in this reverence. That is a natural feeling, say the Three, easy to acquire but unpleasant. On the other hand to cherish reverence is difficult but pleasing. Man does not give himself up readily to reverence but it is a lofty sentiment which must be imparted to him. It is only self developed in especially favored ones who are always considered as saints and gods.

Religion Neither does a religion based on fear have any place in this institution. There exist, these pedagogues believe, three genuine religions, according to the objects worshipped. The three are explained as follows:¹

¹ Die Religion, welche auf Ehrfurcht vor dem, was über uns ist, die Religion der Völker und die erste glückliche Ablösung von einer niederm Furcht; alle sogenannten heidinschen Religionem sind von dieser Art, sie mögen übrigens Namen haben, wie sie wollen.

1. Wanderjahre II, 2, page 140.
Die Zweite Religion, die sich auf jene Ehrfurcht gründet, die wir vor dem haben, was uns gleich ist, nennen wir die philosophische: denn der Philosoph, der sich in der Mitte stellt, muss alles Höhere zu sich herab, alles Niedere zu sich herauf ziehen, und nur in diesen Mittelzustand verdient er den Namen des Weisen. Indem er nun das Verhältnis zu seinesgleichen und also nur ganzen Menschheit, das Verhältnis zu allen übrigen irdischen Umgebungen, notwendigen und zufälligen, durchschaut, lebt er im kosmischer Sinne allein in der Wahrheit. Nun ist aber von der dritten Religion zu sprechen, gegründet auf die Ehrfurcht vor dem was unter uns ist; wir nennen sie die Christliche, weil sich in ihr eine solche Sinnesart am meisten offenbart; es ist ein letztes, wozu die Menschheit gelangen konnte und musste. Aber was gehörte dazu, die Erde nicht allein unter sich liegen zu lassen und sich auf einen höhere Geburtsort zu berufen, sondern auch Niedrigkeit und Armut, Spott und Verachtung, Schmach und Elend, Leiden und Tod als göttlich anzuerkennen, ja, Sünde selbst und Verbrechen nicht als Hindernisse sondern als Fördernisse des Heiligen zu verehren und liebzugewinnen. Hierof finden sich freilich Spuren durch alle Zeiten; aber Spur ist nicht
Ziel, und da dieses einmal erschienen ist, nicht wieder verschwinden kann, da sie sich einmal göttlich verkörpert hat, nicht wieder aufgelöst werden mag.

When the Three are asked which of the three religions they adhere to most particularly, the reply is, 1 "Zu allen dreien, denn sie zusammen bringen eignentlich die wahre Religion hervor; aus diesen drei Ehrfurchten entspringt die älteste Ehrfurcht die Ehrfurcht vor sich selbst, und jene entwickeln sich abermals aus dieser, so dass der Mensch zum Höchsten gelangt, was er zu erreichen fähig ist, dass er sich selbst für das Beste halten darf, was Gott und Natur hervorgebracht haben, ja, dass er auf dieser Höhe verweilen kann, ohne durch Dunkel und Selbstheit wieder ins Gemeine gezogen zu werden,"

The visible objects of veneration are inclosed within the sanctuary, and only at certain times of the year are the pupils admitted, according to the stages of education, in order that they may be instructed historically and through the senses. From this one impression made by the pictures—for thus are they taught—they are supposed to obtain food for thought for a long time. The place to which the pupils are admitted at

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these special times is a handsome eight sided hall richly adorned with pictures. In connection with this are side galleries open on one side and surrounding a richly planted flower garden. In one of the galleries the subjects of the pictures are furnished by the sacred history of the Israelites. As the Eldest of the Three explains to Wilhelm: 1 "Der Gehalt derselben findet sich in der Weltgeschichte, so wie die Hülle derselben in den Begebenheiten. An der Weiderkehr der Schicksale ganzer Völker wird sie eigentlich begriffen." In the plinths and friezes are depicted events of similar signification rather than synchronistic. For instance, in the principal fields Abraham is visited by his Gods in the forms of youths, in the frieze is Appolo among the sheperds of Admetus. Thus have they made use of the fact that there occur traditions of similar import among all nations. The Israelitish history was chosen for the foundation of this series because the pedagogues believe it to have advantage over all heathen religions. They do not maintain that it is the best, for it possesses few virtues and has most

1. Wanderjahre II, 2, page 142.
of the faults of other nations, but the point is, it has maintained itself. In independence, courage, and tenacity, it is unequaled, and that is what counts before the ethnic tribunal. Another advantage is in the excellent collection of holy books which are praised by the Eldest in these words: "Sie stehen so glücklich beisammen dass aus den fremdesten Elementen ein täuschendes Ganzes entgegentritt. Sie sind vollständig genug um zu befriedigen, fragmentarisch genug um zu anzureizen: hinlänglich barbarisch um aufzufordern, hinlänglich zärt, um zu besänftigen; und wie manche andere entgegengesetzte Eigenschaften sind an diesen Büchern, an diesem Buche zu rügen." Still another advantage of the Israeliitish religion he mentions is the fact that it does not embody its god in any given form and leaves the liberty to give him a human figure and also to depict idolatry by the forms of beasts and monsters. The whole history is represented down to the destruction of the Temple and the scattering of the people, while the subsequent destiny is represented allegorically.

Jesus Christ is not introduced in this series because his was a private life, without connection

1. Wanderjahre II, 2, page 143.
with world history for the time, so his doctrine is one for individuals. For that reason his teachings belong to the second religion, that of the wise. In this second gallery the pictures show a different technique. The coloring, forms, and movement are gentler. Here miracles and parables open up a new world, making the common extraordinary and the extraordinary common, says the Eldest. As a further explanation of this, by means of example, he goes on to say there is nothing more common than eating and drinking, but it is extraordinary to multiply food to supply a countless number. In the case of the parables, however, we have the extraordinary, the incomprehensible incorporated into such a simple, common picture, that it lives before us and we understand.

The last scene in this gallery is that of the Last Supper, the events of Christ's life being separated from his death. This is done because it is believed that this part of his career is instructive to the greatest number of people. Here stands as a true philosopher and pursues his path unflinchingly. To this, the test of life, every one is called, but to his final test only a few. In regard to this point the Eldest says:  

"Wir sondern bei jeden Unterricht bei aller Überlief-
erung sehr gerne, was nur möglich zu sondern ist, denn
dadurch allein kann der Begriff des Bedenkeaden bei der
Jugend entspringen. Das Leben mengt und mischt ohnehin
alles durch einander und so haben wir auch hier das
Leben jenes vortrefflichen Mannes ganz von dem Ende
deselben abgesondert."

It is only this much of the gallery that the
younger pupils are allowed to visit, for the external
and earthly things can be taught to each from his
youth up. The internal and specially spiritual and
mental things, however, can be shown only to those
who have grown into some thoughtfulness. As for the
last form of religion, arising out of reverence for
what is below us, for what is hateful and repugnant,
that is disclosed by the pedagogues only once a year
to those who are taking leave of the institution.
This initiation into the holy estate of sorrow is given
to them as an equipment for the world, so they may know
where to find its like if they should ever feel the
need of it. So while the sufferings and death of
Christ are kept veiled out of a sense of reverence
and from a desire to prevent them from seeming commonplace, yet they are exalted as a model of sublime endurance.

Another interesting point in the administration to be noted in connection with reverence, is the method of punishment used by the institution. The severest punishment inflicted is to declare the pupils unworthy of showing reverence. The unruly pupil is deprived of the privilege of saluting the officers and superiors with various greetings as already described. He is compelled to continue to work and allow the officer to pass by unnoticed, thus seeming rude and uncultured. This method is said to be very effective, for the pupils quickly apply themselves to duty in order to get out of such a position. In the rare cases where the child does not submit to the law, he is sent back to his parents.

Dress A wise tribute to individuality is seen in the lack of uniformity in the dress of the pupils. Within the scope of their store of cloths and trimmings, the boys are allowed to choose any favorite color, and also within moderate limits to select both shape and cut. These teachers observe these choices closely for it is a part of their theory that by the color the bent of one's mind can be determined, and by the
out, the style of life. In spite of the very human tendency to imitate, a fairly accurate judgment may be obtained. For though the pupils rarely choose anything which they do not see some place else, in this way they associate themselves with different parties, of which it is not difficult to determine the general disposition. In case one fashion becomes too general, the store is allowed to run out of that particular kind of thing, and new kinds are substituted. The cheerful ones are attracted by light colors and short close cut, while the more thoughtful ones find sombre shades and comfortably ample suits to their liking. By this plan a balance is established, and yet the individual peculiarities of character are not hidden.

Agriculture. In travelling about the region one might see being taught the various arts and crafts, which are supposed to have a reciprocal effect upon each other. The large tract of land is made use of in teaching agriculture. There are level fields for tilling, while the meadows and hillsides are well adapted to stock raising. Not much is said of the cultivation of the soil, but that together with the care of pigs and calves, constitutes the lower rungs of the ladder by which Felix climbs to the heights of the horse breeding industry. The care of these lively animals
is much more to the liking of the boy whose passion is riding, than plowing or digging. Bielschowsky says that all the pupils were taught agriculture, and bases his opinion upon the fact that Felix was first put into that department. It is to be remembered, however, that is the avowed purpose of Felix, to learn to ride, and since it is the method of the pedagogues to follow the natural bent of the pupil, we would expect them to deal thus with him. It is possible that they might make agriculture the beginning for other pupils who have not yet shown a preference for anything in particular, since that is healthful, wholesome work, but I find no proof for such a statement in the text.

Language

Strangely enough—at first thought, at least,—with the training and rearing of horses is combined the learning of languages. These extremes of rough and delicate work serve to offset each other and give to the youth the happy medium of culture. It was not this thought which lead the pedagogues into this practise, however, but the fact that their pupils come from all over the world. This plan of teaching languages was devised in order to prevent the people of one country from clannning together and separating themselves from

1. Bielschowsky: "vol. iii, p. 33."
people of other nations. A great market in a country town is made to serve their purpose. For there, would be purchasers meet from all countries, so that one can hear there practically all the tongues of the world. For this reason an almost universal knowledge of language is necessary in order to carry on a satisfactory intercourse with the purchasers. But to prevent too great confusion and corruption of speech, one language only is spoken in common month by month throughout the year, upon the principle that one should be compelled to learn nothing outside the rudiments:¹ "Wir sehen unsere Schüler," says one of the overseers, "sämtliche als Schwimmer an welche mit Verwunderung im Elemente, das sie zu verschlingen droht sich leichter fühlen, von ihm gehoben und getragen sind; und so ist es mit allem, dessen sich der Mensch ungeschickt." Provision is made for the thorough instruction of those pupils who show a special inclination for some certain language. Felix chooses Italian and progresses so well that he can be heard while out in the fields caring for the horses, singing songs in that language with taste and feeling. The language teachers ride about with their pupils and take advantage

¹ Wanderjahre II, 9, page 220.
of the quiet hours of herding which come in the midst of this active life to give careful instruction.

**Instrumental** While singing, which has already been mentioned as the first step in education, accompanies everything, both in the way of equipment and instruction, instrumental music is *practised* in a special place. The domain devoted to it is in a hilly and rather wild part of the country. Here among the wooded hills are scattered dwellings while in more gentle valleys cottages cluster near to together. The beginners go voluntarily into the solitary spots, so that they can annoy no one else with their discordant notes. During this isolation they vie with each other in attaining the merit of being allowed to draw nearer to the more inhabited region. At the time of the festival when Wilhelm visits the place he finds the orchestra playing in a place specially constructed for it. By the side of the big orchestra which plays a powerful symphony on all instruments, is a smaller one composed of younger and older pupils. Each one holds his instrument in readiness without playing on it, for these are they who can not yet venture to join the whole. They stand there all interest and attention and it is said that such a festival seldom passes without a genius being suddenly
developed.

Lyric Poetry In the intervals of instrumental music, singing can be heard, and in union with music, lyric poetry is taught. The pupils are taught to know one as well as the other in their special limitation, and then they are shown how they effect each other, both in the way of limitation and in freedom. The sway of music over poetry is seen in the matter of time; for the musician pays no attention to definite quantities and can destroy the most carefully worked out rhythm of the poet. He may indeed even convert prose into song. The influence of the poet can be seen, however, in the new feeling which he calls out in the musician by means of lyric tenderness and boldness. Most of the singers in this region are poets also. The rudiments of dancing are also taught so that all these accomplishments are combined in this region.

Plastic In the boundaries of plastic art and the kindred crafts is a well built town. In the center of this, the houses which were fitted together with regularity were solid and handsome from without, while the roomy interiors were elegant and convenient. After these solemn buildings came less imposing ones of more cheerful aspect, and, as the suburbs and open country are reached they take the form of country villas.
The exteriors of the buildings express their purpose clearly, and each is adapted to its situation.

The reason for this great difference between the habitations of the musicians and those of the plastic artists, is not, of course, accidental, but is a part of the well laid plans of the pedagogues. The musician they believe, must be absorbed within himself, and bring forth his inmost thought in his muse. He must not be tempted away from this by things which please the eye. On the other hand, the plastic artist must live in the outer world. Therefore, in order to build and adorn for kings they must live like them.

This region is pervaded by a stillness broken only by the sounds of hammers and the chipping of stone. The occupation is a solitary one although it calls for a living environment. Everyone, beginners as well as more advanced are treated with the greatest seriousness and strictness. Every stroke is carefully made, but there are no drafts or sketches to be seen. The artists are being taught to define and grasp firmly the imaginative power which is such an inconstant faculty. This is unlike the method in other arts especially in music, where more certain principles are necessary and everything is prescribed.

The strict demands that are made are justified
by the fact that it is the genius who submits himself most readily to definite laws. He understands the necessity for them while it is only the mediocre who wishes to set them aside. The genius comprehends that art is called art because it is not nature, and respects the conventional.

It is the work of the teachers to guide the pupils from all missteps and their work is made easier, as in the other departments, by the introduction of the three reverences, in conformity with the nature of the work.

The region is unlike others, however, in that no exhibition is necessary here; for to the "bildende Künstler" the whole year is a festival. His handiwork stands in the sight of all after it is created, and so, no repetition, nor fresh success is needed as in the case of the musician. The whole city is made up of buildings of every kind carried out by the pupils according to well considered and revised plans. The builders are permitted no experiments, for what they build must stand. However, some leniency and freedom is granted in this matter to sculptors and painters. They are allowed to choose some wall, either interior or exterior, or some place in the
open squares which they wish to decorate. They make
their ideas public, and if these seem worthy, they are
permitted to carry them out. They may do this with
the privilege of taking the work away if unsatisfactory
or of leaving it permanently in its place. Most of the
pupils choose the former plan, while those who do
decide to leave them confer more with their comrades
and critics.

Epic Poetry Just as lyric poetry was developed in connection
with music, so is epic poetry taught with the plastic
arts. The young poets and painters work together in
the same room, and while the latter use their brushes
some one tells a story in the best possible style.
The pupils are not allowed to read or recite the
already completed poems of ancient and modern poets,
but a series of myths and traditions is taught to them.
These the poets are to put into poetic expression
for themselves while the painters express them in
pictures.

No exhibition or award of prizes is made in
this department, but the authorities make use of a
plan which they consider better. In a large well lighted
hall is a colossal group of vigorous male and female
forms and around this piece of work the visitor sees
various kinds of artists busily engaged in copying the
group, each in his own fashion, whether modelling,
drawing or painting. One, who is the original designer of the group reproduces it again on a smaller scale, taking advantage of any changes which his fellow workers make as they copy. This is done by way of a test so that when the perfect work is chiseled in marble, it may seem to belong to all, though really designed and executed by one alone.

The greatest silence reigns here as elsewhere in the region until the director asks someone to explain the work. Being called upon by his companions one of the youths begins by delivering a quiet discourse, but finally in his enthusiasm he reaches the realm of poetry. Through his brilliant delivery the hearers seem to see the group become animated. At the close of the discourse, though singing is generally forbidden here, the pupils sing a song which relates to art in general. The first four lines of this song express very well the theory which the pedagogues have put into practice in this department:

"Zu erfinden, zu beschliessen,
Bleibe, Künstler, oft allein:
Deines Wirkens zu geniessen,
Eile freudig zum Verein:"

Among the arts that of the drama alone seems to be un-provided for at the province. Dramatic art is dis-approved of by the authorities because the theater presupposes an idle crowd, which is not to be tolerated at the institution. Not only this, but acting is considered dangerous for the pupils because the emotions awakened are unreal, the merriment being feigned, and the sorrow hypocritical. Dramatic art, it is admitted, encompasses the others, but it is only to their hurt. The pedagogues have made provisions, however, for those whose nature show a persistent tendency toward mimicry. Of this the overseer says: 1 "so haben wir uns mit grossen Theatern aller Nationen in Verbindung gestellt und senden einen bewährten Fähigen sogleich dorthin, damit er, wie die Ente auf dem Teiche, so auf den Bretttern seinem künftigen Lebenagewackel und Geschnatter eiligst entgegen geleitet werde."

Mining

The last department mentioned is that of mining which is carried on in the mountainous districts. This region, though evidently belonging to the pedagogical province, since it is one of the overseers who invites Wilhelm to the festival, seems to have some connection with the association of the Entsagenden. At any rate Jarno is there as an advisor and all the guests belong to the craft. The festival is celebrated with lively

music and singing. There is also some sort of a "Schauspiel" which is rather surprising after what has been said of dramatic art by the pedagogues. These mimic representations, however, represent scenes from the work of the miners, and are given for instruction. During the supper the conversation turns upon the subject of the earth's formation. Various theories of the time are discussed and discredited also, but the glacial theory is evidently Goethe's own, although at that time this theory had not yet been determined.

We have not much opportunity to judge of the success of this system of training in connection with Felix, for we see him after he leaves the Province but a short time before the close of the book. At first he rides furiously up to Hersilia's home, a splendid appearing youth. He attempts to open the casket, which together with the key, has come to Hersilia for safe keeping. He says, however, that he cares only to unlock her heart, showing that his boyish passion is not at all cooled. She is confused at his sudden embraces and drives him away coldly. From her he hastens at once to find his father who saves the boy's life as already related.
Both in the Lehrjahre and the Wanderjahre are expressed some educational theories which do not appear in the Pedagogical Province. Prominent among these is the importance placed upon first impression and early training. The man who impersonates a country clergyman in the Lehrjahre says: "Demn niemand glaube die ersten Eindrücke der Jugend verwinden zu können. Ist er in einer lüblichen Freiheit, umgeben von schönen und elden Gegenständen, in dem Umgang mit guten Menschen aufgewachsen, haben ihm seine Meister das gelehrt, was er zuerst wissen musste, um das übrige leichter zu begreifen, hat er gelernt, was er nie zu verlernen braucht, wurden seine ersten Handlungen so geleitet, dass er das Gute künftig leichter und bequemer vollbringen kann, ohne sich irgend etwas abgewöhnen zu müssen: so wird dieser Mensch ein reiner, vollkommener und glücklicheres Leben führen als ein anderer, der seine ersten Jugendkräfte im Widerstand und im Irrtum zugesetzt hat."

The importance of early training finds example in many of the characters in the novel. Montam's mineralogical studies, for instance, are a return to

the training of his youth, for he was brought up by
an uncle who was a mining officer and a mine was his
play ground. Leonardo also felt as a boy the impulse
toward the technical and learned to handle tools skill-
fully. Later we see him as a master mechanic and
leader among the craftsmen. He tells Wilhelm once\(^1\)
that he did not care to work upon anything which he had
not himself fashioned. It is doubtless this same in-
clination toward the primitive which prompts him to
emigration. Wilhelm Meister's childish puppet plays
led him to the life of an actor. Friederich's par-
ticular accomplishment—that of a good memory—grew out
of his early theatrical career when he was accustomed
to prompt without a book. The childhood of Hersilia's
uncle was spent in an American colony whence came his
democratic tendencies.

Another often repeated injunction is to begin
at the beginning, for nothing can be properly mastered
if the elements are not first understood. Jarno says
to Wilhelm who wishes some information about geology:\(^2\)
"In einem jeden neuen Kruse muss man zuerst wieder als
Kind anfangen, leidenschaftliches Interesse auf die

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1. *Wanderjahre, I* - 11, page 127
2. *Wanderjahre, I* - 4, page 30
Sache werfen, sich erst ander Schale freuen, bis man zu dem Kerne zu gelangen das Glück hat." Wilhelm realizew this necessity in learning surgery and signifies his inten-tion of making a fresh start from the beginning.

Pictures

The influence and value of pictures with reference to the development of human lives also receives strong emphasis. The picture gallery of Wilhelm's grandfather made a profound impression upon the boy's life. Not only did he develop taste for art, but it caused him to think deeply. Lothario's uncle had a wonderful gallery which could not fail to add to the culture and inspiration of all who visited it. The practical uncle of Hersilia keeps only portraits of men of achievement in his home. The importance of pictures is seen best, however in connection with the teaching of religion at the province, where it is done through the senses. Here the pictures are arranged systematically, and graded according to the development of the pupils.

Imagination

In the first part of the Lehrjahre in which the story of Wilhelm's boyhood is related, considerable stress is placed upon the childish imagination. Goethe was probably not intending to teach a pedagogical lesson at that time, but he does show clearly the great power
of that faculty in a child. In doing this, whether unconsciously or not, he points out to teachers a means of appeal which should by no means be neglected.

Education

For the education of women, little special provision is made in this educational novel, although nearly all of the feminine characters are highly cultured. Therese, in the Lehrrjahre has a few girls in her charge whom she is teaching to be serviceable housekeepers, while Natalie is taking care of some who show a finer and more quiet talent. Angela of the Wanderjahre is instructing at Makaria's home a number of girls under twenty in order that they may become good wives to the youth of the neighborhood. One of the things in which they are instructed is in gardening and tillage of the soil. Of other things which they must learn we are told nothing.

Attitude of

Of the attitude of elders toward children we find some expression in the conversation of Wilhelm and Jarno at the beginning of the Wanderjahre. Wilhelm takes his friend to task because he does not reply to the questions of Felix as he would speak to himself. Jarno's reply is: 1 "Der Mensch versteht nichts, als was ihm gemäß ist. Die Kinder an der Gegenwart festzuhalten, ihnen eine Benennung, eine Bezeichnung zu überliefern,

ist das Beste was man tum kann. In another place he makes clear that no older person should try to teach a child unless he knows his subject thoroughly: 1 "Es ist nichts schrecklicher als ein Lehre der nicht mehr weiss als die Schüler alhenfalls wissen sollen."

Summary

Thus we see that out of this mass of theories and ideas, there are three great features upon which Goethe places the most stress in regard to education. These are: culture, development of character, and vocation. In the case of our hero, Wilhelm, these things are brought to our attention in this order, but that is not necessarily according to Goethe's ideal. To the contrary, it seems not to be in later years when he wrote the Wanderjahre at least, for there he has Felix go as a boy to the Pedagogical Province to learn a trade. Moreover, the training he receives there is intended to develop character at the same time while he may also attain more or less culture as a result of the reciprocal effect of the different departments upon each other. But the main method of gaining culture, which Goethe shows in the life of Wilhelm, is through contact with others and through travel.

Whatever may be Goethe's later ideal in regard
to the development of character simultaneously with culture, in the case of Wilhelm they are separate. Clearly, then, he did not believe that any amount of culture would make an admirable character unless accompanied by some other necessary things, for Wilhelm is just as weak, and has just as low, if not lower moral standards after he has attained a great degree of culture than at the beginning of the novel. It is a significant fact that it is not until after he has learned of his relationship to Felix that we see Wilhelm showing a strong inclination to become anything but a rolling stone, gathering the moss of culture for himself alone. Thus in parenthood, Goethe seems to place the supreme motive for a strong character—at least in the case of Wilhelm. In other characters we see social service as the great purpose.

Of means of character development, the author shows us several. In Wilhelm's case, experience and contact with other stronger people does much. Activity is the great message of the Lehrbrief, while the "Entsagenden" develop strength through renunciation. In the Pedagogical Province, religion which is pantheistic in nature, plays a large part by teaching the pupils self respect.

That each should have some definite calling is the great message of the Wanderjahre, and it is
preferable that this involve some handicraft which is to be thoroughly mastered. This is based upon the principle that a person who has a thorough knowledge of one thing is better educated than he who has a half knowledge of many things. That is probably the reason why Goethe places so much stress on work with the hands, for it is much more possible to gain a perfect mastery of a craft, than of anything else.

The choice of a calling is to be made according to gifts bestowed by nature. If this method had been pursued in the case of Wilhelm he would have avoided much error. He was not fitted for a theatrical career, but he did not find this out until after he had wasted a great deal of time, and the training for his real vocation, surgery, had therefore to come late.

The better way, which is shown in the case of Felix, is to put the child into an institution specially provided for that purpose. Here the teachers are to observe carefully the individuality of the pupils, and then work to develop what nature has bestowed. The chief business is to guard the child from error and keep him in the right sphere. It is not enough that the teacher know the subject better than his pupil, that is of course to be expected, but he should be broad minded and develop along with his pupil.

In providing such a special institution as the
Pedagogical Province, Goethe has not only taken the child away from the parent, who many times is unfitted to bring him up, and placed him under competent teachers, but has also put him into the most favorable surroundings for learning. Language, Jarno says, is best learned in the country where it is spoken, and that is true of every branch of learning. Theoretical knowledge is not enough, but must be accompanied by actual practice.

These ideas are suggested for a system of education which might be worked out along these principles. Goethe himself, however, has not described a complete system, as I have stated in the introduction. We expect him to show us a complete vocational school in the Pedagogical Province, but in the chapters dealing with that institution he has omitted many important points of school economy and management. For instance, nothing is said of school rooms nor of recitation periods. To be sure, these would not be needed if all instruction were to be given as in the languages, in the open air, and on horseback. But that would scarcely be practicable for all subjects and all pupils. Neither do we find anything said in regard to the maintenance of the institution. It was probably to some extent, at any rate, self-sustaining, since there was in connection with it, a large tract of land, the products of which could be marketed. With this plan the labor of the pupils could be accepted in place of tuition. Not only are we left in doubt about these
things, but the curriculum too, is incomplete. So we must conclude that Goethe was not, indeed, endeavoring to present any complete or even practical system, but that he simply took this way of presenting some more or less heterogeneous ideas which he favored.
In regard to the relation of these theories to the history of education one may say that they show plainly the influence of Pestalozzi with whom Goethe became acquainted in 1775. He was the first great advocate of the manual labor idea so plainly set forth in the Wilhelm Meister. He insisted that education should be extended to the whole people, rich and poor alike, and if any preference is shown at all it is for the poor, because he realized their great needs. He aimed to cultivate not merely the intelligence and insisted that children should learn not only to think, but also to do. Jarno in the Wanderjahre says: 1 "Denken und Tun, Tun und Denken, das ist die Summe aller Weisheit".

Pestalozzi believed that intellectual growth has its basis in direct observation and in the proper use of the senses; and that we learn to do by doing. All these things have been illustrated in Goethe's Pedagogical Province.

This is a tendency away from the earlier inclinations to develop the intellect alone, which finds an example in the early character of Wilhelm Meister, the dreamer and idealist who develops his mind only. In the Wanderjahre, however, Goethe presents the new social pedagogy.

A study of the condition of the times, of which Goethe himself must have been well aware, furnishes ample reason for the writing of such a novel. This was Geotehe's method

of attempting a reform; and he was not by any means the only one who wrote an educational novel.¹ In the masses of the common people there was the limitation of necessity; and they lacked sufficient education to keep up with the progress of the times. They had no one among themselves capable of leading them, nor could they find a leader in the upper classes. The educated people were either lacking in energy or spent their time in philosophic speculation. There was no one capable of aggressive action, but still worse, there was a feeling of aversion for the practical work, particularly the trades. The educated middle classes shared this contempt also.

In view of the rising importance of industry these facts were dangerous for two reasons. Unless more attention should be turned to industry Germany could not compete with other nations; and the other danger lay in organized labor making an unbridgeable chasm between the two classes. We need not wonder then, that, seeing all this, Goethe champions in Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre a training in a limited field of handicraft. Nor need we be surprised that he represents men of noble birth as partaking in this education and taking their places as leaders in a most democratic way.

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